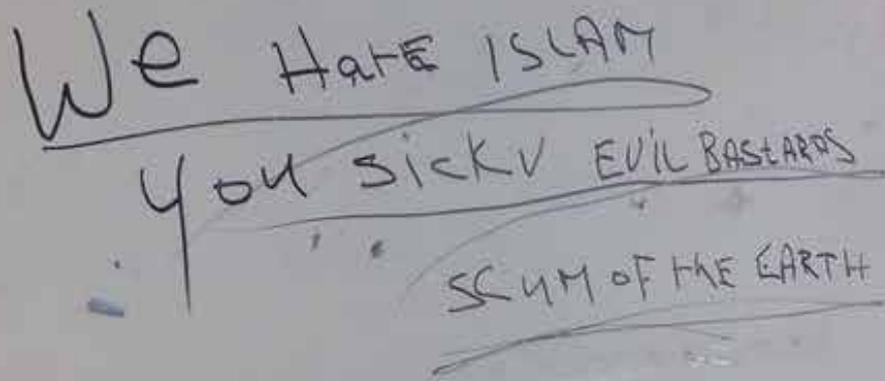


CENTRE FOR FASCIST, ANTI-FASCIST AND POST-FASCIST STUDIES



We Hate ISLAM
You SICK EVIL BASTARDS
SCUM OF THE EARTH

Taken at a Birmingham bus shelter on 5 May 2015, and reported to Tell MAMA online at <http://tellmamauk.org>.

NEWSLETTER ISSUE 2 SUMMER 2015

Contents

The Jewish Defence Archive: A valuable new source on British fascist, anti-fascist and Jewish history Dr Daniel Tilles	4
'Dark and Sinister Powers': Conspiracy Theory and the Interwar British Extreme Right Paul Stocker	6
A Pragmatist Root for Fascism? Hulme, James, Papini, and the Florentine School Dr Henry Mead	8
Filibusters and Fascists: Re-Thinking Imperial Agency and the Origins of Fascism Professor Dominic Alessio	10
Understanding the 'Fascist New Man' Dr Jorge Dagnino	12
Between-Movement Competition Over Social Bases: A Mechanism of 'Coupling' Alex Carter	13
Getting the Labels Right: Are the Sweden Democrats a 'Neo-Fascist' Party? Dr Andreas Önnfors & Henrik Arnstad	15
The National Socialist Underground: Ongoing Questions Fabian Sieber	17
Understanding EDL Activism William Allchorn	19
Comment: Holocaust Denial: True Debate or Platform of Hatred? Chris Webb	21
Interview with Anna Pivovarchuk for Fair Observer, 10 January 2015 Professor Matthew Feldman	22
How should Europeans respond to the Paris attacks?	25
Exploring the 'Cumulative Extremism' Hypothesis: Observations from the 2014/2015 Tell MAMA Reporting Period Dr Mark Littler	25
Holocaust Memorial Day, 27 January 2015	26
The Fascist 'New Man' Symposium	27
Print publications	28
Online interviews and texts	29
Presentations and public engagement	30

Edited by: Paul Stocker

CFAPS Directors: Professor Nigel Copsey and Professor Matthew Feldman

CFAPS Researchers:

Alex Carter
Paul Stocker

Research Associates:

Professor Dominic Alessio
William Allchorn
Dr Jorge Dagnino
Dr Mark Littler
Dr Henry Mead
Dr Andreas Önnfors
Dr Daniel Tilles
Chris Webb

Introduction

I am delighted to introduce the second edition of the newsletter of Teesside University's Centre for Fascist, Anti-Fascist and Post-Fascist Studies (CFAPS). In this second issue we have included contributions from two of the Centre's doctoral students, Alex Carter and Paul Stocker (a third, Lewis Young, is soon to have his viva – best of luck!).

As a regular feature, we also bring together contributions from the numerous researchers associated with the Centre. As you will see, articles cover a broad canvas, ranging from archival commentary through to topical reflections on the contemporary far right, not just in Britain but also further afield. Do read our newsletter from start to finish. I am sure that you will find it really engaging. My thanks go to all the contributors but especially to Paul Stocker who has done such a splendid job in editing this issue.

Professor Nigel Copsey

The Jewish Defence Archive: A valuable new source on British fascist, anti-fascist and Jewish history

Dr Daniel Tilles

Despite growing academic interest in the history of British anti-fascism, one important aspect of the story remains neglected. British Jews were active and influential in virtually every branch of Britain's broad spectrum of anti-fascist forces. Yet academic accounts tend to either skim over this contribution or to focus reductively on just one aspect of it: the confrontational anti-fascism, often with a left-wing flavour, pursued by young, working-class Jews, particularly in London's East End. While this type of activity was important, it represents just one facet of a much broader range of Jewish reactions to, and interactions with, domestic fascism.

One area that has been especially neglected is the response of the Jewish communal leadership to the emergence of domestic fascist movements in the interwar period, most visibly Oswald Mosley's British Union of Fascists (BUF). One reason why the work of the Board of Deputies of British Jews, the community's official representative body, has remained so obscure is that, at the time it was conducted, by necessity, largely in secrecy. Subsequently, the relevant documentation was relatively inaccessible to researchers. The Board's defence archive eventually fell into the hands of the Community Security Trust, which safeguarded the material but was not in a position to act as a research archive. In 2011, in a project that I was involved with, the CST agreed to loan the files to the Wiener Library, which, from the following year, made them available to researchers.

The material, covering the period 1933-1960, pertains primarily to the work of the Board's Coordinating Committee, established in July 1936 – at the height of the BUF's viciously anti-Semitic East End campaign – to harmonise the defence efforts of the Jewish leadership. (Two years later its name was changed to the Jewish Defence Committee, whose initials I'll use to refer to it from now on). It is rare that a collection this large, rich and important becomes available, and the material it contains does much to enhance our understanding of the intertwined histories of Britain's fascists, anti-fascists and Jews.

An overview of the JDC's work is provided by the extensive minutes that were taken at the meetings of its central committee and various subcommittees.¹ These also offer a sense of the debates over how best to respond to fascism in Britain that emerged within the Jewish leadership, which was not the homogeneous entity it has often been portrayed to be.

In the JDC's early days, for example, we see a split between two factions. On one side were more conservative elements, who wanted to maintain the Board's hitherto low-key approach, arguing that explicit opposition to fascism would betray the Jewish leadership's tradition of political neutrality. It could also, they feared, exacerbate anti-Semitism, by creating precisely the fascist-Jewish conflict that the BUF aimed to provoke.² Yet they found themselves increasingly side-lined, as others members, including the Board's president, Neville Laski, pushed the JDC towards an active and direct anti-fascist policy.

Part of this new approach was extensive investigative efforts, also documented in the archive. This included the establishment of network of moles within fascist and other anti-Semitic organisations. Some of these informants were fascists who, for political or financial reasons, decided to work with the Jewish leadership. One such figure was the unnamed 'Captain X', a disillusioned Mosleyite who began passing Laski information from BUF headquarters, including names of members and details of upcoming events.³ The files also contain evidence of payments made to EG Mandeville Roe, a leading fascist who provided reports to the Board.⁴ Other agents were specifically hired by Laski to infiltrate antisemitic groups. By far the most successful was Cecil Pavay, a former police officer, who gained entry to a number of fringe anti-Semitic organisations.⁵

Thanks to this investigative work, the archive provides an insight not just into Jewish and anti-fascist history, but also into Britain's interwar radical right groups, many of who operated out of the public eye. The activity and internal workings of a range of groups – the Nordic League, Militant Christian Patriots, White Nights of Britain and Imperial Fascist League, among others – are described in the JDC papers, as well as in complementary Home Office files at the National Archives, which contain records of the reports passed on by Laski.⁶

As this latter fact suggests, another component of the JDC's approach was regular contact with the British authorities. Understanding that the Jewish community was limited in the extent to which it could independently tackle the fascist threat, its leaders sought to exploit their access to decision-makers to encourage firmer action from the state. Senior government officials – who regarded fascism, and in particular its anti-Semitism, as the most serious threat to public order – were usually receptive to such lobbying. But the JDC was also not afraid to upbraid the authorities for any perceived complacency, even, on occasion, accusing sections of the police of being sympathetic towards the fascists.⁷

An instructive episode in this relationship came during the early stages of World War Two, when the government decided to intern leading British fascists as potential fifth columnists. The Board closely scrutinised this process, using the intelligence it had gathered to help the authorities identify individuals for internment and applying pressure if it felt the government was being unduly lenient. A complaint, for example, was made directly to the Home Secretary that not enough was being done to clamp down on Nazi sympathisers, leading the Board to 'doubt ... the sincerity of the Government ... to deal with this unmistakable menace'. Another

letter to an MP involved in the internment process expressed concern that certain leading fascists remained at liberty, describing this as 'the most amazing piece of favouritism'.⁸

The archive also documents the extensive contact that the JDC had with various sections of the Jewish community, offering insight into the ways in which relations within Anglo-Jewry were affected by the emergence of the domestic fascist threat. Initially, this was a source of conflict, with the Board attempting to neutralise newly formed Jewish defence bodies, which threatened to challenge its prerogative to represent the community. The most significant of these was the Jewish People's Council (JPC), which in October 1936 had been the primary organiser of the anti-fascist demonstration that later became known as the Battle of Cable Street. That year, we see the Board make determined efforts to undermine the JPC's progress: it privately contacted the BBC, for example, to request that it provide no further coverage of the organisation's activity.⁹

But, over time, as the Board took a firmer line against fascism, and as activist Jewish anti-fascists moderated their own approach, their positions began to converge. In 1938, negotiations began between the JDC and JPC, leading the following year to an agreement for the latter to disband and merge itself into the former. The JDC's archive provides the only detailed record of these discussions between two of Britain's foremost anti-fascist forces.¹⁰ The picture it presents helps overturn the widely held notion that the Board and the JPC were irreconcilable antagonists; and, more broadly, the files demonstrate that, rather than tearing a heterogeneous community further apart, the emergence of a domestic fascist threat actually drew the community closer together in its own defence, rallying behind the leadership of the Board.

This is just one of a number of ways in which the JDC archive not only augments existing accounts, but also challenges established perceptions of fascism and anti-fascism in 20th century Britain. Above all, it helps shed further light on the instrumental but often unacknowledged role that British Jews have played in ensuring the marginalisation and failure of British fascism.

¹ Board of Deputies Defence Committee Papers (DCP) 1658/1.

² 'Fascist Parliamentary Candidates' (23 November 1936), from JDC minutes, 1 July 1937, DCP 1658/1/1/1.

³ Sidney Salomon, 'Now it can be told', DCP 1658/9/2/1; Laski to chief constable, 7 October 1936, Brotman to chief constable, 20 October 1936, secretary to Keebles and Scott, 22 January 1937, letter from BUF HQ, 12 March 1937, DCP 1658/9/1/3.

⁴ Treasurer to Samuel Montagu & Co, 26 June 1939, DCP 1658/7/4/1; Laski to Brotman, 25 July 1939, DCP 1658/2/1/3.

⁵ Salomon, 'Now it can be told'.

⁶ For example, National Archives HO 144/21381.

⁷ See correspondence between Salomon, Picciotto, and the police, Nov-Dec 1939, DCP 1658/9/1/3.

⁸ See various correspondence in DCP 1658/9/1/3, F4.

⁹ Secretary's Report, JDC minutes, 25 November 1936, DCP 1658/1/1/1.

¹⁰ See JDC minutes from March 1938 onwards (DCP 1658/1/1/1-2), as well as 'Memorandum by Mr Jacobs of the JPC', DCP 1658/9/1/3; Solomons to Salomon, 30 August 1939, DCP 1658/3/1b/6/4.w

‘Dark and Sinister Powers’: Conspiracy Theory and the Interwar British Extreme Right

Paul Stocker

Born in 1934, John Tyndall would emerge as one of Britain’s most prominent postwar extreme right ideologues. Before ascending to the leadership of the National Front and British National Party, Tyndall was a young activist with A.K. Chesterton’s conspiratorial-minded League of Empire Loyalists, an experience that would profoundly influence both his future politics and world-view. In a 1978 interview with historian and biographer of Chesterton, David Baker, Tyndall remarked:

The biggest contribution Chesterton made to my thinking was in the development of an understanding of the conspiracy theory of history. Before reading the writings of Chesterton, or any writings on a similar subject, I had a vague kind of suspicion that all kinds of plotting was going on in the world and events were occurring that were not explained in terms of normal political reporting; news, newspapers and so on. There seemed to be a hidden factor in world politics that was bringing about, among other things, the destruction of this country.¹

The above passage provides an excellent encapsulation of the importance of ‘the conspiracy theory of history’ not just to Tyndall, but to the extreme right from the early 1920s until the present day. The ‘hidden factor in world politics’ allegedly abetting the destruction of Britain and its Empire has been the subject of much discussion by the extreme right in propaganda and rhetoric. Conspiracy theory, rather than being a mere feature, may in fact be identified as intrinsic to ultranationalist extreme right ideology, pledging to crush ‘the master criminal lurking’. This article will seek to briefly outline the importance of conspiracy theory to the British extreme right, and will conclude by arguing that both scholars of right-wing extremism and conspiracy theory can benefit from further examination into this interdisciplinary issue.

In contemporary parlance, the phrase ‘conspiracy theory’ is seen as largely pejorative and proponents of conspiracy theories are often presumed to be either paranoid, uneducated, mad – or all of the above. Indeed, one of the seminal texts for understanding conspiracy theory – Richard Hofstadter’s ‘The Paranoid Style in American Politics’ published in Harper’s Magazine in 1964 – gives credence to the idea that conspiracy theory is synonymous with psychological defect.² However, conspiracy theories (not to be confused with genuine conspiracies, or, the act of plotting, which are ‘a regular if not omnipresent feature of national and international politics’) have long been significant social phenomena.³ At the most basic level, conspiracy theories argue that a conspiracy ‘explains the occurrence of an event’.⁴ Three typical features or ‘condition’ of conspiracy theories identified by Denith include ‘the conspirators condition’ which argues that plotters are in existence or have existed in the past, with a definable plan; ‘the secrecy condition’ which states that conspirators will have attempted to stamp out public knowledge of the conspiracy by operating covertly; and finally, the ‘goal coalition’ which argues that a definable, attainable goal is wished for by the conspirators.⁵ Cubitt argues that conspiracy theory achieves three aims: ‘it attributes the events of history or current affairs to conscious human volition; it sharply distinguishes

between the human forces of good and evil; it implies a hidden reality beneath and at odds with the superficial appearances of the political and social world’.⁶

Resonances that conspiracy theories hold for extreme right ideology are immediately apparent. Extreme right ideology seeks to expose ‘subversives’, to whom negative features are attributed. These subversives are those who the extreme right, as ultranationalists, are against: communists, liberals, socialists, conservatives, foreigners, ethnic minorities. Given that these groups are allegedly threatening ‘the nation’ in ill-defined and ‘secret’ ways (perhaps because evidence against them is not forthcoming), the delineation of these groups as ‘plotters’, either current or historical, acts as a logical step. In the case of fascist ideology, taking the prime example of purported Jewish conspirators: a malevolent cabal of Jews are deemed to be a threat and decadent force on the body-politic, as well as being the main impediment to a fascist revolution. In the case of the extreme right more generally, the allegation of conspiracy is then attached to these groups, who are seen as antithetical to the patriots, as an attempt to prove their disloyalty. The goal of conspirators in the eyes of fascists acts as the antithesis of the goal of fascism: fascists desire the rejuvenation of the nation, whereas the conspirators seek its degradation and destruction.

Extreme right conspiracy theories in Britain can first be witnessed in the immediate aftermath of World War One. The publication of the notorious Russian forgery, *The Protocols of the Learned Elders of Zion* by anti-Semitic publishing group The Britons, contributed to a wave of political anti-Semitism – found in its most extreme form within the ranks of the Imperial Fascist League and British Union of Fascists. Anti-Semitic conspiracy theories were often accompanied by anti-Communist conspiracy theories (and often the two were conflated), which alleged that the tentacles of Bolshevism, directed from the bowels of the Soviet government, were reaching into every avenue of British society. The most influential conspiracy theorist on the interwar extreme right, Nesta Webster, wrote a number of books on how Bolshevism was merely a subversive movement seeking the destruction of Church and tradition, historically guided by Freemasonry and the Bavarian Illuminati.⁷ The first self-proclaimed fascist movement in Britain, the British Fascisti, drew heavily upon Webster’s work, and were highly conspiratorial in perceiving Soviet Communist influence literally everywhere within the British Empire.

