Return of the Third Reich?

An examination of the phenomena of neo-Nazis in Germany and the Russian Federation

By Julia Fruman
24-8-2012

Student Number: S2045230
Word Count: 32.807

Supervisor: Dr. Nienke de Deugd
# Table of contents

**Introduction** ......................................................................................................................... 3

**Chapter 1: Theoretical context** ......................................................................................... 6

Time ........................................................................................................................................ 6

- Linear and cyclical time ..................................................................................................... 6
- Koselleck on time .............................................................................................................. 9

**Methodology and Operationalisation** ............................................................................ 13

**Othering** .............................................................................................................................. 15

- Operationalisation ............................................................................................................. 17

**Chapter 2: Neo-Nazi Skinheads** .................................................................................... 18

- What are Neo-Nazis? ........................................................................................................ 18
- Development of Neo-Nazi movements ............................................................................ 20

**Othering** .............................................................................................................................. 27

- Degree of organisation ...................................................................................................... 32
- Services provided by neo-Nazi ........................................................................................ 41

**Political ties** ......................................................................................................................... 48

**Conclusion of Chapter** ....................................................................................................... 52

**Chapter 3: The spaces of experience of the Nazi party and Neo-Nazi groups** ............... 54

- Economic conditions ......................................................................................................... 54
- Appeal to the country ......................................................................................................... 59
- Personality cult .................................................................................................................... 61
- Paramilitary and military strength ..................................................................................... 67
- Hitler youth ........................................................................................................................ 70
- Legal status .......................................................................................................................... 72

**Conclusion of Chapter** ....................................................................................................... 76

**Chapter 4: Horizons of expectation** .............................................................................. 79

**Othering** .............................................................................................................................. 79

- The Nation .......................................................................................................................... 85
- Support amongst the general population ........................................................................ 87
- Approach to political power ............................................................................................ 91
- World view ......................................................................................................................... 93

**Conclusion of chapter** ....................................................................................................... 95

**Conclusion** .......................................................................................................................... 97

**Works Cited** ......................................................................................................................... 102
Introduction

Some 5,000 people, mostly young men wearing medical masks and balaclavas, marched through a working-class neighbourhood of gloomy apartment buildings on the outskirts of the capital. They chanted “Russia for Russians” and “Migrants today, occupiers tomorrow,” along with anti-Muslim and anti-Semitic slurs and obscenities. Some raised their hands in a Nazi salute as hundreds of police officers stood shoulder-to-shoulder along the street, which was blocked to traffic.¹

This quote summarises events that have been taking place in the Russian Federation, but also applies to Germany. Since independence from the United Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) and reunification for Germany, graffiti of swastikas, destruction of synagogues, marches, and even murder have taken place in the aforementioned countries. The culprits are said to be neo-Nazis.² While Nazi Germany was defeated in World War II, many neo-Nazis in these countries seem to utilise Nazi symbols, slogans, and ideology.

However, the extent to which neo-Nazis are present in these countries has not been extensively researched. Is this a threat to domestic security and stability or is this a fringe phenomenon that will eventually disappear or quiet down? Questions such as this ought to be investigated not only for the societal value of understanding security within these countries, but also for the potential academic value by contributing to debates in history, international relations, and even social psychological discussions regarding processes of Othering. Furthermore, this thesis seeks to ground the study of Neo-Nazi groups in debates regarding time by comparing the current neo-Nazi groups to the Nazi party. It is this process of Othering (how the enemy is conceived), that will be compared between the two time periods.

In order to understand the theme of neo-Nazi skinheads in Germany, and Russia, the following research question has been developed: To what extent does the presence of neo-Nazis in Germany and the Russian Federation indicate a (re-emergence) of fascism similar to Nazi Germany, based on the theory of time as expressed by Reinhart Koselleck? This main question can be unpacked into several sub-questions: To what extent are Neo-Nazi skinhead gangs active? What do they do?

This subquestion is analysed in Chapter Two, which is based on understanding the degree of activity of Neo-Nazi gangs in both countries. This chapter focuses on the extent of activity of said gangs. It begins with a brief overview of the development of neo-Nazi organisations in both

² The neo-Nazi skinhead label are attached to a group that identifies as such; a discussion of general trends and meanings of neo-Nazi organisations is discussed.
Germany and the Russian Federation. Next, the process of Othering amongst neo-Nazi groups, the services these groups provide, the degree of paramilitary organisation and violence carried out by the groups, and the political ties and activity of neo-Nazi groups are compared.

The next sub-question is: *To what extent do the manifestations of these gangs resemble that of the Nazi party?* This question serves as a comparison between the period leading up to and during the time in power of the Nazi party and the post-communist period that has led to the growth of neo-Nazi organisations. This question seeks to explain if/where ideology or activity have remained stable and if/where significant changes have taken place. Specifically, the socio-political and economic conditions in Germany during the interwar period are analysed. The degree of paramilitary and military training carried out by the brownshirts and Nazi party is also assessed. Furthermore, the ideology of the Nazi party is compared to the ideology of neo-Nazi organisations in Germany and the Russian Federation. This includes comparing the processes of Othering by both the Nazi party and neo-Nazi organisations, analysis of the ways in which they sought/seek to implement their expressed political goals, their desires for international relations, and lastly, the general possibilities for the future.

The last sub-question is: *How do the patterns (or lack thereof) fall into debates in history regarding linearity versus cyclicality of history?* This question and the one before it are analysed in Chapters Three and Four. In these chapters, the theory of Koselleck is utilised in order to assess the differences and/or similarities between the Nazi party and neo-Nazi organisations in Germany and the Russian Federation.

In order to answer this question, a literature review of theories of time is provided. This begins with a brief overview of theories of cyclical and linear time. The former holds that historical time is repetitive and patterns are continuously repeating themselves. Linear time, on the other hand, holds that historical time moves forward, and progress is constantly being made. Reinhart Koselleck presents a theory of time that is neither purely cyclical nor purely linear. Instead, he believes that historical time is based upon layers and argues that time is multi-temporal. Koselleck emphasises the importance of individuals to time as humans act based on their relationship with the experiences of the past and expectations for the future, out of which the present comes to be. New events and patterns develop due to the tension between past experiences and future expectations. These new events however, take place within the context of a long term structure.
Thus, while new events do occur, they occur in the context of a long term structure, and this may permit the recurrence of old patterns within a modern context.³

This research has led to the possibility of three distinctive hypotheses. The first hypothesis (hypothesis A) is that the phenomena of skin-head gangs in the case studies indicate a re-emergence/continuation of fascism, similar to that of Germany in the 1930’s in their goals, objectives, and behaviour. This contributes to the perspective that history is cyclical. Hypothesis B is that the phenomena of skin-head gangs in the case studies are not a recurrence of fascism. Even though these gangs are only relying on old symbols, they vary fundamentally from fascism in Germany during the 1930s. These are modern phenomena. The last hypothesis (hypothesis C) is that the phenomena of skin-head gangs in the case studies indicate a re-emergence/continuation of fascism within a modern context. Thus the phenomena of neo-Nazi skinheads are neither a repetition of the past nor a completely modern phenomenon.

In order to answer the research question, qualitative methodology and literature analysis is utilised. The larger part of the methods consists of qualitative work in the form of analysis of social media, such as online forums, websites, and youtube pages that members of these gangs have created. Newspapers are also relevant and provide insight into the actions of neo-Nazis. However, online media sources are more readily available in the Russian Federation rather than Germany, which has limited this research. In Germany, open display of Nazi and neo-Nazi symbols, and incitement of hatred, which targets a specific group are all illegal. This makes it difficult for German neo-Nazis to utilise the internet as openly or easily as neo-Nazi organisations in the Russian Federation. In order to make up for the limited availability of these sources, interviews and news media sources were utilised.

The added value of this research is that it provides a multi perspective analysis of skinhead phenomena, including aspects of social psychology, history (cyclicality or linearity of time), and security. The research also can make various policy recommendations. Furthermore, there has been limited research conducted on neo-Nazi gangs, in particular in a comparative fashion.

Chapter 1: Theoretical context

This chapter provides the theoretical context for the remainder of this thesis based on two main concepts – time and processes of Othering. This discussion of time consists of a brief review of three distinctive perspectives of historical time, beginning with linear and cyclical time. Then, an in-depth analysis is provided of the theory presented by Reinhart Koselleck as an alternative to linear or cyclical time. The chapter concludes with a means of operationalisation his theory that will be utilised in order to understand the phenomena of skinhead gangs in the given case studies.

Time

Several scholars in the field of history have written on the subject of time. One of the purposes of this thesis is to provide insight into theories of historical time by exploring the case of Neo-Nazi skinheads. This involves an in-depth knowledge of theories of time. A distinction is made in this thesis between historical time and ‘naturally elapsed time’. The former refers to theories of time presented by scholars based on a ‘chosen thematic, historians recognize, deposited in and about one another, different passages of time which reveal different tempos of change.’ The latter refers to the rotation of the earth, a revolution around the sun, etc. Various scholars have presented arguments in favour of the linearity or cyclicality of time. Another one of the perspectives amongst philosophers of time tends to be that time is neither cyclical nor linear, but rather is a combination, such as the theoretical perspective of Reinhart Koselleck.

Linear and cyclical time

Each approach to time has roots in the cultures of ancient civilizations according to various scholars. Linear time, also called mechanistic and Newtonian time, perceives time as moving unidirectionally ‘irrevocable past to an unknown remote future’. This theory of time is based on three, equal divisions of time – past, present, and future. Time moves from one stage to the other on a continuum.

9 Ibid.
According to Romila Thapar, Emeritus Professor of History at Jawaharlal University, New Delhi, time was perceived as linear largely by European or Western civilisations. The impact of Christianity may be noted here as having a central role in contributing to the development of this theory. Specifically, the crucifixion of Jesus is perceived as a singular, unique event in time that is not going to be repeated. This implies that time must be linear as significant events or similar versions of said events are not going to take place again. Jon Roekelein, Professor of Psychology, Emeritus, at Mesa College in Arizona, explains that linear time 'seems to be taken for granted' in modern civilisation because said civilization is organised based on concepts such as a clock and calendar, which are associated with said theory time.

A cyclical theory of time, on the other hand, holds that time goes from ‘turning point to turning point or from crisis to crisis’. Ancona, Okhuysen, and Perlow, are a Seley Distinguished Professor of Management and a Professor of Organization Studies at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology; a professor of management at the University of Utah; and Konosuke Matsushita Professor of Leadership in Organizational Behavior at the Harvard Business School respectively. They explicate that cyclical time is therefore continuous. The aforementioned repetitiveness, or crises, are defined based on a given actor’s perspective and his or her experiences (or that of society, more broadly). Unlike linear time, cyclical time is perceived as chaotic and is fragmented. Based on this theory, the future becomes unpredictable, while time itself is repetitive.

This approach has tended to be associated with non-Western cultures. According to Jörn Rüsen, who is a professor of history and historical culture at the University of Witten, ‘people of traditional societies’, or non-Western civilisations, were perceived of having a cyclical understanding of time; this tended to be the case because a cyclical view of time was believed to have a stabilising effect on the ‘social order and tradition’ of said society. Furthermore, such a

---

12 Ibid.
13 Ibidem, p.4.
17 Ibid.
18 Ibid.
view of time was believed to have economic advantage as cycles of time are 'more easily grasped, controlled, ...predicted and can be synchronized with one another'.

Because time is perceived as cyclical, then opportunities, regimes, days, etc, recur, and means that individuals ought not be anxious about their current positions. Based on the Indian conception of cyclical time, human endeavours cannot alter the path of cyclical time.

Both approaches have various shortcomings. A linear approach to time can be critiqued because it fails to incorporate and account for patterns and cycles in time. What is more, Crossan (professor at the University of Western Ontario), Cunha (professor at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology), Cunha (professor at the Universidade Nova de Lisboa), and Vera, (professor at the University of Western Ontario), explain that linear time can be criticised because qualitative features of time are negated by said theory, including transitions, perceptions, and rhythms.

A cyclical approach to time can be criticised for failing to explicate the occurrence of new events. More specifically, this perspective may fail to account for events that fall outside of the scope of ‘crisis’ or turning point. Events that resemble past crises, but with distinctive characteristics are also left unexplained. What is more, this perspective fails to explicate the lack of repetition of crises or significant events. Gould, former professor of geology at Harvard University, explains that a strictly cyclical perspective of time entails an infinite quantity of revolutions, which makes the notion of history not possible. What is more, history, or historical events would not be able to contextualised within a narrative. Not only do history and narrative become difficult to incorporate into this theory, so does progress.

Because both theories of time (linear and cyclical) each leave several aspects of time unexplained, another perspective is added in this research – the theoretical perspective of Reinhart Koselleck on time. Koselleck was a professor of history at the University of Bielefeld, where he was Chairman of the Department History Commission, and founded the faculty of history in 1973.

---

22 Ibidem, p.27.
Rüsen concludes that time was conceived in these societies not as completely cyclical, but rather a combination of cyclical and linear time.
Rüsen (2007), p.27. For the purpose of this paper, this conclusion is not delved into.
24 Ibid.
27 Ibid.
Johann Herder believed that there is no ‘singularity of time’ but rather that there are multiple times; each object has its own time. Herder’s work has also had a significant influence on the work of Reinhart Koselleck. Similarly, Reinhart Koselleck presents a theory of time where time consists of several layers. These layers can be theoretically distinguished because change occurs at various speeds on these layers and they are unique to each other. According to Koselleck, these layers make historical time, or historical times based on his terminology, possible.

One of the first scholars to write on the subject of a multi-temporal history was Fernand Braudel, a French historian, and one of the founding scholars of the Annales School. Braudel distinguishes between short term events, midterm trends, and the longue durée. He writes that the short term events constitute a small portion of history. These short and mid-term events were also called histoire événementielle, which is equated to event-based history. This histoire pertains to a time span that is ‘proportionate to the individuals, to daily life, to our illusions, to our hasty awareness – above all the time of the chronicle and the journalist’. These events or event based history more generally, according to Braudel, do not make up reality, nor do they encompass the depth of history. Braudel sees the longue durée as the most important aspect of time, which he associates with structure. This structure is perceived as largely permanent, but as having the possibility to slowly evolve. The longue durée is the endless, inexhaustible history of structures and groups of structures. For the historian a structure is not just a thing built, put together; it also means permanence... This structure may go through time without being altered; if it does change or deteriorate, then it will be restored eventually. According to Braudel, this structure changes ‘only very slowly’. Koselleck thus recognises Braudel for conceptualising history as multitemporal. What is more, Koselleck also acknowledges that it is both because of

---

30 Ibid.
Available for download at: http://www2.binghamton.edu/fbc/archive/iwtimdu.htm
34 Braudel, Fernand (1967), Capitalism and Material Life 1400–1800, Translated by Miriam Kochan, p. 443
39 Ibidem, p.75.
40 Ibid.
and within this *longue durée* or long term structure that individual histories are possible and take place.\(^{41}\)

Another philosopher whose work has had significant influence on Koselleck’s theory is that of Martin Heidegger. Both scholars can be located within the general tradition of ‘historicity’.\(^{42}\) Koselleck adopts Heidegger’s existential anthropology and takes the idea further.\(^{43}\) Heidegger’s existential anthropology stems from the concept of *Dasein*, or being there literally translated. Richardson, head of the School of Education at Exeter University, writes that Being, vis-à-vis Heidder, is ‘experienced as an active force, a process that assumes an initiative of its own by revealing itself to Dasein’, yet Being also conceals itself, as well.\(^{44}\) Heidegger distinguishes between the ontological and ontical levels of analysis of *Dasein*. The former refers to an ‘essential, a priori generality...’ontology aims at analyzing being... [specifically] the constitution of being of entities.’\(^{45}\) The latter refers to the empirical-psychological or edifying plane...ontical analysis describes the empirical properties and merely contingent characteristics of entities. In the case of human existence, the ontology of Dasein analyzes the fundamental constitution of being that...humans have, whereas history, sociology, and psychology move at the ontical level: they describe diverse factual manifestations of human life.\(^{46}\)

*Dasein* also exhibits structure. According to Heidegger, the crucial structures of *Dasein* are not ‘accidental structures’, but rather ‘essential ones essential ones which in every mode of being that *Dasein* may realize persist as determinants for the character of its being.’\(^{47}\) These essential structures are ‘conditions of possibility’ for the ontical level.\(^{48}\)

Koselleck himself admits the influence of Heidegger on his work, but as a starting point. For example, he writes that Heidegger perceived historicity as a ‘category of human existence.’\(^{49}\) At the same time, Koselleck criticises Heidegger with specific reference to *Being and Time*, and explains that Heidegger fails to address ‘intersubjective or transindividual structures’ as thematic

\(^{42}\) Ibid.
\(^{43}\) Ibid.
\(^{46}\) Ibid.
topics in his writing. Koselleck writes that while Heidegger does make a link between the 'finitude of Dasein to the temporality of history', this link is not significantly explored. Furthermore, while Koselleck seeks to understand how histories become possible, Heidegger worked specifically with the ontological prerequisite thereof - historicity. Koselleck sees the past as being the 'art of narration' with its own histoires, or Historiken; modern history as a discipline however, according to him, has 'conceptualised historicity' as making conditions for history possible.

Historical time, which Koselleck distinguishes from 'measurable natural time', such as days, hours, etc that are based on mathematical equations and physical aspects of nature. The former, Koselleck explains is based on social and political processes, as well as to specific human beings that are carrying out actions and the institutions and organisations in which said individuals are located. Koselleck thus argues that there is more than one historical time, but rather historical times that overlap and interact with each other. Historical times can be identified in humans, which he understands as historical beings. Within individuals, the relationship between the past and future develops, of which the present is constituted.

Koselleck seeks to create a meta-theory of time and uses two anthropological categories in order to do so, which can also be understood as layers of time. These categories are the space of experience ('array of past within a present') and the horizon of expectation ('cutting edge of future possibilities for a given present'). The former represents time, and the latter represents space. Koselleck explains that human beings seek to organise and correlate the past and the future. Humans (and communities) act based on the space of experience, where the past is present and individuals can remember it. Humans also act based on horizons of expectation, which are future possibilities. Historical time takes place in the difference between the horizon...

---

50 Ibid.
55 Ibid.
56 Ibid.
57 Ibid., p.111.
58 Ibid.
60 Ibidem, p.129.
62 Ibid.
63 Ibid.
of expectation and space of experience, and this difference itself is not static, but rather is subject to change.\textsuperscript{64}

Within the space of experience, human agents are constantly placing patterns of events, or repetitive occurrences together.\textsuperscript{65} When there is a new event or an occurrence that falls outside of the recognisable recurrences, then this pattern is disrupted.\textsuperscript{66} Both the space of experience and horizon of expectation are continuously impacting each historical event or occurrence, and both are necessary in order to explicate a particular event.\textsuperscript{67} At the same time, both change in relation to each other and as time goes by.\textsuperscript{68} Koselleck explicates that there is a tension between the horizon of expectation and space of experience, which leads to new scenarios and patterns.\textsuperscript{69} This tension and new patterns are what generate historical time.\textsuperscript{70} Both of these represent structure within time.\textsuperscript{71} Furthermore, expectation and experience are present within all individuals, according to Koselleck, and without these expectations and experiences of human agents, history would not be possible.\textsuperscript{72}

At the same time, Koselleck writes that the past has a ‘fictive character’ because the sources of history and past events are human agents (and/or the artefacts they leave).\textsuperscript{73} This leads to under-determinism or perspectivism within the field of history.\textsuperscript{74} However, he also recognises that said human agents, the use of language, and their artefacts are the tools available for scholars to understand or study the past, and scholars ought to utilise the aforementioned ‘rational controls’.\textsuperscript{75} Even though multiple interpretations of the past may exist, Zammito, professor of history at Rice University, explicates that this does not mean all variations are equally likely, and some could not have occurred.\textsuperscript{76}

\begin{flushright}
\textsuperscript{64} \textit{Ibid.}
\textsuperscript{65} Zammito (2004), p.129.
\textsuperscript{66} \textit{Ibidem}, pp.129-130.
\textsuperscript{67} \textit{Ibidem}, p.129.
\textsuperscript{69} \textit{Ibidem}, p.275.
\textsuperscript{70} \textit{Ibid.}
\textsuperscript{71} \textit{Ibidem}, p.270.
\textsuperscript{72} \textit{Ibidem}, p.269.
\textsuperscript{73} Koselleck (2002), pp.15-16.
\textsuperscript{74} Zammito (2004), p.134.
\textsuperscript{75} Koselleck (1985), p.155.
\textsuperscript{76} Zammito (2004), p.134.
\end{flushright}
What is more, Koselleck explains that even the new events take place within a medium or long term structure within which a novel event will take place.\textsuperscript{77} Not only does Koselleck see categories of time, but he further claims that these anthropological categories facilitate the temporalisation of time.\textsuperscript{78} By temporalisation of time, Koselleck means that there are ‘three dimensions of time’ with ‘temporal structures’, which consist of a present past, future present, and futures past.\textsuperscript{79} Present past consists of duration, or can be seen as the lifetime of a given present via the past. The future present consists of a sense of ‘novelty of an event as the sudden intrusion of change’.\textsuperscript{80} Lastly, futures past is the consequence of previous presents’ futures.\textsuperscript{81} According to Koselleck, each present is also a past future.\textsuperscript{82} This means that history can also be interpreted as a collection of possibilities from the past.\textsuperscript{83} What is more, the importance of past understandings or expectations of future possibilities gains more relevance and importance to studies of history.\textsuperscript{84}

Zammito explains that what Koselleck’s theory implies is that ‘stratum upon stratum of the past flows in and through the present at varying velocities.’\textsuperscript{85} Scholars, according to Zammito’s understanding of Koselleck, ought to dig through these layers in order to understand the past.\textsuperscript{86} Stråth summarises the innovative character of Koselleck’s work - ‘By connecting the structural history to the history of events, Koselleck transcends the more than conventional distinction between ‘cyclical’ and ‘linear’ time and merges both concepts.’\textsuperscript{87}

**Methodology and Operationalisation**

Koselleck’s methodology has been likened to the Cambridge Speech Act School.\textsuperscript{88} Both Koselleck and the Speech Act School analyse terms and concepts; they examine language, and specifically use methods of translation in order to understand the meaning behind concepts, terms, etc.\textsuperscript{89} However, whereas Quentin Skinner, one of the scholars of the Cambridge Speech Act

\textsuperscript{78} Ibidem, p.121.
\textsuperscript{79} Zammito (2004), p.128.
\textsuperscript{80} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{81} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{82} Koselleck (2002), p.167.
\textsuperscript{84} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{85} Zammito (2004), p.133.
\textsuperscript{86} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{87} Stråth (2005), p.530.
\textsuperscript{88} For example, see: Palonen, Kari (2004), *Entzauberung der Begriff*, Hamburg, Germany: LIT Verlag Munster.
\textsuperscript{89} The author focuses on the comparing the work of Quentin Skinner and Koselleck.
School, focuses on argumentation and rhetoric, Koselleck seeks to understand the transformation of terms at the socio-political level.  

Furthermore, Koselleck focuses on understanding medium and long term change and structures, as noted above, for which language can be utilised. Unlike Skinner, Koselleck focuses on analysing concepts and how they change over time based on the socio-political context. Skinner denies the usefulness of studying change in concepts over time. For Koselleck, words become concepts when they encompass the socio-political context in which they are being applied.

For this analysis, understanding the use of language amongst both individuals involved in World War II, as well as the current generation of neo-Nazi skinheads is crucial. This means understanding and analysing the differences between the use of terminology between both generations, if and where changes in the meaning of terms took place, and why. Based on the work of Koselleck, the changes in the meaning of concepts is also dependent on the socio-political context, which is analysed in Chapter Three.

