



20th Century Right Wing Groups in Europe

Prone to extremism or terrorism?

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1. INTRODUCTION

In defining right wing terrorism, one immediately notes the combination of an ideology (right wing) with a certain form of expression (terrorism). Both concepts have so far not been labeled by a universally accepted definition and, thus, have no exact terminology (see Griffin *et al*, 2006; Mudde, 2000: 10; Wilkinson, 2006; see generally TTSRL WorkPackage 3). Another similarity is they are both presented in pejorative manner. Consequently, those whom are characterized as right wing terrorists or activists by others than themselves, will most likely refute this claim vigorously, thus making an analysis even more difficult (see Richardson, 2006; Eatwell, 2000: 410).

Having no consensus on what should be viewed as right wing terrorism or on the criteria that define right wing extremism, it is a challenging task to analyze this movement. As already noted by Mudde in 1995, there are at least 26 definitions of right wing extremism, which mention no less than 58 features, of which only five, namely nationalism, racism, xenophobia, anti-democracy and the strive for a strong and encompassing state, are mentioned by more than half of the authors (1995: 206). These common features are used as point of departure for this case study.

As a result of the many-sided concept of right wing, the terminology is inexact. The phenomenon right wing consists of many different factions, groups and organizations. The abovementioned features are found in various periods and continents. Examples on state-level are dictators in South-America as well as the Nazi and fascist governments in Germany and Italy respectively. Also included could be the "apartheid"-era in South Africa (see e.g. Beinart, 1994). These are historical examples, but all the ideologies associated with these regimes are still around and adhered to by many today. This study is restricted by the data and information on four alleged right wing terrorist organization, including "Blood & Honour", "Clandestine Corsicans/Corsican Resistance", "Russian National Unity", and the Italian "New Order".

Another demarcation is made in time. Both terrorism and right wing can be seen in the context of waves (Rapoport, 2003: 37; Von Beyme, 1988). Terrorism in general can be divided into four waves. After the "anarchist" (1880s-1920s) and "anti-colonial" (1920s-1960s) waves of terrorism, the world

faced the third wave of "new left" terrorism that largely dispersed in the 1990s. While new left terrorist groups were still active in Sri Lanka, Peru, France, Colombia, and Spain, a fourth "religious" wave commenced in 1979 (Rapoport, 2003: 37; *see also* Mudde, 2000: 6).

The focus of this case study, i.e. right wing terrorism, emerged in reaction to the third, "new-left" wave. Parallel to the rise of right wing terrorist activity was the rise of political right, right wing violence and hate crimes. The re-emerging "spectre of nationalism" accompanied by right wing extremist behavior became especially visible in the political elections of right wing parties across the European continent in the early 1990s (Hagtvet, 1994: 241).

Although after 9/11 most of the attention shifted from right wing to Islamist or religious terrorism, according to Europol, right wing terrorism and/or extremism is gaining in importance again (Europol, 2007: 35; Europol, 2008: 43). Evidence for this can be found in the rise in support for right wing political parties across Europe. This case study seeks to determine whether this "third" right wing wave of terrorism, still proceeds next to the religious form.

With regard to the right wing terminology (extremism vs. terrorism) it is particularly difficult to make a distinction between terrorist acts, political violence and hate crimes. An example of this is the arrests of eleven terrorism suspects, whom were all member of the neo-Nazi organization "Blood & Honour". In general this is considered a political violent group that is also committing hate crimes. In this case they were arrested for planning a terrorist act and arms trafficking (Europol, 2007: 35).

In their annual report on terrorism, Europol states that right wing violence is often labeled as extremism instead of terrorism. This is also mentioned by Crenshaw (2003: 4). A similar problem arises when studying the organizations with right wing sympathies that commit those acts. Many academics withhold themselves from making a clear division between the terrorists and non-terrorists. They often use right wing violence as a synonym for right wing terrorism (and vice versa) or do not differ between the two terms (Bjørge and Witte, 1993: 29-43 and 113-127).

One of the main goals of this case study of right wing groups is to show several of the most contemporary and the relevant historical demarcations of right wing terrorism. Therefore, it offers means to distinguish between 'ordinary' right wing *violence* and the use of typical right wing *terrorist* tactics. It examines

both literature and empirical data from right wing organizations, and connects the historical and organizational elements. The attempt for this demarcation can be found in sections 2.1 and 2.2.

Creating clear boundaries enables us to choose specific right wing groups and their terrorist threats or activities. This case study combines extensive research of literature with empirical data. The empirical data is retrieved from four organizations which can be described as terrorist, depending on the definition of right wing terrorism one chooses. The organizations include "Blood & Honour", "Clandestine Corsicans/Corsican Resistance"¹, "Russian National Unity"², and the Italian "New Order"³. Argumentation for the choice for these organizations can be found in section 2.3.

In addition to this empirical focus, our findings have been supported and contextualized by an extensive literature study on the academic discourse of right wing extremism and/or terrorism. The main part of the literature found were published during the first appearance of right wing terrorism (1960s-1990s) but still contains theories that are used nowadays.

As a result of the broad interpretation of what constitutes right wing extremism some issues touched upon here are also dealt with in other case studies, such as the typology study, the root and trigger causes and decline of terrorism. As some right wing extremists also act independently and not in organizational structures, the case study of lone-wolf terrorism also bears relevance for the case study presented here.

This case study comprises six chapters. The second chapter focuses on the historical background of right wing terrorism, the organizational structures and finances of right wing groups in the third wave. It also presents the methods and tactics used by these organizations. The third chapter makes an autopsy of the root and trigger causes, the development and reasons for decline of right wing terror and organizations. The societal impact of right wing terror is also included in this chapter. The fourth and fifth chapter examines the academic discourse of right wing and its future prospects. This case study ends with a conclusion (chapter 6).

¹ Corsi Clandistini Corsicans/Resistenza Corsa

² *Russkoye Natsionalnoye Edinstvo*

³ Ordine Nuovo

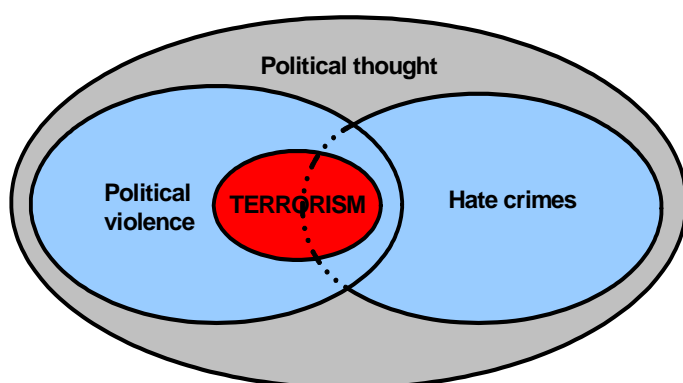
2. RIGHT WING TERRORISM IN DISCOURSE

The academic discourse on the concept of right wing terrorism presents the broad consensus amongst scholars that there is no unequivocal, universal definition of the notion. This results in an unclear academic field in which political violence, hate crimes, and terrorism are often used as synonyms in describing the use of violence by several actors within the right wing ideology (for instance state, political parties, organizations or individuals). The eruption of right wing extremism and the new theoretical approaches, which were developed to analyze this phenomenon, have not lead to a clarification of the used concepts (Ignazi, 2003: 143). This chapter first demarcates and defines the concepts of political thought, political violence, hate crime, and terrorism. Second, it focuses on right wing terrorism as a multi-sided phenomenon. Third, it explains our selection of the four organizations.