Conspiracy theory was also crucial to the ideology of the British Union of Fascists – Britain’s largest fascist movement. Allegations of Jewish conspiracy were essential to the functioning of the wider economic and political goals of the BUF, which sought a third way between capitalism and socialism. It was frequently stressed in propaganda that Britain was shackled by Jewish financial and political power: ‘Let there be no further doubt about it: our unhappy country is bound hand and foot to the Jews. They dominate Britain’s affairs; their money power is law.’⁸ They sought a ‘rebirth’ of the British nation and a purge of decadent forces. In this way, Jewish conspiracy offered a narrative structure, one whereby Britain, as ‘David’, could destroy ‘Goliath’:

Is that really the Briton - tricked, fooled, hagridden, exploited, enslaved? Or does a generation arise again, breaking from the hands of manhood resurgent the fetters of decadence and seeing with the ardent eyes of an awakened giant the land that they shall make their own.⁹

The use of conspiracy theory acted as a simple, populist form of Manichaeism: a struggle between good and evil, which portrayed

Jews as aggressors who required comeuppance. In this regard, Jews were by no means an inevitable scapegoat, and the role might have been filled by another ‘bogey man’. However, given the tradition of cultural and political anti-Semitism within Britain – anti-Semitic stereotypes linking Jews with Communism and capitalism – and the fact that they were the most visible ethnic-minority, Jews were an obvious target. Despite the BUF being somewhat more ‘programmatically’ with an emphasis on science and rationalism than many other fascist parties in the UK and indeed abroad, there was nevertheless a large strain of counter-Enlightenment thought to their ideology. Conspiracy theory can therefore be seen as part of this glorification of unreason and an attempt to reject more conventional understandings of history, human nature and society.

This overview has sought to demonstrate the presence and importance of conspiracy theory to extreme right politics in interwar Britain. Conspiracy theory is by no means limited to the interwar period, however, as just a cursory glance at postwar extreme right movements such as the League of Empire Loyalists, National Front and British National Party demonstrates. Without doubt, the relationship between right-wing extremism and conspiracy theory requires further attention. Given that two new and highly informative books on conspiracy theory have been published in late-2014; *The Philosophy of Conspiracy Theories* by Matthew Denith, and *American Conspiracy Theories* by Joseph Uscinski and Joseph Parent, it is hoped that scholars of the extreme right in Britain in Europe will utilise the opportunity to engage with the burgeoning field of conspiracy theory studies. In this respect, finally, it is worth noting that the Leverhulme-funded project ‘Conspiracy and Democracy: History, Political Theory and Internet Research’ based at Cambridge University has already undertaken some interesting research on conspiracy theories, and promises to continue to do so. The study of fascism is at its best when outward looking and engaging with debates in other fields and disciplines; conspiracy theory provides another important avenue for scholars of fascism to branch out and place fascism within a broader scholarly context.

- 1 A.K. Chesterton Collection, Bath University Archive; John Tyndall interview with David Baker, 4 April 1978 (A.11).
- 2 Richard Hofstadter, ‘The Paranoid Style in American Politics’, *Harper’s Magazine*, November 1964 [Accessed Online: <http://harpers.org/archive/1964/11/the-paranoid-style-in-american-politics/>].
- 3 Jeffrey M. Bale, ‘Political Paranoia v. Political Realism: On distinguishing between bogus conspiracy theories and genuine conspiratorial politics’, *Patterns of Prejudice* 41 (2), 2007, p. 45.
- 4 Matthew Denith, *The Philosophy of Conspiracy Theories* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2014), p. 23.
- 5 Ibid.
- 6 Geoffrey Cubitt, *The Jesuit Myth: Conspiracy Theory and Politics in Nineteenth-Century France* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), p. 2.
- 7 See, most importantly, Nesta Webster, *World Revolution: The Plot Against Civilisation* (London: Constable 1921); *Secret Societies and Subversive Movements* (London: Constable, 1924).
- 8 Arthur Kenneth Chesterton, ‘Jews Expose Financial Democracy’, *The Blackshirt*, 21 August 1937, p. 5.
- 9 Oswald Mosley, *Tomorrow We Live!*, (London: Greater Britain Publications, 1939), p. 7.

A Pragmatist Root for Fascism? Hulme, James, Papini, and the Florentine School

Dr Henry Mead

The word 'pluralism' has connotations of liberal tolerance, particularly from its British and American usage.¹ Yet it has also been used to describe the philosophical roots of Italian Fascism.² For example, by 1911, 'pluralist' works by Friedrich Nietzsche, Henri Bergson, William James, and Georges Sorel had impacted on a radical group of intellectuals, largely based in Florence, who would directly inform Mussolini's Fascism.³ Two writers of particular interest were Giovanni Papini and Giuseppe Prezzolini – key members of a pre-war Florentine avant-garde network centred on the periodicals *Voce* and *Leonardo* (both founded in 1903).⁴ These writers described themselves as pluralists under the influence of William James, above all, who used that term most prominently in *A Pluralistic Universe*. James wrote glowingly of the Florentine school, and particularly of Papini, whom he met in 1896.⁵ Papini's first book, *Il Crepuscolo dei filosofi* (1906), recounted the history of Western philosophy through a sceptical Nietzschean lens before arriving at a radicalised pragmatism.⁶ Two elements of his philosophy stand out: the 'Corridor Theory', discussed in a 1905 article for *Leonardo*; and the doctrine of 'L'Uomo Dio', developed in articles for *Leonardo* and in *Il Crepuscolo dei filosofi* between 1903 and 1906.⁷ James was enthusiastic, writing to Schiller: 'Papini is a jewel! To think of that little Dago putting himself ahead of every one of us (even of you, with his Uomo-Dio) at a single stride. And what a writer! and what fecundity!'

Papini's collaborator, Giuseppe Prezzolini was the author of *L'Arte di Persuadere*, which examined the power of language to convert.⁸ He found similar themes in Sorel, upon whom he wrote a short book entitled *La Teoria sindacalista* (1909). Georges Sorel was an important figurehead: a friend and correspondent of Benedetto Croce, his influence was as great in Italy as in France. Sorel first published his *Réflexions sur la violence* in the Italian periodical *Il Devinire sociale* during 1905 and 1906, prior to its French publication in *Le Mouvement socialiste*.⁹ Prezzolini took particular interest in syndicalism.¹⁰ By 1912, Papini had allied himself with Futurism, won over despite, and perhaps on account of, a famous altercation between Filippo Marinetti and the Florentine intellectuals. Ardengo Soffici, ally of the *Voce* group, had written a critical review of a recent Futurist exhibition in Milan; in response Marinetti, Umberto Boccioni and Carlo Carrà, travelled together to Florence and assaulted Soffici and his friends in a coffee shop.¹¹ The act of violence actually appealed to both groups, who soon collaborated to produce the seminal modernist magazine, *Lacerba*. The use of force to assert a worldview presaged a characteristic method of both Futurism and the early Italian *Fasci di Combattimento* movement. By 1914, through the pages of *Voce*, links were formed with its contributor, Benito Mussolini, and then with Fascism.¹² Years later, when Mussolini cited James, Sorel, and *Voce* as his sources for Fascism, the links were clear. That James should have such close ties to this network is ironic, given his own very different political stance.¹³

What James, Sorel, Papini and Prezzolini had in common was the principle of epistemological perspectivism.¹⁴ The Florentine

writers had seen the political resonance of pragmatism, and were interested in Sorel's mythopoeic syndicalism. Prezzolini contrasted the 'beauty of the parable' in politics with the 'misereries of logic'.¹⁵ Increasingly, however, these Italian writers focussed on how mythic imagination might empower societies through a 'top-down' power structure. Papini in particular advanced a theory of the *uomo-dio*, the Man-God. Having relinquished belief in objective truths, accepting that humanity made reality as it pleases, individuals conscious of such power – and willing to use it – could approach the status of Gods.¹⁶ Papini thus followed Nietzsche's logical path from *The Twilight of the Idols to The Genealogy of Morals*.¹⁷ As one historian said of Prezzolini, 'pragmatism was converted by him into a sophisticated opportunism and a modern *Machiavellism*, a method of attaining contentment in one's life and of dominating one's fellow creatures by playing upon their fancies and prejudices as does the religious charlatan or the quack doctor or rhetorician.'¹⁸ Political and philosophical usages of the term 'pluralism' at this time were related, as contemporaries noted.¹⁹ In the English tradition of Lord Acton, Frederick Maitland, and John Neville Figgis, it referred to the decentralisation and distribution of power among smaller bodies, including Trades Unions, religious communities, industrial and agrarian communities. It involved a splintering of power away from state government, and the pursuit of an elastic but binding principle of nationhood, which would both permit individual freedom but harness that agency to a national cause. In Britain, this was the spirit behind the Edwardian project of Guild Socialism as developed by A.R. Orage, Samuel Hobson, Maurice Reckitt, and G.D.H. Cole, among others. This network, working within the radical *New Age* magazine and the Labour Research Department, were bitterly disillusioned with the British Labour Party's performance in parliament, and from around 1911, sought to conceive an entirely new system of government.

Their update of the medieval 'Guild' idea in terms of self-governing industrial communities, united under a shared national (and possibly spiritual) identity, was transmitted to the continent via a member of the *New Age* circle, Odon Por, who later worked with Mussolini to develop similar ideas in an Italian context. A horizontal division of power was a key principle in Italian Fascism, but so were the binding agents of national glory and dictatorial charisma. In practice, the supposedly loosening horizontal lines of power distribution were over-scored and dominated by ever-stricter vertical lines of power, and thus the faded remnants of the Guild idea degenerated in Italy by stages towards absolutism. Just as a Nietzschean perspectivism left the way open to the 'will to power', and the 'corridor philosophy' included a doorway to the '*uomo-dio*', political pluralism could be understood in a competitive sense; namely, as a post-Darwinian contest between points of views, decided by the survival of the fittest, who earned the right to rule. However, this was not the only form of pluralistic attitude. The historian of fascist thought Adrian Lyttelton points specifically to the affinities of Fascism and Liberalism: both are ideologies of 'permanent conflict'.²⁰ But it bears remembering that pluralism in the hands of British Guild Socialists was supposed to guarantee freedom, not compromise it, and this tradition of thought retains a place in Western political thought.

With this in mind, we can stress again that philosophic and political pluralism could, but did not *inevitably*, degenerate into absolutism. It may have for Papini, but it did not for James, or for Harold Laski and Walter Lippmann, who upheld the pluralist idea in the Anglo-American liberal tradition.²¹ To understand this parting of ways, we might consider how, in an essay of 1906, and in the second of his lectures published as *Pragmatism* (1907),

William James had quoted Papini's first book, whose metaphor for pragmatism James felt encapsulated his own worldview:

It is like a corridor in a hotel, from which a hundred doors open into a hundred chambers. In one you see a man on his knees praying to regain his faith; in another a desk at which sits someone eager to destroy all metaphysics; in a third a laboratory with an investigator looking for new footholds by which to advance upon the future. But the corridor belongs to all, and all must pass there. Pragmatism, in short, is a great corridor-theory.²²

What these writers had in common was the 'Corridor Philosophy', and the theory of myth. Indeed, the 'Corridor Theory' may be a useful image for the proliferation and frequent corruption of ideological DNA in the 20th century. It strangely anticipates the political historian Michael Freeden's metaphor of ideology as a chamber, or 'ideas-environment', also cited by Roger Griffin in his accounts of fascist ideology as a 'cluster-concept'.²³ In short, ideologies consist of several conceptual components, arranged in different permutations. Each ideology is like a 'chamber' in which one sees numerous concepts arranged like items of furniture in different combinations. A fascist may be a pluralist, and shares that item of faith with the liberal next door. The liberal would however discard the element of authoritarianism that distinguishes the dictator's abode. Among the dictators, elements of racial theory dominate one variant, but are almost absent in another. But what distinguishes 'pluralist' dictators and liberals alike is their sense of detachment from the chamber they have created. They realise it is one truth of many, and that its appeal to a wider community depends upon some kind of battle, whether of aggression or defence. In light of Papini's image for pragmatism, it seems that certain fascist thinkers could both visualise their ideology – their chosen 'room' – and step outside it, seeing their dogma as one of many: their attitude as both arbitrary and absolute. Two layers are figured here: an absolutism, constructed upon a relativism.

James maintained links with the Florentine group until the end of his life, and his enthusiasm later helped Prezzolini secure a post at the Casa Italia in Columbia University. On the strength of this connection, the conservative polemicist Jonah Goldberg has in recent years attacked James's pluralism, as manifested in the Democrat tradition in the US, as implicitly fascist – this even gives him grounds to attack health-care measures and other forms of liberal state investment.²⁴ Perhaps the best way to neutralise Goldberg's specious 'Liberal Fascism' is to invoke the 'corridor philosophy', or equally, Freeden's and Griffin's theories of conceptual disaggregation, which permits us to see how ideas can be gathered together in various ideological formats. The West has long celebrated the 'pluralism' of American democracy, with its multiple, competing entry points for power, overseen by numerous institutions, each of which is deliberately prevented from wielding total power. The first premise of philosophic pluralism, the splintering of 'truths', is foreshadowed here. Yet notably absent is a possible second premise, asserted by the Florentine pragmatists, that the loudest voice or strongest will would naturally dominate. One bulwark against such dominating voices is perhaps the erection of a higher myth, whether that of a 'civil religion', as in the US, or the return to a traditional theological faith – perhaps a 'myth' in itself, but also a prophylactic against certain mischievous 'fictions' of the extreme right.²⁵

1 For wide-ranging accounts of the different meanings of the term, see the essays collected in *Modern Pluralism: Anglo-American Debates Since 1880* ed. by Mark Bevir (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012). See Stears, *Progressives, Pluralists* for a history of modern pluralism in America and Britain.

2 See David D. Roberts, *The Syndicalist Tradition and Italian Fascism* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1979) for an account of how a form of pluralism developed into fascism in Italy. See also A. James Gregor, *Young Mussolini and the Intellectual Origins of Fascism* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1979), pp. 51-64 and *Mussolini's Intellectuals: Fascist Social and Political Thought* (Princeton: Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2006), pp. 18-37; and Roger Eatwell, *Fascism: A History* (London: Allen Lane, 1996), pp. 33-68, for accounts of the Italian syndicalist background to fascism. See also Stanley Payne, *A History of Fascism*, pp. 80-128.

3 See Walter Adamson, *Avant-Garde Florence: From Modernism to Fascism* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1993), pp. 15-203, esp. pp. 2, 8, 52-64, 70-78, 107.

4 See Adamson, 'Modernism and Fascism', and *Avant-garde Florence*; Gullace, 'The Pragmatist Movement in Italy', and Gregor, *Young Mussolini and the Intellectual Origins of Fascism* (dedicated to Prezzolini), pp. 88-97. For Papini's friendship with James, see Golino, 'Giovanni Papini and American Pragmatism', and Ralph Barton Perry, *The Thought and Character of William James* (1948; Nashville and London: Vanderbilt University Press, 1996), pp. 313-22.

5 James, 'Giovanni Papini', p. 338.

6 Giovanni Papini, *Il Crepuscolo dei filosofi: Kant, Hegel, Schopenhauer, Comte, Spencer, Nietzsche*, (Milano: Societa Editrice Lombarda, 1906), pp. 1-183 on western philosophy, pp. 223-63; on Nietzsche, pp. 220, 266, 279.

7 James's account of the 'corridor theory' is taken from Papini's article 'Pragmatismo messo in ordine', *Leonardo*, 3.2 (April 1905), 45-48 (p. 47); repr. in *Sul pragmatismo (saggi e ricerche)* (Milan: Libreria Editrice Milanese, 1913), pp. 77-82 (p. 82). Prezzolini coined the term in 'L'Uomo-Dio', *Leonardo*, 1 (Mar. 1903), pp. 3-4; Papini developed the idea in, *Il Crepuscolo dei filosofi*, pp. 220, 266, 279; and 'Dall'uomo a dio' (*Leonardo*, 4.1 [Feb. 1906], pp. 6-15).

8 Prezzolini's 'L'Arte di Persuadere', *Leonardo*, 4 (Jun. 1906), later re-published as *L'arte di persuadere* (Firenze: F. Lumachi, 1907), was cited by Hulme in 'A Note on the Art of Political Conversion I', p. 234; *CW*, p. 207. See Giovanni Gullace, 'The Pragmatist Movement in Italy', *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 23.1 (Jan-Mar 1962), 91-105. See excerpts of translations from Papini and Prezzolini in Lyttelton, pp. 97-133.