The analysis of language is connected to analysing the spaces of experience and horizons of expectation of individuals. Koselleck writes that ‘spaces of experience overlap and different perspectives on the future intersect.’ In the context of this study, the experiences of Nazis and neo-Nazis are analysed and compared. Understanding the spaces of experience and horizons of expectation of the current generation is a crucial aspect of this study. This involves delving into the thoughts of said individuals, which is done by utilising primary sources, such as personal websites, as well as utilising informal interviews.

Understanding the horizon of expectation of the generation involved in the World War II, or Nazi activities then, is more difficult, as access to primary sources and interviews is limited. As a result, in order to understand the spaces of experience and horizons of expectation of said generation, primary sources, such as published diaries or books are utilised instead.

---

90 Ibidem, p.531.
91 Ibid.
93 Ibid.
94 Ibid.
This research goes beyond analysing words by incorporating actions of the aforementioned groups. Here, the experiences of both groups are assessed not only based on how these experiences were interpreted by individuals, but also what these experiences were as well as how they differed from expectations. The language and actions of both Nazis (during World War II) as well as neo-Nazi skinheads (modern phenomenon) are compared and assessed.

**Othering**

Several theories of Othering have been developed by social psychologists. One of the most prominent regarding group behaviour and group identity is social identity theory (SIT). SIT explains how individuals’ perceive their identity as part of a group. According to this perspective, individuals have a both a personal identity and a social identity, which is equated to group identity.96 Henri Tajfel, one of the pioneers of SIT, defines social identity as the ‘part of an individual's self concept which derives from his knowledge of his membership of a social group … together with the value and emotional significance attached to that membership.’97 This definition indicates that individuals' personal identities are inextricably linked to the identity of their In-group. How individuals perceive their In-group, and how others perceive said group is also related to the self-esteem of the individual.98 The theory continues that individuals desire to have a positive social identity, which in turn leads to positive and increased self-esteem.99

Richard Mole, professor of political sociology at the University College of London, explains that 'human being instinctively categorise the world around them in order to make life more predictable and understandable'.100 Categorisations may be based on ethnic group, class, sexuality, etc.101 Categorisation is based on 'subjective belief structures', or how individuals perceive the relationship between their In-group and a given Out-group.102 Frequently, these beliefs are not based on reality, but rather are based on 'ideological constructs'.103 These categorisations allow

---

98 Ibid.
101 Ibid.
103 Ibid.
individuals to behave appropriately based on the norms they attribute to their In-group and a given Out-group.104

When a group perceives itself as having a lower status, which its members feel is not legitimate and can be changed, group membership is not permeable, but where changing the social order of the groups is perceived as possible, In-group solidarity will be strong.105 Where group identities are negative, individuals may opt to leave the group, or may carry out actions in order to obtain a positive distinctiveness for the In-group.106 Cordell and Wolff, professor of politics at the University of Plymouth and professor of international security at the University of Birmingham respectively, explicate that group comparisons may be based on 'relative group worth and relative group legitimacy', which may lead to 'politics of ethnic entitlement'.107 When group comparisons are made, power comes into play.108 Where group comparisons are made in order to increase relative group worth, power is a means to prevent group extinction.109 When group comparisons are made in order to legitimise the group, power is utilised in order to verify In-group status.110 Conflicts over status may thus develop, which may culminate in violence due to a rift between what is perceived as an illegitimate status and desired status. What is more, if these conditions are present, the likelihood of collective action, including violence, in order to enhance the position of the In-group becomes more likely.111 If relative deprivation (perceived or actual) is present, collective action becomes even more likely.112 Thus competition, whether real or perceived, also enhances the likelihood of violence.113 Some studies, according to Rupert Brown, professor of social psychology at the University of Sussex, demonstrate that a strong group identity may enhance the perception of deprivation.114 Groups may also utilise positive reinforcements, such as describing one’s In-group positively in comparison to an Out-group.115

Another theory that is related to SIT, is Self-Categorisation Theory. When categorisations are made, group identities become more salient both within the In-group and how the Out-group is perceived.116 The individual members of the group become depersonalised. After individuals

106 Ibid.
108 Ibid.
110 Ibid.
111 Ibid.
identify with a group, the In-group is then the 'basis for thinking, feeling, and acting'. Depersonalised group members are treated and treat each other 'as embodiments of the relevant In-group prototype rather than as unique individuals'. Prototypes are subjective representations of 'the defining attributes ...[such as] beliefs, attitudes, behaviours' of a social group. After categorisation takes place, intragroup differences tend to be minimised while intergroup differences tend to be maximised. Furthermore, prototypes may be altered based on which Out-group is salient at a given time, in a given social context. The In-group, which defines itself relative to the Out-group, may thus also change over time.

**Operationalisation**

Part of the analysis in this thesis involves understanding how Nazis and neo-Nazis perceive both their respective In- and Out-groups. Which group(s) are perceived of as the Out-group(s) is researched by accessing primary sources, including social media, such as youtube and the websites of neo-Nazi organisations. This is compared to the Out-group(s) of the Nazi party, which is accessed via secondary sources. The concepts of the In- and Out-groups are analysed within the context of the socio-political situations of the countries being assessed.

Inherent within this study is the concept of time, and changes to group identity. This study thus seeks to understand the degree to which Nazi identity has remained constant by comparing this identity to that of neo-Nazis. As SIT demonstrates, this ought to be done by analysing the perception of the Out-group. Thus, not only whether the Out-group(s) have remained constant is addressed, but also, whether new groups have been created, and why is also addressed.

---

119 Ibid.
120 Ibid.
121 Ibid.
122 Ibid.
Chapter 2: Neo-Nazi Skinheads

This chapter presents an overview of the degree to which said skinheads are carrying out activities in both countries based on primary as well as available secondary literature. This chapter seeks to answer the sub-question: *To what extent are Neo-Nazi gangs active in Germany and the Russian Federation?* This main question can be split into several sub-questions that serve as subchapters: *How do these groups conceive of the Other or the Out-group? What are the patterns of these groups’ organisation as a network, services they provide, and/or economic tools? To what extent do they have political affiliations?* These questions are answered in the context of comparison between the Germany and the Russian Federation.

Before answering these questions, this chapter begins with a description of key terminology pertaining to neo-Nazis and skinheads, followed by a general introduction into the growth and development of neo-Nazi movements in both Germany and the Russian Federation.

What are Neo-Nazis

Skinheads are defined here based on Hilary Pilkington’s insight into skinhead gangs in Russia. Pilkington is a professor of sociology at the University of Warwick. She identifies “‘Skinhead’” as having “no temporally or spatially fixed meaning, no a priori definition of skinhead is adopted”. The term skinhead initially appeared in the United Kingdom during the 1960s, referring to a youth cultural style in the mod scene. Hilary Pilkington writes that this movement developed as a means of symbolically recreating ‘the traditional working-class community, at a time when it was under increasing pressure from structural dislocation, via a combination of enactments of territoriality, collective solidarity, and masculinity’. Furthermore, John Clarke explicates that there was a feeling of exclusion of ‘lower working class youth’ from the existing youth sub-culture led to the development of an Us versus Them mentality amongst the skinhead youth. Pilkington writes that a second wave of the skinhead movement developed from 1976 in the UK, during a time of economic turbulence and growing immigration. Simultaneously, skinheads were associated with a ‘territorially defensive predisposition’, which meant skinheads became sources of recruitment for racist groups such as the National Front and the British

---

125 Ibid.
Movement. Afterwards, skinhead groups developed in the United States, Germany, and other states.

These were the initial skinhead movements, since then, skinheads have become present in other countries, including the countries this project would investigate. However, the movements found in the case studies analysed here differ from that described above because of the added significance of the nation and Neo-Nazi adherence.

John Breuilly discusses the differences between fascism and nationalism, where the former can be defined as ‘radical right nationalism’, specifically as a ‘radical, anti-bourgeois, anti-liberal, anti-Marxist movement of national-imperialist integration’. Hannah Arendt writes that the goal of fascism is to obtain control over the country. Furthermore, fascism was first considered a political force before becoming a ‘cultural phenomenon’. This is related to the distinction that McGowan (Senior Lecturer in European Studies at the Queen’s University Belfast) makes between the extreme right and neo-Nazism. He writes that the former participate within the bounds of the state’s political system, whereas the latter aspire to obtain a new political structure and are more likely to utilise violence in order to do so. Right wing extremists also support authoritarian state structures, but nonetheless participate in the state and local elections. Neo-Nazism is a modern version of Nazism which glorifies the Nazi era in Germany. Neo-Nazis desire to establish a dictatorship based on volkisch racism which would lack Jews and foreigners. They also tend to advocate the use of violence in order to obtain said goal.

The Danish Centre for Holocaust and Genocide Studies explicates that neo-Nazism adopts several aspects of Nazism, the most significant of which is extreme nationalism. However, anti-Semitism is not a crucial facet of neo-Nazism per se, but rather all foreigners, ethnic minorities, and immigrants are perceived as threatening the nation of the neo-Nazi group. Neo-Nazis also

---

128 Ibid.
129 Ibid.
130 Breuilly (1993), pp.288, 290
135 Ibid.
138 Ibid.
desire to re-establish ’Nazism as an acceptable political ideology. This... is done by promoting the lie that the Holocaust never took place (Holocaust denial). The neo-Nazis have also taken over many of the symbols that were used by the Nazis: the swastika, the Nazi greeting (the out-stretched right arm), pictures of Hitler, etc.\textsuperscript{139} Neo-Nazis tend to recruit members that feel disenfranchised from society due to ‘economic problems, growing immigration, social differences,’ are dissatisfied with the system of government in the state.\textsuperscript{140} The Danish Centre for Holocaust and Genocide Studies also explains that the aforementioned discontent is the reason why a significant quantity of recruits amongst neo-Nazi organisations tend to generally come from impoverished areas.

Breuilly, Professor of Nationalism and Ethnicity at the London School of Economics and Political Science, explains that while all Neo-Nazis are right wing extremists, not all ring wing extremists are Neo-Nazis.\textsuperscript{141} Neo-Nazis represent the most extreme faction of right wing extremists.\textsuperscript{142} Whereas neo-Nazis tend to advocate a complete transformation of the political system in the countries where they operate, members of the extreme right tend to advocate a revision or modification of existing political systems.\textsuperscript{143}

Barker, Professor of Film and Television Studies at Aberystwyth University, explains that the new racist ideology has been developing in Europe since the 1980s is focused on pointing out cultural distinctions between different peoples rather than on biological inferiorities as is the case with ‘old racism’.\textsuperscript{144} Based on the new ideology, the degree of cultural difference becomes significant. Neo-Nazi skinhead gangs take further the concept of nationalism and seek to violently protect their idea of a ‘pure’ nation.

**Development of Neo-Nazi movements**

Neo-Nazi gangs in both Germany and the Russian Federation have not had constant membership. The roots of some movements in both countries can be dated to prior to the fall of the Berlin Wall and collapse of the Soviet Union, yet the majority have formed since those events. Membership and support for these groups is not constant, and may grow or wean in various years. In both countries, uncertainty regarding the future both within the political and economic spheres have contributed to the growth of neo-Nazi groups. What is more, the perception that foreign

\textsuperscript{139} Ibid.  
\textsuperscript{140} Ibid.  
\textsuperscript{141} Breuilly (1993), p.288.  
\textsuperscript{142} McGowan (2002), p.10.  
\textsuperscript{143} Ibid.  
individuals’ presence is to blame for unemployment has also grown. This sub-section explores the development of neo-Nazi groups in both countries and the degree to which these groups are active.

Neo-Nazi activity increased in East Germany around the time of unification.\textsuperscript{145} The combination of the unification of Germany and the introduction of a free-market economy led instability in the Eastern portions of Germany.\textsuperscript{146} What is more, with the open border, East Germans were able to note the higher standard of living in West Germany.\textsuperscript{147} Eastern Germany also has had a 'historical lack of discussion about the Nazi era'.\textsuperscript{148}

A few months after economic unification in July 1990, industrial output fell by sixty percent of what it was in the first six months of that year. Unemployment also increased dramatically. By 1990, unemployment rose from nearly zero percent to 7.2 percent and then to thirty percent in 1991. By 1992, the quantity of employed individuals in the Eastern portion of the country declined from over nine million workers to approximately six million. What is more, many individuals that could not find employment or sought better living conditions migrated to the western portion of the country.\textsuperscript{149} In many East German cities that were dependent upon industrial labour and factories, fear of unemployment due to closing factories contributed to foreigners being scapegoated for taking German jobs.\textsuperscript{150} For example, in the city of Hoyerswerda, animosity towards foreigners grew at this time, which mounted in violence during the days of September 17-23, 1991.\textsuperscript{151}

Since unification of Germany, Brinks et al explain that many of the 'losers' of said unification began to identify with aspects of right wing extremism, including sympathy for the 'socialist, authoritarian, anti-capitalist and racist vision of society'.\textsuperscript{152} They also explain that although the majority of these individuals would not engage in violence themselves, they view violent actions committed by right wing extremists with 'passive approval'.\textsuperscript{153}

\textsuperscript{146} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{147} Ibidem, p.25.
\textsuperscript{149} Sinn, Gerlinde and Sinn, Hans-Werner (1991), Jumpstart: The Economic Unification of Germany, Cambridge, Massachusetts, MIT University Press, p.29
\textsuperscript{151} Ibidem, pp.25-26.
\textsuperscript{152} Brinks, Jan Herman; Binder, David; Vincent, Paul; Bromley, Chris; Smith, Ewan (2000), \textit{Children of a New Fatherland: Germany's Post-War Right-Wing Politics} London: I.B. Tauris: p.41.
\textsuperscript{153} Ibid.
The current global economic crisis has also had similar ramifications. Although Germany’s economy has been recovering from the economic recession, from 2008, the economy overall did contract, and Germany entered the worst recession it had in twelve years.\(^{154}\) In May of 2008, industrial output had decreased by 2.4 percent.\(^{155}\) In 2009, the country’s gross domestic product declined by five percent, largely due to the decline of global demand for its exports.\(^{156}\)

Furthermore, the country’s eastern side continues to lag economically in comparison to the western portion of Germany. Tax revenue in eastern portion of the country is sixty percent that of the western part.\(^{157}\) The unemployment rate in the eastern portion of the country is approximately twelve percent, or nearly double the 6.9 percent rate in the western portion.\(^{158}\) The economic troubles of the eastern region is also exacerbated by the flight of educated youth to the western region. Many young people that have obtained an education, tend to move towards the Western portion of the country, leaving less skilled, and less educated youth in the East. Again, those that remain tend to be young men.\(^{159}\) These individuals then become attracted to the promises of neo-Nazi organisations, and the fraternity of group membership.

Combs, Professor of Political Science at the University of North Carolina, and Slann, dean at the University of North Carolina at Pembroke, explain that currently, approximately half of the neo-Nazis in Germany are located in former East Germany, where twenty percent of Germany’s population resides.\(^{160}\) Neo-Nazis tend to be based in Berlin, Baden-Wurttemberg, Brandenburg, Hamburg, Niedersachsen, Mecklenburg-Vorpommern, and Saxony-Anhalt.\(^{161}\)

\(^{155}\) Ibid.
\(^{157}\) The Economist (2012), 'A Ruhr deal: Poor westerners don’t want to hand money to thriving easterners', the Economist, [accessed 24 August 2012], <http://www.economist.com/node/21551512>.
\(^{158}\) UPI (2012).
However, individuals that had left East Germany following the collapse of communism, have begun to return. In 2010, over forty thousand individuals returned from western Germany, according to the Leibniz Institute for Regional Geography.
\(^{161}\) Ibid.
What is more, foreign individuals make up nine percent of Germany's population, two percent of which reside in Eastern Germany. According to the Federal Office for the Protection of the Constitution in Germany, there were 9,700 violent right wing extremists in the country, which has increased by 700 from 1999. According to the German Federal Office for the Protection of the Constitution, there are currently approximately 9,500 'violence prone right wing extremists' in the country. The quantity of violent crimes committed by right wing extremists in 2000 was 15,951, which is 58 percent more than in 1999; 64 percent of these crimes were directed against foreign individuals. In Germany, there are around 150 Kameradschaften (brotherhoods), or organised neo-Nazi gangs. Members tend to be men between the ages of eighteen to twenty five years old, as is the case in the Russian Federation. Based on the Federal Office of Criminal Police in Germany, one-fifth of violent crimes committed by right-wing extremist groups and individuals were carried out by unemployed individuals. The remaining four fifths were carried out by individuals in school, or those studying for a vocation.

Figure 1: Map of Germany
Neo-Nazi skinheads gained increased membership and became more noticeable in society in the Russian Federation in the early 1990s, during a time of political and economic instability. Pilkington writes that during field work conducted in Moscow in 1994, skinheads associated themselves with a 'pan-European neo-right youth movement'.\textsuperscript{170} German terms, such as \textit{Auslander Raus} were often articulated, along with support for European politicians, such as Jean-Marie Le Pen.\textsuperscript{171} This early movement was based on racism and 'resentment of men from "the Caucasus" dating Russian women'.\textsuperscript{172}

After the collapse of communism, Russia also suffered from economic decline, followed by an economic crisis in 1998. As the country was transitioning from the command economy, poverty and unemployment grew drastically. In 1993, 'thirty two percent of the population was living below the ... official poverty line'.\textsuperscript{173} At this time, the 'severity of poverty...[,] the distribution of poverty weighted to reflect the lower welfare of the poorest...[had] increased by forty four percent'.\textsuperscript{174} By 1995, thirty five percent of the population was still living below the poverty line.\textsuperscript{175} By the time the economic crisis hit in 1998, unemployment had continued to grow. By 1999, 8,6 million individuals within the potential workforce were unemployed, which amounted to a 13,2 percent unemployment rate. Underemployment was also a serious problem, where workers had less hours and were forced to take mandatory unpaid leave.\textsuperscript{176}

During this time, the rates of marriage had been decreasing from 1989 due to declining rates of wages, growing poverty, and general economic insecurity in the country.\textsuperscript{177} During this time, mortality amongst men ranging in ages twenty to thirty-nine also increased, and was nearly double that of women of the same age.\textsuperscript{178} Violent deaths and deaths from external causes amongst men grew, as well. Higher rates of mortality were caused by a growth in death from 'traffic accidents, occupational hazards, household accidents, suicides, and homicides.'\textsuperscript{179} These were largely related due to a high growth of 'alcoholism, mental health problems, disruption of social

\textsuperscript{170} Pilkington, Hilary; Garifzianova, Al’bina; and Omelčhenko, Elena (2010), \textit{Russia's Skinheads: Exploring and Rethinking Subcultural Lives}, New York: Routledge, : p.5.
\textsuperscript{171} Ibid.
\textit{Auslander Raus} means foreigners out in German.
\textsuperscript{172} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{173} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{174} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{175} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{176} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{177} Ibidem, p.116.
\textsuperscript{178} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{179} Ibid.
life, criminal activities, unemployment, and economic insecurity'. Alcoholism became one of the leading contributing factors to the higher mortality of men. This contributed to the growth of female headed households, which were impoverished. What is more, with the quantity of men in the country decreasing, the availability of potential husbands also decreased.

In 2008, Russia experienced another economic crisis. After the Russo-Georgian War, Russia lost a significant quantity of foreign investment, while 'global commodity prices' were also falling. During this crisis, the Russian gross domestic product (GDP) fell by eight percent in 2009. The decline in commodity prices was considerable, especially given the Russian economy’s significant reliance on the export of energy. The result of this situation was a plunge in the Russian stock market. The stock index contracted by eighty percent in 2009. In spite of the deterioration of the economy, Russia continued and continues to receive large quantities of immigrants. The Russian Federation is the 'second largest destination for immigrants in the world'. Immigrants tend to come from the Commonwealth of Independent States. Overall, this crisis did not hit the Russian economy as severely as the one in 1998. By 2009, the percent of the population living below the poverty line had been reduced from thirty percent in 1999 to fourteen percent. By 2009, unemployment levels had also decreased to 8.2 percent.

In Russia, the collapse of communism also left an immense cultural vacuum, creating a rift with the previously dominant ideology within Russia, including not only communism, but Orthodox Christianity, as well. Psychological ramifications of the collapse of the Soviet Union were immense. From a psychological standpoint, the majority of a population underwent immense stress and discomfort after the disintegration of a totalitarian system, and understood the collapse of the Union to equate to an ‘existential catastrophe’. The collapse of the Union meant the end of Russia, as well, which in turn lead many people to search for a psychological defence.

180 Ibid.
181 Ibidem, p.117.
182 Ibidem, p.92.
183 Ibid.
187 Ibid.
190 Ibid.
191 Ibid.
The weakened morale of the Russian people due to the combination of economic decline and loss of super power status was utilised by nationalist radicals who created political platforms based on ethnic tradition, waiting to unite ethnic Russians both within and outside of the borders of the country.\textsuperscript{194} Neo-Nazis organisations and far right nationalist parties with ties to said groups in Russia began to campaign on the promise of a return to a past glory of the ‘Russian Nation’ via the implementation of order and protection of Russian national interests.\textsuperscript{195}

This is not some kind of an unexpected development. I have been active in fighting xenophobia since 1989, since our Moscow Antifascist Center was founded, and I can testify that the virulence of xenophobic propaganda has been steadily growing, and the number of xenophobic crimes grew accordingly. The most disturbing development is not even the number of such crimes. What is indeed worrying is the change in the mentality of the attackers. Contemporary Russian skinheads are much more dangerous than the most outspoken bigots of the 1980s and 1990s. Unlike the pseudo-intellectual theorists of the past, today’s skinheads are pure pragmatists of violence.\textsuperscript{196}

This quote by Dmitry Babich explicates the growth and severity of the Neo-Nazi skinhead violence in Russia.\textsuperscript{197}

Furthermore, in 1993, former Russian president Yeltsin commanded ‘tanks to shell the parliament building in which elected deputies were barricaded.’\textsuperscript{198} Pilkington explains that Yeltsin’s actions legitimised the use of violence ‘as an extension of politics’.\textsuperscript{199} What is more, on 3 October 1993, a state of emergency was declared, during which time police arrested, beat, and deported 10,000 individuals, mainly of ‘Caucasian appearance’.\textsuperscript{200} Sokolov, a senior lecturer in the Department of Comparative Sociology at St. Petersburg State University, explains that one of the reasons for the growth of skinheads in Russia in beginning of 1990s was the lack of state control of the monopoly of violence at this time.\textsuperscript{201} During the first Chechen war, racism grew and law enforcement was perceived by Neo-Nazi skinheads as legitimising the violence and racism of said skinheads.\textsuperscript{202} Violent crimes carried out by skinheads against targeted ethnic groups grew, while police failed to acknowledge and investigate violent crime based on ethnic motivations.\textsuperscript{203}

In both Germany and the Russian Federation, the growth of membership in neo-Nazi organisations has taken place at times of economic decline or extreme turbulence. The collapse of communism caused significant changes to the economic and political structures of both Germany and the Russian Federation, at which time, membership in neo-Nazi organisations grew. The cultural vacuum and loss of super power status due to the collapse of the USSR has also exacerbated the general changes taking place in the country. Furthermore, the recent economic crisis has also led to a stall in the economic progress that had previously been made in both countries, which has again led some individuals to join neo-Nazi organisations.

**Othering**

In both Germany and the Russian Federation, neo-Nazis have clearly defined In and Out-groups. The latter tend to be individuals that are perceived as posing a threat or danger to the survival of the In-group. In both countries, these tend to be members of minority ethnic groups, members of subculture groups that clash with the ideology of neo-Nazi skinheads, and/or groups with ‘softer masculinities’, such as rappers. Ne0-Nazis have also targeted members of the ‘punk scene’. For example, in Geithain, Germany in May 2010, fifteen year old 'member of the punk scene', Florian Krumbholz, was attacked by a group of neo-Nazis, which resulted in a fractured skull.