2.1 Political thought, violence and terrorism

As is already mentioned in the introduction, most academics, institutions and states are having difficulties in differentiating between political violence, hate crimes, and terrorism in applying those terms to right wing organizations or individuals. As a result, most publications about the right wing phenomenon use them in the broadest sense possible. Figure 2.1 attempts to make a simplified distinction between the political thought, political violence, hate crimes, and terrorism. This visualizes the overlapping features between the used terms. With

Figure 2.1



regard to describing right wing activities, most authors, however, do not focus on a specific part of the scheme, which blur all concepts.

However, if one analyzes the use of violence by right wing extremists, such distinction can certainly be distilled. Right wing activities

can take place 'sporadically' or 'accidentally', and have a 'political', or 'terrorism or terror' background. This approach follows from the proposition made by Bjørgo and Witte. They, however, base their distinction solely on the intensity in attacks (Bjørgo and Witte, 1993: 3-4). It does not include the motivation or intent of the perpetrator, an element found and highly appreciated in most contemporary definitions of terrorism (see TTSRL, WP3, Working Definitions). This study uses the following definitions concerning the right wing phenomenon.

Right Wing Political Thought

Political thought is the general political perspective an organization, person or party has. Naturally, these perspectives differ. The distinction in left wing, moderate or centre, and right wing politicians originated from their place in most parliamentary assemblies. Nowadays the distinction mostly refers to the political spectrum. In general, left wing politicians are believed to be rather progressive, while right wing politicians have a more conservative outreach. The distinction, however, is not as clear-cut as presented here. There are many forms of both political thoughts. The basic assumption is that the further the politicians move away from the centre, the more extreme their opinions are. Left-wing extremists then become anarchists (see e.g. anti-globalists), while right-wing extremists are better equated with fascists (see e.g. neo-facists). The concept of the right wing ideology is more detailed explained in the sections below.

Right wing extremists started to appear in the 1980's. Mudde observes two trends in rightists thought and actions (2000: 204). Firstly, right wing extremists were reacting to left wing terrorist attacks, by starting to execute their "own" attacks. Secondly, there was a rise of a conservative movement in the political arena. The term "New Right" was introduced and employed in order to describe and explain the politics of the Reagan and Thatcher governments operating in the US and UK respectively in the 1980s (see *generally* King, 1989 and Thompson, 1992). The New Right attacked the principle of equality between all people, which they perceived as a leftist cultural hegemony (Schamphelire and Thanassekos, 1990: 36). In this sense, the movement of rightist sympathies was understood in terms of modern conservatism (Hoover, 1988: 800). This reinforced the conservative or right wing political thought.

(Terrorist) Political Violence

Political violence can be defined as ‘the use of violence for political ends’ (Wilkinson, 1986: 30). Inherent to political violence is the possibility of it occurring unintentionally in the course of severe political conflict. Wilkinson lists several types of political violence, describing their general aims and purposes (see Figure 2.2). One of them being “terrorist political violence”: the use of systematic murder and destruction, or threats of murder and destruction to terrorist targets or victims into conceding to the terrorists’ political aims.

Figure 2.2 Types of Violence (Wilkinson, 1986: 33)

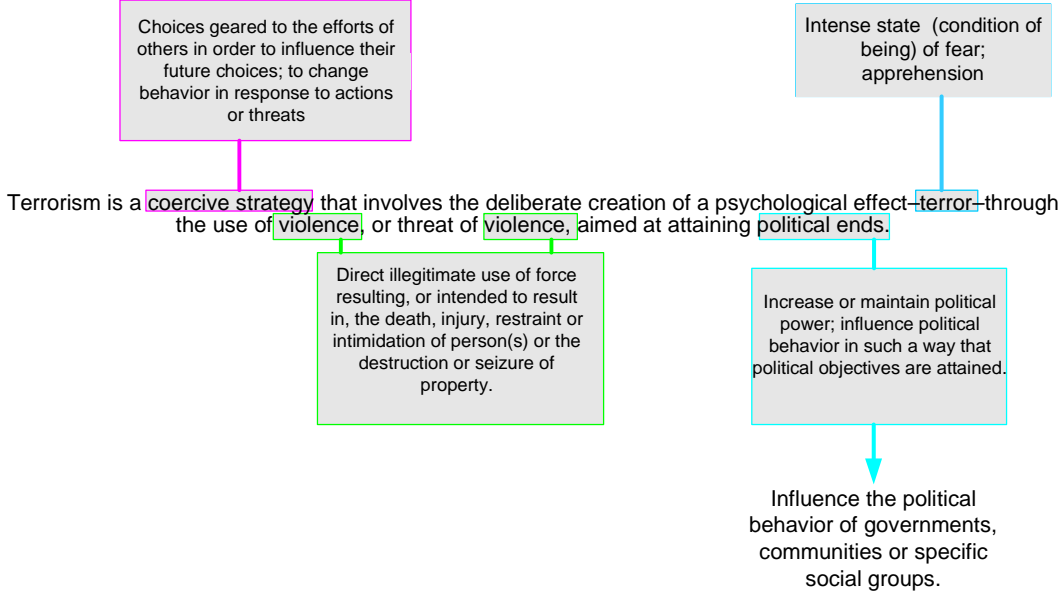
Type	General aims or purposes
Inter-communal	Defence or futherance of alleged group interests in conflicts with rival ethnic or religious groups
Remonstrative	Expression of anger and protest: can be used to persuade government to remedy grievances
Praetorian	Used to coerce changes in government leadership and policy
Repression	Quelling actual or potential opposition and dissent
Resistance	To oppose and prevent a government establishing authority and executing its laws
Terroristic	Use of systematic murder and destruction, or threats of murder and destruction to terrorise targets or victims into conceding the terrorists’ political aims
Revolutionary	Overthrow of existing political system and its replacement by a new régime: note that leaders of this type of violence are often prepared to exploit all types of political violence, including war
Counter-Revolutionary	
War	To gain political ends by means of military victory over opponents

Right Wing Terrorism

TTSRL has defined terrorism as a coercive strategy that involves the deliberate creation of a psychological effect – terror – through the use of violence, or threat of violence, aimed at attaining political (TTSRL Work Package 2). This definition is further explained in Figure 2.3. The key feature of terrorism – and why it differs from other forms of political violence – is that it is a coercive strategy that aims to influence politics, through the deliberate creation of a psychological effect (terror). While other forms of political violence might also be strategies or use violence, they lack the psychological aspect that is used as a method to

manipulate behavior. Right wing terrorism will pursue the institutionalization and activation of their right wing political beliefs (*see also* section 2.2).

