

Is this the greatest threat from the extreme right?

By **Invictus**

ANTI-FASCISTS are celebrating the collapse of the British far right into warring factions, electorally insignificant, even if they can find a handful of candidates. Or when appearing on the streets, comically off-putting even to the small minority of Britons with racist views. So much so that an old-school Nazi like Merseyside gangster and former Griffin bodyguard Joe Owens seriously argues (across a whole series of online videos) that what passes for nationalist leadership in Britain is so inept, it must secretly be controlled by *Searchlight*.

In several other European countries the picture is very different. There is justifiable concern that far-right parties are increasingly seen as viable alternatives, sometimes the main opposition to a discredited establishment. In one or two countries, notably Poland and Hungary, a form of authoritarian right-wing populism is actually in power, with more blatant and violent versions of the far right waiting in the wings.

These “successful” parties are at the reactionary end of the far-right spectrum, despised by ideological purists as sell-outs. Some concentrate their rhetoric on Muslims, while making half-hearted attempts at compromise with representatives of Jewish communities whose political cohesion and power they overrate, due to their own semi-disguised antisemitic assumptions.

Yet operating partly within, partly distinct from these parties, but also distinct from the street thugs and tired Hitler fetishists of some old school fascist parties, is a network of better educated, ideologically driven extremists seeking to build a revolutionary challenge to democratic

Europe. This network is Generation Identity. Anti-fascists need to inform themselves about what is likely to be their main opposition in the coming years.

Generation Identity is sometimes (wrongly) seen simply as a series of international youth organisations spawned from a French movement called *Bloc Identitaire*. But while this French aspect is important and carries a 40-50 year heritage from the *Nouvelle Droite* (a Paris-based 1970s attempt to rethink intellectual fascism), the 21st century GI is not French-dominated.

Its organisational base is in Sweden, with a small but committed network of young activists across Scandinavia and the Baltic states and a couple of key Anglo-American executives based in Hungary. Much of its intellectual leadership is German or Austrian; its most dangerous heavyweight backing is Russian.

On 29 June 2013, the Fifth Identitarian Ideas Conference in Stockholm heard from a man seen by much of GI as its leading young ideological guru. Markus Willinger was then a 21-year-old student of history and politics at Stuttgart University, though he was born in Schärding on the Upper Austrian border. Willinger’s birthplace is 30 miles downstream from another border crossing on the River Inn: Braunau, where Adolf Hitler was born in 1889.

But unlike much of the “radical” nationalist scene in Austria and Germany, Willinger is not drawn to political necrophilia and refrains from overt Hitler worship. His message to the Stockholm comrades (repeated in a very similar speech six weeks later to the August 2013 meeting of the London Forum) is more subtle and

more dangerous.

Anti-fascists will rightly suspect that Willinger protests too much when he insists “the Identitarian idea is something totally new”.

For two reasons this “newness” is important. It is vital to GI’s rhetoric and ideological foundation that it be depicted (implied in its very name) as the voice of a betrayed generation. Broadly the under-40s (and especially the under-30s), these are defined in opposition to so-called “68ers”, generations influenced by the egalitarian ideals associated with the 1968 student movements across Europe.

In a widely distributed GI video that boils its ideology down into a series of slogans (echoing the style of the despised 68ers) one spokesman proclaims “we are the generation double punished: condemned to pay into a social system so generous with strangers it becomes unsustainable for our own people”. Another laments “we are the generation of ethnic fracture, total failure of coexistence, and forced mixing of the races”.

Actually, like the earlier *Nouvelle Droite*-influenced generation of activists, some of whom became active terrorists in Italy, France and Germany, very few of these GI types are from working class backgrounds or have legitimate grounds for bitterness against the system. The overwhelming impression one gets from spending time with GI activists, as several *Searchlight* operatives have had to do when monitoring their activities and infiltrating their networks, is of extreme vanity and self-obsession. These are frustrated middle-class kids who believe they should be masters of the universe.