In Germany, targets tend to be immigrants or foreign nationals with darker skin tones, Jewish individuals, those with political affiliations on the left, Roma, handicapped individuals, and homosexuals – groups that were targeted by the Nazi regime. According to Bernd Wagner, one of the main goals of neo-Nazis in Germany is the ‘Volksgemeinschaft’, or re-establishment of the national community. Wagner is a criminologist and former police detective, and one of the founders of EXIT-Germany; EXIT-Germany works to rehabilitate former members of extreme right organisations, including German neo-Nazi groups. Similarly, Russian neo-Nazi groups seek to protect their national community from foreign individuals. Not only is the future of country, Russia perceived as being threatened by the foreign presence, but also, perhaps more importantly, the future of the Russian ethnic group is perceived as being in imminent danger. Yuri Belyaev, the leader of the Freedom Party, explained the reason for attacks such as those mentioned above:

---

204 *Ibidem*, p.204.
207 Wagner, Brend (17 August 2012) Email interview.
We want to create a specific psychological environment of fear so that Negroes and people from the Caucasus should not walk on the streets as if they were kings, but should cower by the wall, afraid that at any moment they could be killed or beaten.\textsuperscript{208}

Belyaev’s quote is one example of the desire of neo-Nazi organisations to establish an atmosphere of fear and intimidation for members of the Out-group, similar to that which the Nazi party had created during the Holocaust. The use of violence is especially crucial for this.

Russkii obraz also believe that the future existence of the ‘White race’ is currently threatened.\textsuperscript{209} They argue that immigrants, and in particular, those from the Caucasus are causing significant problems for the ethnic Russian population. Russkii obraz list several offenses that foreign individuals in Russia have committed, including – ‘criminal, drug-dealing, slavery, prostitution, intensity in the public places’.\textsuperscript{210} What is more, the group presents foreigners in Russia as an organised and tangible threat that is ready to combat ethnic Russians.\textsuperscript{211}

In order to protect their In-group, neo-Nazi organisations believe that foreigners ought to be removed from the territory of the In-group. For example, in 2010, a group of German neo-Nazis harassed Mohammad Sayal, a Pakistani, owner of a restaurant, Pizzeria Bollywood.\textsuperscript{212} A group of approximately ten neo-Nazis arrived in masks and holding knives; they had destroyed windows of his restaurant and yelled, ‘You shit foreigner, we'll get you. If you don't get out of here, we'll kill you.’\textsuperscript{213} A week after this incident, his restaurant was destroyed by an explosive device.\textsuperscript{214} Another example of neo-Nazi violence in Germany was the attack of pro-Israeli supporters in Siegen; the result was the injury of two women and one man.\textsuperscript{215}

This sentiment is also evinced in a conversation between two members of the Freedom Party of Russia.

“I have beaten Jews and Negroes,” said Mikhail, at 22 the oldest present, before fixing his eyes on Lev, a pimply 17-year-old and the cell's youngest member. "I have made sure an old Chechen man will never see again. I have even killed a gipsy girl.

But you have done nothing to safeguard the Russian master race," he said to Lev. "Are you just a worm?"

\textsuperscript{208} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{209} Russkii Obraz, ‘Interview’.
\textsuperscript{210} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{211} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{213} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{214} Ibid.
"I have," he muttered. "I stabbed a Vietnamese student and I have beaten up Chechens as well." 216

This conversation is an example of the perception that without the removal of foreigners from the borders of Russia, that the future of the nation will be in danger.

Not only are certain ethnic and minority groups targets of neo-Nazi groups, but individuals opposed to their ideology have also become pursued. For example, in Geithain, Germany, a priest wrote an open letter, appealing to neo-Nazis to desist participating in acts of violence and harassment in the city; the following morning, the church where he worked was vandalised and covered with graffiti.217 What is more, when Günter Wallraff visited the city, he was also received with intimidation. Wallraf is an investigative journalist who had researched neo-Nazism in the country; as part of his investigation, he had painted his skin black and behaved as an African migrant.218 Neo-Nazis graffitied, ‘Send Wallraff to Africa! on the street in front of the town hall.219

Politicians, judges, lawyers, human rights activists and law-enforcement officers more generally have also been targets of neo-Nazi groups. In Germany, an electronics salesman attempted to combat the development of neo-Nazi and far right extremism by founding the Alliance against the Far Right; however, neo-Nazis had destroyed the windows of his store, vandalised the walls, caused damage to his car, and threatened the life of his son.220 After these incidents, the salesman shut down the Alliance.221 He explains that he could not have ‘survived’ continuing to maintain the Alliance in a financial or psychological sense.222

In the Russian Federation, tactics of neo-Nazi groups have started to encompass attacks against policemen and women, state officials, and employees of anti-racist organisations.223 For example, in April 2010, Eduard Chuvashov, a federal judge, was assassinated outside of his home in Moscow.224 Chuvashov had been working on several controversial cases involving neo-Nazis, such as the White Wolves gang and their leaders Artur Ryno and Pavel Skachevskiy. In this case,

217 Pop (2012).
218 Ibid.
219 Ibid.
220 Popp (2012).
221 Ibid.
222 Ibid.
224 Ibid.
members of the gang were being tried for the racially motivated murders of approximately twenty individuals. The sentencing of members of the White Wolves was also one of the biggest ‘anti-neo-Nazism’ rulings in Russia. During the time of the trial, leading up to Chuvashov’s murder, he had been receiving threats on his life, and threats of physical violence via the internet from various members.

Maksim Baklagin and Vyacheslav Isayev were detained by the Federal Security Service (FSB) in Russia for involvement in the murder of Chuvashov. Both men, according to the Russian Federal Security Service, are supposed members of ‘ultranationalist’ organisations, and are suspected to have been involved in various crimes that were carried out from 2008 to 2010. The main suspect is Alexei Korshunov, who is a member of the United Bridages 88 gang. He was also suspected of being complicit in the murders of human rights attorney Sanislav Markelov and a reporter, Anastasia Baburova; however, it was revealed that Nikita Tikhonov and his girlfriend Yevgenia Khasis had been responsible and were sentenced to life in prison and eighteen years imprisonment respectively. Khasis had planned the murders and organised them via her cellphone, whereas, Tikhonov had committed them. Both individuals were members of the neo-Nazi group, Russkii Obraz.

Similarly to the murder of Chuvashov, Markelov had been working on various cases against neo-Nazis prior to his murder. He had finished a press conference and was going towards a metro station with reporter Baburova when they had been shot.

Even at the trails of neo-Nazis and their sentencing, their perception of the Other and their victims becomes evident. The demeanor and attitude of the accused shows that they do not believe that they have committed crimes, nor do they demonstrate remorse for the pain caused to the loved ones of those they are accused of murdering. The accused maintain no sympathy for the victims and their families.

---

225 Evidence against members of this group was significant as they had filmed murders on their cellphones and posted the videos on the internet.
227 Ibid.
228 RIA Novosti (2012).
229 Ibid.
230 Ibid.
232 Ibid.
233 Ibid.
234 Ibid.
Furthermore, many individuals act as if the proceedings of the court are comical. For example, at the trials of Tikhonov and Khasis, ‘witnesses in the courtroom [stated that] the killers laughed and smiled as the sentence was read.’ Thirteen members of the neo-Nazi group, National-socialist society north, were tried an attempted terrorist attack, as well as the murder of twenty-seven individuals and fifty assaults (usually migrant workers and members of anti-fascist movements, but also ethnic Russians). These individuals had murdered one to two individuals weekly for seven months. During their trials, members of were also laughing, giving the Nazi salute, shouted ‘Slava Rossii’ (Glory to Russia) and demonstrated a relaxed demeanor, even after the majority were sentenced to life imprisonment. They also made several threats against the prosecuting attorneys, judge, FSB and journalists. Video footage of accused members shows an attitude amongst members that they perceive the proceedings and their charges as comical.

The aforementioned means of conduct demonstrate that many accused and convicted neo-Nazis have not only dehumanised their victims and loved ones, but also do not take the legal system seriously. Many neo-Nazis do not feel that they ought to be bound to the laws of the state. For example, one member of the National-socialist society north shouted during the trial, ‘Our conscience is higher than your laws...We will be back.’ Many neo-Nazi organisations claim to offer support for accusations against members, including financial assistance and aid with legal counsel. The website of Russkiii Obraz, also states that one of their services is monitoring of ‘law enforcement agencies against native people’, where particular attention is provided for actions carried out by law enforcement against ‘Russian nationalists in particular’.

The attacks on law enforcement, judges, lawyers, and advocates of human rights and minority rights in particular demonstrate that the Other to neo-Nazi organisations is not limited to ethnic minorities or minority groups, but also individuals who do not conform to the beliefs of the neo-Nazi groups. Neo-Nazi organisations then seek to subdue this form of Other via the use of violence. Violence is utilised particularly in order to defend the beliefs of the In-group, but also

237 Ibid.
238 Ibid.
240 Ideologically, this also coincides with the argument for revolution amongst neo-Nazis.
242 See p.38, Section: Services provided
244 Gazeta.ru (2010)
to protect the society from perceived threats posed by minority groups and the individuals defending them.\textsuperscript{245}

**Degree of organisation**

Neo-Nazi skinhead gangs in Germany and Russia vary in the degree to which they are organised. This section describes the types of activities in which neo-Nazis engage, including organised violence and crime.

Neo-Nazis in both countries frequently use marches to gain attention and spread their message. However, in Germany, demonstrations that are explicitly based on neo-Nazi ideology are illegal; Combs et al explain that because of said ban, many neo-Nazis and neo-Nazi organisations utilise a relationship with the German National Democratic Party (NPD) (a far-right political party with seats in various regional parliaments) in order to gain 'official permission for demonstrations'.\textsuperscript{246} This also facilitates a higher level of cooperation amongst various neo-Nazi organisations as well as with the government.\textsuperscript{247} In order to get around the ban, demonstrations frequently take place during the night, where neo-Nazis gather and demonstrate support for Adolf Hitler by shouting ‘*heil Hitler*’; frequently, this takes place in the form of flash mobs as demonstrations such as these are illegal in Germany.\textsuperscript{248} For example, the German neo-Nazi group, *Die Unsterblichen* (the Immortals), organises flash mobs at night. On 1 May in Bauzen, Germany, hundreds of members met with ‘torches and signs with extreme nationalist slogans, then dissipated before a major police presence could arrive.’\textsuperscript{249} The group was attempting to recreate marches coordinated by the Third Reich, when the SA carried out night time rallies with torches, and saluted Hitler.\textsuperscript{250}

In Russia, neo-Nazi demonstrations do take place frequently. The most notable of these is the Russian March. Similarly to the cooperation between neo-Nazi groups and the NPD, the first Russian March was organised with cooperation between neo-Nazi groups as well as small political parties from the far right political spectrum.\textsuperscript{251} The first March was held in 2006, and the

\textsuperscript{245} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{247} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{250} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{251} Laruelle, Marlène (2009), Russian Nationalism and the National Reassertion of Russia, New York: Routledge, p.93.
coordinating committee was managed by Dmitry Demuskin, who is the leader of the Slavjanskii Sojuz (Slavic Union). The Movement Against Illegal Immigration and the National Great Power Party are an organisation and political party respectively that also participated in organising the March. The Liberal Democratic Party of Russia, the far right party of Vladimir Zhirinovsky also tends to attend the March. The March takes place annually, typically around 4 November, which is the Day of National Unity in Russia. During the Marches, participants openly express not only their admiration for Hitler with shouts of ‘heil Hitler’, but also conduct presentations, and video footage depicts demonstrators accosting nonparticipants and minorities.

Combs et al explain that neo-Nazis utilise the internet in order to coordinate marches, meetings, violent crimes, and also post ‘murder hit lists’. While the extent to which this is actually utilised in Germany is difficult to measure due to the illegality of posting Nazi symbols and inciting hatred, this phenomena has taken place. For example, the attack on Florian Krumbholz, was organised and announced via the internet. What is more, text messaging is utilised in order to quickly organise movements and marches, which then disperse quickly, as well. Neo-Nazis are able to access increasingly growing quantities of people via the internet, which has become a means of communication and coordination of activities throughout the country. Threats against activists especially, including human rights lawyers are blatant- photos and addresses of said activists are placed on neo-Nazi and/or fascists’ websites, and call for said activists to be murdered.

Internet websites have been utilised by neo-Nazi organisations in Russia for several purposes, ranging from organisation of meetings, boasting, as well as to make demands to various politicians and nongovernmental organisations. For instance, according to Charny, an analyst for the Moscow Bureau for Human Rights, an internet forum for fans of Dinamo, a Russian soccer club, was utilised to coordinate the attack of attendees of an antifascist concern in Moscow in March 2008, resulting in the death of Alexey Krylov. Also, Slavic Union 88 had three different websites with three different hosts. These websites have various information, ranging from the history of the swastika to human anatomy, as well as video footage of attacks on ethnic minorities.

252 Ibid.
253 Ibid.
254 Ibid.
256 Popp (2012).
260 Ibid.
261 Charny (2009).
All three have been shut down for violation of Russian law against incitement of ethnic hatred.\footnote{Vesti News (2012), 'About the Slavic Union' from Slavic Union website. [Accessed 24 August 2012] <http://www.demushkin.com/content/video/?PAGEN_1=11>}

What is more, Russian neo-Nazi gangs, such as Schultz 88, Format 18, and the Slavic Union have footage on youtube of their training sessions.\footnote{WPru88, 'Slavic Unoin/White Terror', uploaded 03 June 2008, [accessed 24 August 2012], <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=NEuaSegGFLk>.

Q300I 'Russia for whites only (Russian skinheads)', uploaded 28 July 2007, [accessed 24 August 2012].

Oiannoi 'Tesak - uznik sovesti', uploaded 03 August 2007, [accessed 24 August 2012].


In the East German city of Hoyerswerda, as previously mentioned, a pogrom was carried out by a collection of neo-Nazis, belonging to various groups, such as the 
\textit{Gubner Front} and the German Alternative (\textit{Deutsche Alternative}).\footnote{Hockenos, Paul (1993), \textit{Free to Hate: The Rise of the Right in Post-Communist Eastern Europe}, New York: Routledge, p.26.} Neo-Nazis from other cities mobilised in Hoyerswerda. The result was the presence of approximately 120 neo-Nazis that targeted foreigners and refugees in the city.\footnote{Ibid., p.27.} According to journalist Paul Hockenos, the pogrom in Hoyerswerda was not unique, and similar mobs targeted foreign individuals formed in other cities, including Saarlouis, Zittau, Halle, Greifswald, Hunxe, and Cottbus.\footnote{Ibidem, p.28.} In 1991, violence against foreigners mounted, and the quantity of assaults grew ten times, and 338 attacks included arson.\footnote{Adler (2012).} Germany’s neo-Nazis made headlines in 2011 when a militant neo-Nazi cell was discovered – the Zwickau cell, which claimed to have been responsible for numerous murders and crimes carried out for over a decade;\footnote{Independent UK (2012) 'Spy boss out in purge on suspected neo-Nazi agents', Independent UK, [accessed 24 August 2012]. <http://www.independent.co.uk/hei-fi/news/spy-boss-out-in-purge-on-suspected-neonazi-agents-7905659.html?origin=internalSearch>.} these include the murder of a police officer, the murders of nine immigrants, fourteen bank robberies, and the injury of more than twenty individuals in two bombings.\footnote{Adler (2012).} This cell was revealed to exist after two members had committed a murder-suicide and one member turned herself in to the police.\footnote{Ibid.} This group calls themselves the Nationalist Socialist Underground (NSU). The cell was discovered to be selling a version of monopoly based on Hitler and the Holocaust.
A DVD made by the Cell was also discovered, where they boasted of murdering ten individuals.272

German politicians have since attempted to link the Nationalist Socialist Underground to a particular political party, the National Democratic Party (NPD). The NPD is associated with the extreme right; however, concrete linkages between the NPD and the Zwickau Cell/Nationalist Socialist underground have not been established. Had this taken place, the NPD would be banned.274

In Russia, Neo-Nazi skinhead groups have simultaneously been demonstrating an increasing tendency towards organised crime, and have been executing planned murders.275 They have also commenced using terroristic crimes, such as placing explosives in public areas, such as department stores and places of worship of religious minorities.276 For example, in Moscow in 2008, there were ten examples of successful and attempted explosions, whereas in 2007, there had

271 Ibid.
272 Ibid.
273 Ibid.
275 Kozhenova, 2009: p. 5.
276 Ibid.
been a total of seven in both Moscow and Saint Petersburg.\textsuperscript{277} SOVA representatives explain that such ‘gang behaviour points at efforts to try to incite a “holy racial war”’.\textsuperscript{278} After a bar fight broke out in at the Seagull club in the city of Kondopoga, located 600 miles north of Moscow, ethnic violence and political out lash have resulted. Two ethnic Russians had been killed by men from Azerbaijan and Chechnya.\textsuperscript{279} Their deaths provoked protests from ethnic Russians, and on 2 September 2006, they had committed numerous acts of vandalism throughout the town, which continued for several days afterwards.\textsuperscript{280} Mobs of young men burned the Seagull club, owned by a businessman originally from Azerbaijan.\textsuperscript{281} Then they attacked a series of precisely chosen targets: the homes and businesses of migrants from the Caucasus, mostly from Chechnya.\textsuperscript{282} They destroyed makeshift stalls in the town’s open-air market, threw rocks through apartment windows, overturned and burned cars and kiosks, sacked two shops and burned a third store still under construction.\textsuperscript{283}

In both countries, a military or semi-military based structure is common amongst neo-Nazi gangs. In Germany, many neo-Nazi gangs are organised with semi-military structures that are based on \textit{Wehrsportgruppen}, which can be translated as a (para) military, sport group.\textsuperscript{284} These tend to be right wing extremist groups that practice military based exercises and training.\textsuperscript{285} \textit{Wehrsportgruppen} also tend to have extremely disciplined members that eschew drinking and drugs.\textsuperscript{286} The \textit{Wehrsportgruppe Racheakt}, which can be translated as ‘Revenge Paramilitary Training Group’, according to former member Manuel Bauer, also emphasised military training.\textsuperscript{287} Bauer had served in the military and taught members how to shoot weapons, ‘construct and drilled them in survival techniques’.\textsuperscript{288} \textit{Wehrsportgruppen} tend to be outlawed by the German government as they compete for the monopoly of violence with the state.\textsuperscript{289}

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{277} \textit{Ibid.}
\item \textsuperscript{278} Cited in \textit{MailOnline}. "Filmed beheadings show Russian neo-Nazis are borrowing tactics from al Qaeda". 19 Dec 2008. <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/worldnews/article-1098035/Filmed-beheadings-Russian-neo-Nazis-borrowing-tactics-al-Qaeda.html>
\item \textsuperscript{279} Myers, Steven Lee (2006), \textit{In Russia City, a rampage of ethnic violence}, New York: New York Times.
\item \textsuperscript{281} \textit{Ibid.:} p. 19.
\item \textsuperscript{282} Myers, (2006).
\item \textsuperscript{283} \textit{Ibid.}
\item \textsuperscript{284} Brinks et al (2000), p.25.
\item \textsuperscript{286} \textit{Ibid.}
\item \textsuperscript{288} \textit{Ibid.}
\item \textsuperscript{289} Laqueur (1999), p.121.
\end{itemize}
In Russia, many of the successful groups have a military component based on training of members, a publication component, such as a journal for representation in politics, and ‘a system of enterprises designed to convert political weight and the capacity for violence into economic capital.’\footnote{Sokolov (2008), p.75.} They also tend to own security firms and gyms for practicing martial arts.\footnote{Ibid.} According to Sokolov, by training members in martial arts, neo-Nazi organisations are able to send these members into the political and economic spheres as security guards.\footnote{Ibid.} Members’ participation in the political sphere leads to increased influence and political ties for the gang; participation in the economic sphere supports the gangs by increasing revenue.\footnote{Ibid.} The end result is also increased membership due to increased exposure and economic profit.\footnote{Ibid.}

Gangs are organised and hierarchical, and members in some gangs have specific duties and responsibilities; for example, during a youtube video interview, Dmitry Demushkin, leader of the Slavic Union, while introducing members of the group, pointed to one individual, and explained that he is Union’s ‘living legend, our Negro exterminator’.\footnote{WPru88, ‘Slavic Union: White Terror’} Demushkin went on to further explain that his ‘street warriors live in a state of constant alert...we're always in a state of combat action...’.\footnote{Sokolov (2008), p.75.} The group itself conducts both spontaneous actions and organised ones. He stated that they use brute force often, but for spontaneous actions, initiated within the movement, he handed down a special order, which stated ‘that no combat group planning autonomous action should inform us of that action. That way we can’t be held responsible. They must plan and perform actions on their own.’\footnote{Ibid.} For certain organised acts of violence initiated from within the organisation, Demushkin explained, that he may decide that direct action is necessary, and the Union plans and operates the execution thereof.\footnote{Ibid.} These gangs have been capable of enhancing their ability to target increased quantities of individuals due to their organisation and division of responsibilities.

An example of a neo-Nazi group and political party with an organised military based structure is Russian National Unity (RNU), which was created by Aleksandr Barkashov. Barkashov was previously in command of the combat branch of the group \emph{Pamyat}.\footnote{Pamyat’ means memory in Russian. Barkashov left \emph{Pamyat’} in 1990 along with a group of followers and founded the RNU in 1990. Sokolov (2008), p.68.} Sokolov researched the
RNU from 1998 to 2001 and claims that the RNU was the most successful Neo-Nazi organisation that was created in Russia in the time period of 1990 until 1992. According to the same source, Barkashov was also declared one of the ten most influential politicians ten years following the creation of the RNU.

The RNU was created with a military structure, which it retains presently. Many members have served in the military or were former or current members of the police. The dress and style of the RNU, similarly to many other such gangs, resembles military or law enforcement uniforms, as is demonstrated in the photo below.

Photo 3: RNU prior to a march on the day of the relics of St. Seraphim of Sarov

Sokolov explains during the meetings of the RNU that he attended, it became evident that the body language of members was also based on military caste; for example, members adopted military stances upon command from higher ranking members in the RNU. Members of the RNU participate in ‘drill and shooting practice’, and according to Sokolov, members march and patrol ‘the streets as volunteers (sometimes alongside police officers). The RNU assisted the police in patrolling the streets in several cases, including: Moscow, Ekaterinburg, Kostroma, and

300 Ibidem, p.66, p.68.
301 Ibidem, p.75.
302 Ibidem, p.68.
304 Sokolov (2008), p.68.
Saltykovka, amongst others. The RNU also controlled a network of security firms that provided employment to its members. The emphasis on paramilitary training is not unique to the RNU however, and many Russian neo-Nazi organisations function in a similar fashion. For example, the Slavic Union also emphasises the importance of discipline and training. As part of the training, members also practice combat manoeuvres against each other.

While the majority of neo-Nazi organisations to function based on a hierarchical structure, this is not the case for all. While Russkii obraz claims to function as fraternity rather than based on a hierarchical structure, fighting and training is crucial to their activities. They explain that they have been active in training members in hand to hand combat since 2007, specifically in the slavyano-goritskaya fighting style, which is a form of Russian hand to hand combat that also incorporates disarmament of an enemy; furthermore, Russkii obraz focus on military hand to hand combat, training in using knives during confrontation, and ‘cooperative tactical combat (group movement, group attack and defence)’. The group advertises their trainings on their website, which take place on twice a week for two hours, and lists equipment for participants to bring. The explanation ends with a call to action – ‘[do] not stay put, just step up!’