Figure 2.3 Definition of Terrorism



Right wing hate crimes

As follows from Stotzer’s research into hate crime, this type of crime has many definitions. The most generally accepted is the intentionally enacted crime by a perpetrator against a victim based on the victim’s membership of a certain group. Criminal offences can be motivated by hate or prejudice based on, for example, race, religion, sexual orientation, ethnicity, and disability (Stotzer, 2007: 1-2; UK Home Office website). Right wing hate crimes are likely to involve crimes against migrants, homosexuals, anti-racist activists, *et cetera*.⁴

2.2 Right wing terrorism: a multi-sided phenomenon

As a result of a growing movement of right wing actions and organizations, an increasingly broad spectrum of academics presents publications and studies starting in the 1980s. One of the conclusions was that there were too many differences among right wing parties to share one ideology (Eatwell, 1996: 379).

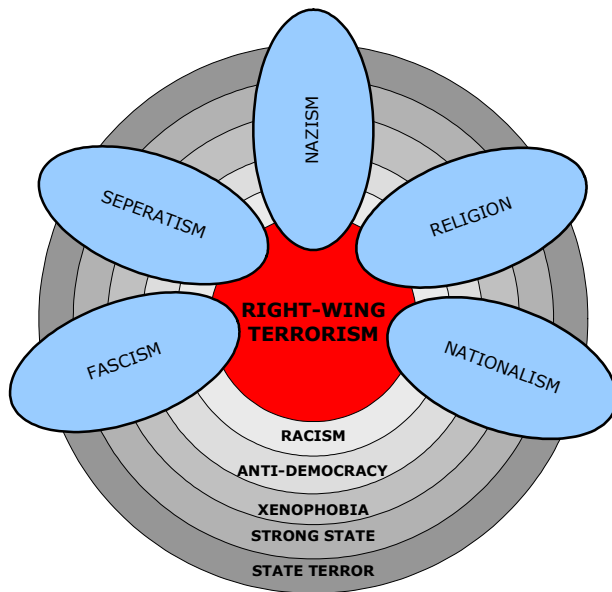
⁴ See generally <http://www.united.non-profit.nl/pages/info07n9.htm> and www.hatecrime.net.

Some of the scholars did witness a common substantial change in the general nature of these groups compared with movements in the past (see *e.g.* Ignazi, 2000:145). However, this did not result in a demarcation of what belonged to right wing and what did not. Neither did it result in a more stringent or detailed conceptual framework. On the contrary, most academics did not even make an attempt to do so. This increased academic attention for right wing terrorism/extremism also enlarged the amount of right wing case studies (Von Beyme, 1988: 3) resulting in the general acceptance of right wing as at least “a political ideology that is constituted of a combination of several different features” (Mudde, 2000: 10). These features are described in the following paragraph. Examples and empirical data of these features can be found in the following chapters.

The most general feature that academics adopted is based on the extent to which right wing groups were or could be connected to the “traditional” forms of extreme right, such as Nazism and fascism (Stouthuysen, 1993: 9). In the immediate aftermath of the Second World War until the 1970s, most of these right wing extremist associations or organizations were of rather marginal importance (Rydgren, 2005: 413). Gradually – during the upcoming of the third wave of terrorism – they reimbursed their activities together or in close cooperation with the newly established right wing organizations.

A second feature is the focus of right wing supporters on domestic characteristics of the region or population. This leads back to another traditional aspect of right wing groups, namely nationalism or separatism. Pride of own traditions and the threat of changes invoked by, for example, immigration, globalization, or collapse of a country catalyze right wing extreme thoughts. Indirectly connected to these grounds is the role of religion as part of tradition and cultural heritage. Religion does not necessarily have to be used as a main current throughout the groups’ activities, but may serve as an underlying current on the basis upon which they distinguish their own culture and belief systems from other – according to them – inferior religions/ideologies/groups. Right wing extremists often use their “hometown” religion to strengthen the unity within their group and to emphasize their culture and traditions.

Figure 2.3



As mentioned in the introduction, Mudde uses 26 definitions and at least 58 features of right wing extremism (1995: 206). For only five of these features are mentioned by more than half of the other authors examined, this figure is limited to these five features of nationalism, racism, xenophobia, anti-democracy and the strive for a strong and encompassing state. A sixth feature – state terror – is added to this list, as it

is an expansion of a strong state and occurred, as noted in the introduction, in several countries (see for instance Government and politics: State terrorism, 2002: 822). Figure 2.3 gives an outline of the forms of right wing terrorism and the accompanying features or forms of expression. However, the study is not focused on all features. Despite dealing with these features in specific, it is about the general right wing “violence”.

This figure demonstrates the multi-sided concept of right wing terrorism. It includes all abovementioned features and concepts. Although many others could have been added, maybe even to an almost interminable extend, this figure covers the basic characteristics of right wing terrorism. It is unmistakable that all of the concepts are worth their own extensive case studies. It should be noted that, although these concepts are closely related and even overlapping, not all features are necessary to define an organization to be right wing. For example, an extreme neo-Nazi group does not necessarily need to have a separatist goal.

2.3 Choosing sample organizations

It appears to be difficult to define right wing terrorism or even the right wing ideology. The aforementioned concepts are for the most part not containing clear definitions; neither can they be used as synonyms. Equally difficult is, therefore,

the use of examples of terrorist extremist right wing groups. As they hardly share common features, ideas, goals, and tactics, it is hardly possible to draw any conclusions. This difficulty is illustrated by the study into the four selected right wing organizations. In order to solve this problem, this research mainly focuses on the specific aspect of right wing *terrorism*. Furthermore, the organizations must operate within Europe and during the third wave of terrorism. Although it is acknowledged in the introduction that right wing terrorist organizations still exist, it appears that information on the "older" organizations was better accessible. Despite the openness of such organizations on right wing groups' political opinions, their internal structures, actions and background is often kept underground. From an intensive study in various organizations, four of them were considered to circumvent the abovementioned problems and provide sufficient information to draw some conclusions. These four organizations include the Russian Nazi "RNU", the separatist Corsican movements "Clandestine Corsicans and Corsican Resistance" (CCCR), the nationalist/Nazi "Blood & Honour" and the fascist Italian "New Order". Descriptions of these organizations are to be found in Annex I.

3. RIGHT WING TERRORISM IN FOCUS

3.1 Historical background

In order to provide a thorough understanding of right wing extremism/terrorism, the present section on historical background has an expanded time-span of chronological developments of right wing activities. It starts with a brief description of the right wing movement in the early 20th century, after which it describes the subsequent developments chronologically in periods of decades, including the interbellum and Second World War years, the 1960s and 70s as well as the 1980s and end of Cold War. The section concludes with a description of how these historical features play a role in the current threat of right wing terrorism.