9 Jennings, *Georges Sorel*, p. 62; James H. Meisel, *The Genesis of Georges Sorel* (Ann Arbor, Michigan, 1951), p. 299.

10 Ontario, McMaster Library, Ogden Collection, Letter from Hulme to Ogden, 27 November 1911.

11 Adamson, *Avant-Garde Florence*, pp. 148-49.

12 Adamson, *Avant-Garde Florence*, pp. 139-43; Gregor, *Mussolini's Intellectuals*, pp. 26-27; Lyttelton, 'Papini and Prezzolini', *Italian Fascism*, p. 25.

13 Perry, *Thought and Character*, p. 319.

14 Giovanni Papini, 'Pragmatismo messo in ordine', *Leonardo*, 3.2 (Apr. 1905), 45-48 (p. 47), repr. in *Sul pragmatismo (saggi e ricerche)* (Milan: Libreria Editrice Milanese, 1913), pp. 77-82 (p. 82); F.C.S. Schiller, 'Another Congress of Philosophers', *The Pelican Record*, 10 (June 1911), 183-85 (p. 184).

15 Quoted by H.S. Thayer in *Meaning and Action: A Critical History of Pragmatism* (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1968), p. 332; see also Gullace, 'The Pragmatist Movement in Italy', p. 91-105 (p. 106).

16 The idea originated in Prezzolini's essay 'L'Uomo-Dio' (*Leonardo*, 1 [Mar. 1903], pp. 3-4), and was elaborated three years later the final pages of Papini's *Il Crepuscolo dei filosofi* (1907), and in a longer article 'Dall'uomo a dio' (*Leonardo*, 4.1 [Feb 1906], pp. 6-15); repr. in *Sul pragmatismo (saggi e ricerche)* (Milan: Libreria Editrice Milanese, 1913), pp.47-57. The passages by Papini were highlighted for particular praise by James.

17 *The Letters of William James*, 2 vols (London: Longmans, Green, 1920), vol. II, 245-46.

18 William Caldwell, *Pragmatism and Idealism* (London: A. and C. Black, 1913), p. 26.

19 Ellen Deborah Ellis, 'Guild Socialism and Pluralism', *American Political Science Review*, 17.4 (1923), 584-96. For a more recent account, see Rainer Eisfeld, 'The Emergence and Meaning of Socialist Pluralism', *International Political Science Review / Revue internationale de science politique*, 17.3 (1996), 267-79.

20 Adrian Lyttelton, 'Introduction', *Italian Fascisms: From Pareto to Gentile*, ed. by Adrian Lyttelton (London, Jonathan Cape, 1973), pp. 11-36 (p. 11-12).

21 See Stears, 'Chapter One: Conceptual Foundations', *Progressives, Pluralists*, pp. 23-51.

22 William James, 'Giovanni Papini and the Pragmatist Movement in Italy', *Journal of Philosophy, Psychology and Scientific Method*, 3.13 (1906), 337-41 (p. 339). James repeats the quotation in 'Lecture II: What Pragmatism Means', in *Pragmatism: A New Name for Some Old Ways of Thinking* (London: Longmans, Green, 1907), p. 22-23.

23 Michael Freeden, 'Political Concepts and Ideological Morphology', pp. 154-55; *Ideologies and Political Theory*, pp. 13-136, esp. pp. 43, 53, 71-73, 89-91; *Ideology*, pp. 31-44, esp. pp. 43-44.

24 See Jonah Goldberg, *Liberal Fascism: The Secret History of the American Left, From Mussolini to the Politics of Meaning* (London: Penguin, 2008).

25 For a commentary on 'civil religion', see Emilio Gentile, *Politics as Religion* (2006). Philosophers such as William Connolly, Charles Taylor, John Gray, and John Milbank have in different ways identified the role of traditional faith in preventing the dominance of tyrannical forms of secularism, including those that tend towards 'political religions'. See Frank Kermode, *A Sense of an Ending* (1967), for a useful distinction between 'myths' and 'fictions', owing much in turn to Hans Vaihinger's work *The Philosophy of As If* (1911).

Filibusters and Fascists: Re-Thinking Imperial Agency and the Origins of Fascism

Professor Dominic Alessio

This article re-thinks approaches to imperial state formation, and simultaneously addresses a possible influence on the rise of Fascism. Firstly, it re-examines the definition of empire, questioning an emphasis upon politics as sole agents of imperial expansion by drawing attention to the often overlooked role of filibusters. Secondly, it re-examines the history of filibustering itself, suggesting that it is not a practice unique only to the Americas or to the nineteenth-century. Lastly, it hints at a possible relationship between filibustering and Fascism.

According to Darwin, 'We live in a world that empires have made'.¹ Given that empire is so hugely influential, there are a number of gaps in our understanding of the phenomenon. Colley states that there is 'an insufficiently comprehensive approach to empire', whilst Münkler concludes that 'the question of what an empire is ... has remained virtually unexamined'.² Nonetheless, a number of authors have attempted definitions. Doyle conceives empire as 'a relationship ... in which one state controls the effective political sovereignty of another'.³ Similarly for Bush, empire implies the 'expansion of states outside their territory'.⁴ What the above presuppose is that empires are state led; but as Thomson asserts, 'States did not monopolize violence'.⁵ Indeed, another important agent of empire was the trading or 'concessionary' company, such as the Dutch East India Company (VOC), which possessed an 'impressive military force' of forty war ships and ten thousand troops.⁶

This article suggests that another often over-looked player on the imperial stage was the filibuster. For many today the term filibuster is associated with a long-winded political speech. However, there is an older origin for the term, namely in the Dutch word *vrijbouter* (or freebooter), which pertains to 'irregular armies of adventurers' who are frequently 'engaged in ... conducting under private initiative armed expeditions from the United States'.⁷ Although the term 'freebooter' implies an association with piracy and privateering, there are distinctions. Firstly, filibusters are not privateers who act 'under the authority of a state'.⁸ Any association with piracy is also off the mark, as it is defined as 'the commission of those acts of robbery and violence upon the sea'.⁹ Yet filibusters are not restricted to maritime-based assaults. A further discrepancy between pirates and filibusters is that the former focused on 'acts of robbery', whereas filibusters 'did not necessarily prioritize monetary gain'.¹⁰ As Thomson points out, 'some wanted to bring new territory into the United States ... and some to create an independent state under their own dictatorial rule'.¹¹ William Walker, one of the most successful American filibusters, sought, in the mid nineteenth-century, "to carve out private fiefdoms by force" in both present-day Mexico and Nicaragua.¹²

Filibusters are defined here as *private individuals who employ non-sanctioned, extra-territorial violence in foreign territory to carve out powerbases for themselves or to annex this territory for another state's gain, usually their own homeland*. What makes filibustering unique is that it is a form of transnational violence *unauthorised* by a state. From time to time, however, agents of the state might seize foreign territory on their own initiative

without official consent. Aaron Burr, the former Vice President of the United States, sought unsuccessfully to seize territory in Mexico and establish a new state for himself there; admitting that he hoped 'to establish an empire in Mexico and to become its emperor'.¹³ It was sometimes the case too that a filibuster might set out on an unauthorised military expedition to conquer territory for the home nation, but due to unforeseen circumstances – such as international or home opposition – but instead ended up ruling the territory as an independent entity.

Such was the situation with the Italian Gabriele D'Annunzio, a 'celebrated poet, novelist, dramatist ... not to mention soldier, aviator and self-styled superman'.¹⁴ D'Annunzio felt betrayed by the international community over the post-World War One settlement for Italy. While the country had received Tyrol, Trieste and parts of Dalmatia, many Italian nationalists also desired the deep water port of Fiume (present-day Rijeka in Croatia) with its majority Italian-speaking population. So on 12 September 1919 D'Annunzio led a private militia, whose numbers swelled to circa 2,500, into Yugoslavia to seize Fiume directly in the name of the Italian state. However, after the Italian government refused to support this action, D'Annunzio set up his own 28 square kilometre 'Regency of Carnaro'. D'Annunzio's new state issued its own stamps and wrote its own constitution, remaining intact until the 'Bloody Christmas' of December 1920, when the territory was surrounded by Italian troops forcing him to capitulate.

The intention of some filibusters to impress newly conquered territory upon the mother country could explain why there was frequent popular support for such actions. This was especially the situation in the United States: 'Filibusters were lionized by citizens who regarded them as heroes'.¹⁵ The same held true across the Atlantic following D'Annunzio's invasion of Fiume. Benito Mussolini was so entranced that he borrowed from D'Annunzio not only the term 'Duce', but much of what would become the 'liturgy of Fascism'.¹⁶ The latter included the use of private paramilitaries, the black shirt and the Roman salute.

Given the widespread and frequent support for such actions it is not surprising that a number of expansion-minded governmental officials might, from time to time, give filibusters 'a wink and a nod', whilst simultaneously refusing to recognise their actions officially so that they might 'disavow failure' should the need arise.¹⁷ The latter is apparent in mid nineteenth-century Italy when the Italian hero of unification, Giuseppe Garibaldi, began organising his 'One Thousand' volunteers for an attack on Bourbon-controlled Sicily. At that time Garibaldi was in Genoa, then under the control of the Kingdom of Piedmont-Sardinia. Count Cavour, Prime Minister of the Kingdom, whilst knowing about Garibaldi's planned invasion, 'promised to help it, provided the responsibility of the government was completely concealed'.¹⁸ Following the success of Garibaldi's irregulars Cavour was then only too happy to accept Garibaldi's gift of the newly conquered Kingdom of the Two Sicilies. In Italian history, the hand-over of the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies to Piedmont-Sardinia is considered of prime significance for Italian unification. On the other hand, if filibusters act as unofficial agents of empire, then such a move looks more like an expression of Piedmontese-Sardinian imperialism rather than an example of popularly-inspired Italian nationalism. It is not surprising, perhaps, that the Italian journalist Pino Aprile in *Terroni* (2010) likened northern troops to the Nazis when they forcibly occupied the South in the 1860s.

In addition to drawing attention to the significance of filibusters this article, finally, questions the literature surrounding them. One theme dominating much discussion is that such pursuits were unique to the United States and were always focused on the Americas. Chaffin says that 'without exception, filibusters sailed for Latin America', while Thomson argues that filibustering 'remained a uniquely American phenomenon'.¹⁹ Although Americans and the Americas certainly dominated, they were not its sole practitioners or theatres of operation, as the cases of Italian filibusters Garibaldi and D'Annunzio demonstrate. Another misconception regarding filibustering is that it was an activity restricted to the nineteenth-century. Solomon advocates that 'Walker's occupation of Nicaragua represented both the high-point and the endpoint'.²⁰ However, D'Annunzio's occupation of Fiume occurred after World War One. Nor did filibustering efforts cease in the early twentieth-century. As late as 1981 Wolfgang Droege, the second in command of the Canadian Ku Klux Klan, alongside a small group of American neo-Nazis, led a failed filibustering attempt to invade Dominica. It is no surprise to read in *Heart of Darkness*, a novel partly based on French filibustering events in North Africa, that: 'Kurtz's proper sphere ought to have been politics "on the popular side" ... "how that man could talk. He electrified large meetings He would have been a splendid leader of an extreme party"'.²¹ Filibusters might have had, consequently, not only a previously unremarked role in the history of empire, but also a small part in the origins of Italian Fascism.

1 John Darwin, *Unfinished Empire: The Global Expansion of Britain* (London: Allen Lane, 2012), p. xi.

2 Linda Colley, "The Difficulties of Empire: Present, Past and Future", *Historical Research* 79 (2006), p. 368; Herfried Münkler, *Empires. The Logic of World Domination from Ancient Rome to the United States*. Trans. Patrick Camiller. (Cambridge: Polity, 2007), p. 4.

3 Michael W. Doyle, *Empires* (Ithaca: Cornell, 1986), p. 45.

4 Barbara Bush, *Imperialism and Postcolonialism* (London: Pearson, 2006), pp. 1-2.

5 Janine E. Thomson, *Mercenaries, Pirates and Sovereigns* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994), p. 2.

6 Jane Burbank and Frederick Cooper, *Empires in World History. Power and the Politics of Difference* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2012), p. 161.

7 Tom Chaffin, "Sons of Washington: Narciso López, Filibustering, and United States Nationalism, 1848-1851", *Journal of the Early Republic* 15.1, 1995, 81; and Ron Soodalter, "Man of Destiny", *Military History*, May 2010, p. 44.

8 Thomson, p. 22.

9 Patricia Risso, "Cross-Cultural Perceptions of Piracy: Maritime Violence in the Western Indian Ocean and Persian Gulf Region during a Long Eighteenth Century", *Journal of World History* 12.2, 2011, p.298.

10 Risso, 298; Robert E. May, "Reconsidering Antebellum United States Women's History: Gender, Filibustering and America's Quest for Empire", *American Quarterly* 57.4, 2005, p.1156.

11 Thomson, p. 118.

12 Soodalter, p. 45.

13 Quoted in Thomson, p. 124.

14 Robert Pearce, "D'Annunzio, Fiume and Fascism", *History Review* 64: pp. 24-29, 2009.

15 Thomson, p. 119.

16 R.J.B. Bosworth, *Mussolini* (London: Arnold, 2002), p. 145.

17 Thomson, p. 43.

18 General Giuseppe Sirtori quoted in G.M. Trevelyan, G.M. *Garibaldi and the Thousand* (London: Penguin, 1965 [1909]), p. 174.

19 Chaffin, p.81 and Thomson, p. 118.

20 Jeffrey H. Solomon, "Tortured History: Filibustering, Rhetoric, and Walker's 'War in Nicaragua'", *Alif: Journal of Comparative Poetics* 31 (2011), pp. 105-106.

21 Joseph Conrad, *Heart of Darkness*, in *Joseph Conrad. The Dover Reader* (London: Courier Corporation, 2014 [1902]), p. 250.

Understanding the ‘Fascist New Man’

Dr Jorge Dagnino

I am currently engaged in a research project on the importance of the myth of the Fascist New Man in interwar Italy, a subject scarcely investigated in any language. Therefore a key objective is to address this important historiographical gap by demonstrating its historical significance between the wars.

Often dismissed as mere propaganda, conceptions of a Fascist New Man were widespread in interwar Italy; revealing a utopian attempt to create ‘cradle to grave’ Fascists through political, moral and physical re-education, Italy was to be no less than a laboratory for the creation of superior human types. Far from mere rhetoric, this undertaking was essential to Fascist ideology. The New Man was at the very core of Italian Fascism’s revolutionary and totalitarian experiment, one that was certainly associated with the collective regeneration of the nation, but which also had a crucial individual component of comportment and self-betterment that has been all but ignored by scholars of Fascism. Accordingly, my project will examine how Italian Fascism sought the revolutionary and ultimately utopian objective of commencing time anew, with the intent of creating a new civilisation and new human being that was equally about communal as well as personal revolutionary change. This is a surprisingly under-researched yet important topic on which there is to date no comprehensive monograph. The goals of my project, then, can be summed up as follows:

- ◆ Explore the totalitarian dynamics present in the Fascist experiment, underscoring the militarisation of politics, the constant mobilisation of the population and the integral politicisation of human existence;
- ◆ Probe the revolutionary potential of Fascism through the history of the New Man;
- ◆ Delve into the meaning of Fascism’s utopian dimension;
- ◆ Comprehend Fascism’s racial policies and thought and situate them within the evolution of Fascist ideology and the history of the New Man.

The project will examine the emergence of myth within the context of Italian history after the Great War, a conflict experienced by many Fascists as the dawn of a new era and an acceleration of historical time. Many veterans shared a sense of camaraderie and common destiny, a cult of action, and the myth of youth as a metaphor for spiritual and social change, among other features. This spirit was later shared by the Squadristi, or paramilitary formations of the nascent Fascist movement. The *squadristi* was the New Man forged in the trenches, a dynamic, fearless and heroic individual, whose task was to combat and replace the old and decadent liberal elite, and to perpetuate the values of the redemptive war; a combatant and believer in the religion of the nation. Moreover, the New Fascist Man, denoting a political modernist spirit, had to have nothing in common with the Italian of the past. Indeed, it was necessary to render him even physically and psychologically distinct. The New Man had to be educated according to a militaristic and heroic morality that would render the distinction between citizen and soldier superfluous. From the perspective of this militarisation of politics, the New Man, through the totalitarian pedagogy provided by the Party, would acquire the spiritual and material resources for the realisation of Italy’s imperial destiny. Many Fascists understood this task as a struggle against hedonistic individualism that had left men and women

fractured in their intimate self, devoid of a sense of transcendence and wholeness. The New Man was a modern and collectively organised human being who, especially after the economic crisis of 1929, was presented as the remedy to the crisis of Western civilisation as a whole. According to Fascism, it was in the midst of the ‘Ethical State’ that Italians could realise the very modern notion of the development of the self, thus acquiring a deeper and more meaningful sense of their role in history-making and societal enterprises.

