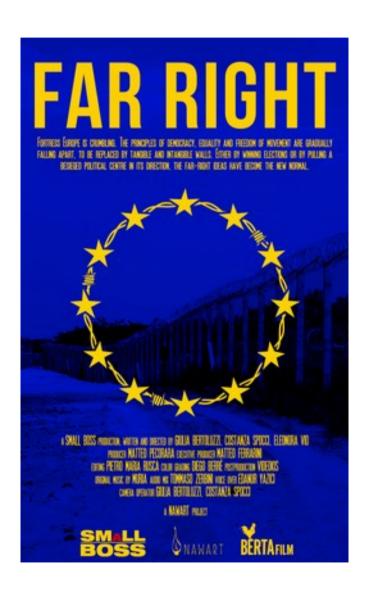
FAR RIGHT

How mass migration and Islamic terrorism helped create and embolden a new far right rhetoric across Europe

by

Eleonora Vio

Far Right, A New Frightening Normal



- May 2017: A documentary movie broadcasted on Aljazeera Network;
- The journalistic project kicked off in late 2015 and ended in early 2017;
- Countries involved:
 Austria, Slovakia,
 Hungary, Poland,
 Germany, France and
 Belgium;
- Team: Nawart Press

Where this idea comes from and what its scope is

- 2013-2014, and then again 2016: mass exodus from the Middle and Near East and North Africa to Europe;
- From 2013 to 2016: various Islamic terrorist attacks;
- European radical right grassroots movements and political parties will strumentalize and distort both issues;
- Red thread: xenophobic and racist, antimigrant and anti-Islam view;

- A more contemporary edgy and "hip" far right that takes inspiration from the French Novelle Droite of the 60s (e.g. the Great Replacement);
- Investigating the far right **net** that brings together people from the streets, the universities, the football stadiums as well as the political arenas;
- Investigation with an in-depth character-driven narration

AUSTRIA







- 18 out of 38 Freedom Party of Austria (FPO)'s MPs and 19 out of 35 federal party board members belonged to the B!B! (such as the Burschenschaften or a coalition of German-nationalist student fraternities) and 80% of the members of these fraternities were aligned with the FPO;
- the FPO's chairman, Heinz Christian Strache, was a member of Vandalia;
- not all of them could be associated with the farright, but their umbrella organisation, the Wiene Korporationsring (WKR), was dominated by extreme fraternities such as Olympia or Teutonia with longstanding relations with neo-Nazi and far-right extremists;
- Martin Sellner (leader of the Identitäre Bewegung Österreich - IBO) was a member of Olympia;
- Martin Sellner was investigated in 2019 for his links with the Christchurch shooter after receiving money from him.





HUNGARY







- March 2016: closure of the Balkan Route, covered by over a million people coming from the Middle and Near East Hungarian leader Viktor Orbán (chairman of Fidesz party) is one of the most vocal opponents of foreign people's integration into Europe and builds a metal fence, patrolled by armed guards, on the border with Serbia;
- Before 2015: it was far right party Jobbik alone to ride upon anti-migrant sentiments Fidesz takes over Jobbik's anti-migrant and anti-Islam political agenda to boost its political consent;
- In order to understand the roots and evolution of this extreme rhetoric: Laszlo Toroczkai, mayor of border town Ássotthalom, vice-president of Jobbik and founder of ultranationalist grassroots movement of the 64 Counties;
- 2014: Toroczkai establishes a well-trained squad of "migrant hunters" that patrol the borderline with Serbia





POLAND







- Poland has a very old paramilitary tradition and since 2014 (when Russia invaded Crimea) there's been a renewed interest in militarization - most of the 120 existing Polish paramilitary organisations tripled their number of members within 2 years;
- Taking up arms and receiving military training doesn't mean being racist, xenophobic or far right, but Polish far right movements and parties are promoting the state's militarization;
- Objective: defending their territorial borders and preserving their white Christian identity;
- Focus of my work: ultranationalist movements of All Polish Youth and the National Radical Camp (ONR), which gained momentum starting from 2011 National March (on 11 November every year) and on a very extreme party like the National Movement (5 seats in Parliament), allied with far right European parties like New Force (Italy) and LS'NS (Slovakia), and led by Robert Winnicky.
- With the passing of time, the vision of the ruling and very authoritarian Law and Justice (PiS) party has started to resemble the one of those above.





Serbia/ Kosovo





- The **Identitarian movement** (based on the philosophy of the *Novelle Droite* of the 60s) was born in France in 2002 and after becoming known as *Generation Identitaire* in 2012 spread throughout Europe and beyond, reaching the Balkans too;
- If the Serbian branch ceased to exist after only two years, in mid-2018, for many reasons (ex. migrants are few and seldom perceived as a threat; the movement failed to form a well-defined identity and ended up becoming a less convincing cover-up of some older Nazi and fascist parties), Generation Identitaire established itself in Serbia/ Kosovo thanks to Solidarité Kosovo (SK), an association that provides humanitarian aid to Kosovo's ethnic Serbs;
- SK was founded in 2004 by **Arno Gouillon** (such as the head of *Juenesses Identitaires* back in 2004 and the candidate for the *Identitaires* at the French elections in 2012). Several members of SK can be connected with the Identitarian Movement (e.g. Philippe Vardon, such as head of communication of Marine Le Pen)

Why Serbia?

- Serbia holds a special place in the far-right narrative in Europe.
 - Its loss of majority—
 Albanian Kosovo in the
 1998-99 war, held up as
 a case study of the
 'Islamic colonisation'
 of 'Christian land',
 threatened anew since
 2015, with the flow of
 Muslim migrants and
 refugees from the
 Middle East, Africa and
 Asia to Europe;
- It sounds a lot like...

 the Great Replacement

 theory so popular

 amongst the far right;
- Far right movements (not just the Identitarians) disguised as humanitarian and human rights organisations helping Serbs in Kosovo have started multiplying, to support one of the few strongholds of white European civilisation in resistance against Muslims and Western aggressors;
- In Serbia there is no law enforcement against the far right. It makes it easier for European ultranationalists to meet and organize.



END

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