But anti-fascists should beware of over-confidence. We might find GI’s

pompous rhetoric and solipsistic sense of grievance pathetic, yet as with an earlier generation of arrogant losers, that doesn't mean their danger can be dismissed.

This brings us to the second reason for GI's obsession with "newness". They are well aware of the need to distinguish themselves from 20th century national socialism, an older version of what is essentially the same ideology.

The common thread from that older generation becomes obvious when listening to Willinger: "... Europe is dying. Our nations are dying. And with every day we Europeans become weaker and weaker, with every day we lose power, every day brings us closer to our final end."

The fundamental reason according to GI's young spokesman Willinger is pollution of the European gene pool:

"Those Europeans who want to save Europe spent the last years arguing with each other. They spent their time discussing about minor points, discussing about their attitude towards the Middle East, while the Left took control of the media and while the rulers today did everything to destroy our Identity.

"We must concentrate on the only question which matters nowadays. The question: will Europe survive or will it die forever. As long as Europe is dying, all other questions are pointless, meaningless and ridiculous.

"We [Identitarians] are a political organisation, but not a political party. We see ourselves as ... the first fighters for the reconquest of Europe.

"It's not enough just to vote every four years. We have to be on the streets, we have to show our protest."

Behind these slogans are a number of points which mark out GI from some other strands of the far right, and which might prove either a strength or a weakness of this new movement. Willinger and his associates argue against an excessive focus on the Jewish question. Many older neo-nazis have been happy to fight (sometimes literally) alongside Muslims and others against a common Jewish enemy. Indeed a few such as Horst Mahler pursued these alliances both as radical leftists and then as neo-nazis.



Manuel Ochsenreiter (right), RT journalist and fixer for President Putin, with Alexander Dugin, Russian extreme-right philosopher

For GI this is a self-indulgent distraction. They believe that the battle is in and for Europe: the implication is that others should be left (in the case of refugees again perhaps literally) to sink or swim, whether or not at some ideological purist level they might be seen as sharing a common "Zionist" foe.

Willinger argues that the racist movement should learn from the left about what he vaguely calls "making pressure". He seems to mean that a GI vanguard should identify political trends and exploit them. This means for example using anti-refugee demonstrations – not in the manner of an old-fashioned political party like the BNP or NF in an attempt to win votes and members, but to influence the broader political culture in an anti-refugee direction.

Willinger's colleague at London Forum and GI events, Manuel Ochsenreiter, is a regular on Russian and Syrian propaganda stations who edits the German neo-nazi magazine *Zuerst*. Ochsenreiter is a clear personal link between the older Nazi tradition and GI. His magazine was the successor to *Nation Europa*, originally co-founded just after the Second World War by Arthur Erhardt, an SS officer on Himmler's personal staff, and Herbert Böhme, author of "battle hymns" for the 1930s Nazi Party including a line in tribute to Adolf Hitler: "you walk among the people as their saviour".

For GI, recruitment is about winning a select few committed undergraduates, not building a mass party. Their politics is not just vanguardist, it is proudly elitist.

One example of a GI vanguard action was the occupation of a mosque in Poitiers, an iconic site for French nationalists because of the Battle of Tours fought near this site in 732 by Charles Martel against an invading army from Muslim Spain. GI members hung a banner from the roof of the mosque announcing: "We don't want extra-European immigration any more, nor buildings of mosques on French soil".

Such anti-Muslim campaigns illustrate the influence of Guillaume Faye, one of the founding fathers of the *Nouvelle Droite*, and also show a distancing from one of its other original leaders Alain de Benoist. These are variants of what started as a shared anti-democratic ideology: de Benoist has become more obviously anti-Christian, anti-American and (of course) anti-"Zionist" (nudge, wink); Faye has become one of the most radical ideologists of Islamophobia.