Other members of neo-Nazi gangs claim they do not support the use of violence against foreign individuals without reason. For instance, the People’s Army claims to be opposed to the unrestricted use of violence against foreign individuals and ethnic minorities. The People’s Army is an alliance of twenty eight neo-Nazi organisations, which was created by Yuri Riverov. He claims that the Army only advocates violence if it is ‘necessary’. 19-year-old Kiriil Demidov, member of the People’s Army, claims that ‘many foreigners who come here behave like barbarians, disrespecting Russia and consorting with our women. We only beat them when we see them do this.’ At the same time, what is defined as behaving like a ‘barbarian’ and what constitutes ‘disrespecting Russia’ remains ambiguous. Some groups perceive the presence of foreign individuals in the territory of Russia as offensive, and thus justifying the use of violence in order to remove them. Removal of foreign individuals would then constitute either murder or fleeing due to fear for safety.

---

307 Ibid.
308 Ibidem, p.70.
310 Ibid.
313 Cited Ibid.
In both countries, neo-Nazi groups have been connected to violent crimes. This is because the status of skinheads within the gang and their dedication to the group is frequently based on violence. Bernd Wagner explains that German neo-Nazis are inherently violent; physical training in preparation for crimes is generally perceived as admiral.\textsuperscript{314} A former German neo-Nazi featured that was interviewed in a BBC report, explains that neo-Nazi tend to be trained and that the neo-Nazi ‘scene’ is armed and militant.\textsuperscript{315} He continues on to explain that members of neo-Nazi gangs receive weapons training, and this cumulates in murder.\textsuperscript{316} In the Association of Aryan Fighters, ‘clothes flecked with blood were worn with pride, as a kind of trophy’.\textsuperscript{317} According to Pilkington, Fighting is an essential part of skinhead identity. As Zhenia [a member of a skinhead gang interviewed by Pilkington] (2006) confirms, “You’re not a skinhead by calling yourself a skinhead and sitting on the sofa. You have to prove yourself on the street.” Male respondents “proved themselves” by defending the boundaries of skinhead affiliation... or fighting each other ...in rituals that confirmed internal hierarchies as well as kept the group in shape...\textsuperscript{318}

While not all neo-Nazi organisations may function based on a strict hierarchy, the majority do, and the majority do focus on the importance of exercise, training in combat, and the general health of members.

Neo-Nazi groups in both countries tend to carry out similar acts of violence. For example, in Germany, this includes ‘intimidation, verbal abuse, physical assault, [and] attacks on Jewish cemeteries and synagogues’.\textsuperscript{319} McGowan explains that violent acts such as those were not new to Germany, and had been taking place since 1949.\textsuperscript{320} Neo-Nazi groups in both countries are engaging in paramilitary training of their members, including the use of arms as well as hand to hand combat. What is more, these groups’ hunts for and attack of foreign individuals, as well as human rights activists, judges, and reporters who may work to limit neo-Nazi activity, also demonstrates that they are a tangible threat to the safety of various groups within German and Russian society. However, the exact degree of crime and activity carried out by such groups remains obscure. In both countries, the extent of racially motivated assaults and attacks is difficult to know as police do not consistently register such crimes as racially motivated. The recent discovery of the Zwickau cell in Germany also supports the point that the actual degree of

\begin{footnotes}
\item[314] Wagner (2012).
\item[316] Ibid.
\item[317] Juttner (2011).
\item[318] Pilkington (2010), p.203.
\item[320] Ibid.
\end{footnotes}
organised neo-Nazis is unknown, and may pose an even more significant threat to the safety of Out-groups.

**Services provided by neo-Nazi**

In both countries, neo-Nazi groups provide various services to their members and the community at large, with the goal of increasing membership. Some services are psychological, such as the importance of belonging to an In-group and feeling of acceptance. Other services are financial and social, and are intended to appeal to families. The ability to provide such stems from various financial sources, as well.

In Germany, some neo-Nazi organisations and extreme right political parties receive financial assistance from former Nazis. For instance, according to former NPD member, Luwe Luthardt, the NPD in Germany, receives funding from Nazis living in South America.\(^{321}\) Manuel Bauer, mentioned above, explains that a German Brewer, ‘helped finance our [the Association of Aryan Fighters’] political struggle for years’.\(^{322}\) He also claims that the NPD assisted the Fighters in obtaining arms, mostly from Eastern Europe.\(^{323}\) Alternatively, members of the Nationalist Socialist Underground were revealed to have been involved in several bank robberies in Böhnhardt, Mundlos, and Zschäpe, from which funding for activities had been generated.\(^{324}\)

Members of gangs in the Russian Federation receive a return for their participation. This return includes: increasing their own knowledge and command of martial arts, a salary from the economic sphere and working in security firms, and the possibility of a political career.\(^{325}\) Evidence of financial assistance provided from neo-Nazi gangs comes from the trail of the National-socialist society north. This group had an inflow of money from its members and communities in other regions and suburbs, and were sent credit cards.\(^{326}\) The court proceedings revealed that that the group had access from between two thousand to twenty five thousand rubles

---


\(^{322}\) Juttner (2011).

\(^{323}\) Ibid.


\(^{326}\) Kalinina (2011).
a month from this assistance from the Society’s circles in other regions. They also committed acts of robbery, from which financial resources were also extrapolated for said community.

The People's National Party in Russia is able to provide services to its members by requesting membership fees from constituents. On the other hand, the National Socialist Organisation, provides salaries to its members. During the trial of Maksim Bazilev, the former leader of the National Socialist Organisation, members claimed that they received approximately 25,000 RUB a month, which is approximately 640 euro. They would obtain the money via ‘untraceable bank cards’ from which they would withdraw cash.

The website Slavjanskii krug (Slavic circle) provides a list of guarantees for members. The website advocates the creation of a Russkaja obschchina (Russian community) on an international scale and connecting various Slavic individuals and communities to each other in real life. The communities are intended to assist each other and provide various services to their members. Services may include general advice, aid in obtaining a profession or work, assistance with ‘injustice’, and help with financial problems. Members are also promised the ability to take care of their families from a financial stand point, especially in cases where the provider loses the ability to work. Members are also assured of their own protection and safety, and access to health care professionals if required. Lastly, members are promised the ability to see their own personal growth and full realisation of their potential in the form of a leader.

These guarantees seem to be extremely appealing – medical care, aid in a career, and financial assistance all can appeal to individuals outside of the community of neo-Nazis, but those who are disenfranchised or struggling within the country. Similarly, in Germany, since the economic crisis, neo-Nazi groups have also begun provide welfare advice and family aid. This again is done with the goal and intention of attracting new supporters.

---

327 Ibid.
328 Ibid.
331 Ibid.
333 Ibid.
334 Ibid.
335 Ibid.
336 Ibid.
337 Alder (2012).
In both countries, neo-Nazi organisations also place importance on the health of their members. In Germany, this tends to be emphasised based on physical fitness and strength.\textsuperscript{338} Consumption of alcohol amongst these groups is frequent, and is not discouraged.\textsuperscript{339} In Russia, on the other hand, many neo-Nazi organisations discourage consumption of alcohol. Following the collapse of the USSR, alcoholism increased dramatically, which increased three times from 1991 until 2007.\textsuperscript{340}

As a result, it is possible that many neo-Nazi organisations’ desire to restore the glory of Russia, is also related to the focus on the health of their members. For instance, the aforementioned People’s Army’s motto is \textit{Mens sana in corpore sano}, which translates to ‘a sound mind in a healthy body’.\textsuperscript{341} A healthy body is understood not only as a physically fit one, but one that is clean and free of drugs and alcohol. Many neo-Nazi members find habits such as drinking, smoking, or consumption of drugs revolting. Pavel Golubev, the father of Sergei Golubev, who was convicted of murder at age sixteen and is a member of the National Socialist Organisation in Russia explains that his son refused to socialise with many other Russian youth due to their habits. The father says that

\begin{quote}
Sergei rarely went out… I told him to go outside and have a wander. He would take me to the window: [he would ask] “You want me to go out there? See them sitting there, already pouring out drinks on the bench? In the evening, the darkies will also bring weed. You want me to go outside and join their company?” …
\end{quote}

This quote not only demonstrates the negative reaction towards drinking, but also the associate of consumption of marijuana, with foreign individuals.

The Slavic Union also disproves of the use of alcohol or drugs amongst its members. On their website, they explain that alcohol is the most common ‘murder weapon’ in Russia.\textsuperscript{343} According to the Slavic Union, it is the responsibility of the individual to eschew alcohol, which is perceived as causing men to behave foolishly, destroying their health, and preventing lasting relations with women.\textsuperscript{344} \textit{Russkii obraz} express shame that youth in modern Russia are too preoccupied with sex, drinking, and eating, and thus lack fraternity, dignity, honour, and responsibility.\textsuperscript{345}

\begin{footnotes}
\footnotetext[338]{Juttner (2011).}
\footnotetext[339]{Ibid.}
\footnotetext[340]{Halpin, Tony (2007), ‘Health alert as Russia’s alcohol consumption triples’, \textit{the Times}.}
\footnotetext[341]{Blomfield (2005).}
Translated by the author}
\footnotetext[344]{Ibid.}
\end{footnotes}
importance placed on maintaining a healthy lifestyle by many organisations is related to the emphasis of neo-Nazi organisations on maintaining the survival of the nation.

In both countries, neo-Nazi groups organise summer camps, youth organisations, and sports clubs that target children and young adults in particular.\textsuperscript{346} These summer camps are intended for children and their families; however, in Germany, the interior ministry has begun shutting down and banning some youth organisations for indoctrinating children in Nazi ideology as well as for providing children with military training.\textsuperscript{347} In the city of Geithain in Germany, according to \textit{Der Speigel}, children have become indoctrinated into said ideology, where neo-Nazis ‘are seen as the cool ones, the rebels.’\textsuperscript{348} On the other hand, children who are opposed to said ideology may be bullied, and are greeted with commentary such as ‘Heil Hitler’ or ‘Piss off, you wog.’\textsuperscript{349} Furthermore, some female students have utilised sunscreen in order to draw swastikas onto their skin.\textsuperscript{350} What is more, parents of children in said city have been seen wearing t-shirts which state ‘Scenic Train Journey to Auschwitz.’\textsuperscript{351} In the Russian Federation, similar phenomena is taking place – neo-Nazi organisations are creating youth branches or activities particularly in order to attract minors to their cause. For example, the Slavic Union encourages the self organisation of youth groups by motivated minors, to whom the Union provides ‘support’.\textsuperscript{352} They also seek to educate Russian youth about the ‘national consciousness’, and to encourage its development.\textsuperscript{353}

Thus, the acceptance of neo-Nazi beliefs by children participating in said summer camps seems to be taking place. This is also likely to imply that communities of neo-Nazis are forming, and are particularly attempt to attract youth.

Neo-Nazi organisations in both Germany and Russia tend to provide services that are intended to attract families, ranging from arranging summer camps such as those above or financial assistance to support reproduction and growth of the ethnic community. These services may be particularly appealing as both Germany and Russia were impacted by the global economic crisis of 2008, and unemployment and poverty increased in the countries.

The ability of neo-Nazi organisations to appeal to families and communities also means that members of groups are not merely those belonging to the fringes of society; rather, this section demonstrates that especially with the development of youth camps and various other services for

\textsuperscript{346}Ibid.
\textsuperscript{347} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{348} Popp (2012).
\textsuperscript{349} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{350} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{351} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{352} Slavic Union, ‘Entry into the movement "Russians”’, [accessed 24 August 2012], <http://www.demushkin.com/content/articles/318/3323.html>.
\textsuperscript{353} Ibid.
families, that members of neo-Nazi groups are not simply disenfranchised groups, but may also consist of middle class individuals with an education who fear the possibility of losing their wages or future poverty.\textsuperscript{354} The provision of the services discussed above also means that neo-Nazi groups may be able to enhance membership by appealing to larger quantities of the population.

In both Germany and the Russian Federation, neo-Nazis have organised communities of like minded individuals. These range from attempts to link neo-Nazis across the country via the use of the internet, to actual portions of cities or villages being established, where residents are exclusively members of a given neo-Nazi movement. Groups of neo-Nazis have become organised and may be found in larger quantities in some regions than in others.

In Germany, National Liberated Zones are being established by neo-Nazis, which they claim are free, social, and national.\textsuperscript{355} These zones may consist of an entire village, such as that of Jamel, or a part of a city or town. Such zones have also been associated with cases of riots and murder, which are carried out in order to ‘cleanse’ a particular area of ethnic minorities, homosexuals, and political enemies, such as leftists.\textsuperscript{356}

In Russia, the \textit{Slavjanskii krug} encourages the cooperation between Slavic individuals.\textsuperscript{357} Slavic individuals are defined as ‘Slavic-Aryan’ or ‘white brothers’.\textsuperscript{358} Visitors to the website are able to establish a new community based on their city of residence or join communities that have already been created.\textsuperscript{359} Based on the map of established communities, the majority are located in Russia, with two in Estonia, one in Germany and Poland, two in Kazakhstan and several in Ukraine.\textsuperscript{360} Most groups have small quantities of members, ranging from one to thirteen, yet contact and support remains inter-communal.\textsuperscript{361}
The individuals joining the communities are asked to meet in person in order to weed out those members that would not be willing to take ‘actions’ themselves.\textsuperscript{363}

These members are asked to organise into communities, or \textit{kopas} where members are expected to live based on \textit{Kopnoe pravo}.\textsuperscript{364} A \textit{kopa} dates back to the Cossacks, and the word itself dates back to ancient Slavic roots, with meanings ranging from en masse, assemblage, and coop.\textsuperscript{365} Kopas were one of the earliest forms of self-governance amongst village life in the ancient Slavic regions.\textsuperscript{366} The communities function based on \textit{Kopnoe pravo}; this means that members are responsible for each other’s safety and wellbeing, as well as for any crimes committed within the community.\textsuperscript{367} Members are responsible for trying the crimes committed within the community, and decisions must be unanimous.\textsuperscript{368} Elders were the heads of the communities, and membership tended to be passed generationally.\textsuperscript{369} What is more, the head of the household is the only member with rights in the community, which is the male patriarch.\textsuperscript{370} Membership tended to range from 100 to 300 individuals, all coming from the four to nine nearest villages.\textsuperscript{371}

\textsuperscript{362} \textit{Ibid.}
\textsuperscript{363} Slavjanskii Krug (2012), ‘Slavjanskie obshchiny’
\textsuperscript{364} Akademija estestvennyh nauk Rossiiskoi Federatsii (2002), ‘Natsional'naja bezopasnost i geopolitika Rossii’, p.129.
\textsuperscript{365} \textit{Ibid.}
\textsuperscript{366} \textit{Ibid.}
\textsuperscript{367} \textit{Ibidem}, p.130.
\textsuperscript{368} \textit{Ibid.}
\textsuperscript{369} \textit{Ibid.}
\textsuperscript{370} \textit{Ibidem}, p.133.
\textsuperscript{371} \textit{Ibidem}, p.129.
In a *kopa* organised by the *Slavjanskii krug*, membership should also range between 100 to 300 individuals, and members should come from the four to nine nearest villages or cities.³⁷² The services within a *Slavjanskii krug kopa* provided also tend to be based on the initial meaning, but have been adopted to modern civilisation and the restrictions of life in the Russian Federation. To the extent that members are expected to protect each other (physically provide for each other’s safety), membership is accompanied responsibilities towards each other, decisions should be unanimous, and male ‘heads of household’ are the members with full rights.³⁷³ this version of the *kopa* does resemble that of the original.

Whereas the German Liberated Zones tend to be concentrated in a specific location and tend to be focused on removing ethnic minorities from the territories, the neo-Nazi *kopa’s* tend to have more scattered membership. The website of the *Slavjanskii krug* seems to have been more successful in bringing like minded individuals to an internet forum rather than obtaining action and establishing such communities in real life, outside of the internet.³⁷⁴ At the same time, the degree of activities outside in reality is difficult to judge as this is not frequently posted due to the potential of legal ramifications. In both countries, neo-Nazi organisations more generally have expanded their services in order to attract members of the general public, including youth and children.

³⁷² Slavjanskii Krug (2012), 'Slavjanskie obschchiny' .
Political ties

In both Germany and the Russian Federation, neo-Nazi organisations have attempted to gain political office. Right wing extremist parties in Germany tend to be critical of the manner in which Germany's Nazi or National-Socialist past has been addressed, which they perceive as 'unrealistic and a "gift" of the victorious Allies'. They also tend to deny the crimes committed by the Third Reich. For example, one extreme right party, the Republikaner, argued for the 'decriminalisation of German history and culture as depicted exclusively in terms of the period of National Socialist rule'. They perceive the borders of Germany as temporary, and claim a right to territories in Poland. What is more, they proclaim a degree of racism, or a 'type of apartheid', where Germany would lack or have a minimal quantity of foreigners present.

Germany has a history of neo-Nazi parties, dating back to the mid-1950s when the German Reich Party (Deutsche Reichspartei) was founded. This party had 'some successes' in elections that took place in 1959. By 1964, this party and several right wing parties merged to form the German National Democratic Party (NPD). The NPD won 4.3 percent of votes in the 1969 federal elections in West Germany, and since then has been challenged by the development of other Neo-Nazi organisations and parties. This particular party had territorial demands, and wanted a return to the 1937 borders. The new neo-Nazi organisations attracted more youth than the NPD as they condoned and accepted the use of violence, whereas the NPD preferred to operate within the bounds of politics. At the same time, the NPD was one of the first political parties to utilise rhetoric against foreign workers as a political tactic, and had established a relationship with various neo-Nazi gangs that did condone the use of violence. Membership of this party weaned during the 1990s, yet rose again during the 2000s. The party now supports the establishment of a Germany based on 'biological elements', and has a youth organisation - the Junge

---

376 Ibid.
379 Ibid.
381 Ibidem, pp.105-106.
382 Ibidem, p.106.
383 Ibid.
384 Ibid.
385 Ibid.
Nationaldemokraten. \textsuperscript{387} The NPD, since unification, has mobilised Neo-Nazis in approximately fifty demonstrations. \textsuperscript{388}

By the 1990s, the German Alternative became one of the largest neo-Nazi parties in Germany. \textsuperscript{389} This party was formed by Michael Kuhnen in 1989 in order to unite various neo-Nazi groups and parties. \textsuperscript{390} The Deutsche Alternative avoided the use of violence, but preferred to utilise 'Hitler's electoral tactics'. \textsuperscript{391} Kuhnen himself attempted to appeal to German constituents by presenting them with leadership based on Hitler's authoritarian rule. \textsuperscript{392} Similarly to the NPD, this party also propagated a campaign based on anti-immigration and anti-foreigner sentiment. \textsuperscript{393} By 1992, the Deutsche Alternative was banned by the German government.

In Russia, the RNU, previously mentioned, also attempted to win seats in the Duma. This effort was unsuccessful, however. For elections that took place in 1993, the RNU had failed to obtain the necessary quantity of signatures in order to have a candidate run for office. \textsuperscript{394} Only one individual was elected as an independent. \textsuperscript{395} Another example is the People's National Party, which is a 'neo-Nazi ... political group'. \textsuperscript{396} As a political party, the People's National Party has not had a successful career, and has only managed to become a minor party in the Duma. This party was founded in 1994 by Alexander Kuzmich Ivanov Sukharevsky. Together with Semyon Tokmakov, Ivanov Sukharevsky transformed the party into a paramilitary group. \textsuperscript{397} Membership is estimated to be approximately 10,000 individuals throughout Russia, and 1,500 in Moscow. \textsuperscript{398} The People's National Party's goal is to remove the presence of foreign individuals and ethnic minorities from Russia. \textsuperscript{399} Ivanov Sukharevsky has also argued for the deportation of 'Asians, Jews, and other ethnic groups' from Russia's borders. \textsuperscript{400} The People’s National Party's paramilitary structure and use of violence eventually led to the arrests of Ivanov Sukharevsky and Tokmakov. The former for 'incitement of ethnic discord', and the latter for assault of an African American. \textsuperscript{401} What is more, the People’s National Party attempted to obtain permission to be

\begin{footnotesize}
387 Ibid.
388 Ibid.
390 Ibid.
391 Ibid.
392 Ibid.
393 Ibid.
394 P. Ester, Loek Halman, Vladimir Rukavishnikov, Vladimir Olegovich Rukavishnikov (1997), \textit{From cold war to cold peace?: a comparative empirical study of Russian and Western political cultures}, BRILL, p. 160.
395 Adler (2012).
397 Ibid.
398 Ibid.
399 Ibid.
400 Ibidem, pp.244-245.
401 Ibidem, p.245.
\end{footnotesize}
armed, which was denied. Furthermore, the Party incited a riot in Moscow in 2001, which resulted in three deaths and several dozen wounded individuals. The People’s National Party continues to maintain members, but similarly to the RNU, no longer has support as a political party.

Since the early 1990s, right wing parties in Russia recruited and cooperated with skinhead gangs. For example, in Moscow the Russian National Union (RNS), a political party, created a specific department for cooperation with skinheads. The same party financed Pod nol’ (a skinhead publication), and had the leader of Skinlegion, a Moscow gang, speak frequently at RNS meetings. Another example is the People's National Party (NNP), which supported the skinhead gang Russkaia Tsel' following the imprisonment of NNP leader Alexandr Ivanov Sukharevskii for incitement of racial hatred; during this time Sukharevskii was in a cell with Semen Tokmakov, the leader of Russakaia Tsel'. After both men were released, Tokmakov became head of the youth portion of the NNP.

Deputies within the Russian Duma have also openly expressed their neo-Nazi sentiment. For instance, deputies, including Nikolai Kuryanovich, Dmitry Rogozin, and Viktor Alexis are also known activists of the Russian March; although the conduction of said march has been prohibited for 2009, on 4 November 2008, the aforementioned deputies as well as fifteen hundred other individuals belonging to nationalistic organisations conducted secret meetings regarding the March. Nikolai Korianovich, a former member of the Central Committee of the Russian Duma, has openly admitted his neo-Nazi sentiment. In 2006, he became a member of the Slavic Union, during which time he was also a deputy in the Duma (from 2003-2007). He was a member of the Liberal and Democratic Party of Russia, which is a far right party that is ultranationalistic and is centred around the personality of Vladimir Zhirinovsky. Korianovich stated, while serving in the Duma that ‘skin heads and the Slavic Union are without a doubt useful organisations within Russia ... that provide a healthy reaction of a healthy organism.’ More than that, he finishes many speeches by stating ‘Glory to Russia’ and follows suite with a Nazi salute. The Freedom

---

402 Ibidem, p.244.
403 Ibidem, p.245.
404 Ibid.
406 Ibid.
407 Ibid.
408 Ibid.
411 Ibid.
Party, which exists largely in Saint Petersburg, has both engaged in violent crime, as well as attempted to gain seats in office. This party however has been unsuccessful in gaining votes.

Another trend in the Russian Federation is the radicalisation of extreme right political parties that, while not explicitly neo-Nazi parties, express similar beliefs. For instance, Alexey Mitrofanov a current member of the Liberal Democratic Party of Russia and Alexey Golubyatnikov a current member of the Liberal Democratic Party, ran for governors in the Pskov and Volgograd Oblasts respectively in 2005. Their election campaigns were explicitly racist, and they utilised slogans such as ‘Criminal Southerners - get out of Pskov Oblast’, ‘We are not in the Caucasus here’.

Although the Liberal Democratic party is not a neo-Nazi organisation, the at times explicit racism of the Liberal Democratic Party does espouse similarities with the ideologies of neo-Nazi organisations.

The Party has also been accused of having collaborated with neo-Nazi groups. This includes participation the Russian March, which as previously mentioned, is organised largely by neo-Nazi organisations. The Liberal Democratic Party has also called for the removal of foreign individuals from Russia, integration with the Slavic world, and focusing on the ‘Russia question’. In order to address the latter, the leader of the Liberal Democratic Party, Vladimir Zhirinovsky has explained that the Party must focus on the ‘defence of the Russian people’. The Party organised a round table to focus on the topic, which was held in their office in the Duma. This is intended to be a Russian Committee that will focus on transforming various proposals into legislative initiatives. Some of the parties invited include: ‘Georgiy Borovikov of the anti-Semitic Pamyat’ group; Dmitry Demushkin of the now banned Slavic Union—National Socialist Movement; Aleksandr Belov (alias Potkin), the founder and former leader of the also banned Movement against Illegal Immigration DPNI; Aleksandr Sevastyanov, co-founder and former leader of the National Sovereignty Party of Russia.’