As stated in the introduction right wing terrorism is a very diffuse phenomenon, and in history it surfaced in all kinds of types and varieties. Even the downfall of the "Third Reich" and other fascist states has not perished right wing activities. In contrast, the downfall serves as an inspiration for most right wing supporters nowadays, as they use the same symbols like swastikas. Although this study focuses on the third wave of terrorism, one should not neglect the similarities with other forms of terrorism that occurred during the previous waves reflected by white (West-European) supremacy, colonial domination, Christian tradition, and economic mercantilism.

Nevertheless, this study focuses solely on the third wave and the contemporary remainders thereof. Important societal changes, such as the Cold War, immigration, unemployment, the expansion of Islam, and the waning communism, and the relation of these "events" with the right wing ideology and activity are described.

Shortly after World War II, Europe was facing the threat of communism. In West-European countries, for which the threat of communism was real and fostered by internal communist political parties, the political landscape polarized. The Italian situation is the clearest example. Both left- and right wing terrorists conducted attacks in the 1970s. As a communist government was the worst-case scenario to many, secret services and other state institutions supported right wing groups (Harris, 1990: 109-114). Violent attacks, conducted by right wing

groups, were falsely blamed on left-wing groups. This ultimate goal of the strategy of tension was to create an anti-communist climate and increase the public support for the state (Ganser, 2005b: 20; Francovich, 1992).

At the same time, the economic prosperity of the 1960s and 1970s attracted many immigrant workers to Europe. They took jobs local people were not interested in. Their numbers increased strongly over time. As a result western societies became multicultural, with non-western cultures having an increased influence on the traditions West-European culture.

With the end of the Cold War era and the collapse of the Soviet Union with their satellite states, the communist threat diminished. As a consequence the focus of right wing terrorists shifted towards anti-immigrant and racist movements. Neo-Nazi skinhead groups surfaced throughout Europe in this period. "Blood & Honour" is an example of a right wing Neo-Nazi group which was erected as an anti-communist movement, but transformed into an organization that is anti-immigrant and against the presence of other minorities.⁵

Similar to communism, the influence of non-West-European cultures is perceived as a direct threat to the traditions, culture, and everyday life of native citizens (Bjørgero and Witte, 1993: 121-122). This threat became even more real with the economic crisis of the 1970s and 1980s in combination with the permanent stay of the immigrant workers. Different from the 60s and early 70s, both groups were competing for the same, scarcely available jobs (Bjørgero and Witte; 1993: 2-3). This anti-immigrant attitude, combined with the fear of economic competition and loss of traditional values can be seen in for instance the CC/RC.⁶

Another consequence of the diminished threat of (state) communism is the rise of right wing movements at the surface of the political spectrum in former communist countries. With the quickly changing society, the economic problems and the newly gained political freedom, neo-Nazism and extreme orthodox nationalism rapidly grew in Russia for example (Dunlop, 2001: 60-74). The number of members of the RNU, for instance, increased up to 100.000 members in the 1990s (Smith, 2005:6; see *also* Annex I).

⁵ See <http://kafka.antifa.net/b&h.nl.htm>, last accessed 12 October 2007.

⁶ See <http://www.tkb.org/Group.jsp?groupID=2> and <http://www.tkb.org/Group.jsp?groupID=3989>, last accessed 12 October 2007.

Right wing often is in line with anti-Semitic and anti-Islam motives. Which sentiment is stronger differs between organizations. Neo-Nazi groups, e.g. the Dutch "Blood & Honour" chapter or division, occasionally unite their position in apparently strange alliances with Muslim fundamentalists as they both deny the Holocaust and both share an anti-Semitic attitude (Bosch, 2006). In this particular case right wing extremists may, for example, support governing Iranian president Ahmedinedjad (Bosch, 2006 and Michael, 2006).

On the other hand, with the recent Islamist inspired attacks on the Western society (e.g. 9/11, and the bombings of Madrid and London), extremist Islamists are becoming a target for right wing convictions and terrorists. As a result, the right wing political spectrum has started to focus more on the dangers of Muslim culture, and the increased number of citizens who are Muslim.⁷ This form of polarization – comparable with the communist-capitalist situation during the Cold War (Huntington, 1996) – is becoming a defining factor in the European political debate. In the past decade(s), many examples can be found of (extreme) right wing political parties, represented within the boundaries of the democratic system. Examples thereof include the Belgian "Vlaams Belang" (which has been sentenced by the Belgian court because of expressions of racism)⁸, the Dutch PPV or "Partij voor de Vrijheid" (which was supported by extreme right voters in the parliamentary elections; NRC Handelsblad, 13 January 2007), the Austrian FPÖ or "Freiheitliche Partei Österreichs" (after ascending to ruling government the EU isolated Austrian foreign politics because of their anti-immigrants thoughts and the trivializing of the Holocaust by political leaders; NRC Handelsblad, 4 February 2000).

3.2 Organization and finance

Analyzing the different ways in which right wing extremist groups are organized, it is obvious that the manners of organization are far from similar. Some groups

⁷ See for example the case of Dutch politician Geert Wilders, available at http://www.geertwilders.nl/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=533&Itemid=74 and <http://www.reuters.com/article/filmNews/idUSL2861404320071128>, last accessed 12 October 2007.

⁸ See <http://www.lsp-mas.be/blokbuster/site/bb/htdocs/modules/news/article.php?storyid=296>, last accessed 12 October 2007.

operate as small underground entities, for example New Order and RC/CC, while others are very large (by number) and for a large part operate in all openness such as B&H and RNU (see Annex I; see *generally* TTSRL, WP3).

Groups vary in terms of size and the form of violence and the sort of recourses they use. Groups like B&H and RNU have membership count around 10.000 and even more (Smith, 2005:6), and are active in multiple countries. This scale (in number of members and countries) has a direct effect on the way they are organized. In contrast to smaller groups, larger organizations use the internet more often in order to communicate and function as one group.⁹ However, apart from some shared ideas and symbols, they can be seen as loose umbrella organizations with a lot of rivalry amongst the members (Sykes, 2005: 133-134). Smaller groups operating in only one country do not (need to) have these “open” structure, and are, thus, not as public as their larger counterparts. This can also be connected to the type of violence they use. Larger groups are also able to perform hate crimes at a larger scale, political violence, and symbolic disturbances. Smaller groups, on the other hand, seem to largely enact violence that qualifies as terrorist.¹⁰ As black boxes the organizations produce drastic events like murder and bombing, therewith cause social anxiety.¹¹ Larger organizations use their number and public exposure for that cause.