I am currently conducting research at several Italian libraries and archives in order to write a monograph on the subject. Last September, together with Professor Matthew Feldman we convened the ‘New Man’ Symposium at Teesside’s Darlington campus with the participation of leading experts in Fascist studies (see the final review in this newsletter). This symposium will hopefully result in the successful publication of an edited volume for 2016, with the tentative title *Prometheus Unleashed: Fascism’s Anthropological Revolution, 1919-45*.

Between-Movement Competition Over Social Bases: A Mechanism of ‘Coupling’

Alex Carter

In the burgeoning literature on movement-counter-movement (M/CM) dynamics, the concept of ‘coupling’ is fast becoming a central one. Zald and Useem first fleshed out this idea when they described movement-counter-movement conflicts as being ‘loosely coupled’, in that the parties involved change over time, and also mobilise and demobilise at different rates.¹ This distinguishes M/CM interaction from the more ‘tightly-coupled’ conflicts of, for example, interstate wars, where mobilisation and counter-mobilisation happens instantaneously. Meyer and Staggenborg also examine the ‘coupled’ nature of the relationship between opposing social movements; however, rather than assuming that it is always a ‘loosely coupled’ interaction, they consider it to be a variable: the relationship can be somewhere between ‘tightly’ and ‘loosely coupled’. The more that a movement’s tactics and choice of ‘arenas’ or ‘battlefields’ are influenced by an opposing movement, the more ‘tightly coupled’ the conflict is.² This demonstrates the importance of the concept in the way it can shape an M/CM conflict. The idea of ‘coupling’ has been refined further by Macklin and Busher, who argue that scholars approaching the problem of ‘cumulative extremism’ should examine the possibility that movements are asymmetrically coupled (i.e. one movement being more tightly coupled to its opponents than their opponents are to them).³

However, while much attention has been paid to the degree to which movements are coupled, and to the form this ‘coupling’ takes, less attention has been paid to the mechanisms shaping this relationship. This may be because M/CM relationships are, by definition, fought over an issue cleavage and it makes *a priori* sense that each movement’s commitment to a given issue, in relation to whatever other issues that movement considers important, are the defining factor. For example, anti-fascists, whose whole *raison d’être* is to oppose fascists, are necessarily more tightly coupled to the fascist movement than *vice versa*. Yet there are other issues to consider in what defines this relationship. This article will highlight this gap in the literature by considering how the relationship between social movement organisations and their target constituencies effects the ‘coupled’ relationship between opposing social movements; or, is a mechanism which *affects* ‘the influence of one movement on another’s strategic choices and claims’.⁴

The point of departure here is the dynamic created by social movement *organisations* that are competing over the same social base (or constituency). Continuing with fascists and anti-fascists as an example, it can be demonstrated that, rather than just ideological opposition, competition over support from the white working classes was a major factor in shaping their relationship. It should be noted that, while much has been written on competition over resources and recruits *within* movements, less has been said about how competition over the same potential recruits between *opposing* movements affects these contests.⁵

From 1967, when the fascist National Front (NF) was first formed, right through to the modernisation of the BNP away from ‘marches, meetings [and] punch-ups’ in the 1990’s, a street war, of varying degrees of intensity, was waged between fascists and anti-fascists in Britain.⁶ As Walker has noted:

The real cause of [the fascists’ and militant anti-fascists’] hostility was that they both saw themselves as revolutionaries against the liberal capitalism of the British state. They each desired passionately to win the allegiance of the working class, and to destroy their opponents. As Tyndall told the Essex Monday Club, the NF’s aim was “the complete and final political eclipse of the Left ... to

accomplish this means winning over millions of working class voters to a patriotic and non-leftist movement”.

The passionate vocabulary of the Left, and the equally passionate speeches of Tyndall and Webster suggested that they were unsuccessful rivals for the support of the same social groups - neither Tyndall nor the Trotskyists had made any real headway within the mass of the British Labour Movement, and until they did the violence of which they spoke was unlikely to materialize.⁷

This is an astute observation, which accurately describes how the levels of intensity of the conflict were, at least in part, contingent on the success of one or the other group in gaining hegemonic dominance over the social group whom they both sought to court. It should also be noted that the shared interest in a social base had a limiting effect on the levels of violence employed, in that groups were obviously less likely to use violence indiscriminately for fear of alienating their target constituency. This contrasts significantly with, for example, the war fought between the Nationalists and the Loyalists in Northern Ireland during the troubles, where a paramilitary group leaving a bomb in an opposing communities’ area, as distinct from an *opposing paramilitary group’s* building, would be *much* less likely to cause them any loss of resources or recruits.

That both fascist and militant anti-fascist groups were interested chiefly in the working classes is hard to dispute; it would be foolish to argue that Trotskyite groups were interested in mobilising any other social strata in the class war, and Taylor and Husbands have both convincingly shown that the NF’s main support came from the working classes (or ‘working class communities’).⁸

However, it is not just the use of violence (i.e. the strategies) by the opposing movements that were affected by this competition over the working classes. As Meyer and Staggenborg suggest, both strategy *and* choices of ‘battlefields’ are influenced by the coupled nature of the M/CM.⁹ Here we can see that competition over the social base did indeed dictate, to a certain extent, the arenas of action (or ‘battlefields’) in which the opposing forces met; namely ‘area[s] of working class culture’ such as music scenes and football terraces.¹⁰

Dave Renton has written widely on the cultural war between the far-left and far-right over parts of the British music scene from the 1970’s onwards:

The birth and decline of bands like the Sex Pistols created a space which was partly filled by a revived skinhead subculture, which the NF attempted to tap into. Here it was helped by traces of ambiguity which punk displayed towards fascism...

[The punk band] Sham 69 in particular stressed their urban origins. Songs like ‘I Don’t Wanna’ and ‘The Cockney Kids are Innocent’ were written for an audience of aggressive, angry, often unemployed young workers, precisely the people that the NF and [Rock Against Racism] were both fighting for.¹¹

Similarly, from the 1980’s to the 1990’s, when the key players in the M/CM contest were Anti-Fascist Action (AFA) and the British National Party (BNP), both groups attempted to dominate the urban music scene by setting up rival music promotional organisations: the fascist ‘Blood & Honour’ and the anti-fascist ‘Cable Street Beat’.

The other main area of working class culture that the opposing movements sought to dominate was the football scene. Certainly in the 1990s the overtly neo-Nazi group Combat 18 perceived there to be latent groups of recruits amongst football fans, while they simultaneously used football matches as sites to sell their fanzines and spread propaganda. They quickly started producing fanzines, such as 'Thor Would', 'The Order' and 'Stormer', for distribution at football grounds. AFA's response was to set up left-wing fanzines and fan associations. Their first move, in a joint effort with Celtic F.C. fans, was to set up the pro-republican and anti-fascist fanzine 'Tiochfaidh ár lá' in 1991, which was later complemented by the group Celtic Fans Against Fascism.¹² They soon set up similar publications and groups in other football clubs that culminated in the formation of the Football Fans Against Fascism Network.¹³

As the foregoing discussion shows, the 'coupled' nature of the relationship between fascists and anti-fascists between the 1970s and 1990s was hugely influenced by their competition over the white working classes. It was vital to each that the other not dominate that social base. Not only did it mitigate the levels of violence used, it shaped the arenas in which the opposing movements operated. If one made overtures to operate in an area of working class culture, it was necessary for the other to follow, so in Meyer and Staggenborg's terms, this dynamic clearly led to them being a 'tightly coupled' M/CM (it also suggests that their relationship is less asymmetrical than would appear at first glance). Clearly, given that this mechanism can only exist in M/CM competitions where both movements are trying to dominate the same social group, more research is needed on the other mechanisms that affect *how* opposing social movements are coupled.

11 David Renton, *This Rough Game: Fascism and Anti-Fascism* (Gloucester: Sutton Publishing, 2001), pp. 183-184.

12 See <http://www.talfanzine.com/celtsagainstracism.htm> (TAL issue 40 on Celtic fans anti-fascism / link with AFA and Fighting Talk Issue 9 page 8) [accessed 24/12/2014].

13 TAL Issue 18 p11, online at <http://www.scribd.com/doc/49987525/TAL-18> [accessed 24/12/2014].

1 Mayer N. Zald, and Bert Useem 'Movement and Countermovement Interaction: Mobilization, Tactics, and State Involvement', in Mayer N. Zald and John D. McCarthy (eds.), *Social Movements in an Organizational Society* (Transaction Books: Oxford, 1987), pp. 247-248.

2 David S. Meyer and Suzanne Staggenborg, 'Movements, Countermovements, and the Structure of Political Opportunity'. *American Journal of Sociology*, 101.6, (1996), pp. 1628-1660.

3 Joel Busher and Graham Macklin (2014), *Interpreting "Cumulative Extremism": Six Proposals for Enhancing Conceptual Clarity. Terrorism and Political Violence*, p. 3.

4 Meyer and Staggenborg, 'Movements, Countermovements', p.1647.

5 See, for example, Donatella della Porta, & Massimiliano Andretta, 'Changing Forms of Environmentalism In Italy: The Protest Campaign on The High Speed Railway System', *Mobilization* 7.2 (Spring 2002), pp. 59-77; and Donatella della Porta, *Clandestine political violence* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013); Graham Macklin & Joel Busher, 'The missing spirals of violence: four waves of movement-counter-movement contest in post-war Britain', *Behavioural Sciences of Terrorism and Political Aggression* 7.1, (2015), pp. 53-68.

6 Mark Hayes & Paul Aylward, 'Anti-Fascist Action Radical Resistance or rent-a-mob?', *Soundings* 14 (Spring 2000); and Nigel Copsey, *Anti-Fascism in Britain* (London: Macmillan Press Ltd, 2000).

7 Martin Walker, *The National Front* (Glasgow: Fontana Paperbacks, 1977) p. 173.

8 Stan Taylor, *The National Front in English Politics* (London: Macmillan Press Ltd, 1982); and Christopher Husbands, *Racial Exclusionism and the City: The Urban Support of the National Front* (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1983).

9 Meyer and Staggenborg, 'Movements, Countermovements', pp. 1628-1660.

10 Sean Birchill, *Beating the Fascists: The Untold Story of Anti-Fascist Action* (London: Freedom Press, 2010).

Getting the Labels Right: Are the Sweden Democrats a 'Neo-Fascist' Party?

Dr Andreas Önnfors & Henrik Arnstad

"The Sweden Democrats are a neo-fascist one-issue party respecting neither people's differences nor Sweden's democratic institutions."
Swedish Prime Minister, Stefan Löfven.¹

In the aftermath of the Swedish General Elections on 14 September 2014, debate over the definitions of 'fascism' and 'neo-fascism' has assumed new significance. Over the last 32 years, terms related to 'neo-fascist' have been referenced 2,335 times in Swedish print media.² Apart from a peak in 1994 (250 references), the bulk of references occurred between 2010 and 2014, with 577 references during 2014 and, adding on other media sources (radio, television, web,) no less than 1,485 references. This sudden revival of the term begs an explanation.

Electoral support for the Sweden Democrats (*Sverigedemokraterna*, SD), which has its roots in white supremacy and Neo-Nazi movements of the late twentieth century, over the last decade has transformed into a European style populist right-wing party. Its corresponding support had grown dramatically to almost 13%.³ With the Social Democrats (S) gaining the largest amount of votes, but no overall majority, Sweden slipped into a hung parliament, where it was obvious that SD could and would assume the role of tipping the scales during elections. The big issue during the autumn of 2014 was if the minority government would bring its budget through parliament on a crucial vote held on 3 December.

This was the time for SD to demonstrate its true powers. On the night before the vote, the party gathered a press conference and, after a lengthy exegesis on the wrongs and failures of Swedish immigration and integration politics, the economic spokesman declared that they would vote for the alliance proposal. Furthermore, they would overthrow any future government cooperating with the Green Party and not meeting SD's demands for tougher immigration and integration-politics. As it then could be anticipated, the government lost its budget vote and Sweden is currently (as of May 2015) ruled with an opposition budget by a minority government. The Swedish political debate climate took a dramatic turn in the days around and following the budget decision. Leading S-representatives, starting with Chancellor Magdalena Andersson, party secretary Carin Jämtin, and finally PM Stefan Löfven, have all labelled SD as a 'neo-fascist' party.⁴

What followed was a hectic period where (some of them self-declared) experts on 'fascism' entered the debate, either arguing for or, most commonly against, the choice of terminology applied by S-leadership to Swedish Democrats. Swedish intellectuals and academics engaged in an occasionally bizarre competition in defining 'fascism' and 'neo-fascism' and, closely linked to this general question, the question of who supposedly owned the appropriate privilege of interpretation. Since this issue relates to a clash between an (intra-)academic and an extremely loaded political discourse, it is useful to see if it is possible to categorise some general lines of the debate.

In November 2012, Henrik Arnstad, co-author of this article, declared in an op-ed in the Swedish newspaper *Dagens Nyheter* that the "Sweden Democrats are a fascist party" and argued from definitions derived from contemporary (but not Swedish) scholarship that it is appropriate to label the party in accordance with accepted definitions within this research area.⁵ In 2013, Arnstad published a major study on European fascism.⁶

At that particular point in time Swedish academia was apparently disinclined to engage in a public debate on the concept.

Andreas Önnfors, co-author of this article, in 2011 and 2012 carried out analyses of the motifs addressed in the counter-jihadist 'manifesto' of Norwegian terrorist Anders Breivik.⁷ Whereas Breivik's construction of enemy images clearly underpinned his violent terrorism against his Norwegian fellow-citizens (discredited and de-humanised as 'traitors' and 'cultural Marxists'), SD more subtly defends Swedish national culture against alien impulses, while its definition of national culture is organic. For Breivik, 'the West', or 'Europe', assumes the same position; national states and national communities constitute its smallest building blocks. Breivik, SD and the counter-jihadist movement in general, furthermore, clearly identify Christianity as the defining feature of national and European culture. The main strength in comparing Breivik's 'manifesto' with SD's political principles is the character of political language. Even if the language as such is adapted to the respective purpose and genre (platform of a political party – legitimisation of political violence), overlaps on the level of language and rhetoric are significant. We can observe a gliding scale ranging from the dark web of openly violent blogospheres to the more tidied diction used by pinstriped party officials.

It is apparent that academic studies into the ideology and political rhetoric of SD have no impact upon electoral behaviour in Sweden. It is worthwhile to consider if they ever should adopt such a normative intention. On the other hand, it is difficult to understand why Swedish academics and intellectuals only started to react when the label 'neo-fascist' was used by leading S-politicians in the politically-charged debate of late autumn 2014. Condemnation of the terminology was near uniform, with Arnstad's research in particular placed into the firing line. A few days after the controversial statement by PM Stefan Löfven, the journal *Forskning och Framsteg* published a survey 'with some of the heaviest researchers within the subject area nationalism and right-wing extremism, illustrating that there is no reason to call [SD] fascists.'⁸ Nine researchers within social sciences and the humanities replied, although a close reading of the texts reveals that there is no clear consensus. In the professional magazine for Swedish journalists, *Journalisten*, it was declared "Wrong to put the fascist label on SD".⁹ As was highlighted in the outset of this article, hundreds of references to 'neo-fascism' have emerged in Swedish media during 2014. To produce a full analysis of the arguments brought forward in this regard would require a tedious amount of work. However, we propose that the positions in the debate preliminary can be categorised as follows:

- 'Fascism' is a historical phenomenon fixed in time and space and can only be understood in its context, primarily Italy between 1900-1945. It is not appropriate to transport the elements of fascism, neither ideology nor practice, to Swedish politics in the 2010s. A prominent representative of this position is the (Medieval) historian Dick Harrison.¹⁰
- 'Fascism' is characterised by revolutionary spirit, disrespect for democracy and use of violence to attain political goals. Since SD does not propagate violence and is active within the limits of parliamentary democracy, it is wrong to label the party 'neo-fascist'. This argument is linked to (1); meaning that, it is possible to establish a strict definition of 'fascism', and anything that does not fit this definition cannot properly be termed 'fascist'.