Though their ideological influences include New Right veterans such as Faye, the GI vanguard also includes several whose public record of fascist activity does not go back very many years. In the case of Willinger and other 20-somethings this is understandable, but some older and canner fascists are beginning to be wary of one or two "Johnny-come-lately" characters, who one minute had no involvement with far-right politics, and the next are cropping up everywhere as "radical" spokesmen and leaders.

One of GI's Scandinavia ideologists for example is Daniel Karlsson, now aged 43, who was a student leftist, then re-emerged politically just a



Philippe Vardon, leader of Generation Identity in France and Front National regional councillor

couple of years ago. He is now a regular participant in GI's annual "identitarian ideas" conference in Stockholm. This year will be the eighth such event. Speakers at previous conferences have included Philippe Vardon, a GI leader in France who was elected a few months ago as an FN regional councillor on the slate headed by Jean-Marie Le Pen's granddaughter, Marion Maréchal Le Pen, seen as the standard-bearer for the party's radical wing.

Sharing a platform with Vardon at the 2013 conference was the American political philosopher Paul Gottfried, a Jewish academic who had made common cause with some of the most odious racists in America at Jared Taylor's American Renaissance conferences. It's unclear whether Gottfried was aware of the national socialist antecedents of so many GI

leaders, or whether he is already so morally and politically compromised that he no longer cares.

The Stockholm conferences have brought together youngsters such as Willinger with hardline Nazis such as the leading American Holocaust denier Mark Weber, and some of the main networkers of today's far right such as Jez Turner of the London Forum and John Morgan of the publishing firm Arktos, who regularly bring out translations of the main GI activists as well as reprinting some of the main ideological texts of the pre-Hitler German far right.

The 2016 conference will be held in central Stockholm on the first weekend of August. Its four main speakers are Alexander Markovics, Dan Roodt, Jason Reza Jorjani and Daniel Friberg.

Markovics is one of the leaders of

the Austrian branch of GI, Identitarian Movement Austria (IBÖ). In March 2016 Markovics was interviewed by an Arktos panel including Friberg and John Morgan, as well as the Swedish aristocrat Jonas de Geer, who is a member of the far-right Catholic Society of St Pius X (SSPX). Their topic was "Reconquering Europe". Markovics says that he co-founded IBÖ in Vienna in 2012 because of a lack of militancy among the parties of the traditional right. Like the French GI, his group has concentrated on subversive street actions against left-wing and liberal organisations, yet strangely for self-styled "radicals" of the "True Right" their most recent campaigns have been in support of government moves to seal the Austrian border. Once again GI is not acting as an ideologically consistent movement but rather looking for opportunities to advance a racist agenda, as and when these arise. Moreover Markovics insists that his movement does not wish to become a new party and has "no grudges" against the Austrian Freedom Party (FPÖ), despite that party being denounced by many Nazi hardliners around Europe for "selling out" to Israel. Markovics states: "it's important that there is also a metapolitical force which is organising demonstrations or influencing the masses to actually make a patriotic revolution in Austria possible."

Roodt is a prominent South African racist who has been building contacts with racists and national socialists worldwide for more than a decade, though he supposedly started out on the left. Anti-fascists should be in no doubt about Roodt. There are many perfectly respectable South African democrats (including on the left) who have become strong critics of the ANC in recent years, for good reason. Roodt is not one of them. He is a straightforward Afrikaner racist with close neo-Nazi affiliations.