Other common features of right wing sympathizers are, firstly, that the use of violence is increasingly getting organized (Jenkins, 2001:325) and, secondly, that there is a lack of (visible) hierarchy, which cripples their operational capacity. Apart from the structural chain of command at the top, little is known concerning the position of others. Nevertheless, strong inspirational leaders rule the organizations as the cases of B&H’s Donaldson and RNU’s Barkashov illustrate.¹²

All groups appear to have ties with political parties or are politically active themselves. It is important to note that this political activity is limited to small-

⁹ See e.g. www.bloodandhonour.com; www.bloodandhonour-rvf.com; www.bloodandhonour.org; www.rne-center.org; www.ural-rne.org; www.ruord.org.

¹⁰ See <http://www.tkb.org/Incident.jsp?incID=11677>.

¹¹ The theory of black box is often used in International Relations theory in order to describe states/organizations/entities of which not much is known about the internal structure and workings (see Kegley, 1997)

¹² See www.rnebarkashov.ru and www.bloodandhonour-rvf.com.

scale extreme radical right parties.¹³ Apart from this active involvement, the groups may have voiced sympathy for the larger radical right political parties. These parties, however, are generally very attentive not to get associated with groups that actually use violence (*see for example* Harris, 1990: 110).

Just as it is the case with other forms of terrorism, financial means are acquired through a lot of different manners, like legal work, bank robbery, distortion, other criminal activity, or a "Maecenas" (Norman, 1998: 375-392; *see also* WP3, Euroterrorism case study). Nevertheless, it is difficult to fully investigate the financial side of right wing terrorism.

Bearing this in mind, the openness in which B&H makes money is just as unusual as striking. Parts of their funding come from concerts and Internet merchandising. The neo-Nazi record label ISD Records, which is linked to B&H, has made profits estimated at over £100.000 a year.¹⁴ As B&H and C18 seem well funded by itself, it is not entirely clear what these means are used for (Sykes, 2005:134). In addition, it might be assumed that right wing organizations receive funding from their governments for they have strong connections with their government. One has to be cautious, however, in alleging governments to financially support right wing extremist or terrorist organizations. It is likely to happen outside the direct knowledge of the entire government. The support may also be given to the less-violent parts of the organizations. In the case of New Order, however, this allegation is likely to be true. Weapons used in attacks subscribed to New Order have been linked to the Italian secret services (Ganser, 2005b: 3). Furthermore, New Order is believed to have been financed partly through the notorious P2 Masonic Lodge¹⁵ (Harris, 1990: 113). However, the annual budgets of the organizations remain unclear.

¹³ The RNU has been politically active and has run in several elections (<http://www.panorama.ru/works/patr/bp/2eng.html>; <http://www.tkb.org/Group.jsp?groupID=3674>; Dunlop, 2001:60-74). The British B&H has known contacts with the BNP (British National Party), and they are (among other things) as stewards at BNP rallies (Sykes, 2005: 130-135). New Order had strong ties with security services and elements within the government, and Members had strong ties to the MSI (Harris, 1990: 110). RC was the armed wing of the small radical political party "Accolta Naziunale Corsa". ANC accounted for 0.48% of the votes in the 2002 regional elections (<http://www.broadleft.org/fr.htm>; <http://www.tkb.org/Group.jsp?groupID=2>).

¹⁴ See www.isdrecords.com.

¹⁵ P2 (in Italian "Propaganda Due") was a Masonic lodge that consisted of important people mainly in Italy (members of parliament, military leaders, journalists, heads of secret services). Members were involved in illegal activities and scandals. *See e.g.* Ankerberg, J. and Weldon, J. (1989), *The Secret Teachings of the Masonic Lodge: A Christian Perspective*. Chicago: Moody Press.

3.3 Methods and tactics

As already mentioned in the introduction, there is no consensus about the definitions of both terrorism and right wing. Chapter two aims to bridge that gap by giving definitions for the separate concepts. This section further elaborates on the diffuse and permeable line between hate crimes, racist violence and terrorism.

The studied right wing groups use various methods to achieve their more or less equal goals. Methods include the creation of fear of minorities in order to create racially 'pure state' (B&H)¹⁶; the harassment of minorities and attacks on the government in order to (re) create a "pure motherland" (RNU)¹⁷; the harassment of minorities and attacks on the state so that a racial pure independent country is created (RC/CC)¹⁸; or attacking targets and try blaming the attacks on left-wing groups in order to scare people away from the political left (Frankovich, 17 June 1992).

Their tactics also vary. Besides using a wide variety of weapons, most used in right wing circles is the readily available tactic of bombing. Noteworthy to mention is that next to these 'regular' terrorist activities right wing organizations often use violence that does not qualify as terrorist. That might be the reason why some groups are by some not considered to be "terrorist" at all.

Looking at the MIPT terrorism database, the RNU has been held responsible for only one terrorist attack (an attack on a Synagogue in 1998).¹⁹ In comparison with the large amount of members this is a meager record. On the other hand, it does not mean the RNU is not violently active. Whether an attack is regarded as terrorist attack heavily depends on the definition chosen to describe terrorism. Searching for the RNU at the well-known video website one stumbles across many home videos bearing the RNU logo. Some of these videos show RNU members beating up foreigners, other show gun and army training.²⁰

¹⁶ See <http://kafka.antifa.net/b&h.nl.htm>.

¹⁷ See <http://www.tkb.org/Group.jsp?groupID=3674>

¹⁸ See <http://www.tkb.org/Group.jsp?groupID=2>,
<http://www.tkb.org/Group.jsp?groupID=3989>, and
<http://www.tkb.org/Group.jsp?groupID=3668>;

¹⁹ See <http://www.tkb.org/Incident.jsp?incID=11677>.

²⁰ In December 2007, the load of RNU video's on "You Tube" counts about 25. See *also* http://nl.youtube.com/results?search_query=russian+national+unity and <http://nl.youtube.com/watch?feature=related&v=nDHvnNkk7m0>, last accessed 12 October 2007.

These examples illustrate precisely the permeable dividing line between terrorism and hate crime, discussed earlier. Why is the killing of an immigrant through beating not a terrorist action, while the murder of Israel's prime minister Yitzhak Rabin is in a grey area, and the murder of Dutch filmmaker Theo van Gogh a terrorist act? The OSCE (Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe) uses the following working definition of hate crime:

“(A) Any criminal offence, including offences against persons or property, where the victim, premises, or target of the offence are selected because of their real or perceived connection, attachment, affiliation, support, or membership of a group as defined in Part B. (B) A group may be based upon a characteristic common to its members, such as real or perceived race, national or ethnic origin, language, colour, religion, sex, age, mental or physical disability, sexual orientation, or other similar factor”

Source: OSCE (<http://www.osce.org/odihr/20052.html>)

A criminal offence that, without a racist motive in mind, can be qualified as “normal”, like beating up somebody, is – with a racist motive – classified as hate crime. But should a “normal” criminal offence that is committed by members of right wing extremist groups – with the purpose of intimidating minorities and creating fear – not be qualified as terrorist instead of hate crime? This question, once again, shows the difficulty of perception if there is no definition of terrorism. Even bearing in mind that the EU has adopted one common definition of terrorism, this definition is rather broad and open for national interpretation. It appears that many EU countries still use their own definitions, which further complicates the means to qualify hate crimes as terrorist acts. However, the organizations mentioned in this case study are terrorist organizations under the European definition of terrorism.²¹

²¹ Article 1 sub 1 of Council Framework Decision on Combating Terrorism describes terrorism as an act, which ‘given their nature or context, may seriously damage a country or an international organisation where committed with the aim of: seriously intimidating a population; or unduly compelling a Government or international organisation to perform or abstain from performing any act; or seriously destabilising or destroying the fundamental political, constitutional, economic or social structures of a country or an international organisation’.