The main discussions of the meeting were how to raise


413 Ibid.


415 Ibid.


417 Ibid.

418 Ibid.

419 Ibid.
the birth rate of ethnic Russians in the country, and how to cease the ‘cultural aggression against Russians’ that they believe is taking place in the country. While not all of the aforementioned groups are neo-Nazi organisations, Pamyat and the Slavic Union are. Thus, cooperation between the Liberal Democratic Party and neo-Nazi organisations has taken pace. The Liberal Democratic Party has had varying levels of success since its creation in 1991, and has remained active in Russian politics from that time.

Although more organised gangs in Russia did have ties to political parties, the majority lacked such connections. The latter consisted of smaller groups of individuals without a specific ideology and were themselves unorganised. However, according to Pilkington, in Moscow during the early 1990s, there were already approximately twenty gangs, with a 'name, leader, regular meeting place and a structure that allowed rapid mobilisation for participation in some kind of "action".'

Overall, the level of political involvement of neo-Nazi parties in both Germany and the Russian Federation is minimal. In neither country has a neo-Nazi party managed to gain a significant quantity of seats in local parliaments, and currently, none have any seats in the national parliaments. At most, political parties with alleged links to neo-Nazi groups, such as the NPD in Germany or the Liberal Democratic Party of Russia have managed to have a degree of political success. This situation limits the ability of neo-Nazi organisations to carry out major goals, such as the removal of foreign individuals and ethnic minorities from their borders.

**Conclusion of Chapter**

This chapter has sought to answer the research question: *To what extent are Neo-Nazi skinhead gangs active?* This chapter demonstrates the patterns in the development and expansion of neo-Nazi organisations. It is important to note that the combination of economic decline in these countries, along with promises of financial assistance from neo-Nazi groups have been utilised in order to appeal to the general population and expand membership in these organisations. Economic struggles also culminate in ethnic minorities and immigrants being scapegoated for the economic problems present within these countries; in particular, immigrants are accused of 'stealing' work from the In group (ethnically German or Russian individuals). This logic also permits members to eschew responsibility for their situation, such as being unemployed. Neo-

---

420 Moskovskiy Novosti (2011), 'Liberal-Democrats gather for a pow-wow with nationalists'.
422 Ibid.
423 Ibid.
Nazi organisations have consequentially been able to attract members of German or Russian society who desire to gain a sense of belonging and self-confidence.

Neo-Nazi organisations have also begun to expand the Out group from undesirable groups within their countries borders include individuals who are perceived as assisting or supporting the undesirable Out groups. This has led to the deaths and attacks of lawyers, human rights activists, politicians, and judges. Thus, the scapegoating and vilification of aforementioned Out groups, tends to culminate in violence. Neo-Nazis are also increasingly organised, which included engaging in paramilitary training in order to carry out acts of violence.

Neo-Nazi organisations are also seeking to expand membership to general portions of the population that belong to the In-group. In order to attract members, neo-Nazis also provide a multitude of services. These tend to be geared towards families, such as financial assistance, medical assistance, aid finding employment, and summer camps for children and youth. The ability of these groups to provide financial assistance and act as a financial network during times of economic crisis has been particularly significant in attracting new members.

Some neo-Nazi gangs in both countries have political components that participate in elections. Representation of these gangs in the federal and local governments is limited, especially as bans against explicitly neo-Nazi political parties are frequently taking place. At the same time, many extreme right parties have the support of neo-Nazi gangs and may cooperate with them. Although neo-Nazi groups have barely demonstrated political success, they have worked towards fulfilling goals via other means, including violence. Thus, neo-Nazi organisations in Germany and Russia are active and organised, but have been more successful in fulfilling certain goals (attracting members via promises of services, attracting children and youth, and conducting acts of violence against members of the Out-group) than others (gaining political office).
Chapter 3: The spaces of experience of the Nazi party and Neo-Nazi groups

This chapter compares the degree to which neo-Nazi organisations in Germany and Russia resemble that of the Nazi party. The main sub-question answered in this chapter is: *To what extent do the manifestations of these gangs resemble that of the Nazi party?* This is answered within the context of Reinhart Koselleck’s theory of time, previously discussed. This chapter analyses the circumstances and fashion in which the Nazi Party came to power. This begins with an analysis of the general conditions within interwar Germany that contributed to the Nazi Party’s ability to gain political office. The first section analyses the economic conditions in all three situations. This is followed by the degree of appeal to the general population of the parties. The next section focuses on the development of a personality cult or lack thereof surrounding a particular figure within these groups. Afterwards, the use of paramilitary and military organisations is compared. The last section compares the legal status of the Nazi Party to the various neo-Nazi organisations. This chapter is based on comparing and analysing the spaces of experience of Nazi party members and present day neo-Nazis.

**Economic conditions**

During the 1930s, the Great Depression had caused significant economic problems in Germany. For example, in 1931, more than one fifth of the workforce was unemployed, which rose to one third of the workforce by the next year. By 1927, investments in Germany had declined, and credit from the US had become scarce, which banks in Germany found strenuous. From 1929, there had been a recession in consumer goods; in the same year, the majority of industrial countries were suffering from an economic depression. The decline of international trade, banking, economic relations, and adoption of protectionist policies contributed significantly to the German economic crisis. By 1932, industrial production was thirty percent lower than what it had been prior to the First World War. Between 1929 - 1932, the production of consumer goods

---

426 Ibidem, p.45.
427 Ibid.
428 Ibid.
had also declined significantly - by eighteen percent.\textsuperscript{429} Furthermore, 'producer goods production' had contracted by fifty two percent.\textsuperscript{430}

An agricultural crisis had also taken place prior to the Depression. Agricultural output in Germany had declined to below pre World War I levels. Employment in the agricultural industry also declined as work in the industrial sector was more lucrative. Because of the increasing departure of farmers into the industrial sector, the wages of remaining farmers increased.\textsuperscript{431}

Hyperinflation also led to a worsening economy. During the First World War, 'money supply quintupled'; more money was printed in order to conveniently generate the funding necessary for the war economy. The result of this situation was inflation, which continued into the 1920s.\textsuperscript{432} However, the 'Great inflation of 1923' proved to be significantly more harmful to the German economy.\textsuperscript{433} At this point in time, for example, one kilogram of 'bread cost 428 thousand million marks, [and] a kilogram of butter more than 5 billion'.\textsuperscript{434}

The combination of an instability within the international economy, the continued legacy of the First World War, agricultural crisis, 'external account imbalances' due to reparations and war debt, 'excess capacity in industries like steel production, engineering, automobiles, electrical goods, optics and synthetics, deflationary tendencies as a means to fight inflation' all contributed to the worsening economic situation in the country. What is more, agricultural prices fell in 1927. The state responded to this situation by adopting a protectionist policy towards agriculture as well as by providing subsidies within said sector. This meant that consumers also had to pay higher rates for produce.\textsuperscript{435}

In modern day Germany, the appeal of neo-Nazi groups stems from several factors, including financial strain due to the economic crisis. After unification, former East Germany suffered from significant economic decline. Sinn et al compare this economic depression in East Germany to that of the Great Depression, which took place from 1928 to 1933. They write that 'the downturn [during the depression of 1928] was spread over a much longer period and, even so, the relative fall in output was smaller.' This is summarised in the table below.\textsuperscript{436}

\begin{table}
\centering
\begin{tabular}{|c|c|}
\hline
Year & Output \% Change \\
\hline
1928 & -15 \%
\hline
1929 & -10 \%
\hline
1930 & -5 \%
\hline
1931 & 0 \%
\hline
1932 & 5 \%
\hline
\end{tabular}
\caption{Output Change During the Great Depression}
\end{table}
The tables above demonstrate that unemployment rates and decline in East German output in 1991 surpassed that of Germany during the interwar period.

The current economic crisis in combination with the Germans first message of the NPD, provides attraction for extreme right positions. As previously mentioned, there are more neo-Nazi organisations in Eastern Germany than in the Western portion of the country; members also tend to be male youth. Some of the reasons for the disproportion representation of young men is the high quantity of unemployment in Eastern Germany. While the gap between both sides of the country has been closing, and the standard of living has been on the rise in former East Germany, it remains behind that of the West. In former East Germany, income per capita remains significantly lower than in West Germany, as is demonstrated in the chart below.

---

438 Adler (2012).
440 The Economist (2012).
Thus in spite of economic progress being made in the eastern portion of Germany, it continues to lag behind West Germany. This lagging in combination with the present economic crisis has justified the existence of neo-Nazi organisations in the eyes of their members.\textsuperscript{442} As mentioned above, due to the availability of more economic opportunities in the western region of the Germany, educated youth tend to move away from the eastern portion of the country, often leaving young, less educated males in the eastern regions. The individuals thus suffering from the economic decline become frustrated with their situations and may turn to the comradeship and services provided by right wing extremist parties such as the NPD, and to neo-Nazi groups.\textsuperscript{443}

In the Russian Federation, the transition to capitalism also caused significant economic problems in the early 1990s, followed by an economic crisis in 1998. The result was that many families experienced job loss, contributing to stress and impoverishment amongst families; at the same time, divorce rates grew.\textsuperscript{444} After recovering from this crisis, another hit in 2008.

Walters, a professor of philosophy at Saint Paul University, explains the significance of the presence of economic problems, and neo-Nazi membership. As economic problems compound, young men in particular may seek out the fraternity and feeling of belonging in neo-Nazi organisations. At the same time, the message of removing foreigners from the country also has

\textsuperscript{441} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{442} Wagner (2012).
\textsuperscript{443} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{444} Klugman (1997), p.92.
appeal; because foreign individuals or ethnic minorities may be scapegoated as taking work and resources from the majority ethnic group (German or Russian in this case), these individuals are seen as competing for limited resources.\textsuperscript{445} In Germany, extreme right movements tend to blame foreigners or ethnic minorities as having had taken over the country; this includes taking work from ethnic Germans, obtaining homes and apartments that ought to belong to ethnic Germans, and utilising the social system for which ethnic Germans pay.\textsuperscript{446}

Membership in a neo-Nazi organisation may improve the confidence of the main ethnic group; scapegoating ethnic minorities or foreign individuals allows the former group to eschew feelings of responsibility if they are suffering from unemployment. If there were no foreign individuals in the country, the main ethnic group would have more opportunities and resources. Thus, the logic goes that the portion of the population that is lacking employment, that is living in poverty, does not have a family or is unable to provide for one, and the future possibility of such a situation, is not to blame for their troubles. The real reason for these problems is the presence of foreign individuals in the country.

Similarly to the time period as Hitler was coming to power, both modern day Germany and Russia have had economic crises. In spite of the presence of economic problems in both countries during the 1990s as well as in 2008, no single neo-Nazi organisation or ultra nationalist group has had sweeping success in elections. No party has managed to unite their respective countries via a message of economic prosperity. What is more, aside from presenting foreigners and ethnic minorities as responsible for the countries’ economic problems, few realistic programs for rectifying said problems have been developed by such groups.

At the same time, it is possible that the severity of the economic problems in both countries today is not as extreme as in the interwar period in Germany. Germany’s economy as a whole is generally stable, and the country has one of the top economies in the eurozone.\textsuperscript{447} While the Russian economy still faces several problems and had two economic crises since independence, the extent thereof is not as severe as that of interwar Germany, where a combination of economic crises and problems mounted to create a deep depression.

Interestingly, the presence of economic crises in both pre-World War II Germany and modern Germany and Russia seems to imply a cyclical pattern – the return of economic crises. However,

\textsuperscript{445} Walters, Gregory J (2001), Human Rights in an Information Age: A Philosophical Analysis, Toronto, Canada: University of Toronto Press Incorporated, p.108.
\textsuperscript{446} Bennis (1999), p.154.
the presence of these problems has not been sufficient enough to lead to a growth of neo-Nazi membership strong enough to obtain political power. Thus, while the space of experience of Nazi leadership and neo-Nazi and present day ultra right nationalist parties may have similarities to the extent that both time periods include economic problems, the spaces of experience do not resemble each other in the ability to utilise said problems for political purposes.

**Appeal to the country**

Hitler was able to appeal not only to individual classes in Germany, but also to the population at large.\(^{448}\) He achieved the latter by arguing for a 'nationalist offensive against the "stab in the back"' of the Versailles Treaty and World War I, by arguing for German expansion, and also by identifying racial enemies, especially Jews.\(^{449}\) After the First World War, a significant portion of the population continued to feel the ramifications thereof. Millions of individuals were wounded as a result both physically and psychologically.\(^{450}\) Not only did the German public desire to see improvements of the situation within the Weimar Republic (such as economic stability, or return of military capabilities), but also desired to extract revenge for the situation in which the Republic was.\(^{451}\) According to Bessel, a professor of history at New York University, 'the memory of the war and its legacy served to legitimate the capture of power'.\(^{452}\)

Another important factor contributing to the rise of the Nazi party was promise to unite the country in appealing to various classes and political spectrums. For example, a clerk, attending rallies at a regional election in 1929, was impressed by...[Hitler's] "sincere commitment to the German people as a whole, whose greatest misfortune was being divided into so many parties and classes. Finally a practical proposal for the renewal of the people! Destroy the parties! Do away with classes! True national community! These were goals to which I could commit myself without reservation."\(^{453}\)

This quote demonstrates the importance of the Nazi party’s appeal to the mainstream public, and ability to speak attract members from various strata of society.

This has not taken place in either modern day Germany or the Russian Federation, where neo-Nazi or extreme right political parties have limited members. For example, the NPD do have 13 seats in regional parliaments out of the total 1.890, which is not significant enough to serve as a uniting force for the country. No single neo-Nazi organisation or political party with ties to such

\(^{449}\) *Ibid*.
\(^{451}\) *Ibid*.
\(^{452}\) *Ibidem*, p.173.
organisations have been able to attract large quantities of seats in parliament in spite of promises of establishing a 'national community' and uniting the country.

A degree of racism amongst the general population has also contributed to atmosphere and perception that neo-Nazi actions may be tolerated within their countries. For example, Sven Mekarides, an immigrant to Germany from Cameroon who is the general secretary of the Africa Council in Berlin, argues that African students frequently if not daily suffer from abuse and racist commentary. He explains that Africans may be 'spat at, shouted at, and [that] beer bottles were thrown at them'. He continues that in 2004, he was attacked - while with his girlfriend, Mekarides was met by seven men with knives. He states that

We [African students] soon realized that it was dangerous to travel In-groups of less than three people. And we would never let any of the women go anywhere without accompanying them.

Mekarides claims that the situation remains similar, and that the Africa Council receives daily phone calls from individuals from Africa or with African roots that are insulted or harassed.

According to Dmitry Polikanov, a sociologist who has worked for the All-Russian Centre for Public Opinion and the PIR centre, and is currently an adviser to the head of the Central Executive Committee of United Russia,

The ethnic Russian public is becoming less tolerant, as the idea of what it means to be Russian replaces the idea being Soviet. With the breakup of the Soviet Union, Russia became predominantly mono-ethnic - nearly 80 percent of respondents identified themselves as Russian in the 2002 census - and the public has subsequently taken a more narrow view of diversity. In a recent survey by the Public Opinion Foundation, 39 percent of respondents said that Russia's multinational character brings it more harm than good, up 5 percent from a 2002 survey.

This quote demonstrates the increase in negative attitudes towards multiculturalism and immigrants amongst the general population. Furthermore, opinion polls from 2005 demonstrated that fifty eight percent of the population agreed to some degree with the statement 'Russia for Russians'. Negative attitudes towards ethnic minorities may also contribute to the perception amongst neo-Nazis that they may be able to recruit more members from amongst the general population.

---

456 ibid.
458 Ibid.
460 Blomfield (2005).
Xenophobic statements made during media coverage can also be said to be having an influence on public opinion within the RF by ‘exacerbating pre-existing fears and prejudices’. Svetlana Gannushkina, human rights activist, specifically within the sphere of migrant workers’ rights, explicated to Radio Free Europe – Radio Europe, that connections between state authorities and the construction industry, which is highly dependent upon cheap Central Asia labour, can explicate the official ‘laxness in combating racist violence’. She explained that the main victims are people from Central Asia. Authorities allow this (ethnic violence perpetuated against Central Asians) to happen because Central Asians are currently the chief resource for slave labor… their vulnerability is profitable to those who exploit them, it’s profitable to have workers who are frightened and broken-spirited. Authorities profit from this because they are closely connected to these structures.

Xenophobic language and ethnocentric approaches within mass media as well as in education have become widespread within Russia. According to Alexandr Verkhovsky, Director of the SOVA Center for Information and Analysis in Moscow, this process is relatively independent of the Russian government; the state does not provoke xenophobia, and neither can it ‘really stop it’. This combination of government inaction and widespread ethnocentrism and xenophobia has led Russians to become ‘more ready to accept a nationalist political program’.

While both Germany and the Russian Federation may be susceptible to a degree of racism within their borders by the population, the majority of their populations do not condone the extreme nationalism and violent racism of the neo-Nazi groups, which has prevented them from gaining significant followings. The absence of a general acceptance and support for these groups makes the spaces of experience between neo-Nazi parties and the Nazi party significantly different. Eventually, the Nazi party did manage to obtain a form of support from its citizens, whether forcibly, where individuals feared behaving as dissidents, or whether they actually agreed with the ideals of the party. The lack of public support not only prevents the ability of these parties to gain political office, but generally limits their funds, and their ability to achieve their goals. The Nazi party, on the other hand, was able to gain seats in office, and thus also had funding and the capacity to work towards goals, such as the removal of ethnic minorities and various other groups deemed undesirable from Germany.

**Personality cult**

461 LeGendre, 2006, p.5.


463 Bigg, 2008.


465 Ibid.
Another factor contributing to the rise of the Nazi party was Hitler. His leadership and oratory skills contributed to the strengthening of the Nazi party. What is more, the cult of personality surrounding Hitler also contributed to his growing popularity amongst the general public. Hitler's ability to consolidate power within the Nazi party is significant to note. In 1920, the party purchased the Munchener Beobachter, which was a local newspaper. After this newspaper was purchased, Hitler's position within the Nazi party was drastically enlarged. He utilised the newspaper in order to disseminate propaganda within the party, and to give orders to activists. By the end of the year, Nazi party membership had grown to be approximately 3,000 individuals, which was mostly due to Hitler's 'public speeches and ... propaganda efforts'.

Kershaw, now retired professor of modern history at the University of Sheffield, explains that the cult of personality associated with Hitler was based upon the ‘Führer myth’, especially amongst Nazi party members. According to the myth, Hitler was seen by admirers as having a religious and mythical quality surrounding him; he was even perceived as a messiah. Party members would also have tendencies that leaned towards fanaticism with Hitler, which Kershaw also explicates resembles the medieval beliefs in the healing capabilities of monarchs.

Kershaw gives an example that during a party rally, Hitler shook the hand of a member; afterwards, other party members wanted to ‘shake the hand that rested in the right hand of the Führer’. Situations such as this are numerous, and demonstrate the mythical quality and awe associated with Hitler. Furthermore, Hitler’s admirers would also line up by Hitler’s home in the Obersalzberg in attempt to see him. A report from 1933 notes that the 'Obersalzberg has become a sort of pilgrimage place... The area around Wachenfeld House is constantly occupied by men and women admirers. Even on walks in isolated spots, the Reich Chancellor is pursued by a throng of intrusive admirers and inquisitive persons.' Pieces of Hitler’s fence would also be taken as ‘relics’.

What is more, many Nazi party members explained that they were attracted to the party due to Hitler’s personality. For instance, one Nazi wrote that 'after hearing Hitler speak for the first time,'

467 Ibid.
468 Ibid.
469 Ibid.
474 Cited in ibidem, p.60.
475 Ibidem, pp.60-61.
"there was only one thing for me, either to win with Adolf Hitler or die for him. The personality of the Fuhrer had me totally in its spell.\textsuperscript{476} Another example is

I did not come to Hitler by accident. I was searching for him. My ideal was a movement which would forge national unity from all working people of the great German fatherland. The realisation of my ideal could happen through only one man, Adolf Hitler...\textsuperscript{477}

The cult of personality surrounding Hitler associated a biblical or religious admiration and respect for him; this is explicitly evident in the quote below from a Nazi party member.

A non Nazi who has not experienced the enormous elementary power of the idea of our Fuhrer will never understand any of this. But let me tell these people as the deepest truth; whenever I worked for the Movement and applied myself for our Fuhrer, I always felt that there was nothing higher or nobler I could do for Adolf Hitler and thereby for Germany, our people and fatherland. The real content of my life is my work for and commitment to Hitler and towards a National Socialist Germany. Hitler is the purest embodiment of the German Character, the purest embodiment of a National Socialist Germany.\textsuperscript{478}

These quotes all demonstrate that not only did Nazi party members revere Hitler, but he was also associated with the German state and German nation. The future of Germany became associated and dependent on the rule of Hitler. He was perceived as the leader that would unite the country, the leader that would guarantee the economic development of Germany, and the leader that would return a sense of glory and pride to Germany following defeat in World War I.