3. It is wrong to label SD 'fascist' or 'neo-fascist' since it is a risky strategy to counter its politics. Any discussion over labels will only become politically instrumentalised. The term will only be devalued, leading into the wrong direction/association and making it difficult to engage in any constructive counter-argument. SD-voters might feel offended at being called 'fascists'. If the 'fascist' label cannot be substantiated, support for SD will grow even more (and boost their 'guilt-by-association'-argument that the academic establishment is part of the 'mainstream media' conspiracy against the 'will of the electorate').
4. 'Fascism' has become a catch-all term with no conceptual and explanatory clarity. It is far too broad (ab-/used in all political camps for greatly varying purposes), too serious (SD is after all 'only' a populist party proposing narrow-minded policies) or too derogative ('fascist' has typically used as a term of abuse) to capture the success of a populist right-wing party like SD and does not fill a purpose in addressing its politics on the ground. The analysis of ideology has to be put on hold.
5. With one exception, none of the Swedish academics, journalists and debaters has seriously engaged with the scholarly discourse on 'fascism' outside Sweden.¹¹ It remains to be analysed properly why the usage of the term 'neo-fascism' to characterise SD during the political debates of 2014 caused such a stir. Possibly it was the confusion of rhetorical arenas where the term was applied that upset the academic community most, and which ultimately caused it to claim an absolute prerogative of interpretation. Only the future will tell.

- 1 Stefan Löfven, comment piece for *Dagens Nyheter* (06/12/2014), 'Mer samarbete och mindre blockpolitik är nödvändigt', online at: www.dn.se/debatt/mer-samarbete-och-mindre-blockpolitik-ar-nodvandigt/ [accessed 24 December 2014].
- 2 Research on the truncated search term "nyfasc*" in the database Mediaarkivet Retriever (15/01/15).
- 3 See the Swedish election results for 2014 online at: www.val.se/val/val2014/slutresultat/R/rikt/ [accessed 12/12/2014].
- 4 *Svenska Dagbladet* (05/12/2014), 'SD är nyfascistiskt', online at: www.svd.se/nyheter/inrikes/finansministern-sd-ar-nyfascistiskt_4166107.svd [accessed 01/01/2015]. See also *Expressen* (06/12/2014), 'Carin Jämtin: Det är en bra beskrivning', online at: www.expressen.se/nyheter/politik/romson-ville-inte-kalla-sd-for-fascistparti/ [accessed 02/01/2015].
- 5 *Dagens Nyheter* (15/11/2011), 'Sverigedemokraterna är ett fascistiskt parti', online at: www.dn.se/debatt/sverigedemokraterna-ar-ett-fascistiskt-parti/ [accessed 24/12/2014].
- 6 Henrik Arnstad, *Ålskade fascism: De svartbruna rörelsernas ideologi och historia* (Stockholm: Norstedts, 2013).
- 7 *Sveriges Radio* (9/5/2012), 'Vilka likheter har Breiviks manifest med Sverigedemokraternas idéprogram?', online at www.sverigesradio.se/topsy/ljudfil/3924895.mp3 (starting at 30:10) [accessed 24/12/2014]. See also Andreas Önnerfors, 'Breiviks egen orden', *Kurage: idétidskrift för det civila samhället* 4 (2012), pp. 32-35.
- 8 *Forskning och Framsteg* (9/12/2014), 'Fascister eller inte – vad anser forskarna?', online at: www.fof.se/artikel/forskarna-ar-eniga-sd-ar-inte-fascister [accessed 12/12/2014].
- 9 *Journalisten* (8/12/2014), 'Fel att börja sätta fascistetikett på SD', online at: www.journalisten.se/kronika/fel-att-borja-satta-fascistetikett-pa-sd [accessed 12/12/2014].
- 10 Dick Harrison, 'Sådan är fascismen', in *Neo 2* (2014), online at: www.magasineteo.se/artiklar/sadan-ar-fascismen/ [accessed 13/12/2014].
- 11 Björn Lundberg, 'Är sd ett nyfascistiskt parti?', personal blog on the website of the history journal *Scandia*, online at: www.tidskriftenscandia.se/?q=node/1076 [accessed 15/01/15].

The National Socialist Underground: Ongoing Questions

Fabian Sieber

Revelations about the terror group Nationalsozialistischer Untergrund (National Socialist Underground- NSU) in November 2011 marked one of the biggest terrorism-related shocks in Germany since the Red Army Faction (RAF) in the 1970s and the far-right violence of the 1990s. It opened up questions about how a neo-Nazi group could orchestrate a number of assassinations and bomb attacks in Germany, over more than a decade, without being discovered by the police or intelligence agencies. Indeed, a number of investigations anticipating the NSU trial in Munich uncovered a huge failure of state and federal institutions. This article provides an overview of recent developments in this ongoing case, focusing upon reports published by Germany's investigation committees.

Whilst most scholars argue that right-wing extremism in Eastern Germany was a phenomenon associated with reunification and subsequent economic struggles, it is increasingly clear that in the anti-fascist GDR a small, but educated, violent and well-organized neo-Nazi scene existed.¹ After German reunification in 1990, a large neo-Nazi subculture emerged in the region.

While two members of the NSU, Beate Zschäpe and Uwe Böhnhardt, had a typical background for teenage far-right extremists (poor education, working class upbringing, and in Zschäpe's case, serious family problems), Uwe Mundlos came from an academic background. Nevertheless he became a neo-Nazi, not after the reunification, but in the GDR.² These three were to form the murderous nucleus of the NSU.

Although engaging in criminal activity such as making bombs in a rented garage before they went underground, they were not arrested due to a huge police mistake.³ While underground, the group assassinated nine immigrants and one police officer between 2000 and 2006, mostly in western Germany. They also orchestrated two bombings in Cologne, in both cases in areas mainly populated with migrants. The police initially suspected gang-wars between immigrant groups and treated the relatives of victims like perpetrators.

Following their discovery, Böhnhardt and Mundlos committed suicide, sparking a huge investigation. The Bundestag and Thuringian State Parliament decided to establish an investigation committee, later followed by others. The results of the most recently published report can be summarised as following:

1. In one reading, Germany had both an incompetent police force and intelligence agencies, which appeared unwilling or unable work together in preventing neo-Nazi violence.
2. In the worst case scenario, it seems that the NSU had received some support from police and especially by the agencies.⁴

Both scenarios make for uncomfortable reading.

The report detailed how the police failed to catch the NSU terrorists in the 1990s before they went underground. It also highlighted possible warnings from the *Verfassungsschutz* (the federal intelligence agency for interior affairs).⁵ Despite nearly being caught on several occasions, German intelligence agencies claimed not to know about the NSU before 2011. Yet the abbreviation 'NSU' first popped up in 2002 in the far-right prison magazine *Der Weisse Wolf* [*The White Wolf*]; that is, fully, nine years before the suicide of Böhnhardt and Mundlos.⁶

Of course, one needs more than a cryptic sentence in a magazine to determine that a terror cell was in existence. However only a few weeks ago, it became public that in 2005 a spy had obtained a CD with 'NSU-NSDAP' written on the cover and handed it to the *Verfassungsschutz*.⁷ This CD was found after the two most famous investigation committees finished their work in the archives of the *Bundesverfassungsschutz*. How the spy got the CD and under what circumstances has not yet been established: the person in question, Corelli, died in April 2014.⁸

Many other questions remain unanswered ahead of the NSU trial, now ongoing. While Zschäpe is still not speaking, the interrogation of some witnesses has been somewhat more informative. For example, one indirectly confirmed what had been suspected for a long time: that the NSU had more than three members. Tino Brandt, who openly confirmed that he built up the *Thüringer Heimatschutz* (National Security of Thuringians, a far-right network) with the money he received from the *Verfassungsschutz*, stated that he had one other person in mind.⁹ The suspicion that the NSU had more members is well-established, especially after the first Cologne bombing. The mugshot sketches made by the victims had no similarities with Böhnhardt or Mundlos, but did with a neo-Nazi in Cologne.¹⁰ The latest reports from the media and investigation committee in Baden-Württemberg further revealed that there might be a second far-right group (The *Neoschutzstaffel-NSS*) in charge, which has connections to the assassination of a policewoman in Heilbronn. Again the investigators were unwilling to believe the informant's testimony. The informant unfortunately died in September 2013, a few hours before he was due to be interrogated by the police again.¹¹ The police found the cause of death to be suicide, although family and friends still reject that conclusion. All information given to the committee came from the father of the victim, who maintains that serious mistakes were made by police investigators before and after the death of his son.¹²

Clearly many areas of NSU activity remains uncertain. There has been no answer as to why the trio ceased its attacks in 2006, for example, an issue that has not been helped by the destruction of intelligence agency files in 2012 and 2013. All in all it, can summarised that the NSU gives both society and the state the taste of a modern, violent movement, which never disappeared, but had been ignored for far too long. Far right extremism is still a problem in modern Germany, not only, but especially, in the East, where it has become an all-too-familiar part of everyday life.¹³

¹ Thüringer Landtag (ed.), *Bericht des Untersuchungsausschusses „5.1 Rechtsterrorismus und Behördenhandeln“*, (Erfurt: 2014), p. 132; The incident, after which it was impossible to deny that there is a neo Nazi problem in the GDR, was the attack on a punk concert in the Zionskirche [Zion's Church] in 1987. For further information, see Ilko-Sascha Kowalczyk, *Der Überfall von Neonazis auf die Zionskirche im Oktober 1987*, BSTU, online at: www.bstu.bund.de/DE/Wissen/Aktenfunde/Zionskirche/zionskirche_node.html [accessed 16/12/2014].

- 2 Maik Baumgärtner (e.a.), *The Brown Army Faction: A Disturbing New Dimension of Far-Right Terror*, trans. Christopher Sultan, online at: www.spiegel.de/international/germany/the-brown-army-faction-a-disturbing-new-dimension-of-far-right-terror-a-797569.html [accessed 9/11/2014].
- 3 Johannes Radke, Der "Nationalsozialistische Untergrund" (NSU), Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung, online at: www.bpb.de/politik/extremismus/rechtsextremismus/167684/der-nationalsozialistische-untergrund-nsu [accessed 16/10/2014].
- 4 Thüringer Landtag (ed.), *Bericht des Untersuchungsausschusses 5.1, 'Rechtsterrorismus und Behördenhandeln'* (Erfurt 2014), p. 1582.
- 5 Benjamin Schulz, Thüringer NSU-Untersuchungsausschuss: Abschlussbericht bezeichnet Ermittlungen als Fiasko, *Spiegel Online*, online at: www.spiegel.de/panorama/justiz/thueringer-nsu-untersuchungsausschuss-nennt-ermittlungen-ein-fiasko-a-986682.html [accessed 16/10/2014].
- 6 NSU Watch (ed.), "'Vielen Dank an den NSU' – Was wusste der 'Weisse Wolf'", online at: www.nsu-watch.info/2012/03/vielen-dank-an-den-nsu-was-wusste-der-weisse-wolf/ [accessed 16/10/2014].
- 7 *V-Mann*, [a behind-the-scenes-figure], which had been recruited by an intelligence agency to provide information.,
- 8 Maik Baumgärtner (e.a.), V-Mann 'Corelli und der NSU: Bundesanwälte ermitteln wegen ominöser Propaganda-CD', online at: www.spiegel.de/panorama/v-mann-corelli-cd-mit-bezug-zum-nsu-wirft-fragen-auf-a-968928.html [accessed 16/10/2014].
- 9 Tom Sundermann, 'Hatte der NSU mehr als drei Mitglieder?', NSU Prozess Blog at *Zeit Online*, online at: <http://blog.zeit.de/nsu-prozess-blog/2014/09/30/medienlog-nsu-trio-blood-honour/> [accessed 16/10/2014].
- 10 *ZDF Heute Journal*, 'Hinweise auf ein weiteres NSU- Mitglied?', online at: www.zdf.de/ZDFmediathek#/beitrag/video/2188954/Hinweise-auf-weiteres-NSU-Mitglied? [accessed 16/10/2014], video source.
- 11 *Zeit Online* (ed.), 'NSU-Ermittler verfolgen Hinweis auf Neoschutzstaffel', online at: www.zeit.de/gesellschaft/zeitgeschehen/2015-03/nsu-michele-kiesewetter-mord-polizistin-rechtsextremismus [accessed 22/3/2015].
- 12 Thumilan Selvakumaran, 'Ermittler im Fall Florian H. hatte Kontakte zum Ku-Klux-Klan', online at: www.swp.de/schwaebisch_hall/lokales/schwaebisch_hall/art1188139,3096259 [accessed 22/3/2015].
- 13 SZ (ed.), *Smarte Biedermänner*, online at: www.sueddeutsche.de/politik/rechtsextremismus-im-osten-smarte-biedermaenner-1.416155 [accessed 16/10/2014].

Understanding EDL Activism

William Allchorn

On 13 October 2013, the leader of the English Defence League, Tommy Robinson, exited the group, citing the 'the dangers of far right extremism' as key to his departure.¹ Whether this was the real reason for his exit or not, this episode engages two, key conceptual and empirical questions when studying the EDL: 1) to what extent is the EDL far right?; and if so, 2) How does this sustained period of activism add to our understanding of right-wing extremism?

In this article, I will focus on the second of these two questions. Firstly, it will be argued that empirical studies of the EDL's support base transform our understanding of the group. Secondly, I will discuss the more delicate point of how internal dynamics are important in helping us cement our understanding of the message and trajectory of a group like the EDL. Finally, it will be suggested that only through the lens of activism can academics and policymakers arrive at a more concrete understanding of far right movements such as the EDL, which have formerly been described as both 'complex' and 'amorphous'.²

Who, Why and What? The EDL's Support Base

Studies of the EDL's support base help to transform our understanding of the group. In the first of three surveys conducted since the group's formation, Jamie Bartlett and Mark Littler at *Demos* argue that we need to revise our common, existing assumptions regarding the EDL. Conducting an online poll of 1,295 EDL followers in 2011, they found *little* evidence for the socially marginalised, 'young thug' stereotype.³ Instead, Bartlett and Littler discovered that on the whole EDL supporters are older (28% of supporters are over 30), more educated (30% are educated to college and university level) and more qualified (15% hold professional qualifications) than had been commonly assumed.⁴

Similarly, this was also corroborated by later studies. In turning to Matthew Goodwin's recent Chatham House paper, 'The Roots of Extremism', and his co-authored article from 2014, we find evidence to suggest that the makeup of EDL goes beyond the young, politically apathetic, and anti-Muslim stereotype. In fact they tend to be 'citizens aged between 45-59';⁵ they are 'part of overall low levels of public trust'.⁶ EDL supporters are also more likely to place anti-migrant hostility and the economy above their concerns about Islam.⁷

This is not to say that these studies represent a complete sea change in how we think about EDL, and thus far right activism. For example, Bartlett and Littler still find that the main driving force behind joining the EDL is down to an entrenched 'opposition to Islam or Islamism'.⁸ They do, however, ask of academics and policymakers to read below the headlines and into the actual dynamics within far right movements.

Organisation and the Dynamics of EDL activism

In this vein, intra-group dynamics also play an important explanatory role. For example, Northampton's *Radicalism and New Media 2011* report highlights how the dynamics of EDL activism play a crucial part in examining one of the group's

core attributes: its anti-Islamic message. The study contends that a distinction exists between the messages transmitted on official EDL media channels and those posted on activist blogs. Comparing posts on the news section of the EDL website and English Defence League Extra and Casuals United blogs, one of the authors, Paul Jackson, finds that the former at least 'attempt to make distinctions between moderate Muslims and what is usually termed "radical Islam"'.⁹ Meanwhile, activist blogs are not so circumspect, depicting the 'Islamic faith as a whole as inherently violent and threatening'.¹⁰

Moreover, in my own research on the EDL, we can also see how activism has a mediating effect on the group's message; in this case regarding national identity.¹¹ A sustained comparison of the EDL's official and behind-the-scenes discourse on Englishness, for example, shows that while activist discourse betrays a key national-populist trope of 'authorities stifling public expressions of nationalistic pride', the EDL's 'Mission Statement' and 'Frequently Asked Questions' sections of its website are far more mainstream in expressions of Englishness. Here conservative and liberal forms of national identity, incorporating notions of 'tradition', 'rights', and 'freedoms', are the norm. Both official and activist expressions of Englishness are still deployed to 'other' Islam, but it continues to show how the activist base of far right street movements like the EDL can limit bids for mainstream legitimacy.