4. RIGHT WING TERRORISM'S AUTOPSY

4.1 Right wing's impact

The impact of right wing terrorism can be described in a societal, political and media context. As appears these areas are partly overlapping.

Concerning the societal context it should be noted that right wing terrorism not always is labeled as such. Society often regards right wing activities as "regular" violence rather than terrorism. This space for interpretation directly follows from the inability of agreeing on one clear formulation of right wing ideology and terrorism. The other way around, right wing movements use the local traditions, values, and characteristics to define their own identity and often target groups that are considered to pose a threat to those traditions, values, and characteristics. For this reason many non-rightist citizens recognize and even sympathize with some of the organization's political opinions, even though they dislike its methods and tactics. Moreover, others may passively feel threatened by (ethnic or political) minorities in society. From this inauguration of right wing activists and "ordinary" citizens against minorities (often foreigners), it follows that right wing violence – though unacceptable – is not often labeled as being terrorism. It does not create fear among the majority of the population, like for example religious terrorism, which is one of the main criteria of terrorist acts. "Ordinary" or non-rightist forms of terrorist attacks take targets with a strong symbolic function and/or crowded spaces. Examples are religious terrorism by al-Qaeda, the threat of the leftists in the 1970s and 1980s, and the threat of separatist movements in Great Britain and Spain: Harris, 1990:107). Right wing attacks, on the other hand, are more focused on specific minority, thus not *directly* threatening the majority. Causing fear amongst minorities only is then defined as hate crime.

An example of this critical issue concerning right wing terror/violence is the rightist violence in the 1980s in the UK, which is labeled as "Would-Be" terrorist (Sykes, 2005: 120). The label of terrorist would be counterproductive to the goals and cause of the rightist actions. Therefore rightist extremists tried to uphold their innocence especially in front of the politicians (Sykes, 2005: 120-121). In the 1980s there is a noticeable increase in frequency in attacks on

homes and properties (Harris, 1990: 126). At that point the discussion started to rise whether right wing violence needed to be portrayed as “real” terrorism.

In the political context, the different perceptions with regard to the rightist actions resulted in different policies and practices across the EU (Bjørgero and Witte, 1993:140). For instance, in the 1980s in the UK the topic was almost completely integrated in the political agenda, while in France and the Netherlands respectively very little or even no attention was paid to it at all (Bjørgero and Witte, 1993: 140).

Only one decade later, right wing terrorism appeared on several agendas (e.g. public, media and political agenda) across the whole continent (Bjørgero and Witte, 1993:140). The appearance on the political agenda created opportunities for the legitimate existence of the right wing organizations (Williams, 2006:2). The impact of right wing terrorism is nurtured by the general goal to create panic and target without the slightest warning (Harris, 1990:107). However, after the 1990s several right wing orientated political parties, however small in size, were able to establish themselves in different countries within Europe, gaining more political “soft” influence.

With regard to the media, from studies it appears that the media had a not unsubstantial influence through the attention it gave to right wing organizations, further fostering the rise of and support for racist violence (Bjørgero and Witte, 1993:96-112). Modern information technology is important to right wing terrorists (Larabee, 2003:34). A copycat effect may follow from violence against immigrants. The media influenced this process in multiple ways. Firstly, a negative attitude towards immigrants in the media established a justification in the minds of those conducting violent acts (Bjørgero and Witte, 1993:100). Secondly, the considerable attention to the phenomenon creates fear among other immigrants, letting them think they can be a victim of right wing terrorism as well. The effect is that these immigrants may rather stay in their houses, which in turn enlarges the gap between the ordinary population and immigrants (Bjørgero and Witte, 1993:106). Thirdly, the media has paid increased attention to immigrant issues in the 2000s. For instance in the years 2000 and 2001 the number of articles on immigrants has more than doubled in comparison to the number of articles in the years 1990 to 1999²². This might have influenced the

²² This information is taken from figure 6.1 in Williams (2006: 143). The figure is entitled “Newspaper Coverage of the Immigration issue 1990-2002”. The sources are articles on

mindset of (potential) right wing terrorists and other sympathizers. Lastly, it has been argued that right wing terrorist acts are conducted deliberately to seek attention through the media. This influence is still visible nowadays, and is even fostered by the increasing threat of religious terrorism and the negativity caused by such acts for the position of Islamic immigrants.

4.2 Root and trigger causes

Root causes can be described at several levels. A personal level can be distinguished from a group and societal level. To start with the first there is not much data about the personal root causes of right wing terrorists. Crenshaw has researched the psychology of political terrorists and made some specifications on right wing terrorism (1986: 386). Her first conclusion is that right wing terrorists are more frequently examined by psychiatrists compared to left-wing terrorists. This is explained partly by the fact that they use the defense of insanity in trials more often than leftist do. In addition, one can note a much higher incidence of borderline or psychotic personalities and drug addiction. There is some discussion about the question if the glorification of violence in right wing terrorism is the most important pull factor. Sullwold says it is, and connects the attraction towards violence with mentally disturbed individuals (1981: 110-113). On the other hand, Merkl states that the attraction to violence is not a dominant aspect of right wing personalities. (1980: 235)

Fear, ignorance and powerlessness are important causes of the often racist attitude of right wing followers. Events appealing to those causes, for instance the murder of an important figure by an immigrant can trigger violent actions (Homan, 2006: 165-158). Right wing extremists are often indoctrinated by xenophobic propaganda. They fear immigrants as competitors for jobs, partners, and accommodation (Bjørger, 1997: 89-90; Rieker, Glaser and Schuster, 2006: 51). These individuals can be characterized by frustrations, pessimism, a social-victim's complex and hopelessness. These people are afraid of their prospects in rapidly changing socioeconomic conditions (Williams, 2006:61).

Terrorism often involves group activity, both as an interaction between terrorists, and between terrorists, audiences and victims (Crenshaw, 1986: 380).

the subject immigration from the Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung (FAZ) between 1990 to

The same goes for right wing terrorist organizations. The terrorist organization can be described as having leaders, active followers and passive supporters. The latter group is used for the purpose of recruitment and is willing to provide services. The active followers can be engaged in several types of functions, from engaging in violence to logistic, fund raising and public relations (Crenshaw, 1986: 384). An effective role differentiation and smooth cooperation between active and passive followers can result in a growing potential, threat and level of violence and thus can be seen as an internal root or trigger cause of turning to or using terrorism. It appears, however, that in enacting terrorist activities, the terrorist has dissolved from the group and acts independently (Pekelder, 2005).