While not all Germans were drawn to Hitler in such extreme manners, from 1930, Hitler was gaining increasing popularity amongst the population at large. Nazi Party membership grew rapidly from 1930 to 1933. What is more, from, Hitler and the Nazi were nearly continuously featured in headlines of German news. Hitler was progressively gaining popularity and a reputation as an exceptional leader, to which his oratory skills contributed.\textsuperscript{479}

By 1933, Hitler had been selected to be Chancellor of Germany by then president Paul von Hindenburg. In September 1933, several months after Hitler was appointed to be Chancellor, support for Hitler and the Nazi party grew further. Kershaw explicates that the population began to feel increasingly more optimistic about the economic situation within the country. This was due to the improvements that the German state had begun to make regarding problems of

\textsuperscript{476} Cited in \textit{ibidem}, p.30.
\textsuperscript{477} Cited in \textit{Ibid.}
\textsuperscript{478} Cited in \textit{ibid.}
\textsuperscript{479} \textit{Ibid.}
unemployment, rural debt, and impoverishment of the population. The increasing optimism regarding these improvements led to the further growth of support for the party.\textsuperscript{480}

At the same time, the cult of personality surrounding Hitler did not simply develop only due to the population’s admiration towards him. The cult of personality was partially orchestrated. Even as early as 1922, Nazi propaganda began to encourage the development of a cult of personality surrounding Hitler. For instance, a comparison was frequently made between a Weimar Republic, which was perceived as a 'leaderless democracy', and a Germany that would be led by Hitler, a 'great leader'.\textsuperscript{481} Under such a 'great leader', the pride and power of Germany would be restored.\textsuperscript{482} Rituals and symbols were also imperative to the cult of personality surrounding Hitler. Party rallies and then mass meetings were utilised in order to encourage enthusiasm for the Party. 'Uniforms, bands, flags, and symbols' were utilised at the meetings in order to enhance the impression that Hitler’s speeches would leave with listeners.\textsuperscript{483} The required salute of ‘Heil Hitler’ with one’s right arm raised is another example of the enforcement of symbolic respect to Hitler. Propaganda also included the use of films, newspapers, books, and other sources in order to continue to project the image of Hitler described above.\textsuperscript{484}

After the Nazi party did come to power, Hitler began to make steps towards establishing a dictatorship. In 1933, the Enabling Act was passed, which 'was nothing less than a political revolution that finally ended the Weimar Republic'.\textsuperscript{485} The Enabling Act removed the separation of power within the government, and permitted Hitler to enact laws without requiring the consent of the Reichstag.\textsuperscript{486} Laws were no longer required to conform to the constitution either. A policy of Gleichschaltung (coordination) also took place, which facilitated the consolidation of power of the Nazi party.\textsuperscript{487} As a result, the state as well as Germany's social institutions were forced to conform to the Nazi party's ideology and will.\textsuperscript{488} Several laws were passed thereafter which reorganised the government without elections taking place.\textsuperscript{489} Another law, the Second Law for the Coordination of the States of the Reich, was also passed, which permitted Hitler to appoint commissars, who would watch over or manage the state governments.\textsuperscript{490} All of this meant that the

\textsuperscript{480}Ibidem, p.61.  
\textsuperscript{481}McDonough (2003), p.45.  
\textsuperscript{482}Ibid.  
\textsuperscript{483}Welch (1993), p.114.  
\textsuperscript{484}Panayi, Panikos (2001), Weimar and Nazi Germany: Continuities and Discontinuities, Essex: Pearson Education Limited, pp.15-16.  
\textsuperscript{485}Bendersky, Joseph (2007), A concise History of the Nazi Party, Lanham, Maryland: Rowman and Littlefield Publishing Group, inc, p.90.  
\textsuperscript{486}Ibidem, p.91.  
\textsuperscript{487}Ibid.  
\textsuperscript{488}Ibid.  
\textsuperscript{489}Ibid.  
\textsuperscript{490}Ibid.
state governments were no longer autonomous, but rather were forced to work based on the ideology of the Nazi party.\textsuperscript{491}

In order for this Act to be passed, the opposition had to be either suppressed or removed. All opposition was not only removed from government, but many were sent to exile or to camps. After left wing political parties were eliminated, the working class, which was identified by Panayi as a significant source for potential opposition to the Nazi party, was also left without a political party outside of the Nazis.\textsuperscript{492} The Party also utilised methods of surveillance to monitor potential dissidents.\textsuperscript{493}

A strong leader has also not come forth in Germany or the Russian Federation, to maintain party leadership and unity. In Germany, the only political party with supposed ties to neo-Nazis is the NPD, which lacks a central figurehead. Competition and infighting amongst members of neo-Nazi parties has also led to the splintering of political parties. This has also contributed to the demise of various parties. For example, Aleksandr Barkashov, who founded the RNU in 1990, previously mentioned, was initially a member of the organisation \textit{Pamyat}.\textsuperscript{494} \textit{Pamyat} lost members as they left to join the RNU, and eventually became nearly non-existent by the late 1990s.\textsuperscript{495}

Many parties in Russia with neo-Nazi ties tend to reorganise, disband, and reorganise under new leadership. This also prevents the formation of a significant following surrounding a particular individual. For example, the political party Narodnaya Volya (the People's Will) became the Narodnyi Sojuz (People's Union) in 2007.\textsuperscript{496} \textit{Narodnyi Sojuz}, which was organised by Sergei Baburin, ceased to exist in 2008.\textsuperscript{497} That year, the People's Union became a public association, and joined the socio-political movement, \textit{Rossiiskii obshchenarodnyi sojuz} (Russian All People's Union).\textsuperscript{498} Another example is the Slavic Union. This neo-Nazi group was formed by Dmitry Demushkin, who was formerly the commander of a platoon in the RNU.\textsuperscript{499}

Disagreements between various neo-Nazi groups also tends to prevent the development of a strong, unitary movement. Clashes of personalities contribute to this, as individual leaders seek to

\textsuperscript{491}Ibid.
\textsuperscript{492}Panayi (2001), p.16.
\textsuperscript{493}Ibid.
\textsuperscript{495}Ibid.
\textsuperscript{498}Ibid.
develop their own followings and establish a career or movement for himself. The lack of cooperation amongst various neo-Nazi organisations with similar goals and ideals is evident if one examines the organisation of the first Russian March in Moscow in 2006. As previously mentioned, the Slavic Union's leader, Demushkin was coordinating the organisation of the March. While cooperation with extreme right parties and movements was taking place, many prominent neo-Nazi organisations refused to participate in the organisation of the March. For example, the National Socialist Society and Tesak's Format-18 abstained from the organisational aspects of the March. Part of the reason for the refusal were disagreements regarding whether membership of neo-Nazi groups should remain 'pure' by preventing cooperation with other groups or parties. In 2007, the National Socialist Society initially did participate in the organisational aspects of the March, but ceased participating after the leader, Dmitry Rumiantsev was not permitted to present a speech at the March by the other organising parties. Divisions between neo-Nazi groups also differ based on regions, making cooperation between groups even less likely.

In the Russian Federation, some neo-Nazi groups lack a hierarchical structure, which contributes to the prevention of a concentration of power in the hands of a single member and also the development of a cult of personality surrounding a particular member. For instance, Russkii Obraz write that their group is run based on a

new type of self-organization. We have no leaders but persons of authority. Everyone is responsible for the matters of which they are competent as well as answering for the effectiveness of his actions before everyone.

They continue on to explain that the group is a fraternity, and power is shared by the members.

The structure of neo-Nazi organisations based on internal power sharing and lack of leadership contrasts drastically with the hierarchical structure based on the Führer that was established in the Nazi party.

Thus, in both Germany and Russia, a similar cult of personality has not formed surrounding any of the leaders of neo-Nazi groups or political parties. The competition between neo-Nazi organisations not only contributes to the smaller quantities of membership amongst individual parties. What is more, personal competition within groups, such as that which contributed to Demushkin leaving the RNU and creating the Slavic Union, makes it even more difficult for

---

500 Laurelle (2009), p.93.
501 Ibid.
502 Ibid.
503 Ibid.
504 Ibid.
506 Ibid.
organisations to build a strong and consistent membership. The disbanding and reorganisation of neo-Nazi groups and extreme right parties also leads to confusion amongst followers as to what the new parties will represent and further leads to splintering of supporters. These situations form a stark difference with the Nazi party, where power consolidation was not only strongly associated with Hitler, but political opponents were also eliminated within the party and those outside of the party. In neither Russia nor Germany has a political party or neo-Nazi organisation managed to gain enough supporters to generate a cult of personality surrounding a particular leader; moreover, neither country has developed a neo-Nazi party with an extensive following that would allow one to be elected to parliament.

**Paramilitary and military strength**

An important contributing factor to the ability of the Nazi party to impose a dictatorship was the use of violence, which was carried out by the military and police. One of the specific components that assisted Hitler’s rise to power was the *Sturmabteilung* (SA), which was also known as the Storm Detachment, Assault Division, or Brownshirts. The SA originated as two informal services in 1919 for the Nazi Party in Munich. These services were the *Ordnerdienst* and *Saalschutz*, or usher service and hall defence respectively. These were arranged on an ad hoc frequency in order to protect the Nazi Party as needed. As the *Nationalsozialistische Deutsche Arbeiterpartei* (NSDAP) or National Socialist German Workers’ Party began to directly attack opponents and felt attacked by these opponents, as well, the need for more organised security for meetings became evident. With the increased security need, the SA was created as a separate paramilitary wing of the Party. Hitler had also told the SA explicitly that one of their responsibilities was the disruption of parties which the NSDAP opposed. The SA grew from 1921 through 1922, as groups were established in various cities throughout Germany. By August 1922, guidelines were issued by the Party in order to guarantee a degree of leadership from the central party, as well as the standardisation of uniforms for the SA.

The same year, the SA had a public march for the first time in Munich. This was part of a larger demonstration held by *Wehrverbande* and veterans’ groups. The *Wehrverbande* was a

---

508 Ibid.
509 Ibid.
510 Ibid.
511 Ibidem, p.20.
512 Ibidem, p.21.
513 Ibid.
514 Ibid.
nationalistic, anti-republic and armed paramilitary organisation in the Weimar Republic.\textsuperscript{515} This was the first of many marches organised by the SA; after this point, marches were frequently organised by the NSDAP, independently of other organisations and parties, and outside of Munich.\textsuperscript{516} According to Campbell, professor of economic history at the Queen’s University in Belfast, marches such as these became one of the 'most characteristic and effective SA propaganda tactics'.\textsuperscript{517}

During the 1920s, the SA was engaging in small scale violence. Although after the ban of the SA in 1923, few new members were recruited to the SA, the existing members tended to be militarily trained and disaffected with the Weimar Republic.\textsuperscript{518} Many of these individuals had served in the military during the First World War and had come to resent the political system in the country, and began to feel alienated.\textsuperscript{519} Many of these individuals had middle class families and were also well educated and had had careers prior to World War I.\textsuperscript{520}

The \textit{Schutzstaffel} (SS) was established out of the SA, following a progression of being renamed and altered that began in 1925. The SS was initially created in order to protect Nazi Party leaders, and Hitler in particular. The SS became completely independent of the SA in 1930, at which time it also gained a different uniform and a hierarchical, semi-military structure.\textsuperscript{521} At this time, discontent amongst the SA was also growing.\textsuperscript{522} As a result, Hitler also made the SS into a form of 'internal party police', which maintained information on SA members, as well as opponents of the Nazi party more generally.\textsuperscript{523}

Eventually the SA and SS ‘assumed their own arrest authority’, where they would take individuals into 'abandoned factories, warehouses, and basements' and would commit acts of torture.\textsuperscript{524} This can be likened to the paramilitary actions of neo-Nazi gangs that also act as what they perceive to be policing forces. As mentioned in the previous chapter, many Russian neo-Nazi groups ‘hunt’ for illegal immigrants. They seek out non white individuals and demand to see the documentation that permits them to reside in Russia. Even when such documentation is presented or available, this does not mean that such individuals are safe or free from violence or assault. Where documents are not presented, individuals may be beaten or murdered.

\textsuperscript{515} Ibidem, p.18.
\textsuperscript{516} Ibidem, p.21.
\textsuperscript{517} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{518} Ibidem, p.48.
\textsuperscript{519} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{520} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{521} Evans (2003), p.229.
\textsuperscript{522} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{523} Ibid.
The Nazi party was able to utilise the police in order to suppress opposing parties, as well as to intimidate opponents. Because the police was managed by the Nazi party, they were able to carry out acts of violence without fear of repercussions from the state. Political confrontations led to increasing violence leading up to the usurpation of power by the Nazi party. In July 1932, ten days prior to the Reichstag elections, storm troopers were involved in street violence that led to the deaths of twenty four individuals and serious injuries of 284 individuals in Prussia. In August of the same year, violence increased with bombings and attempts to carry out assassinations. After SA members were declared guilty of murdering a communist the same year, Hitler 'declared his unlimited loyalty to the condemned men' and declared that the restoration of the freedom of those SA members was imperative. Thus, the largest political party in Germany at the time, supported a group of convicted murders.

Overall, the 'strategic target' of the Nazi party was to 'conquer the streets'. Violence tended to be carried out on a collective rather than individual scale, as tends to be amongst neo-Nazi organisations. Neo-Nazi groups are significantly less organised than the military and policing branches of the Nazi party. Part of the reason for this is the lack of political power that prevent the establishment of an equivalent to the SS. However, where comparisons can be made is with the initial SA.

During the Cold War, the extreme right was suppressed by both the Federal Republic of Germany and the Communist Party in the German Democratic Republic. However, since the unification of Germany, as explained in the chapter above, the extreme right has resurfaced with some degree of political presence and varying connections to neo-Nazi skinheads. Brinks et al explain that with the re-emergence of the extreme right, 'brutal killings of foreigners and Hitlerite political revivals' have also manifested. More generally, many neo-Nazi organisations also have paramilitary components, and members of the organisations are regularly trained in violence, such as the Russian RNU.

A noteworthy difference between the Nazi party and the neo-Nazi organisations is the degree of political support for the latter’s paramilitary wings. As previously mentioned, by the early 1930s,
the Nazi party had obtained a large degree of political clout; the paramilitary factions of the party were simultaneously carrying out acts of violence, and some had been convicted of murder. Support of a political party for acts of violence, similarly to the support of the Nazi party for convicted murders is completely lacking in both Germany and Russia. In neither country have convictions of neo-Nazis involved in acts of terrorism, violence, and murder been overturned or explicitly supported by a major political party.

The changes in German law following the discovery of the Zwickau cell point towards the opposite result – the state does not tolerate violence. In the Russian Federation, longer punishments for neo-Nazi members who are convicted of murder have also been taking place. Thus, due to the lack of substantial political support, the spaces of experience of the paramilitary wings of the Nazi party and the paramilitary sections of the present day neo-Nazi organisations vary significantly. The neo-Nazi organisations lack the security of having political support for their actions and lack the ability to commit crimes without being punished. The current organisations also do not have permission to eliminate political opponents. Although neo-Nazi members or factions may attempt to carry out assassinations or may have various political targets, these are not comparable to the large scale removal of the political opponents and dissidents that took place in Nazi Germany. The spaces of experience of the Nazi party military and the paramilitary sections of the present day neo-Nazi organisations therefore vary based on the political support for the groups, which means that these groups are generally unable to commit crimes without being punished, and also face substantial political opposition without the government.

**Hitler youth**

The NSDAP organised activities and camps for youth. The first of which was the *Jugendbund der NSDAP* (the League of the Youth of the National-Socialist Party), which was a Nazi youth branch.\(^{535}\) An article in the *Volkischer Beobachter* in March 1922 announced the creation of said branch, which was open to 'all national-socialist-minded youth, aged between 14 and 18, regardless of their social class, whose heart suffered under the pitiful conditions of Germany, who wanted to fight the Jewish enemy, shame, and suffering and who wished to serve the cause of the Fatherlands'.\(^{536}\) The purpose of the Hitler Youth was largely to indoctrinate youth into the ideology of the Nazi party. What is more, children were prepared both on a physical and

---


\(^{536}\) Cited in *Ibid.*
ideological level for a life of service to the 'national community' of Germans. This organisation was divided into the *Jungmannschaften* for boys ages fourteen to sixteen and *Jungsturm Adolf Hitler* for boys ages sixteen to eighteen years old. The youth leagues were managed by the SA, and the youth wore uniforms similar to the SA. Since its conception, the Hitler Youth had a military component, focused on training and preparing children for physical combat and eventually, war.

By the time World War Two commenced, all children and youth between the ages of ten and eighteen were required to join the Hitler Youth. After reaching the age of eighteen, youth were required to join the *Reichsarbeitsdienst*, and afterwards, they were to join the military or *Wehrmacht*. In 1943, the Hitler Jugend Division was created, which consisted of older members and recent graduates of the Hitler Youth. From 1944, some Hitler Youth did fight in the War as a part of the Volkssturm (people's militia). By the time World War II was ending, children as young as ten years old were fighting in combat.

Parallels with between the Hitler Youth and summer camps and training provided to youth by neo-Nazi organisations can be made. Most explicitly, children in both are trained in combat, and are indoctrinated into the belief systems of the parties. On the other hand present day Germany and Russia are not engaged in warfare as Nazi Germany had been; in this respect, the spaces of experience of the Hitler Youth and youth participating in neo-Nazi camps are extremely different. Youth in the later are not expected to participate in active warfare or in combat.

Similarly to the return of economic crises to both Germany and Russia, the development of neo-Nazi youth programmes bears some resemblances the Hitler Youth. These resemblances may hint at cyclicality of time. However, the differences in the general situation of the countries – lack of engagement in a war and lack of a national requirement to join, prevent a complete picture of cyclicality. The presence of patterns between the time periods is also insufficient to reject cyclicality of time in favour of linearity. Instead, the resemblance and differences between the youth programmes of the Nazi Party to neo-Nazi organisations implies that some continuation is present, yet the continuation is adopted to present day circumstances.

---

543 *Ibidem*, p. 5.
Legal status

Extreme right political parties (and those with ties to neo-Nazi groups) in modern Germany and in the Russian Federation face restrictions on the degree to which they are able to express positive sentiment towards Hitler, Nazism, or the degree to which nationalism is tolerated before it becomes murky whether they are expressing racist ideology. If the aforementioned sentiment is expressed, parties may be banned. In the 1920s in Germany, political parties also faced restrictions and the possibility of being banned.

On 8 to 9 November 1923, Hitler, who was already the Nazi Party leader, Generalquartiermeister Erich Ludendorff, as well as other members of the Kampfbund had attempted to carry out a coup in Munich.545 At a beer hall on 8 November 1923, Hitler announced the start of a ‘national revolution’.546 The government was able to resist the attempt, and on 9 November 1923, police and the Nazi party were shooting at each other, resulting in the death of ‘fourteen Nazis and several policemen’.547 As a result of this Munich Putsch, or Beer Hall Putsch, Hitler had been arrested for treason. Hitler was sentenced to a five year prison sentence, and the NSDAP, the Nazi Party youth movement and the SA were all ‘declared illegal’.548 Hitler was paroled in 1924.549 Although this failed attempt at a coup demonstrated the weakness of Hitler's and the Nazi party's revolutionary approach, the party continued to have support and operated in a clandestine manner.550

In 1925, Hitler had managed to have the ban on the NSDAP lifted after assuring authorities that the party would operate within the legal bounds of the state.551 The party however remained constrained legally, and Hitler was not permitted to speak in public in Bavaria until 1927 as well as in Prussia until 1928.552 These restrictions made it difficult for the party to recruit new members and conduct a campaign.553

In present day Germany, neo-Nazi organisations have not attempted to conduct a revolution. In Russia, the RNU, under the leadership of Barkashov also attempted to attack the state, culminating in Barkashov’s arrest. Barkashov had been cooperating with former KGB agent, Aleksandr Stergilov, with whom he established the Russian National Assembly. In 1993,

546 Ibid.
547 Ibid.
551 Ibidem, p.53.
552 Ibidem, p.54.
553 Ibid.
Barkashov and several other extremist groups, such as the National Bolshevik Party, had attacked the parliamentary building. The result of this scenario was several hundred deaths. Although Barkashov escaped the attempt without arrest and went into hiding, he was shot several weeks later, and arrested while in the hospital. However, he was given amnesty in 1994, and his party has not been banned.554

As previously explained, extreme right parties in Germany are limited in their ability to discuss various matters or reveal certain beliefs based on German law. For example, denial of the Holocaust is punishable by law, and admiration of Hitler is also unacceptable. This is based on the Volkverhetzung concept in Germany’s criminal law, which makes illegal the incitement of hatred that targets a specific portion of the population.555 The law is not specifically based on Holocaust denial, but is utilised to criminalise said practice. What is more, Strafgesetzbuch 86a criminalises symbols of the Nazi party as well as neo-Nazi organisations, including the Swastika and SS Runes.556

Infractions of the aforementioned laws may lead to the illegalisation of a political party. The German government has attempted to restrict the growth of right wing more actively than that of the Russian Federation.557 Several extreme right parties with ties to neo-Nazis and neo-Nazi organisations have been banned by the German state, including:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year of ban</th>
<th>Party and affiliates banned</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1992</td>
<td>“Nationalist Front”, &quot;German Alternative&quot;, &quot;German camaraderie Wilhelmshaven&quot; (Lower Saxony), &quot;National Initiative&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1993</td>
<td>&quot;National Block&quot; (Bayern), &quot;Heimattreue unification of Germany&quot; (Baden-Wuerttemberg), &quot;Friends of Freedom for Germany&quot; (North Rhine-Westphalia)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1994</td>
<td>&quot;Troubled Youth&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1995</td>
<td>“Free German Workers' Party (FAP),&quot; National List of Hamburg &quot;,&quot; Direct Action/ Central Germany &quot;(Brandenburg)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1996</td>
<td>&quot;skinheads Allgäu&quot; (Bavaria)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1997</td>
<td>&quot;camaraderie Oberhavel&quot; (Brandenburg)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1998</td>
<td>&quot;Heather House&quot; (Hamburg and Buchholz)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2000</td>
<td>Hamburger Sturm&quot;, &quot;Blood and Honour&quot; and the youth organization &quot;White Youth&quot;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

556 Ibid.  
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Organisation Name and Location</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2001</td>
<td>&quot;Skinhead Saxon Switzerland&quot; (SSS) (Saxony)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2004</td>
<td>&quot;Franconian Action Front&quot; (Bavaria)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2005</td>
<td>&quot;camaraderie Gate&quot;, &quot;girl group&quot;, &quot;Berlin's alternative South-East&quot; (Berlin), &quot;camaraderie main people,&quot; including subdivision, &quot;Sturm 27&quot; (Brandenburg), &quot;ANSDAPO&quot; (Brandenburg)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2006</td>
<td>&quot;Association for the Protection of Germany&quot; (Brandenburg)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2007</td>
<td>&quot;Storm 34&quot; (Saxony)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2008</td>
<td>Collegium Humanum&quot;, &quot;Farmer's Aid Association&quot;, &quot;Association for the Rehabilitation of for denying the Holocaust persecuted (VRBH)&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2009</td>
<td>&quot;Heimattreue German Youth&quot; (approved 2010)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2011</td>
<td>&quot;Free Forces Teltow-flaming&quot;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 1: Banned neo-Nazi organisations in Germany

In 2003, the Bundestag and Bundesrat attempted to ban the NPD; this case was rejected after it was revealed that several members of the NPD were undercover members of the German secret services.\(^{559}\) Udo Pastors also explained that he could not reveal his true feelings on the topic of Hitler; he stated during an interview that he could not speak about a historical figure during a short interview, and that other individuals reveal only emotional responses towards Hitler, rather than factors.\(^{560}\) He also explained that he did not want to discuss the quantity of Jews that were killed during the Second World War because in Germany, individuals are punished by law for denial of the Holocaust.\(^{561}\) Because of this, he refused to answer questions on the topic as he does not ‘live in a free country’.\(^{562}\) German authorities have continued to attempt to ban the NPD, which remains unsuccessful to date.

In both Germany and the Russian Federation, the state has restricted the presence of neo-Nazi and extreme right political parties, although to varying degrees. In Russia, only violent organisations become banned, such as Slavic Union in Russia.\(^{563}\) In both countries, neo-Nazi organisations and extreme right parties tend to reorganise after being banned by the state. In Germany, following several bans in the 1990s, a system of 'comradeships' or *Kameradschaften* was devised amongst neo-Nazi groups.\(^{564}\) *Kameradschaften* are locally or district based associations.\(^{565}\) These groups

---


559 Ibid.

560 Adler (2012).

561 Ibid.

562 Cited in Adler (2012).

563 Slavic Union ‘Membership’.


565 Ibid.
would be small, yet regular communication would take place between them.\textsuperscript{566} In addition, they were intended as a means of facilitating the existence of neo-Nazi parties by keeping them ‘elusive and secretive’ as opposed to the establishment of a federal and unitary movement that would be more easily detected by state authorities. What is more, these groups tend to be difficult for authorities to track as they lack lists of members and their names.\textsuperscript{567} ‘Free Network’ has been established, which is a ‘network of militant far-right Kameradschaften groups’ that have been created throughout the country. This network was developed from the ‘Thuringian Homeland Protection League’, which is a group of Neo-Nazis, including members, such as the three terrorists from the NSU. The ‘Free Network’ in Saxony, also has ties to the political party, the NPD. This branch is led by Maik Scheffler, who is a ‘deputy party leader for the NPD party’ in the Saxony. He also has ‘a criminal record for grievous bodily harm and illegal possession of a weapon’. Both Scheffler, and Manuel Tripp, who is also a member of the NPD, have created ‘firmly rooted neo-Nazi structures in the rural region between the eastern cities of Chemnitz and Leipzig’.\textsuperscript{568}

In Russia, neo-Nazi political parties and organisations frequently reorganise after being banned. For instance, although the Slavic Union was banned in 2010 by the Russian Supreme Court, its founder, Dmitry Demushkin has formed the Party of Nationalists, which has been officially registered as a political party.\textsuperscript{569} Demushkin has announced that he intends to run for Mayor of Kaliningrad in elections that will be held on 14 October 2012.\textsuperscript{570} Furthermore, Demushkin explains that banned neo-Nazi political parties will become paramilitary underground organisations. He states ‘Instead of a political organisation, we will disperse into autonomous groups who will carry on military activity.’\textsuperscript{571}

One of the factors that has permitted neo-Nazi skinhead violence to grow and for gangs to gain membership is relative political tolerance towards said groups or failure to recognise the degree of crime committed by them. This is evinced by spread of extreme right parties within the Duma as well as the lack of legislation and persecution of individuals committing ethnically motivated crimes. According to Dmitry Polikanov, Deputy Head of the Central Executive Committee of United Russia Party, Russia has begun to ‘come to terms with the problem of self-identification’, which has been reflected in the country’s domestic politics, leading to an us, Russians, versus

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{566} \textit{Ibid.}
\item \textsuperscript{567} Brinsk et al (2000), p.29.
\item \textsuperscript{568} Popp (2012).
\item \textsuperscript{570} \textit{Ibid.}
\item \textsuperscript{571} Clover (2010).
\end{itemize}
them, non-Russians, mentality. This rift has become increasingly vivid, and almost all major political parties within the Russian Federation have adopted nationalistic tendencies and rhetoric to varying degrees. Since the collapse of the Soviet Union, and during the presidency of Boris Yeltsin, individuals were elected to Duma that had specifically created political careers based on xenophobic beliefs. ‘Xenophobic overtones became commonplace even in the speeches of some representatives of the executive branch of power. The result was almost twenty years of virtually unabated racist propaganda.’