Finally, and based upon significant fieldwork with the EDL, Joel Busher also concludes that the EDL's activist base has a crucial effect; this time, upon the group's behaviour and trajectory. For example, he finds that violence within the EDL is discouraged by members. This is to prevent the image of chaotic disorder tarnishing the group's reputation.¹² Moreover, Busher suggests that activists' 'feet on the street' mentality scuppered the EDL's attempts at mainstream electoralism.¹³ Busher cites this as one of the main reasons for the failure of the EDL's alliance with a BNP offshoot, the British Freedom Party, in October 2012.

Conclusion

In summary, then, EDL activism adds to and extends our knowledge base of the group in two important ways. The first is by transforming our perceptions of the group as being solely populated by young, socially-isolated thugs. In fact, the majority of EDL supporters are surprisingly more integrated – both in terms of their social standing and political views – than many common stereotypes care to point out. The second is that, by understanding the mediating effects of activism on group behaviour and trajectory we can appreciate the two-tier nature of far right social movements, as well as the limiting effects that activists place upon group prospects. This will be important when elites and civil society try to tailor responses to similar groups in the future, such as PEGIDA in Germany.¹⁴

1 *BBC News* (8/10/2013), 'EDL Leader Tommy Robinson quits group', online at: <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-politics-24442953> [accessed: 22/01/2015].

2 Jamie Bartlett and Mark Littler, 'Inside the EDL: Populist Politics in a Digital Age.' London: *Demos* (Nov. 2013) p. 3.

3 *Ibid.* p. 5.

4 *Ibid.*

5 Matthew Goodwin, David Cutts and Laurence Janta-Lapinski (2014) 'Economic Losers, Protestors, Islamophobes or Xenophobes? Predicting Public Support for a Counter-Jihad Movement', *Political Studies*, p. 5.

6 Matthew Goodwin 'The Roots of Extremism: The English Defence Leagues and the Counter-Jihad Challenge', *Chatham House* (London: 2013), p. 8.

- 7 Goodwin et. al, 'Economic Losers, Protestors', p. 11.
- 8 Bartlett and Littler, 'Inside the EDL', p.6.
- 9 Paul Jackson et. al., 'The EDL: Britain's 'New Far Right Social Movement', *Radicalism and New Media Group* (Northampton: 2011), p. 36.
- 10 Ibid. p. 37.
- 11 William Allchorn, 'Simply Islamophobia? The Role of Englishness and English National Identity within English Defence League discourse and politics' (Nottingham Politics PGR Conference Paper, 2014)
- 12 Joel Busher, 'Grassroots activism in the English Defence League: Discourse and public (dis)order', in Max Taylor, P.M. Currie & Donald Holbrook (eds.), *Extreme Right Political Violence and Terrorism* (London: Bloomsbury, 2013), p. 78.
- 13 Joel Busher (2013) 'Anti-Muslim Populism in the U.K.: The Development of the English Defence League' in Heidi Giusto, Stefano Rizzo and David Kitching (eds.), *Changing Faces of Populism*, p. 11.
- 14 *BBC News* (07/01/2015), 'Germany Pegida protests: Rallies over 'Islamisation'', online at: www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-europe-30685842. [accessed: 22/01/2015].

COMMENT

Holocaust Denial: True Debate or Platform of Hatred?

Chris Webb

I have studied the Holocaust for well over forty years, and been involved in websites devoted to the Holocaust now for some fifteen years, such as H.E.A.R.T, where I am the UK director. It is fair to say, that through the wonders of the internet, the spreading of knowledge and understanding of the Holocaust – which is without doubt the worst crime in modern history – is without precedent. But the internet has bred another, less virtuous strain, which is the growth of Holocaust Denial.

There are a number of so-called 'debating sites' which really do not debate the Holocaust, but are there simply as platforms for individuals who want to put over a rather warped view of the Holocaust, attack the Jewish race, and say negative things to those who do not share their take on this particular phase of human history. Just two of many sites are CODOH and its mirror site of RODOH. CODOH stands for the 'Committee of Open Debate on the Holocaust'; while RODOH stands for the 'Real Open Debate on the Holocaust'. Let us have a quick look at some of the current crop of hot-topics currently being 'debated':

CODOH – 'Talking with Believers'; 'Compensation for Holocaust Victims'; 'More Auschwitz Miracles/Whoppers'; 'Mengele Denied Performing Ghastly Experiments'; 'US Prosecutor at Nuremberg, Robert Jackson, was a Zionist'..

RODOH – 'The Madness of Jewish Lust'; 'One more Gaskammer miracle'; 'The Majdanek Gas Chamber Myth'; 'Holocaust Believers/Promoters are dangerous'; 'American Telltale Fingerprints on the Gassing Hoax'..

I ask the readers of this article, and maybe even the visitors to these two websites: does any of the above look like serious debating material worth spending any significant amount of time on? Any casual visitor to these two websites will be struck by the fact that the hard-line Holocaust Deniers, who seek to debate with visitors to their site, will see that genuine debate is the last thing they really want to do. They seem to be beyond reason. Nothing will change their viewpoint, which is that the Holocaust never really happened, that Jews ensnared by the Nazis regime were not killed in the gas chambers but were simply shipped to the East. They claim that there are no bodies at Belzec, Sobibor and Treblinka – these were just transit camps. They argue that the crematoria at Auschwitz-Birkenau were there just to burn those that succumbed to sickness, who were merely working there as slave labourers. They also claim that the Jewish men, women and children murdered by the Nazis were partisans and thus, legitimate targets in a world at war.

Holocaust Denial is growing, and as the last living witnesses pass away, we must be careful to ensure that, over time, what happened in Europe during those dreadful times is not forgotten or distorted. For the hard-liners, and those that seek controversy where none exists, there is no point in debating with them; it is a fruitless waste of time and energy. They will never change their warped view of history, and they will never admit they are

intellectually bankrupt. Nor will they admit to their rabid anti-Semitic ramblings. All of this is an affront to the Jews who lost their lives during the Nazi reign of terror.

Throughout the Second World War, the Allies learned through the Polish Underground and other sources that something terrible was being done to the Jews in Europe under the Nazi sphere of influence. Some of this was made public through publications like the Black Book of Polish Jewry, and in publications like the *Polish Fortnightly Review*. These covered subjects like the Belzec Death Camp, Auschwitz-Birkenau, the Warsaw Ghetto and atrocities carried out by the Germans on both the Jews and the Polish population, over a number of years, between 1939 and 1945. As the tide of war changed in the Allies' favour, the liberation of concentration camps in Poland (Majdanek and Auschwitz-Birkenau initially), then in the Reich itself, illuminated in stark visual terms the dark shadows of terror and misery that the Nazis had heaped upon the parts of Europe they conquered. What followed subsequently were thousands of testimonies by survivors, photographs, films, war crimes trials, statements under oath by leading Nazis themselves, like Rudolf Hoess, the Commandant of Auschwitz-Birkenau, and all the welter of material that proved the Holocaust happened, such as the records of the families that were destroyed, or torn apart forever. Only a fool would pretend none of this existed, and what happened was a lie, a fantasy, or some Zionist plot. These people are deluded and dangerous.

So it is not for the hard-line Holocaust Denier that I write this piece – they will never see reason. They simply do not accept the truth, and they never will. I have always been of the opinion that to argue with these people gives some credence to their views, credence they do not deserve. My stance on this has not changed. But if they are not *challenged*, then the danger is that, in time, their views will gain legitimacy. We owe it to those that perished in the Holocaust at the hands of the Nazis and their partners-in-crime to ensure that what happened to the Jews and other groups the Nazis despised is never forgotten. We also owe it to the less well informed, the uneducated, who may visit these websites, or who are otherwise wooed by Holocaust Denier groups, to learn for themselves what really happened during those dark years. This is possible by visiting memorial websites such as H.E.A.R.T., ARC (www.deathcamps.org) and many others. They can also visit institutions like Yad Vashem and the Ghetto Fighters' House in Israel; the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum; The Wiener Library and Beth Shalom in the United Kingdom; the death camps and concentration camps in Poland and in Germany and Austria; as well as the former euthanasia institutes, where the disabled and mentally ill were murdered. All of these places have been turned into memorials for the untold victims of Nazism, fact which cannot be truthfully denied.

Lastly, I dedicate this article to the late Jewish historian Sir Martin Gilbert, who passed away in February 2015. He was a true scholar and a gentleman. He offered me helpful advice and guidance. He kindly granted me permission to use some of his maps in my various projects. He did a great deal to inspire many of us to tell the real story of the Holocaust in order to educate younger generations. He will be sadly missed.

Interview with Anna Pivovarchuk for *Fair Observer* 10 January 2015

Professor Matthew Feldman

How should Europeans respond to the Paris attacks?

Europe should unite around its values of tolerance and individual freedom to counter radicalism.

On January 7, gunmen attacked the offices of the French satirical magazine *Charlie Hebdo*, killing 12 people, including two police officers. The incident was the most devastating act of terrorism in France in half a century. Two days later, as French police joined a mass manhunt for the suspects at-large, two hostage situations brought the country to a standstill. In total, 17 people lost their lives at the hands of Islamist extremists.

Seeking “revenge” for the magazine’s depiction of the Prophet Muhammad, the actions of the French-born terrorists have inspired a wave of support for the fundamental values of free speech and expression not only in France, but across the world. The solidarity hashtag #JeSuisCharlie has become the most popular in Twitter’s history.

As details about the events and the perpetrators continue to emerge, questions about the failure of French intelligence are being posed. Cracks in the social polity with regard to the causes and effects, as well as measures needed to counter and prevent further tragedies, are also starting to show.

With ongoing conflict in the Middle East, the world is being brought face to face with jihadist groups such as the Islamic State and al-Qaeda, while it remains to be seen what lessons will be drawn from the Paris tragedy.

In this transcript of a Skype interview on January 9, *Fair Observer* talks to Professor Matthew Feldman, an expert on extremism and the far-right, about the significance of the attacks and the way forward toward a comprehensive strategy to counter radicalism.

Anna Pivovarchuk: This week’s attacks on the *Charlie Hebdo* offices and the kosher supermarket in Paris have reverberated not only through France, but the world. Why France? Is it just a random act of brutality or is there more to the situation?

Matthew Feldman: It is still early days and our hearts go out above all to the victims. In the coming weeks and months there will be time for analysis of these issues. At the risk of being overturned by new information, it seems that the suspects were born and raised in France and may have been radicalised in France, so the target was the land of their birth. And that is something that is very concerning: home-grown radicalism and, of course, terrorism. But that doesn’t mean that the attack on *Charlie Hebdo* was entirely random. Clearly this was a targeted attack against what was perceived to be an insult to Islam by individuals who are jihadist extremists willing to kill to advance their message.

Pivovarchuk: As you said, the attackers were French-born. For example, the Kouachi brothers – Said and Cherif – were known to French authorities in connection with extremist activities. Many people may ask whether there was a failure by the security and justice systems to prevent what has happened. What is your opinion on this?

Feldman: I have to again stress that for those of us who do not have access to confidential information the situation is developing, and I have no doubt that there will be some difficult questions for the French security services in the coming days and weeks. The French security services do have a very strong reputation for intelligence and counterterrorism

operations, but it does seem that if they were on the US no-fly list or if some of the suspects had been convicted of terrorist related offences, then one would expect that there would be a level of monitoring for individuals like this.

One of the things that seem very troubling for some analysts is the calibre of weaponry that was used. We know from other Islamist attacks that the level of savagery, the willingness to take innocent lives has been a hallmark going back to before 9/11. One of the things that seems part of a wider jihadi network was the way in which the suspects were able to get Kalashnikovs and rocket launchers into Paris. Some analysts have suggested the attacks have the hallmarks of overseas jihad, in places like Syria. While it is too early to make definitive pronouncements on the question of how individuals were able to get this kind of weaponry into a major metropolitan city and undertake such a horrific attack really does raise some troubling questions in terms of counterterrorism.

Pivovarchuk: How difficult is it to obtain these types of weapons in France? For example, in America, access to military-grade weapons is relatively easy.

Feldman: Yes. And I have no doubt that in America and in other places right across the world there is a thriving black market in weapons. However, even as far as that black market goes, I understand that obtaining things like rocket launchers and prepared explosive devices is very difficult indeed. So, what remains to be seen is whether these were sourced domestically in France or whether they were smuggled in from overseas or, again as I suggested, that they may be part of a wider network of Islamic State or al-Qaeda in Yemen and other jihadi groups operating in the Middle East.

Pivovarchuk: There is bound to be a lot of talk about whether European border controls should be strengthened and how to prevent the fluid movement of people through Europe. Are we looking at a potential situation where civil liberties may be jeopardised by measures such as the Patriot Act, adopted in the United States after 9/11?

Feldman: Those are two separate questions, so let me take the first one because I think it is very important to say that citizens of goodwill are able to separate the actions of a few extremists from the wider religion as practiced by tens of millions of Muslims in Europe. And I think it is important for all citizens of goodwill to be able to stand up and differentiate the two. However, politicising this we have seen groups on the further reaches of the right as reactionaries, or the far-right – as ultraconservative UKIP blaming what happened in France on multiculturalism, or Marine Le Pen from France’s Front National calling for tighter immigration controls. Arguably in the wake of such a horrific crisis this is points scoring, but it also suggests potentially at least that direction of travel of groups on the further reaches of the right.

So those are concerns and it seems these things will be developing precisely along the lines you suggest: a closing of borders, withdrawing of Europe into itself. And that’s something that must be thought about.

The second part of your question I believe is equally important, which is the implication for civil liberties. I think that as we saw in the wake of 9/11 – the most horrific terrorist attack in history – there were many infringements on civil liberties. And I believe it is important for Europeans from Britain and the “West,” and all the way to Romania in the east, to remember what unites us and what it is that makes us strong, and that is certain fundamental freedoms enjoyed by citizens and residents of the European Union. So I do not think fundamentally that any act of terrorism is

enough to challenge or overthrow the way of life in Europe or, “the West.” Only politicians or the securitisation of politics can do that.

The terrorists cannot win unless we help them by moving against these civil liberties. I think it is extremely important that we remember the humanistic and human rights values that postwar Europe has been founded on, and as we saw very hearteningly after the horrific terrorist attack in Norway in 2011 that it’s possible to double down on values that came under attack, and to say we are proud of those values we will not hide them and we will not compromise. That is not the same as saying we should turn a blind eye to terrorism or that the perpetrators should not be prosecuted with the full extent of the law.

However, what it does mean is that there are certain fundamental freedoms and fundamental assumptions: freedom of expression is one and so is freedom of religion. And I think it is absolutely imperative that we reach out to both Muslim citizens in Europe, but also to some of the people on the further reaches of the right. We have already seen troubling incidents of attacks on individual Muslims in France as a type of reprisal or what scholars like myself have called “cumulative extremism,” where one form of extremism – in this case jihadi extremism – is connected to another extremism such as the far-right or even the fascist right, which seeks to take advantage of these and launch attacks against individuals who clearly had nothing to do with the events in question. I think the threat of these connected extremisms remains serious and remains something that I think helps to underscore the values that the vast majority of citizens across Europe share: the rejection of terrorism and political violence from whatever quarter it comes from, and the willingness to stand up for humanistic values upon which so much of postwar Europe has been based.

Pivovarchuk: Indeed, many see these events playing in the hands of the European far-right, which has been gaining political momentum across the continent. Just the other day, Nigel Farage – leader of the UK Independence Party – suggested these attacks stem from a fifth column living among us. Does this mean there may be more attacks against Muslims? How does one dismantle this rhetoric of “us against them”?

Feldman: The first thing that needs to be said is that individuals like Nigel Farage flourish when there are crises or in the wake of terrorist attacks because it allows them to get their prejudiced message out about the rejection of multiculturalism or of multi-faith groups in Britain and Europe. I think that message must be absolutely rejected. It seems to me absolutely crazy to attempt a solution to these kinds of problems by abandoning multiculturalism. As we saw in Norway in 2011, where there was very little blaming of Norwegian Christians for the horrific actions of Anders Behring Breivik, we can also say in the same way that we are not going to blame Muslims at large in Europe. But at the same time it will embolden us to strike back at terrorism from whichever source it comes from.