Pedahzur uses a wide definition while naming the society as a root cause for right wing terrorism. He sees intolerance, ethnocentrism, xenophobia, racism, and other radical views to be the root causes and infrastructure of extremism (2001: 341). This idea is generally supported by the earlier ideas of Crenshaw who states that it is impossible to study terrorism apart from a political and social context (1986: 384), among which welfare reforms (Smith, 2005: 6).

Post, Ruby and Shaw have a strong focus on the historical and cultural background of right wing terrorism. They study the influence of these factors and connect these to the regions where the terrorists originated from. They found that if violence is an expected feature of the political order in a region, terrorist groups will turn to violence more easily as they perceive it deemed necessary. This also applies if violence is a quasi-legitimate means of expressing discontent (Post, Ruby and Shaw, 2002: 78). If the history of the region is violent and these conflicts are still visible through a division along ethnic, religious or socioeconomic class lines, the problems can be politicized and protest movements can emerge. These instabilities provide fertile ground for radical group formations. Examples of this are the increase of neo-Nazi activity after the reunification of Germany and the increase of refugee population and asylum seekers. This societal trend was accompanied by social tension, violence and the rise of skinhead violence (Post, Ruby and Shaw, 2002: 80).

These thoughts were presented to a panel of experts in the field of terrorism and political violence and double-checked by additional literature reviews, and they were asked which factors were of high or low importance. The

results showed that all indicators linked to historical, cultural and contextual features were considered to be of high importance. Right wing terrorists were also considered to persecute minorities and use communal conflict by politicizing conflict. Political, economic and social instability are of importance. But corruption within the government, rapid economic change (for instance urbanization, industrialization), a high degree of income disparity, recession depression and a slow pace of reform are judged to be of low importance (Post, Ruby and Shaw, 2002: 113-125).

Another factor is the rise of the white power music industry. This industry enables right wing movements to attract a wider youth public and offers a platform to spread their message. For gaining support right wing extremists use this more often than the more drastic actions (Bjørger, 1997: 319-321).

Police, politicians and public opinion often respond moderately towards actions and expressions of extremists. As a result right wing extremists conclude they represent the silent majority of society. It is difficult to counteract all actions and expressions with governmental policies (Bjørger, 1997)

Post, Ruby and Shaw name triggering events for terrorist action. Arrest, torture, assassination and attack of members of the group are considered as highly relevant events for right wing terrorist groups (2002: 113-125). The existence of outspoken or threatening opponents can also be a triggering event (Post, Ruby and Shaw, 2002:81). Of lower importance is the exclusion from running in an election, though some parties representing a radical group might believe that they are deprived of a victory at the polls, anniversaries and/or "red letter days" commemorating a significant violent event (2002: 98). Corsica shows the example of taking-over the activities if one is blocked from attendance at events as mentioned before.²³ Attacks on other places than where the events take place also belong to the possibilities.

An intrinsic trigger is the consequence of extreme actions itself. The moderate followers will not identify themselves with those actions and leave the organizations. The more extremist followers will dissolve or they will plan new actions. This process of "extremification" can become a continuous process. At the end of the process, there is a small, closed group which is prepared to undertake several extreme actions (Bjørger, 1997:151-153).

²³ See <http://www.tkb.org/Group.jsp?groupID=3668>, last accessed 12 October 2007.

4.3 Decline of right wing *terrorism*

One of right wing's most interesting features is the fact that it has been constantly present in the political arena for the last one-hundred years. There is, however, a difference in the output of these groups. This case study has focused on right wing *terrorist* groups. It appears that terrorist groups are declining. Yet, right wing violence and thoughts remain popular. The reason behind the distinction mentioned are hard to identify as there is no consensus on the definition or the definition is becoming weaker for there is more sympathy towards right wing extremist opinions and actions (look for example at the growing support for rightist political opinion of the Dutch PVV and the Belgian Vlaams Blok). In any case, political violence and political thoughts are constant factors whereas the terrorist acts associated with it are incidents.

The right wing groups studied in this case study further illustrate the resilience of the right wing ideology. Strong leadership is one of the feeding factors of that resilience. However, if that strong leadership is removed or replaced the groups become vulnerable and can more easily be eliminated or diminished. The current trend in that leadership may explain the decline in number of terrorist actions.

The Russian RNU has had internal conflicts and has split into two separate movements in 2000. Both movements still have a right wing ideology and have a huge amount of followers, but since 2000 they have not been engaged in terrorist or other violent operations (Smith, 2005:7). In Corsica the decline of Corsican Resistance has led to the activation of the other. The arrest of twelve members has resulted in a decline in activity, but other racist separatists have threatened to increase military activities if they will not be released. Other known factors of decline are the arrest of leaders, increased attention of police, and the killing/death of its leaders (Hoffman, 1984:7-8, Bjørgero, 1997: 319-321). Several right wing groups have realized that extreme actions can lead to complete elimination of the group by police and other security forces. Therefore, such actions by the sample organizations have not recently been reported.

5. CONCLUSION

This case study has attempted to provide general and specific, as well as practical and theoretical insight into the concept of right wing terrorism and other forms of right wing motivated violence. Despite the difficulties one faces as a result of a lack of clear definitions it has been able to draw the following conclusions based on the assembled data consisting of literature, government documents, media statements, and other sources of information on right wing terrorism in general and terrorist actions of four European right wing extremist/terrorist groups in particular.

There is hardly any universality to be discovered in size, means of organization, method and tactics amongst the various right wing organizations. Both in the past and present, right wing movements have made use of differing economic theories, political goals, and usage of the media and the collection of financial means. While groups such as B&H and the RNU appear to have a rather large following, other groups such as the Corsicans remain rather marginalized. Also with regard to the connection many of these movements have with political parties, no general description can be given. Although generally political parties will distance themselves from the violence that will be attributed to them, while looking at concrete cases specifically, one can never attest this based on the limited amount of open information available.

Uniformity can be found however when looking at the impact of right wing, the root and trigger causes thereof as well as its general development and decline. As the targets of right wing terrorism and violence often appear to be minorities, foreign nationals, or people thought not to be inclusive to the perceived group or nation on behalf of which the right wing organization claims to act, the impact large or small organizations is generally the same. In all cases we have observed of right wing terrorism, we have noted that it was never the majority of society that was targeted and thus also limited both the actual as well as perceived impact of right wing violence. Furthermore, the root and trigger causes appear to be founded within the economical and political climate of society. When a lot of problems and economic recession is apparent within a country, the rise of extreme right sympathies is more likely to occur. Similarly, the decline of right wing extremism is often due to the poor internal organization

of the groups and/or the fact that factors that led to the initial appeal of such parties have disappeared or lessened in their prevalence throughout society.