The space of experience thus for the Nazi party and neo-Nazi organisations vary significantly. Neo-Nazi and far right political parties operate in a much more limited political space in Germany. In Russia, political parties have more room to express their opinions about Hitler, the Nazi party, and the Holocaust. Based on the aforementioned interview with Udo Pastors of the NPD in Germany, it becomes clear that his party is not able to reveal their true positions on several points due to German law and fear of legal action being taken against them.

What is more, neo-Nazi organisations are impacted not only by their ability to express their beliefs regarding Hitler, but also by the degree of cooperation from the police. Police may be involved in monitoring discrimination and acts of violence against ethnic groups that are targeted by neo-Nazi groups, but some may also be involved in committing acts of discrimination or have failed to take action to stop attacks from neo-Nazi gangs that they had witnessed. However, in both countries, neo-Nazi organisations and parties as well as extreme right parties are limited by a lack of significant main stream support.

**Conclusion of Chapter**

This chapter demonstrates that in a majority of respects, the spaces of experience of present day neo-Nazi organisations and the Nazi party differ significantly. At most, the spaces of experience of the various neo-Nazi organisations in present day Germany and Russia may be likened to that of the Nazi party during the beginning of its existence in the early 1920s. At this time, popular support for the Nazi party was also limited, and the Party had to work towards gaining members. What is more, during the beginning of its development, the Nazi Party was less focused on the cult of personality surrounding Hitler, and had very limited success in elections. This is similar to

---

573 Ibid.
574 Babich 2009.
575 Ibid.
neo-Nazi groups in Germany and Russia. Individual present day neo-Nazi groups have at most several thousand members, and many have fewer.

Neo-Nazi organisations, similarly to the Nazi Party, do tend to have militant factions, or training in combat is a requirement of members. Unlike the Nazi party however the paramilitary factions of the neo-Nazi parties have not gained the extent of the authority of the former.

Limitations also exist on the extent to which neo-Nazi parties and groups can express their actual sentiment in both Germany and Russia. In both countries, the possibility of being banned for explicit support of the Nazi party, incitement of racial violence, or support of revolution. In one sense, the possibility of being banned resembles the experiences of the Nazi party during the early 1920s, when the Party had been banned and Hitler jailed for attempting to carry out a revolution. However, afterwards, the Nazi party did recoup, gained members, attained political power, and did carry out a revolution. Even though neo-Nazi organisations have generally increased in Germany and Russia since the end of communism, the latter trends of the Nazi party (growth in membership, and gaining seats in government) have not occurred.

Although there are some similarities between the experiences of Nazi Party members and present day neo-Nazi parties, there are more differences. For example, while strong leaders have developed amongst the various neo-Nazi organisations, none have been able to develop a cult of personality as Hitler had. Furthermore, frequent in fighting between alpha leaders contributes to the lack thereof. What is more, some organisations explicitly eschew a hierarchical structure, and also eschew the concentration of power in a single leader or individual.

Another significant difference between the Nazi party and the present day neo-Nazi groups is the lack of consolidation amongst the latter. The Nazi party was a single political party with a paramilitary component, the SA and then SS. The present day neo-Nazi groups are extremely splintered and cooperation is extremely rare between them. Many neo-Nazi groups with political ties or violent tendencies tend to be banned by the state, which forces them to reorganise or to function as underground organisations. This also contributes to the difficulty of obtaining a constant and growing following.

The spaces of experience of the Nazi party and neo-Nazi organisations have also been analysed based on various external factors, such as the economic situation within the state, the feelings of shame and revenge that were present in interwar Germany, and a political divide. Hitler and the Nazi party were able to utilise discontent that was prevalent in Germany following the loss of the First World War. Germany was suffering from an economic crisis, large portions of the population were starving, and a feeling of shame following defeat in WWI all compounded; Hitler
was able to utilise this situation for a political advantage. Both Germany, former East Germany in particular, and the Russian Federation have suffered more than one economic crisis since the collapse of communism. What is more, in Russia, the collapse of the Soviet Union culminating in a feeling of national shame. While neo-Nazi organisations do specifically mention these factors – the importance of economic development and re-establishment of national pride – as crucial goals, they have not been sufficient to unite Russians in support of any particular neo-Nazi group.

---

Chapter 4: Horizons of expectation

This chapter focuses on the horizon of expectation of neo-Nazis and Nazis; here, the expectations for the future of neo-Nazi parties in the context of comparison with the Nazi party are analysed. The ideology of the Nazi party is discussed in the context of how the Party had understood the future. The ideology of the Nazi party was generally based on several tenants - reverence for the military (discussed in the chapter above), a Darwinist understanding of society, a racist perception of ethnic minorities, and the desire for Germany to be a dominant world power. The first section analyses the conception of the Other and relationship between the In and Out-groups of both the Nazi party and present day neo-Nazis are compared. This also includes analysis of the Darwinist and racist elements of Nazi ideology. Then, the methods of attaining political power are compared between the Nazi party and neo-Nazi organisations. The next section analyses the Nazi party’s view international relations and goals for Germany within the international system. The last section discusses general perceptions of the future amongst the Nazi party and neo-Nazi organisations.

This chapter assess the extent to which the horizons of expectations of the Nazi party and neo-Nazi organisations resemble each other, and/or where significant differences exist. Each section is analysed in the context of theories of time, and answers part of the question - how do the patterns (or lack thereof) fall into debates in history regarding linearity versus cyclicality of history? Koselleck’s theory of time is particularly emphasised.

Othering

The ideology of the Nazi party was strongly based on the perception that the German In-group needed to be protected from the various ethnic and minority groups that were accused of threatening it. The party propagated a policy of Volksch racism. This involved two components - the preservation of the ‘purity of German blood’, and elimination of ethnic groups and minorities deemed undesirable within Germany with the goal of ‘cleansing the German gene pool’.

The Party adopted a policy of social engineering, and on social Darwinism. Social Darwinism is based on Darwin’s notion of natural selection and survival of the fittest, but is adopted to social,

political, and economic aspects. These approaches were adopted in order to establish a 'racially homogenous', physically strong and mentally healthy society. The emphasis on physical fitness was also felt in the German education system, where emphasis was placed on physical education and development. The pressure exerted on Germans by the state for physical fitness can be seen in the context of defending the nation. It was the duty of individual Germans to guarantee that they were physically fit, which would also create 'will and character'. Furthermore, alcohol was also perceived poorly in Nazi Germany. For example, the 'day of national work' was announced to be an alcohol free day in 1933. Advertisements for alcohol were increasingly restricted with severe punishments for violations. This emphasis on the need to for Germans to be healthy, physically fit, and generally 'proper' Aryans was also extended to include a focus on reproduction. Fit Germans were expected to produce fit children, who would also be dedicated to protecting and serving the nation.

Social Darwinism was utilised by the Nazi party in order to justify the murder of undesirable portions of the German population. Individuals falling into this category had inferior genetics, which in turn justified their removal from Aryan Germany, where the remaining members had superior genetics. For example, handicapped individuals (those with physical and mental handicaps), were to be 'destroyed and exterminated' as they were not curable, but rather were 'unproductive' for the aforementioned image of Germans that the Party was attempting to create. Furthermore, criminals were also deemed undesirable in Nazi Germany, as they were perceived similarly as mentally handicapped individuals. These individuals were said to behave in a fashion that was gemeinschaftsfremd, or 'alien to the community' and anti-social. Individuals who fell into the anti-social, or Asozial, category were perceived to be 'human beings with a hereditary and irreversible mental attitude, who, due to this nature, incline toward alcoholism and immorality, have repeatedly come into conflict with government agencies and the courts, and thus appear unrestrained and a threat to humanity.' Similarly, the creation of the category of Asozial

---

580 Ibid.
582 Ibid.
584 Ibid.
586 Ibid.
588 Ibid.
was also utilised in order to persecute individuals assisting ethnic minorities and undesirable groups. Thus, the Nazi party focused on creating a pure blood society that was both physically and mentally fit.

The horizons of expectation of the Nazi party and neo-Nazi organisations are similar in this regard. As discussed in Chapter Two, neo-Nazis also place emphasis on the need for members to be physically fit, which was focused on during training sessions; members are also expected to be mentally fit, and eschew drugs and alcohol. The horizon of expectation of both Nazis and neo-Nazis thus included emphasis on the need to construct a healthy society, or In-group. Physical and mental capacity was necessary because both ideologies thought it was imperative to defend the In-group from external threats. Thus, the future of the In-group itself was tied to the health and fitness of its members.

Furthermore, the Nazi party attracted many supporters by generating propaganda that focused on the need to protect the German nation from other ethnic groups. According to Evans, Professor of Modern History at the University of Cambridge, the focus on 'the organic racial community of all Germans' appealed to the majority of supporters of the Nazi party. Ethnic minorities, including 'blacks', Roma, and Jews became targets of the Nazi party. Minority groups, such as homosexuals, and Jehovah's Witnesses, were also targeted, in addition to members of opposing political groups, such as pacifists, liberals, communists, and free masons. By 1940, in order to deal with the problem of undesirable individuals in Germany, programs of sterilisation and euthanasia were already being implemented against handicapped individuals. Ghettoisation of Jews was also beginning. Afterwards, the Final Solution, or killing of Jews and other ethnic minorities began.

Nazi party campaign propaganda linked 'big capitalism and international finance with Jews'; at the same time, the Nazi party proclaimed that the Nazi party would support small business, domestic shops, and small farmers. The Nazi party would protect the aforementioned groups against anti-German, international businesses and forces, which the party attempted to link to Jews. The

590 Ibid.
595 Ibid.
596 Ibidem, p.22.
597 Bendersky (1956), p.54.
598 Ibid.
Party also attempted to establish themselves as a defence for the middle class against Marxism, which they also attempted to associate with Jews.\textsuperscript{599}

Jews were specifically scapegoated by the Nazi Party, and Hitler, as being responsible for the problems Germany was facing during the interwar period. An example of the perception of Jews by the Nazi Party becomes evident if one examines \textit{Mein Kampf}.

If with the help of his Marxist creed, the Jew is victorious over the other peoples of the world, his crown will be the funeral wreath of humanity and this planet will as it did millions of years ago move through the ether devoid of men: Hence today, I believe, that I am acting in accordance with the will of the Almighty Creator: by defending myself against the Jew, I am fighting for the work of the Lord.\textsuperscript{600}

Another quote exemplifies a similar perception of Jews:

If our people and our state become the victim of this bloodthirsty and avaricious Jewish tyrant of nations, the whole earth will sink into the snares of this octopus; if Germany frees itself from its embrace, this greatest danger of nations may be regarded as broken for the whole world.\textsuperscript{601}

These quotes demonstrate how Jews, the Out-group, were perceived by the In-group, or ethnic Germans as defined by the Nazi Party. Hitler argued that Jews posed a threat not only to ethnic Germans, but to the world at large. Jews were thus generally perceived as ‘powerful, mortally dangerous enemies’.\textsuperscript{602}

As explained in Chapter Three, the Nazi party gained support during a time of economic and political difficulties, as well as a period of national shame following defeat after World War I. As described in the chapter above, Hitler and the Nazi party were eventually associated with the future of Germany. Using the theoretical tools of SIT, one could argue that the In-group was feeling a sense of low self-esteem. Based on SIT, the In-group would then search for a means to obtain a positive self image and increase self-esteem.

The quotes above also demonstrate that (whether based on reality, propaganda, and/or false perceptions) Jews were perceived as having superior positions within Germany in comparison to the In-group of ethnic Germans. After these categorisations are made, competition between the groups increases, as explicated in Chapter One. What is more, the quotes reveal that the supposedly superior position of Jews in the country was perceived as illegitimate; Hitler argued for the need to protect both mankind and the German race from the Jewish nation. The language

\textsuperscript{599} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{600} Cited in Berenbaum, Michael (1998), \textit{The Holocaust and History: The Known, the Unknown, the Disputed and the Reexamined}, Bloomington, Indiana: Indiana University Press, p.66.
\textsuperscript{601} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{602} Ibidem, p.67.
utilised above, based on SIT, means that passive actions, such as leaving the In-group to join another, or changing perceptions of group boundaries was no longer possible. Instead, there was an increased likelihood that collective action would take place due to the presence of three key elements in Nazi ideology – the In-group was presented as being in a lower status in comparison to the Out-group, this status was perceived as illegitimate, the boundaries between the groups were impermeable, and the possibility to change the aforementioned social hierarchy is perceived as possible.

The desire to change the perceived social hierarchy, where the Jewish Out-group is perceived as being in a position of superiority in comparison to the German In-group, was also present in the Nazi ideology. Hitler argued that Germany needed to take action against the Jewish threat. The Nazi Party claimed that they would be the protectors of the middle class, and middle class morality of ethnic Germans specifically by annihilating the ‘Jewish threat’ from Germany, and even the world.\textsuperscript{603} Thus, not only did the Nazi party perceive Jews as having an illegitimate position within Germany that could be altered via violent action, but the Party ideology, specifically sought to eliminate Jews from existence, which would also prevent any future threats to the In-group.\textsuperscript{604}

The Nazi party, and Hitler in particular utilised language that called for urgent action against the supposed threat posed by Jews, and negative imagery and propaganda were utilised in order to increase the likelihood that the aforementioned message was internalised by ethnic Germans.\textsuperscript{605} According to SIT, the perception of Jews based on a prototype that characterised them as endangering the survival of ethnic Germans, should have also strengthened solidarity within the German In-group. Newman, professor of psychology at New York University, and Erber, professor of psychology at DePaul University, argue that In-group identity in Nazi Germany thus included focus on becoming least like the Out-group (Jews and ethnic minorities).\textsuperscript{606} Thus, In-group identity became strengthened as the Out-group became further stereotyped and increasingly perceived as a threat.

In modern day Germany, according to former NPD member, Luthardt, members advocate the removal of Jews and foreigners from Germany.\textsuperscript{607} This, he claims, is a specific goal of the NPD.\textsuperscript{608} However, this goal is not articulated in public because there are requirements for how

\textsuperscript{603}Ibid.
\textsuperscript{604}Ibid.
\textsuperscript{605}Ibidem, p.71.
\textsuperscript{607}Hall (2009).
\textsuperscript{608}Ibid.
NPD members ought to behave in public, which explicitly requires sensitivity regarding Nazi Germany.\(^{609}\) During an interview with Udo Pastors, deputy leader of the NPD, explained that the NPD seeks to keep ‘Germany alive’.\(^{610}\) Pastors further stated that Germany’s birth-rate was extremely low; he expressed the need that German families have larger quantities of children in order for Germany to remain German.\(^{611}\) The consequences, according to the politician, would be the decay of the German nation; ‘Imagine a country called Germany that is filled only with Africans, Arabs, Asians. Biology is our priority’.\(^{612}\) This theme is also visible on a campaign poster, where the blond parents of blond children are visible, and the phrase is written ‘German children need our country. Stop the German people dying out’.\(^{613}\) Russian neo-Nazis also call for urgency in order to protect the Russian ethnic group. For example, Russkii obraz writes that ‘Russia should obtain a Russian Mind. We will succeed or Russia will not exist.’\(^{614}\)

Furthermore, neo-Nazis tend to have a revisionist view of the Holocaust, and many do not believe that it took place at all. In both countries, this sentiment is associated with a desire to revive the Nazi party. In Germany, this is also associated with elimination of feelings of guilt and shame associated with the Holocaust, discussed above.\(^{615}\) Amongst Russian neo-Nazis, such as the Slavic Union, for example, the Holocaust is perceived as a ‘vicious lie’ that is intended to create a negative image surrounding the Nazi party and Aryan race.\(^{616}\) Jews in present day Germany and Russia are thus perceived by neo-Nazis as not only threatening the survival of their In-groups, but also attempting to present a negative image of these groups.

However, although in present day Germany and Russia, although Jews are attacked, the main ethnic group targeted by neo-Nazis has expanded beyond this ethnic group to accommodate the groups immigrating to the countries. For instance, as described in Chapter Two, many neo-Nazis in Germany tend to target individuals of Turkic background, which have increasingly immigrated to Germany. In Russia, many individuals from Central Asia and the Caucasus are targeted. The language utilised to justify attacks against these groups is also similar to that which the Nazi party utilised to justify the need for extermination of Jews. Furthermore, neo-Nazi organisations also seek to create healthy and physically fit communities. They also perceive members of the Out-
group, such as immigrants and members of minority groups, including homosexuals, as unacceptable within the countries’ borders.

Attacks on foreign individuals in Germany and Russia are also related to the perception amongst neo-Nazi members that these individuals are taking employment from deserving Germans and Russians, as discussed previously. This resembles the propaganda dispersed by the Nazi party that Jews were responsible for the economic downturn in Germany, and that ethnic Germans needed to be rescued from the threat they posed.

Similarly, both in Nazi Germany and present day Germany and Russia, targeted Out-groups are not limited ethnic minorities or undesirable ethnic groups, but also include individuals who are perceived as allies of those groups. As was mentioned previously, in Russia, neo-Nazis also target lawyers, human rights activists, judges, etc. This was similar to Nazi Germany, where individuals who assisted groups targeted for extinction, were also in danger of losing their lives.

The expansion of the target ethnic groups by neo-Nazis however does not mark a significant difference in the horizon of expectation with the Nazi party. Overall, the desire to protect the In-group and create a pure nation is extremely similar, and neo-Nazis tend to strive to replicate the ideology of the Nazi party in regards to ethnic minorities. Removal of all Out-group members by the Nazi party was perceived in terms of violence, where the Final Solution included the creation of concentration camps in order to fulfil said goal. Present day neo-Nazis also tend to also propose the use and do utilise violence in order remove foreign individuals from the country. Some neo-Nazi groups also hunt for foreigners to deport, as described in Chapter Two.

Therefore, the horizons of expectation of the Nazi party and neo-Nazi organisations in Germany and Russia in regards to the future of the In-group nation are similar. In all three, members see the future survival of the nation as having two possibilities – survival due to the actions of the organisation that will remove the presence of national enemies and threats from the territory or continued decay of the In-group due to inaction and continued presence of the Out-groups in the country. The survival of the In-group thus becomes linked with the actions of its members in the cases of both the Nazi party and neo-Nazi groups in Germany and the Russian Federation.

The Nation

The desire to restore the glory of the In-group can also be compared. In Nazi Germany, abhorrence towards the Versailles treaty, and the 'war guilt paragraph 231' specifically, was a
uniting factor amongst political parties as well as the general public.\textsuperscript{617} What is more, the consensus surrounding the shame of defeat in World War I also justified the 'politics of revenge'.\textsuperscript{618} The feelings of revenge that were present in the country propelled the popularity of the NSDAP.\textsuperscript{619} The Nazi party was perceived by a significant portion of the population as the means by which national glory could be returned in spite of defeat in the First World War. The horizon of expectation was thus that the Nazi party would be able to eliminate the poor status and national image imposed on Germany due to the loss of World War I and the consequential Versailles Treaty.

Amongst German neo-Nazis, significant emphasis is placed on the need for redemption of the Nazi party.\textsuperscript{620} The overall goal of German neo-Nazis is re-establishment of the \textit{Reich}; however, given the defeat of Nazi Germany in World War II, contributes to the feeling that the German nation needs to be rescued and confidence re-established amongst neo-Nazis specifically.\textsuperscript{621} In Germany more generally however, feelings of shame and guilt continue regarding the Holocaust.\textsuperscript{622} Neo-Nazis in the country find these feelings unjustified and disgraceful.\textsuperscript{623} In the Russian Federation, the collapse of the Soviet Union, and loss of international status from a superpower, have also contributed to similar feelings of shame and the need to redeem the status of the Russian nation.

Neo-Nazi organisations thus perceive themselves as the redeeming forces for their ethnic groups, which is a sentiment that the Nazi party also had. The horizons of expectation of the Nazi party and neo-Nazi organisations are thus extremely similar in that all three groups saw themselves as capable of restoring national glory and eliminating negative self images amongst their ethnic groups. To the extent that both Nazi Germany and present day neo-Nazi groups feel they have suffered defeat and are experiencing perceived national shame, the horizons of expectation of all three groups can be compared. Because of the presence of these feelings, all three groups desired to redeem the status of their respective groups.

Where the expectations differ however is the degree of public support. The Nazi party was perceived amongst the mainstream population as having the capacity to restore national honour, whereas neo-Nazis are not accepted amongst the mainstream public. German and Russian neo-

\textsuperscript{617} Bessel (2004), p.173.
\textsuperscript{618} Ibidem, p.174.
\textsuperscript{619} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{620} Wagner (2012).
\textsuperscript{621} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{623} Ibid.
Wagner (2012).
Nazis have significantly less political and general support than the Nazi party, as was discussed in Chapter Three. For neo-Nazis, this has meant that while the focus on restoration of national status is an important aspect of their ideology, they have also had to seek other strategies for recruiting members from amongst the general population, such as financial assistance and creation of summer camps, which were mentioned in Chapter Two.

Support amongst the general population

The Nazi party had utilised marches and rallies initially in order to gain support and explicate their political standpoint.\textsuperscript{624} Rallies were specifically utilised in order to gain support amongst the general population and instil enthusiasm for the Nazi party.\textsuperscript{625} Nazi rallies, especially after the 1930s tended to be accompanied by 'elaborate staging and lighting techniques', and many were treated as celebrations of the Nazi party and German nation.\textsuperscript{626} As the party grew and eventually came to power, marches were organised specifically in order to demonstrate the military might of the SA, and to instil fear and obedience in German civilians.\textsuperscript{627} At this point, the rallies were also utilised in order to 'manufacture ecstasy and consensus, eliminate all reflective and critical consciousness, and instil in Germans a desire to submerge their individuality in a higher national cause'.\textsuperscript{628} The Nazi party thus utilised marches and rallies initially as a means of obtaining support amongst the general population; after coming to power, these rallies were utilised as a means of maintaining support amongst the general population, and to keep them dedicated to the ‘national cause’ of the Party.

Neo-Nazis seek to emulate the ideology of the Nazi party. They also seek to replicate the actions of the Nazi party, but as has been made clear in Chapter Three, this is restricted by present day constraints, such as the legality of their actions. Where neo-Nazis have been more successful is the replication and adoption of Nazi party symbols. Mobs and demonstrations tend to carried out in both Germany and the Russian Federation that are based on the marches that were carried out by the SA during the Third Reich. The images below demonstrate the similarities between the present marches in Germany, then the Russian Federation, and lastly, a march organised by the SA in 1935.

