

FAR RIGHT

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

by

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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, anti-migrant 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**

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UNSER EUROPA
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EURE UNION!





- 18 out of 38 Freedom Party of Austria (FPÖ)'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 FPÖ;
- the FPÖ's chairman, Heinz Christian Strache, was a member of Vandalia;
- not all of them could be associated with the far-right, but their umbrella organisation, the *Wiener Korporationsring* (WKR), was dominated by extreme fraternities such as **Olympia or Teutonia with long-standing 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







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- 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





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- 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 Winnicki.
- 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 Guillon** (such as the head of *Juenneses 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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