The subtitle of this case study refers to two different concepts. It appears from the contemporary developments and trends in right wing movements that terrorism is replaced by extremism. This emphasizes the theoretical, though not operational shift in the focus of right wing groups. By labeling right wing activities as hate crimes rather than terrorist acts the possibilities for governments to act upon these actions are limited. The results of this case study make clear that right wing activities do match the general definition of terrorism, making them extremely dangerous. Nevertheless, the recent focus on solely religious terrorism lessens the attention for this form of violence. Care must be taken with regard to right wing groups.

ANNEX I

Russian National Unity (RNU)

The name "Russian National Unity" (RNU) seems to be contradictory. Considering the heavy losses of Russia during Second World War Soviet neo-Nazi's appears to be an impossible combination, (it is hard to imagine that fascist groups receive support). Nevertheless, RNU turns to Nazism, while calling itself Nationalist. Goals of the RNU are the ethnic cleansing of the "motherland" and a strong influence of the Russian Orthodox Church. The slogan "Russia for the Russians" excludes the presence of Jews and Caucasian minorities, as they should be deported to Israel and "Turkish lands".²⁴

RNU is founded by ultra-nationalist Aleksandr Barkashov in 1990. During the Russian power struggle in 1992-1993, and the economic and social difficulties, the radicalization of Russian nationalism intensified. The RNU grew up to 100.000 members in the late 1990's (Smith, 2005:6). In 2000 it split into two groups Barkashov's RNU-1 and Andrey and Yevgenny Lalochkin's RNU-2. Without central leadership, the organisations became less active, but are still very large.²⁵

Clandestine Corsicans (CC) and Corsican Resistance (RC)

The separatist Corsican movements "Resistenza Corsa" (RC) and "Corsi Clandestini" (CC) are not always considered right wing, and most times they are indicated as ethno-separatist terrorist groups. Indeed, they have their roots in the Corsican separatist movement. Both groups will be discussed because it can be assumed that CC is an offspring of the RC, which started its activities after the latter (founded in the 1990s) dissolved in 2003. Although Corsica has a long history in separatist movements, both RC and CC are relatively new phenomena, as they combine separatist goals with racist action.

The RC is an armed wing of the separatist "Corsican National Liberation Front" (FLNC). FLNC is not a right-wing organization (it even has many left-wing supporters), but it has used many shock-tactics as bombing and murders (Blok, 2006:13-14).²⁶ Both RC and CC claim that their primary goal is to stamp out

²⁴ See specifically <http://www.tkb.org/Group.jsp?groupID=2>.

²⁵ See <http://www.rnebarkashov.ru/what02.htm>; see generally <http://www.rne.org/>.

²⁶ See generally www.smallarmssurvey.org.

drug trafficking on Corsica. For this reason they try to stop North-African immigration, by using shock tactics and violent, racist actions.²⁷ For instance, RC has claimed responsibility for some 18 attacks. The anti-immigrant stance of the CC is shown in the following statement: 'They [North Africans] will not be left alone in their own homes and physical eliminations will be carried out against the most stubborn of them. Corsican land for the Corsican people'.²⁸

Blood & Honour (B&H)

"Blood & Honour" (B&H) with its special branch "Combat 18" (C18), is founded in 1987 and active in a wide variety of European countries.²⁹ The name B&H is the English translation of the Hitler Nazi youth slogan "Blut und Ehre". The organization is mainly known for its violent en racist actions. Within B&H chapters a lot of competition exists, and not necessarily in friendly terms. The wide-scale spread, and large number of members and political views however make this organization a potential threat.³⁰ Past actions of B&H show that there is only a thin line between the political thoughts, political violence and terrorist acts.

In 1992 Combat 18 (C18) erected as a political active (violent) part of B&H operating (solely) in the UK.³¹ C18 connects violent rhetoric with terrorist action, and is ready to kill without asking questions. C18 is suspected of three incidents in the UK. On 17, 24 and 30 April 1999, they set off nail bombs in Brixton and London in multicultural neighborhood, killing 3 people and injuring 139.³² Besides C18, the attacks were claimed by three other racist organizations.

In the Europol inventory on terrorism, right wing terrorism is currently gaining in importance. With regard to right wing terrorism Europol solely refers

²⁷ See generally www.tkb.org.

²⁸ See generally <https://www.irr.org.uk>.

²⁹ E.g. Belgium, Bohemia (Czech Republic), Bulgaria, England, Lithuania, the Netherlands, Poland, Russia, Serbia, Slovakia, Sweden, and Ukraine.

³⁰ See <http://kafka.antifa.net/b&h.nl.htm>, last accessed 12 October 2007.

³¹ The number 18 in the name is a code for AH, the 1 stands for the first letter of the alphabet - the A - and the 8 stands for the eighth letter of the alphabet - the H. Combat 18 thus has to be read as Combat A(dolf) H(itler).

³² See The Guardian, Fred Attewill (2007) 'London nail bomber must serve at least 50 years', 2 March 2007, available at <http://www.guardian.co.uk/uk/2007/mar/02/ukcrime.thefarright>, last accessed 21 May 2008; The Guardian, Yvonne Ridley (1999) 'Combat 18 infiltrator warns for copycat attacks', 2 May 1999, available at <http://www.guardian.co.uk/uk/1999/may/02/yvonneridley.theobserver>, last accessed 21 May 2008.

to B&H. This group is closely examined and information is found on targets for possible terrorist attacks (Europol, 2007: 35).

New Order

The neo-fascist Italian "New Order" was founded in 1956. It is a right wing group, which objective was to lead the public away from political left ideas, communist party membership, leftist protests, and leftist sympathies in order to prevent an electoral victory for the left. Series of attacks were carried out in what is now known as the "strategia della tensione" or in English "strategy of tension".³³ Its members varied in numbers from a handful of people to several hundred. The last attack associated with New order was in 1980, but it is unknown if the organization has dissolved or operates as an underground movement.

Allegedly there are or were links between the New Order and the Italian government. As stated by one of the members of the New Order:

"When you were on the right you were not supposed to attack the State or its representatives. You were supposed to attack civilians, women, children innocent people outside the political arena. For one simple reason: To force the Italian public to turn to the State turn to the regime and ask for greater security. This was precisely the role of the Right in Italy."

(Allan Francovich, Gladio: The Puppeteers. Second of total three Francovich Gladio documentaries, broadcasted on BBC2 on June 17, 1992)

This interesting comment is underlined by some studies that link the Italian government to this fascist and terrorist organization. For instance, senator Libero Gualtieri head of the Italian Parliamentary Enquiry on Gladio: "The judges noticed in all the cases a certain amount of interference. In some cases [it concerned] very heavy interferences on the part of the services, of the police security and the organs of the State. Instead of helping the magistrates, they were fiddling the records, so that the truth wouldn't come out" (Ibid).

³³ See <http://www.tkb.org/Group.jsp?groupID=3668>.

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