---

\textsuperscript{624} Bendersky (2007), p.126.
\textsuperscript{626} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{627} Bendersky (2007), p.132.
\textsuperscript{628} Stackelberg et al (2002), p.177.
Photo 4: German neo-Nazis (the Immortals) March

Photo 5: Russian March

---


Both present day neo-Nazis in Germany and the SA night rallies were organised at night with men wielding torches and flags. Supposedly, the group had been carrying out similar flash mobs for months throughout Germany. The second image from the Russian Federation was taken from one of the annual Russian Marches. The image demonstrates replication of the Nazi salute.

Another obvious symbol of the Nazi party that has been adopted by neo-Nazi organisations is the salute to Hitler. Below are two images that demonstrate the adoption of Nazi symbols by present day neo-Nazi groups.

---

632 CNN (13 August 2012).
The adoption of Nazi symbolism by neo-Nazi organisations is an explicit attempt to recreate various aspects of Nazism within the constraints of modern day society for neo-Nazi

---

633 CNN (28 June 2012) 'Germany fined after soccer fans were neo-Nazi symbols' [accessed 24 August 2012] <ivarfjeld.wordpress.com/2012/06/28/>
634 National Socialist Organisation 'Shturmoviki RNSP'.
organisations. The horizons of expectation, or perceptions of the future, amongst neo-Nazi organisations is thus based significantly on the desire to directly recreate the Third Reich, and implement Nazi ideology more broadly within their countries. The use of Nazi strategies such as marches and rallies in attempt to gain support and/or utilise them as a tactic for fear demonstrates that neo-Nazi groups perceive possibilities to increase membership and eventually establish a new regime, similar to the Nazi party.

**Approach to political power**

After the Beer Hall Putsch, Hitler sought to obtain power by operating within the legal bounds of the state. At this point, he realised that the Nazi party could not abolish the Weimer Republic via a revolutionary approach as the state was ‘too powerful to be assaulted directly’. He then recognised that in order to obtain power, he would need to utilise the constitution and democratic organs of the Republic. After obtaining said power, this system and the state would be destroyed. The state organs would thus be utilised in order to obtain a 'legal revolution'. At the same time, because this strategy would be carried out utilising the legal system and within the bounds of the state system, the state would also have difficulty in suppressing said movement. Thus the strategy became to obtain 'revolutionary change' in the long term.

Neo-Nazi gangs have differing beliefs amongst each other and beliefs that change over time. In Germany, Brinks et al explain that until the 1980s, neo-Nazis based their ideology on that of Hitler. After that time, some gangs began to view him more critically. Some neo-Nazi gangs believe that Hitler had disregarded his initial 'national-revolutionary ideals'. Others believe that the long term ‘legal revolution’ is a strategy with explicit differences with neo-Nazi groups which do not have ties to political groups such as the banned Slavic Union. These groups call for revolution or revolutionary change, yet do not or cannot (due to limited resources or support amongst the mainstream population) operate within the bounds of the state and constitution.

Where similarities can be drawn are specific far right parties with ties or connections to neo-Nazi groups. For example, the NPD does currently have elected representatives in two of Germany’s sixteen state parliaments, but no seats in the federal government. Michael Schäfer, who is a district council member, the chairman of the NPD section in the district of Harz, and the leader of

---

636 Bendersky (1956), p.53
642 *Ibidem*, pp.36-37.
the NPD Youth Organisation. He joined a small, independent neo-Nazi group at the age of 16, and as a member of NPD, now works with youth and neo-Nazi activists in order to bring them into mainstream political parties. What is more, he seeks to attract youth from universities and educated young people to the party.

According to the former mayor of Wernigerode, Ludwig Hoffman, who served from 1994-2008, that based on article written by Schäfer, he does hold to tradition of Hitler's Nazi Germany; the article explains that the NPD ought to become political soldiers throughout the whole of Germany. Hoffman continues to explain that the article resembles an attempt to rebuild Hitler's army of storm troopers. Similarly, a former member of the NPD, Uwe Luthardt, explains that

the simple aim [of the NPD] is the restoration of the Reich in which a new storm trooper organisation takes revenge on anyone who disagrees with them... The dream is of the German Reich. They're totally convinced that they'll win an election one day and that things will really get going.

Manuel Tripp, an NPD politician, has also been cited, explaining that ‘National socialism can't be elected or begged for. It can only be achieved through the path of revolution.’ Another member of the NPD explains that Germany needs a political revolution because the current path of country will lead to its demise, and that Germany has already lost its social values. Olaf Sundermeyer, author of the book, *Inside the NPD*, also explains that the party does not have democratic values and does not adhere to democracy more broadly.

These parties utilise a similar approach to Hitler in that they seek to obtain seats in parliament and become elected within the existing political system; after being elected, is when a revolution or extreme change of the political system is a goal.

Another neo-Nazi organisation in Germany, on the other hand, seeks to abolish the democratic form of government. *The Immortals*, mentioned above, seek to target Germany’s mainstream political parties; they argue that the democratic system of governance in the country is murdering the German people, especially by permitting the presence of ethnic minorities and Muslims and Jews. Instead, the neo-Nazi group believes that it is crucial to abolish the ‘lies being spread by democrats’, which is what the group seeks to do. The lies being spread are those of the benefits

---

643 France 24 (2009).
644 Ibid.
645 Ibid.
646 Ibid.
647 cited in Hall (2009).
648 Pop (2012).
650 Ibid.
and need for multiculturalism. Democratic institutions, according to the Immortals, ought to be destroyed.\textsuperscript{651}

In Russia, many neo-Nazi groups desire to establish a revolution, as well. Neo-Nazi organisations explicate that a revolution and shift in leadership of the country is necessary in order to protect the Russian people. They argue that without drastic change, the future of the Russian nation is in danger. \textit{Russkii obraz} does not explicitly write that they propose a revolution. Instead, they allude that the Russian Federation is currently engaged in a civil war, and that only \textit{Russkii obraz} are aware of how to end and capable of ending this civil war.\textsuperscript{652} Their perspective on revolution is more pessimistic as they argue that the majority of the population remains inactive in spite of the alleged problems the Russian nation is facing.\textsuperscript{653} They explain that creating a revolution would be difficult when the majority of individuals are placated with the situation in the country and ignore the threats to their nation.\textsuperscript{654} The National Socialist Organisation also advocate the necessity of militarisation of their group in order to alter the political situation in Russia.\textsuperscript{655} They explain that discipline is crucial amongst their members as they may be called to take up arms in order to defend Russia at any moment.\textsuperscript{656} The \textit{Slavjanskii Krug} also explains that Slavic-Aryans ought to be concerned about their future and it is time for them to take control of the future of their race.\textsuperscript{657}

Thus, the horizons of expectation amongst neo-Nazi organisations differ. For some, the desire to establish a revolution is perceived a realistic and desirable outcome. For others, the desire to obtain political power, and utilise this position to fulfil their goals is a chosen strategy. Both strategies are evident amongst neo-Nazis in Germany and Russia, and both were attempted by Hitler and the Nazi party. For Hitler, the latter ended up being successful, yet neo-Nazi organisations in present day Germany and Russia have struggled to gain sufficient political support. This lack of significant political support means that the goals of the neo-Nazi organisations more generally are not being fulfilled, such as elimination or removal of ethnic minorities and other groups deemed undesirable from their borders.

\textbf{World view}

The Nazi party had a distinct perception of what their role within the international community ought to be. This was partially based on the loss of World War I, and desire to re-establish

\textsuperscript{651} CNN (13 August 2012).
\textsuperscript{652} Russkii obraz, ‘Conception’.
\textsuperscript{653} Russkii obraz, ‘Interview’
\textsuperscript{654} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{656} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{657} Ibid.
German status within the international society, and partially based on the racist ideology and social Darwinism discussed above. The desire to establish Germany as a world power is explained by Alfred Rosenberg a Nazi party ideologue; he explained that

the world political task of National Socialism consists of knocking one state after the other out of the world-political system of today and in the end, leaving no peoples under international management, but only a series of organic, volkish state systems on a racial basis.658

This quote exemplifies both the focus on dominating other states, as well as the belief in social Darwinism. Part of the Nazi parties ambitions also included the extermination of Jews and extermination ethnic groups on a global level, as concentration camps were created in Eastern Europe as Germany expanded eastward during World War II.

International expansion was perceived as a means by which Germany would be able to stop the threat posed by 'international Jewry'; expansion would also permit Germany to gain 'its rightful place among the world powers'.659 Furthermore, expansion towards the Soviet Union was perceived in practical terms - as a means to obtain land for the German people.660 'The ethnic cleansing of Slavs would give Germany the resources', such as increased land for agriculture.661 Expansion towards the east was perceived as means of obtaining labour from the individuals that would be conquered.662

Unlike the Nazi Party, neo-Nazi organisations provide minimal information regarding their perceptions of international relations. To the extent that neo-Nazis explicitly strive to reproduce Nazi ideology, they do desire to establish an ethnically pure nation, which may extend beyond the borders of the state. German neo-Nazis in particular seek to recreate the Third Reich, and carry out the foreign policy goals of the Nazi party.663 This is based exclusively on the notion of the Aryan race, and superiority of the German ethnic group.664

Interestingly, Russian neo-Nazi organisations tend to negate Hitler’s expansion eastward and the loss of Russian lives during the Second World War in attempt to prevent this. The roles of the countries on opposing sides during the War is often blamed on international circumstances. For instance, the Slavic Union blames the ‘international Jewish conspiracy’ as responsible for creating

659 Baranowski, Shelley (2011), Nazi Empire: German Colonialism and Imperialism from Bismarck to Hitler, New York: Cambridge University Press, p.45.
660 Ibid.
661 Ibid.
663 Wagner (2012).
664 Ibid.
animosity between Russia and Nazi Germany, which otherwise would not have been present. Denial is expressed that Germany would have attempted to expand east wards into the Soviet Union had the Jews not created a conflict between these states. Evidence for these claims is not provided. Russian neo-Nazis express general admiration for Nazi ideology and seek to recreate aspects of it that are convenient or manipulated to conform to the situation of Russian neo-Nazis.

The idea of national superiority is also present amongst neo-Nazi organisations in the Russian Federation; however, the desire for global domination via military invasion is not evident amongst their ideology. What is present is the desire to re-establish Russia as a global superpower, and/or minimally to re-establish the Russian empire and unite all Slavic peoples. For example, the Slavjanskii krug discussed in Chapter Two is based upon uniting Slavic neo-Nazis, including those outside of the borders of the Russian Federation. Thus, some Russian neo-Nazi organisations also seem open to the possibility of cooperation with other Slavic neo-Nazi groups, but explicit discussion of global domination is not present amongst their rhetoric.

Conclusion of chapter

Unlike the spaces of experience discussed above, the horizons of expectation between the Nazi party and present day neo-Nazis in Germany and the Russian Federation are extremely similar. In spite of realistic restrictions on the ability of the neo-Nazi organisations to fulfil their goals, the perception of future possibilities resembles that of the Nazi party. Part of the reason for this is because neo-Nazi ideology is explicitly based on the ideology of the Nazi party – extreme nationalism based on elimination and removal of ethnic minorities and undesirable groups and individuals, and obtainment of political power. Neo-Nazi groups differ regarding how to achieve political office – whether via revolution or democratic election; regardless, neo-Nazi groups desire to attain control of the state. Political office is perceived as necessary in order to alter policies and have the capacity to fulfil goals, such as removal of ethnic minorities from the territory. Furthermore, Neo-Nazi organisations, similarly to the Nazi party, view or viewed the future as taking one of two possible paths – either the nation would be destroyed by the threats posed to the main ethnic group or survival could be guaranteed via support for the Nazi party or presently, neo-Nazi groups. All perceive themselves as bearing the sole responsibility to protect the nation, as well as to restore the status of their nation.

665 Slavic Union (2004), ‘Mif o holokoste, ili gazovye kamery - velichaishaja falsifikatsija 20ogo veka’
666 Ibid.
The similarities between Nazi Party and neo-Nazi organisations’ future desires tend to demonstrate a direct return of Nazi Party ideology within a present day context. This seems to imply that cyclicality of time is valid due to the resembles between the Nazi Party and neo-Nazi organisations. The degree of similarity also seems to imply that linearity of time cannot be accurate as the demonstrations and beliefs of both groups resemble each other to such a significant degree. However, when the previous chapter is also taken into consideration, the validity of the cyclical theory of time may come into question. This is because modern day socio-political structures serve as restraints on neo-Nazi organisations. Thus, while the future expectations of neo-Nazis resemble that of the Nazi Party, present day reality prevents this from taking place; this tension means that both theories of cyclical and linear time are insufficient for explaining the developments of neo-Nazi organisations in Germany and the Russian Federation as they imply neither a direct return of the Nazi Party, nor a completely new phenomena.
Conclusion

The above chapters have all demonstrated that neo-Nazi organisations in Germany and the Russian Federation are all active and have, in certain respects, managed to replicate Nazi party manifestations and beliefs. Neo-Nazi organisations in Germany and the Russian Federation are organised groups that seek to recreate the Third Reich. Neo-Nazi organisations in Germany and the Russian Federation are organised groups that seek to recreate the Third Reich.

This thesis has presented several sub research questions. This first was - To what extent are Neo-Nazi skinhead gangs active? The answer to this question is that neo-Nazi groups have experienced varying levels of success in fulfilling their goals. These are organised groups that participate in physical and paramilitary training. This training is utilised not only to maintain physical fitness of members, but also to facilitate attacks on members of designated Out-Groups, which are ethnic minorities, undesirable members of society, such as homosexuals, and individuals perceived as aiding the aforementioned groups, such as human rights activists, lawyers, judges, and others.

At the same time, neo-Nazis organisations do not operate only based on violence; they also provide services that are geared towards attracting families. These services include youth camps and activities, provision of financial assistance, aid with employment, medical insurance, legal counsel and services. Where neo-Nazi organisations have been less successful is attaining political office and expanding their goals on a large scale. These goals include removal of all members of the Out-group from the territory of the ethnic group, restoring national glory, and generally improving the economic and/or political situation within the state.

Many of these activities and goals resemble those of the Nazi Party. This leads to the second research question presented here - To what extent do the manifestations of these gangs resemble that of the Nazi party? This question was answered in two separate chapters based on the spaces of experience and horizons of expectation of the Nazi Party and neo-Nazi organisations.

Although neo-Nazi organisations seek to recreate the Third Reich, the experiences of the former and latter have not been identical. The Nazi Party and neo-Nazi groups in both countries are attempting to gain support during times of economic struggle or difficulty, and national loss. The spaces of experience of the Nazi Party and neo-Nazi groups also resemble each to the extent that neo-Nazi groups provide various services, such as youth camps and aid to families, and support and use violence against designated Out-groups.
Although there are resemblances in the conditions within interwar Germany and present day Germany and Russia, the spaces of experience of the Nazi Party and neo-Nazi organisations tend to vary, in particular within the political sphere. Neo-Nazi organisations, unlike the Nazi Party, lack centralised leadership, and no cult of personality has developed around any single leader amongst neo-Nazi groups. Instead, these are splintered and have been unable to cooperate. What is more, many neo-Nazi organisations are banned by the state in both Germany and the Russian Federation. The combination of these factors has prevented neo-Nazi organisations from gaining political office. These factors vary significantly from the Nazi Party, which did gain general support, and was able to gain political power. Thus, the spaces of experience of neo-Nazi groups contain both similarities and differences with the Nazi Party.

The horizons of expectation of the Nazi party and neo-Nazi organisations tend to be based on ideology and future goals and expectations. Feelings of indignity due to defeat were common to all three groups. In all three situations, the parties in question perceive themselves as being the sole groups capable of restoring national glory, and bringing their states to a dominant position within international relations. Neo-Nazi organisations have actively sought to recreate the Third Reich, and have based their ideology and actions explicitly on their interpretations of Nazi Party beliefs and goals. Specifically, the conceptualisation of the Other, and use of Nazi symbols and marches bear significant resemblance. Neo-Nazi groups have adopted the symbols and strategies of the Nazi party in order to generate support for their movements, including frequent marches. The use of these tactics and adoption of Nazi symbolism demonstrates that neo-Nazi organisations do see a future possibility of fulfilling their goals and generating sufficient support amongst the masses in order to gain political office.

Some neo-Nazi organisations also seek to attain political power and adopt Hitler’s latter strategy of obtaining a revolution in Germany via long term legal changes, whereas others attempt the strategy of violent revolution, such as what was attempted with the Beer Hall Putsch. Neo-Nazi groups generally tend to bear more similarity with the methods available to the Nazi party prior to obtainment of political power.

These similarities and differences between the Nazi Party and Neo-Nazi organisations were analysed within the context of theories of time. This is reflected in the third research question presented in this thesis: how do the patterns (or lack thereof) fall into debates in history regarding linearity versus cyclicality of history?

A linear theory of time would hold that neo-Nazis are a modern phenomena. As a result of this, one would expect significant divergences between the circumstances surrounding the growth of
the Nazi Party and development of neo-Nazi organisations. Furthermore, the theory would lead to
the assumption that the beliefs of neo-Nazi groups would vary from the Nazi Party as those of the
former would reflect progress and changes that had taken place since the existence of the Nazi
Party. While this theory would be able to explicate the lack of political office held by neo-Nazi
organisations, it would be unable to explicate the degree of similarity between the beliefs and
various actions of all three groups. This thesis has also demonstrated that there is a significant
quantity of similarities between the Nazi Party and Neo-Nazi organisations, which a linear theory
of time is unable to explicate.

A cyclical theory of time would hold that neo-Nazi organisations demonstrate a return of Nazism
to Germany, and spread to the Russian Federation. This theory would hold that the circumstances
in both countries would reflect those leading to the rise of the Nazi Party during interwar
Germany, and that the ideology of the Nazi Party and neo-Nazi organisations should be extremely
analogous. While this theory may be able to explicate the ideological similarities between all three
groups, it would fail to explicate the lack of popular support for neo-Nazi groups and
circumstances leading to their lack of political power.

Because neither the linear or cyclical theories of time are able to explicate the development of
neo-Nazi organisations in Germany and the Russian Federation, another theory, specifically that
of Reinhart Koselleck may be more pertinent. Koselleck argues that historical time is made of
several layers. This study compared and analysed two specific strata – the interwar war period in
Germany through the Third Reich and the post-Cold War time period through present. This study
examined several layers that were utilised to analyse the developments of neo-Nazi organisations
in present day Germany and the Russian Federation. These layers include: political developments,
economic developments, Othering, feelings of national shame, the use of organised violence, and
ideology. These layers were examined as aspects of the spaces of experience and horizons of
expectation of the Nazi Party and Neo-Nazi organisations.

Koselleck explains there is tension between the space of experience and horizon of expectations;
it is this tension that permits new events and patterns to transpire. Chapter Three has demonstrated
that the spaces of experience between the Nazi Party and neo-Nazi organisations tend to differ,
while Chapter Four demonstrates that the horizons of expectation of neo-Nazi organisations tend
to resemble that of the Nazi Party. The horizons of expectation of the Nazi party and neo-Nazi
organisations differ to the extent that Neo-Nazi groups are limited in their ability to fulfil their
political or general goals for their ethnic groups due to their inability to gain significant seats in
office or insufficient support from the majority of the population; thus, they are unable to impose
the majority of their beliefs on their national homelands as a whole, which limits the future
possibilities open to them, such as removal of all ethnic minorities from the territory of the state. These factors reflect the tension between the spaces of experience (lack of political support) and horizons of expectation (imposition of ideology within the state). This direct clash can thus be utilised to explain how neo-Nazi organisations have developed, and the actions they have successfully fulfilled.

Because Neo-Nazi organisations have been unsuccessful in coming to power, they have taken illegal actions in order to fulfil their goals. While political office remains a goal amongst some organisations, many skip this aspect of Nazi party development and seek to recreate the Third Reich in a different fashion – they grow increasingly organised, provide services to their In-groups, and utilise violence in order to protect their In-group from the threats that the Out-group(s) supposedly pose. This tension between the past experiences and expectations/desires for the future can thus be utilised, based on the theory of Koselleck, to explain the development and growth of neo-Nazi organisations as they have in present day Germany and Russia. Therefore, the theory of Reinhart Koselleck is able to incorporate the nuances regarding the resemblances and divergences between neo-Nazi organisations and the Nazi Party, which neither theories of linear nor cyclical time were capable of doing.

Therefore, the answer to the main research question: *To what extent does the presence of neo-Nazis in Germany and the Russian Federation indicate a (re-emergence) of fascism similar to Nazi Germany, based on the theory of time as expressed by Reinhart Koselleck?* of this thesis is Hypothesis C. This hypothesis holds that the phenomena of skin-head gangs in the case studies indicate a re-emergence/continuation of fascism within a modern context. The phenomena of neo-Nazi skinheads are neither a repetition of the past nor a completely modern phenomenon. Instead, this work has demonstrated that the phenomena of neo-Nazi resembles the Nazi party in several aspects, including ideology, violence, and attempts to attract youth; however, present conditions restrict the ability of these groups to realise other goals, such as attaining political office. This is due to limitations on their actions due to present day conditions, such as a strong political system.

Thus, Koselleck’s theory of time seems to most accurately reflect the emergence of neo-Nazi organisations. This work has demonstrated that neither theories of cyclical time nor linear time are able to explicate the phenomena of neo-Nazi groups in Germany and Russia, and neither are able to take incorporate the nuances of similarities and differences between the Nazi Party and neo-Nazi organisations in order to provide an answer to the main research question. This work has demonstrated that a more appropriate conceptualisation of time may be a layered and horizontal spiral path that generally moves forward in time. Such an understanding of time, incorporates the strata and layers discussed by Koselleck, while simultaneously permitting old patterns to remerge,
and new patterns to develop. The phenomena of neo-Nazis is neither new nor old, but a combination of both.
Works Cited

<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=LzykdYG0LXU>


Akademija estestvennyh nauk Rossiiskoi Federatsii (2002), 'Natsional'naja bezopasnost i geopolitika Rossi'.


Åslund, Anders; Guriev, S. M.; and Kuchins, Andrew (2010), Russia After The Global Economic Crisis, Washington DC: Peter G Institute for International Economics


Baranowski, Shelley (2011), Nazi Empire: German Colonialism and Imperialism from Bismarck to Hitler, New York: Cambridge University Press.


Berenbaum, Michael (1998), The Holocaust and History: The Known, the Unknown, the Disputed and the Reexamined, Bloomington, Indiana: Indiana University Press.


Brinks, Jan Herman; Binder, David; Vincent, Paul; Bromley, Chris; Smith, Ewan (2000), Children of a New Fatherland: Germany's Post-War Right-Wing Politics London: I.B. Tauris.


Ester, P; Halman, Loek; Rukavishnikov, Vladimir; Rukavishnikov, Vladimir Olegovich (1997), *From cold war to cold peace?: a comparative empirical study of Russian and Western political cultures*, BRILL.


Gerasimenko, Olesja (2011), 'Mat' mozhet tol'ko blagoslovit', Vlast', 44(948), Available online: http://www.kommersant.ru/doc/1807563 Translated by the author


Laruelle, Marlène (2009), Russian Nationalism and the National Reassertion of Russia, New York: Routledge.


Pilkington, Hilary; Garifzianova, Al’bina; and Omel’chenko, Elena (2010), Russia’s Skinheads: Exploring and Rethinking Subcultural Lives, New York: Routledge.


Q3001 'Russia for whites only (Russian skinheads)', uploaded 28 july 2007, [accessed 24 August 2012], <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=VrQ0RX2UTuo&bpctr=1345754135>.


108


Slavic Union, 'Entry into the movement "Russians"'. [accessed 24 August 2012], <http://www.demushkin.com/content/articles/318/3323.html>.


Wagner, Brend (17 August 2012) Email interview.


Walters, Gregory J (2001), Human Rights in an Information Age: A Philosophical Analysis, Toronto, Canada: University of Toronto Press Incorporated.