Terrorism is a tactic that can be used by jihadi Islamists in the same way it can be used by crusading Christians like Breivik. The difference is that because Christianity has been so long identified with Europe, it is easier to say that a person like Breivik shares none of the values of practicing Christians across the continent. I believe that also applies to practicing Muslims in terms of Islam across Europe. I think it is imperative that citizens of goodwill are able to make that distinction between terrorists who should be prosecuted to the fullest extent of the law, and individuals who have nothing to do with these acts of violence who should also be protected to the full extent of the law. Innocent citizens’ rights and freedoms should be defended, because once you take them away from one group, you may as well have them taken away from whatever group you may identify with.

Pivovarchuk: These attacks may have nothing to do with Islam, but there have been retributions against mosques in the wake of the incident. There are over 1.5 billion Muslims in the world. Do you know what proportion extreme ideologies makeup out of this figure?

Feldman: I have heard numbers of 10 to 15%, which is certainly most concerning if accurate. But I have to disagree with you. To say it has nothing to do with Islam is mistaken. What has not

happened is, for example, shouting slogans for Buddhism or veganism, with which this attack has nothing to do. That is not the same thing as saying these individuals have legitimate, or widely accepted interpretations of Islam.

However, a perverted doctrine of Islam has clearly motivated these individuals, and I think it is incumbent upon not only Muslims — who are too often confronted with, “What are you doing to improve, to stop this?” — to stand up and be counted. What we find is actually that individuals right across Europe are doing all they can; it is not incumbent on the general Muslim person in Europe any more than it was on Christians in Norway. However, I do think we have to be honest and say: it is a perverse, disgusting misreading of Islam. But the attackers were not invoking other religious doctrines, they were invoking Islam. And I think that needs to be very seriously looked at so we can separate Islam as a social and peaceful doctrine that appears in 21st century Europe, and the perversion of Islam perpetrated by these individuals. If they had their way, they would leave a trail of blood not only across Europe but also the Middle East and around the world, which is why they as terrorists need to be combated with every fibre of our being while at the same time protecting innocents Muslims with the same passion and same intensity.

Pivovarchuk: You mentioned the Muslim community and how it has been caught up in all of this, but what can they do to counteract do the influence of extremists?

Feldman: I think there are two things: One is about the Muslim community and the other is about the wider European community. First, we need to encourage Muslims – our friends, our colleagues across Europe – to be able to denounce the kinds of insidious terrorism and extremism that exists in small pockets of Europe. That is something we need to say. We have had plenty of evidence of individuals in the Muslim faith of either turning in suspected terrorists, people who might be involved in plots, or showing that there is no incompatibility between the values of Europe and the EU and the values of Islam. I think that needs to be continued and supported.

But the other thing that is incumbent upon you and me and all citizens of goodwill in Europe is to amplify their voices. They are raising their voices, but they are not always being heard.

In Britain we are familiar with the stand taken by Muslims in the wake of the horrific murder of Lee Rigby. But I think what we need to do all of us Muslims and non-Muslims alike is to challenge this ridiculous view that Muslims somehow don’t reject terrorism, that they aren’t somehow lending their voices to the values of democracy and the values of the EU. This is simply nonsense and it is incumbent upon all of us to show and listen and to amplify the voices of those individuals who are standing for the exact and precise freedoms as we are.

Pivovarchuk: You mentioned the barbaric murder of Lee Rigby in Woolwich in 2013. Like its perpetrators, many of the recent attacks have been committed converts to Islam, by those who weren’t even born into the faith. How is that relevant in coming up with solutions to radicalisation?

Feldman: It’s a good question and I don’t claim specialist insight on radicalisation within jihadist Islamism, although it has been observed that converts to Islam may be at greater risk of radicalisation. Certain radicalisation occurs online, but there are also physical spaces where this happens. And I think those are the places that all citizens need to counteract and address as a matter of urgency. So I am not convinced that radicalisation is a straightforward or accepted process in the Muslim community, or indeed terrorists of any community – the far-right, eco-terrorism: there are many different faces of terrorism. We are only starting to get our heads around what drives radicalisation and extremism and I believe it is incumbent upon citizens, analysts and security forces to understand more about the processes of radicalisation as and when we can.

Pivovarchuk: The Paris attackers had criminal histories, starting from an early age; the Kouachi brothers were orphans. They seem to fit the “type” drawn to extremism – what many call the “disaffected youth.” Why are so many young European Muslims attracted to extremism?

Feldman: It depends on who you ask. Some individuals from the more reactionary side of politics believe there is a type or a profile among second or third generation migrants to Europe. I am not so convinced, especially when we look at the broader picture of home-grown terrorism which not only includes jihadi Islamists, but also far-right extremists and others. That suggests there can be a number of motives, sometimes conflicting and sometimes overlapping.

One that is often mentioned, the so-called “lone wolf” terrorist, concerns the questions of mental illness. Again, those are things that academics are discussing and analysts are looking at, and I am not yet convinced that there is any systematic, quantitative evidence on these matters. It does seem as though there’s a profile that terrorists tend to be male, they overwhelmingly tend to be between the ages of 15 and 50. But beyond that I am hesitant about saying that there is a profile of terrorists – certainly not in skin colour and certainly not in religious background. Nevertheless, there may be a question of how individuals fit into the wider community, either as migrants, or second-generation immigrants or as people who feel isolated within their community through poverty or other social forms of exclusion. I believe that the attacks in France, but also attacks over the last 15 years, underscore the need to have sophisticated, pan-ideological view of terrorism and some of its radicalizers.

I will give you one example: one scholar found that the greatest shared motivation for terrorists was the sense of humiliation and social failure. That might very well be something, but we must know more, we need to know more about the precedents or mental illness, we need to know more perhaps about the way in which victims have suffered racism or suffered from violent attacks, and might, therefore, be radicalised. So I think it is a very difficult topic. I don’t think we can come up with one single explanation for why people are radicalised, but I think more than anything that it underscores the need for European governments, security services and engaged intellectuals to put their heads together to understand what some of these drivers can be. Not in the interests of making a profile that can criminalise swathes of Europeans, but to understand how we can protect individuals in Europe and how we can understand the threat posed by various types of terrorism that clearly pose not an existential but an important and troubling danger in the heart of contemporary Europe today.

Pivovarchuk: There has been a wave of terrorist attacks across the world in the past year: Canada, Australia, Belgium, now France. Although much remains unclear about the Paris tragedy still, many of these have been “lone wolf” attacks you mention – much along the lines of the IS calling for followers to go out and kill infidels. Such attacks would be more difficult to prevent, due to the way they are planned. What can be done to counter the IS message? What are the mistakes to avoid?

Feldman: The 21st century may be a century of “lone wolf” terrorism like the end of the 19th century. It must be stressed that “lone wolf” terrorism is a tactic. In the 19th-century it was principally used by anarchists, well into the beginning of the 20th century. And then for a good half century we didn’t see hardly any similar acts until the end of the 20th century in the United States, when neo-Nazi and other far-right ideologues started touting “lone wolf” terrorism. The doctrine of “leaderless resistance” was really popularised by an American neo-Nazi in the late 1980s and 1990s, and it was based on the fact that it was much easier to penetrate a hierarchically structured terrorist organisation, which has a leader at the top, operatives in the middle and people as foot soldiers at the bottom. His view that individuals sharing the same kinds of values could undertake self-directed acts of terrorism and extremism and, therefore, pose less likelihood of being captured – a system more difficult for security services to break into.

Now the move to the Internet has changed the ways in which individuals who are minded to undertake acts of “lone wolf” terrorism can be interdicted through their activities online. However, we see individuals like Breivik, who was both radicalised online and who used the Internet as a kind of “do it yourself” terrorist kit, that there are very troubling exceptions to this. Breivik’s manifesto is proof of the way in which an individual can

learn the trade of terrorism online and can go through the so-called “terrorist cycle” for all the stages short of an attack. So I think that is concerning and one of the things we have seen only in the last six or seven years is that individual extremists and radicalizers of jihadi Islamism have sought to appropriate this tactic from neo-Nazis and the far-right for what they call individual jihad. This is something we saw on the pages of the absolutely disgusting and obnoxious magazine put out by al-Qaeda and Anwar al-Awlaki. Only over the last decade has this become an issue that ideologues and jihadi Islamists have advocated for so-called lone wolf packs or leaderless jihad.

What we find is that this is something which is on the rise and is something that is not limited to a single ideology. So the best answer I can give you at this troubling time is that the rise of “lone wolf” terrorism must be understood better and must be studied – the psychology of the lone wolf terrorists, the terrorist cycle and operational capacity, but also how these individuals can be neutralised, how they can be found through their online activity or through their communities of support. So I am concerned but I believe we need to know more.

Pivovarchuk: It was reported that the head of preachers in Islamic State, Sheikh Abu Saad Ansari, has said the following today: “We started our operations with France today, and tomorrow (in the near future) it will be in Britain and America and other countries. Our response to the coalition will be decisive.” How much is Europe, and the US, at risk?

Feldman: Yes, there is a risk. But there was a risk before these appalling acts in France. Pathetic propaganda from groups will always try to make capital out of it and they will always try to make threats. I think it must be underscored that Europe and the democratic systems in the “West” are not at an existential threat of terrorism.

The only existential threat that can be posed to Europe are the actions and dangers that we pose to ourselves by attacking and curtailing civil liberties. That is not to say there is not a threat of terrorism, that is not to say that citizens of goodwill should not be vigilant or isolate terrorists from whichever doctrine or background they come from. I believe it is in the hands of Europe and citizens of goodwill to isolate and reject these doctrines.

Yes, there will always be a threat of terrorism just as there was in the 19th century, but I also believe we need to keep things in perspective, have a matter of proportion in our minds. The barbarians are not at the gates and certainly will not come into the gates unless we let them.

In my view this means to double down on the values that have so aided Europe since 1945, and start working together. I believe that in the same way different nations began to work together in the second half of the 20th century, that different faith groups and people of different backgrounds can work together and say: we might disagree on many things but we believe in the dignity of the individual, we believe in freedom of speech and freedom of religion, and we believe that those who reject these values in favour of racism, hatred and violence can be countered by our words, that our ideas are better, that our capacities for interdicting these individuals still remain the best in the world.

So let us not be fearful. Let us stand up even more unabashedly to pronounce our values and to say that the terrorists cannot win because we will not let them and because they represent a small isolated minority that will be defeated by collective action across Europe from citizens of goodwill and the defenders of the values of postwar Europe.

Exploring the ‘Cumulative Extremism’ Hypothesis: Observations from the 2014/2015 Tell MAMA Reporting Period

Dr Mark Littler

The felling of the twin towers in 2001 was doubtless the defining political moment of the early 21st century. With the destruction of the most visible symbol of American economic power, Al-Qaeda shattered the post-millennial utopianism that has been the hallmark of the first years of the 21st century and set in motion a chain of events that would continue to shape social and political life over the decades that followed.

With this in mind, it is fair to say that we all live in the shadow of 9/11, with its direct effects – for example, through increased surveillance, overseas wars, and reduced civil liberties – exerting an influence over many aspects of our daily lives. However, for some parts of the community this influence is more keenly felt, with the less obvious indirect ramifications of 9/11 – particularly around social cohesion and community tension – leaving a more insidious legacy.

Particularly amongst British Muslims, the post-9/11 era has been characterised by a growth in intolerance and suspicion. At its best, this has taken the form of well-meaning politicians lecturing the Muslim community about its responsibility to root out extremism (as was the case following the Charlie Hebdo attacks last year). At worst, it has found expression in the violence perpetrated by right-wing groups.

Academics have been quick to offer explanations for this latter behaviour, with the University of Nottingham’s Matthew Goodwin suggesting that the targeting of innocent members of the Muslim community by far-right organisations is a response to the perceived threat of radical Islam. The so-called ‘cumulative extremism’ hypothesis offers a neat conceptual model of how events like 9/11 and 7/7 may lead to a ratcheting up of violence and intolerance. However, due to the difficulty inherent in measuring anti-Muslim violence, supporting academic evidence has been slow to emerge.

Amongst the first attempts to offer quantitative support for this theory may be found in our analysis of the 2013-2014 Tell MAMA data, where Matthew Feldman and I provided evidence of a marked spike in the reporting of acts of anti-Muslim hate-crime in the 7 days immediately following the May 2013 attacks on Drummer Lee Rigby.

In our shortly to be published report on the 2014-2015 Tell MAMA reporting period, we have again provided evidence of a relationship between acts of ‘Islamist’ terror and anti-Muslim violence, with a significant spike in the reporting of anti-Muslim attacks (both on and off-line) following the Charlie Hebdo killing in December 2014. However, with an examination of the period following both the Copenhagen and Sydney attacks showing evidence of no similar effect, our report raises a number of important new questions about the reciprocal extremism hypothesis.

While it is important to be circumspect when raising the significance of our findings particularly given the nature of the data employed in our analysis – our results nevertheless raise several interesting possibilities. We argue that media reportage, and in particular, levels of coverage and framing of attacker motivation, may play a significant role in shaping how anti-Muslim groups perceive attacks, and thus, may help determine the nature and severity of their reprisals.

Such an argument is consistent with our findings, with the widely reported attacks in Paris showing a spike not repeated in the days following the Copenhagen attacks (which were less widely covered) or the Sydney attacks (where the attack was not as unambiguously identified as ‘Islamist violence’).

If this view is accepted then our findings merit serious discussion, particularly with respect to the current policy response to extremist violence and hate-crime. A potential link between the nature of media coverage and the strength of violent reaction raises questions about the role of the media as mediators of reciprocal extremism, touching upon the nature of responsible journalism and the limits of free speech in an open and democratic society.

We offer no clear answer to these questions; rather, our report highlights the need for Britain to engage in an involved social and political conversation that embraces not just a condemnation of anti-Muslim violence, but a discussion about its roots, the nature of our responsibilities towards minority communities, and the role played by the media in shaping our expectations and behaviours. Clearly there are no easy or straightforward solutions, and we should be rightly suspicious of those who offer magic bullets. Despite this, the need for answers has never been more pressing, and it remains in everybody’s interests to seek them.

Holocaust Memorial Day, 27 January 2015

The Centre for Fascist, Anti-Fascist and Post-Fascist Studies organised Teesside University's Holocaust Memorial Day event on 27 January 2015. The day marked the 70th Anniversary of the liberation of the Auschwitz-Birkenau concentration camp – the setting for the extermination of over 1 million prisoners - the vast majority of which were Jews.

The event began with a fascinating talk by Professor Aristotle Kallis – a leading historian of fascism and genocide. Kallis looked at one of the lesser-well-known death camps, Treblinka, responsible for the murder of hundreds of thousands of Jews, predominantly through gassing, between 1941 and 1942. He specifically looked at Nazi attempts to eradicate not only the prisoners, but their memory as well. In that sense, the Nazi regime can be seen as the earliest Holocaust deniers, seeking to murder Jews in both a literal sense and to obliterate Jews symbolically from history and memory. In the afternoon, Professor Matthew Feldman also presented a highly informative discussion of 'Holocaust Blockbuster Films', which assessed representations of the Holocaust in film, the underlying question being 'How to portray the unportrayable?'

The day also witnessed student-led initiatives. Teesside University graduate Robin Pepper's documentary, entitled 'Iby Knill: An Auschwitz Promise' provided an informative and touching interview with Auschwitz survivor Iby Knill. Similarly, there was a screening of the 2006 BBC documentary 'Forgiving Dr Mengele' (directed by Teesside University's Mark Handscombe) which followed Holocaust survivor Eva Kor, victim of medical experiments whilst interned at Auschwitz-Birkenau as a child by the infamous Nazi doctor, Josef Mengele. Teesside University students also presented a self-made documentary which followed their trip to Auschwitz-Birkenau in January 2015. It was evident that the trip had a profound effect on the students who attended and the discussion following the documentary was absorbing.

The importance of remembering the attempted extermination of European Jewry is obvious. Yet it becomes more prescient with each passing year, given that Holocaust survivors are sadly less and less able to keep the memory alive. In 2015, approximately 300 survivors attended the memorial service at Auschwitz-Birkenau in Poland - a remarkable feat when one considers that these are elderly people scattered across all four corners of the globe. However, it is in contrast to the 60th Anniversary event in 2005 which saw around 1,500 attend. Thus, Holocaust Memorial Day events such as these will continue to be important not just in remembering the horrors of the Second World War and genocide, but keeping the memory of these survivors alive when they are not around to tell their story.

The Fascist 'New Man' Symposium

The fascist goal of creating a 'new man', as part of an anthropological revolution, has been widely acknowledged by scholars of fascism but never adequately fleshed out. This CFAPS symposium, led by Dr Jorge Dagnino, CFAPS Research Associate and Assistant Professor at the Universidad de los Andes, and CFAPS co-director Professor Matthew Feldman, attempted to fill this scholarly void by hosting a two-day workshop.

Held at Teesside University's Darlington Campus between 26-27 September 2014, the symposium brought together eleven scholars of fascism specialising in different countries across Europe and South America. Historians were invited to present individual cases assessing the constructions of a fascist 'new man' before 1945. These ranged from regimes in Italy (Luca la Rovere) and Germany (Gregory Maertz and Rebecca Wennberg), abortive interwar fascist movements such as the British Union of Fascists (Jeannette Baxter), non-fascist authoritarian regimes such as Getúlio Vargas' Estado Novo in Brazil (Aristotle Kallis). Also included were collaborationist wartime governments like the Ustaše in the Independent State of Croatia (Rory Yeomans), as well as case-studies from Romania (Valentin Sandulescu and Tudor Georgescu), France (Joan Tumblety), Spain (Mary Vincent) and the trend Europe-wide (Martin Conway).

In addition to the excellent presentations, much debate over the nature of the fascist 'new man' arose. Most generally, can and should the concept of the 'fascist new man' be understood as an isolated, conceptual construction by interwar fascist movements, or are we conflating two separate things? That is, are there a wider, contemporaneous constellation of ideas about a 'new man' present in European culture and fascist ideology? Given that different case-studies from varying geographical areas were presented, one question which received attention was; were 'new fascist men' specific and adaptive to their domestic context, or can a more generic fascist new man be seen? Furthermore, given that the discussion revolved around new fascist men, how much importance should be afforded to the role (or changing notions of) masculinity in the first half of the twentieth century? By extension, should study of the fascist 'new man' be extended to include 'new women' and/or 'new families' in the fascist quest for an 'anthropological revolution'? Whilst this is only a snapshot of a continuing debate, all presentations and discussions can be listened to online (<http://backdoorbroadcasting.net/2014/09/new-man-symposium/>). In addition, papers presented at the conference will be forming the majority of an edited collection on the fascist new man intended for 2016.

Print publications

D. Alessio, 'The Dragon Is Not Always Red: The Welsh Defence League and Extreme Nationalism in Wales', *National Identity*, 2015, pp.1-21.

A. Carter (Review), 'Fighting fascism: the British Left and the rise of fascism, 1919–39', Keith Hodgson, *E-Extreme*, July 2014, 15 (2).

N. Copsey, 'Multiculturalism and the Extreme Right Challenge in Contemporary Britain', in Nam-Kook Kim (ed.) *Multicultural Challenges and Sustainable Democracy in Europe and East Asia* (Palgrave, 2014), pp. 155-75.

N. Copsey and John Richardson (eds.) *Cultures of Post-War British Fascism* (Routledge, 2015)¹

N. Copsey and John Richardson, 'Introduction', in Nigel Copsey and John Richardson (eds.) *Cultures of Post-War British Fascism* (Routledge, 2015), pp. 1-7.

N. Copsey, 'When popular culture met the far right: cultural encounters with post-war British fascism', in Nigel Copsey and John Richardson (eds.), *Cultures of Post-War British Fascism* (Routledge, 2015), pp. 108-27.

N. Copsey, 'The Far Right and the 2015 General Election: A View from History', in *Race and Elections*, Runnymede Perspectives, (London: Runnymede Trust, 2015), pp. 11-12.

[Online at: http://www.runnymedetrust.org/uploads/RaceandElectionsFINAL_interactive.pdf]

J. Dagnino, 'Italianness during Fascism: the case of *Il Selvaggio*', *Journal of Modern Italian Studies*, 19 (1) 2014, pp.1-14.

M. Feldman, (with Andrea Rinaldi) '...in for a penny: Ezra Pound and the faces of contemporary fascism', *Sanglap* 1/2 (2015; open access journal).

M. Feldman, 'Ezra Pound's political faith from first to second generation; or, "It is 1956 Fascism."', in Erik Tønning, Matthew Feldman and David Addyman (eds.) *Modernism, Christianity and the Apocalypse* (Brill, 2014).

M. Feldman, (with Andrea Rinaldi) 'Ezra Pound's fascist legacy to fascism and neo-Nazism', in Paul Jackson and Anton Shekhovtsov (eds.) *The Post-war Anglo-American Far-Right*, (Palgrave, 2014).

M. Feldman, '...showing a corner of the calamity': The Shoah in mainstream cinema, c.1993 – 2008 in Irina Rasmussen Goloubeva, Margret Champion Gunnarsdottir and Eric Dean Rasmussen (eds.), *Ethics, Politics and Literature* (Cambridge Scholars Press, 2014).

M. Feldman, 'Ezra Pound's wartime broadcasts: An archival reappraisal', in Matthew Feldman, Erik Tønning and Henry Mead (eds.) *Broadcasting in the Modernist Era* (Bloomsbury, 2014).

M. Feldman, (with Anna Castriota) "'Fascism for the Third Millennium": An overview of language and ideology in Italy's CasaPound movement', in Matthew Feldman and Paul Jackson, (eds.) *Doublespeak* (Ibidem-Verlag, 2014).

M. Feldman, Reviews for Times Higher Education: *Ezra Pound: Poet, Volume II; War Crimes, Genocide and Justice; The United States of Paranoia: A Conspiracy Theory; Visions of Annihilation: The Ustasha Regime and the Cultural Politics of Fascism, 1941-1945*.

M. Feldman, Review for Extremism & Democracy, *The Nazi Germany Sourcebook* (2014).

H. Mead, 'Modernist Anti-Modernists', in *Modernism, Christianity, and Apocalypse*, (eds.) Erik Tønning, Matthew Feldman and David Addyman (Brill, 2014), pp. 80-96.

P. Stocker, 'The Imperial Spirit': British Fascism and Empire, 1919-1940', *Religion Compass*, 9 (2) 2015, pp.45-54.

P. Stocker, 'The Postwar British Extreme Right and Empire, 1945-1967', *Religion Compass*, 9 (5) 2015, pp.162-172.

P. Stocker, (Review) 'Rethinking Fascism and Dictatorship in Europe (eds.) Antonio Costa Pinto & Aristotle Kallis', *Politics, Religion and Ideology*, 16 (1) 2015, pp.108-109.

P. Stocker, (Review) 'The Post-War Anglo-American Far Right (eds.) Paul Jackson & Anton Shekhovtsov', *Patterns of Prejudice*, 49 (1-2) 2015, pp.191-193.

D. Tilles, *British Fascist Antisemitism and Jewish Responses, 1932-40* (Bloomsbury, 2014).

D. Tilles, 'Oswald Mosley: Anti-semite', *History Today*, February 2015, 65 (2).

C. Webb & M. Chocholaty, *Treblinka Death Camp: History, Biographies, Remembrance* (Ibidem-verlag, 2014).

C. Webb (Review) 'The Dark Heart of Europe by Martin Winstone', *Holocaust Educational Trust*, January 2015.

¹ New book series launched with Graham Macklin, *Routledge Studies in Fascism and the Far Right*.

Link: <http://www.routledge.com/books/series/FFR/>

Online interviews and texts

N. Copsey, Media Interview on 'Britain First', BBC Radio Berkshire, November 2014.

M. Feldman, Profile interview on far-right extremism in Europe for *Gazeta Wyborcza* (Poland), Mar. 2015

M. Feldman, Interviews on Pegida UK demonstrations, *Daily Express* and *The Independent*, Feb. 2015

M. Feldman, Interview on the rise in European anti-Semitism, *BBC Newcastle*, Feb. 2015

M. Feldman, 'How Should Europeans Respond to the Paris Attacks?' *Fair Observer*, Jan. 2015, online at: www.fairobserver.com/region/europe/how-should-europeans-respond-to-the-paris-attacks-76345/

M. Feldman, Eight regional/Northeast radio and TV interviews for Holocaust Memorial Day, Jan. 2015

M. Feldman, Interview on Islamophobia in Europe, *de Volksrant* (Holland), Jan. 2015

M. Feldman, Interview on universities and British government Prevent strategy for *The Guardian*, Dec. 2014, online at: www.theguardian.com/education/2014/dec/02/anti-terror-bill-making-radical-ideas-crime-campus

M. Feldman, Interview on campus extremism for *Times Higher Education*, Sep. 2014, online at: www.timeshighereducation.co.uk/news/efforts-to-tackle-extremism-can-cause-campus-conflicts/2015478.article

M. Feldman, Interviews on 'cumulative extremism' between Islamist and far-right groups for BBC Radio 5 Live, BBC News, and BBC Radio Cumbria, Derby and Cornwall, Sep. 2014

M. Feldman, Interviews on CFAPS's report on anti-Muslim hatred appearing in more than 100 regional, national and international outlets (a 20 million plus readership in the UK alone), including the *Press Association*, *The Washington Post*, *MSN News*, *The Sun*, *The Sunday Times*, *The Daily Mail*, *The Independent on Sunday*, *The Observer*, *Aljazeera Magazine*, *The Northern Echo*, *Mancunian Matters*, *The Muslim Weekly*, *The University Herald*, *The Week*, *Asian Times*, *Eastern Eye*, BBC Radio Tees, BBC Radio Newcastle, etc. Jun.-Jul. 2014

M. Feldman, Interview on Britain First for *Vice Magazine*, Jun. 2014, online at: www.vice.com/en_uk/read/say-hello-to-britains-new-far-right-street-team

A. Önnfors, 'Vad är Illuminati och hur kontrollerar de oss?' [What are the Illuminati and how to they exercise control?], P3 PP3, broadcast 10/11 2014 (radio interview),

<http://sverigesradio.se/sida/artikel.aspx?programid=4283&artikel=6014531>

A. Önnfors, 'Andreas Önnfors djupdyker i Illuminati' [Andreas Önnfors dives deep into the Illuminati], P3 Din Gata, broadcast 1/9 2014 (radio interview),

<http://sverigesradio.se/sida/artikel.aspx?programid=2576&artikel=5952238>

<http://sverigesradio.se/sida/artikel.aspx?programid=2576&artikel=5952238>

A. Önnfors, 'Allt om hemliga sällskap' [Everything on Secret Societies], "Knyckare i P3", broadcast 21/8 2014 (radio interview), <http://sverigesradio.se/sida/avsnitt/417259?programid=4617>

A. Önnfors, "Älskade broder" ["Beloved Brother"], program in the P1-radio series "Genier och Foliehattar", broadcast 19/7 2014 (radio interview) <http://sverigesradio.se/sida/avsnitt/400257?programid=4703>

http://www.vice.com/en_uk/read/say-hello-to-britains-new-far-right-street-team

http://www.vice.com/en_uk/read/say-hello-to-britains-new-far-right-street-team

Presentations and public engagement

W. Allchorn, 'Simply Islamophobia? The Role of Englishness and English National Identity within English Defence League discourse and politics', Nottingham Politics PGR Conference Paper, 2014.

W. Allchorn, 'Political Responses to the EDL', Presentation at Greek Politics Specialist Group Seminar on Extremism in Europe, 2014.

A. Carter, Co-organiser and Co-Chair, 'Politics Beyond Parliament: Protest and Dissent in Historical Perspective', Conference, Teesside University, September 2014.

A. Carter, 'Reciprocal De-Radicalization: Fascists, Anti-Fascists and the 'Battle for the Streets' in the 1990s', Politics Beyond Parliament: Protest and Dissent in Historical Perspective, Teesside University, Conference, September 2014.

Nigel Copsey, Discussant, NIOD Institute for War, Holocaust and Genocide Studies, Second Lecture on Fascism, De Balie, Amsterdam, 9 April 2015.

Nigel Copsey, Roundtable speaker, 'Young People, Targeted Victimisation and Resistance', AHRC Subcultures Network: Youth, Politics and Identity, University of Surrey, 31 March 2015.

Nigel Copsey: 'When popular culture met the far right: Cultural encounters with post-war British fascism', ESRC Research Seminar Series, Right Wing Extremism in contemporary Europe, Seminar 4: Popular Culture and Right-Wing Extremism, American University, Washington DC, Friday 20th- Saturday 21st March 2015.

Nigel Copsey, 'Transnational Anti-Fascist Militancy: The Case of Anti-Fascist Action (UK)', Anti-Fascism as a Transnational Phenomenon: New Perspectives on Research, International Conference, Saarbrücken, 13-14 October 2014.

Nigel Copsey, 'The Far Right and British Politics', AHRC/Runnymede Academic Forum, University of Manchester, 26 June 2014.

M. Feldman, Inquest Statement on the LaRouche movement and the 2003 death of Jeremiah Duggan, North London Coroner's Court, London, May 2015.

M. Feldman, Keynote lecture, 'Holocaust Denial: Practice and Practitioners', Holocaust Memorial Day Trust Youth Champions Awards, Manchester, Apr. 2015.

M. Feldman, 'Europe and Its Discontents - far right and xenophobia in Western Europe', Public Panel Discussion, Warsaw University Library, Warsaw, Poland, Mar. 2015.

M. Feldman, Parliamentary meeting on youth and radicalism, hosted by the Rt. Hon. Rushanara Ali and GlobalNet21, Portcullis House, London, Jan. 2015.

M. Feldman, Co-convenor, 'Fascism's "New Man" in Europe, 1914-1945', Two-day Colloquium, Centre for Fascist, Post-fascist and Anti-fascist Studies, Sept. 2014.

M. Feldman, (with Mark Littler), 'Tell MAMA Reporting 2013/14: Anti-Muslim Overview, Analysis and "Cumulative Extremism"', commissioned report for Tell Mama project, Jul. 2014.

M. Littler, 'Attitudes to politics, radicalisation, and the PREVENT counter-extremism agenda: Making a case for citizenship education', Digital Populism and the Young: Populism, Young People, and the World Wide Web in Theory and Practice, University of Leicester, September 2014.

M. Littler, "'Liking' Extremism: An exploratory map of right-wing populist support on social media", Digital Populism and the Young: Populism, Young People, and the World Wide Web in Theory and Practice, University of Leicester, September 2014.

M. Littler, 'Quantitative considerations for the analysis of Tell MAMA data', Tell MAMA 2013/2014 Report Launch, Teesside University, July 2014.

M. Littler, 'Radical, Religious, and (supporting the) Violent: A rational choice model of religious support for violence extremism', Conflict Research Society Annual Conference, University of Leeds, September 2014.

H. Mead, 'A Commentary on Canto IV', Ezra Pound Cantos Reading Group at the Institute of English Studies, Senate House, 9 May 2014.

A. Önnfors, 'What's so Secret with Secret Societies? Conspiracy myths dispelled' winning presentation at Science Slam, University of Gothenburg, 19 November 2014

[<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=h3kJrTjT0wU&feature=youtu.be>].

P. Stocker, 'Reactionary Dissent: Decolonisation, Kenya and the League of Empire Loyalists', Politics Beyond Parliament: Protest and Dissent in Historical Perspective, Conference, Teesside University, September 2014.

D. Tilles, "'We have only one common enemy, and that is the Jew": British fascist antisemitism and Jewish resistance in the European context, 1932-39', guest lecture for Jagiellonian University Centres for Holocaust Studies and European Studies, Galicia Jewish Museum, Krakow, Poland, April 2015.

D. Tilles, 'British Fascist Antisemitism and Jewish Responses, 1932-40', public lecture, Wiener Library, London, February 2015.

D. Tilles, 'A quantitative analysis of anti-Jewish rhetoric in interwar British fascist discourse', 5th International Conference on English Studies, Pedagogical University of Cracow, Poland, May 2015.

C. Webb, 'Treblinka Death Camp', Invited Lecture, Teesside University, April 2015.

History at Teesside University

Courses that stimulate debate, excite your curiosity and challenge your thinking.

tees.ac.uk



Centre for Fascist, Anti-Fascist and Post-Fascist Studies

Institute of Design, Culture and the Arts
Teesside University
Middlesbrough
TS1 3BA

T: 01642 384086
E: vicky.wigham@tees.ac.uk
tees.ac.uk/cfaps