Jorjani is an academic philosopher born in New York with a partly Iranian family background. He now teaches at the New Jersey Institute of Technology and has just had a book published by Arktos, *Prometheus and Atlas*. It might seem strange for a professional academic to associate



Dan Roodt, back row centre, with Nick Griffin to the right of him. Front left: Derek Turner, former leader of an Irish Nazi group, who went on to edit Right Now magazine before being retained by Taki Theodoracopolos to run the Quarterly Review, now a full-time author

with outright neo-nazis and racists, but some GI activists (and fellow speakers such as Roodt) have been building transatlantic connections via Jared Taylor's American Renaissance. Jorjani's participation highlights one of the contradictions within GI. Although they are keen to exploit mainstream anti-Muslim sentiment and (especially in France) ally with far-right Catholics and other Christians campaigning on issues such as mosques, GI's ideology is just as hostile to Christianity and (needless to say) Judaism. Jorjani's new *Arktos* book for example "endeavours to deconstruct the nihilistic materialism and rootless rationalism of the modern West by showing how it was grounded on a dishonest suppression of the spectral and why it has a parasitic relationship with Abrahamic religious fundamentalism". He argues that various strange notions such as extra-sensory perception and psychokinesis should not be dismissed as "paranormal". Perhaps we can look forward to "yogic flying" at Stockholm.

Friberg was co-founder (and now chief executive) of *Arktos* with John Morgan and Mick Brooks. Friberg describes himself as a representative of the True Right, a term which was also used by Morgan at last year's Stockholm conference. "There is no single label that one could apply to *Arktos* with any accuracy," declared Friberg, "given the vast range of ideas that we engage with. If I had to pick one, however, I would borrow the term 'true Right', which was first coined by the Italian traditionalist philosopher Julius Evola, who defined it as 'those principles which were accepted and seen as normal by every well-born person everywhere in the world prior to 1789'."

As with Jorjani's book, this Evolan influence is anti-Christian/Jewish as well as anti-Muslim. It seems that GI aims to pursue a neo-nazi variant of the strategy once advocated by the American conservative theorist Leo Strauss: one level of populist Christian morality and crude anti-Islamism should be pursued to recruit the general public; the neo-pagan, anti-Christian and anti-Jewish stuff should be reserved for the elect, the



John Morgan (left), senior director of *Arktos* Media, with French far-right philosopher Alain de Benoist

"*perfecti*", the self-anointed masters of the universe who gather at GI conferences.

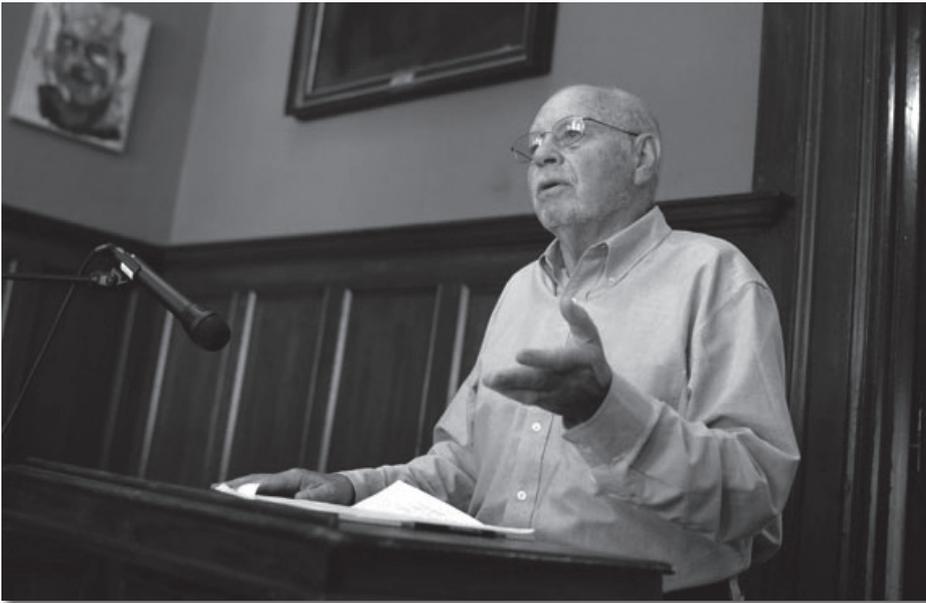
An older generation of Britain's far right – from the National Front's Richard Edmonds, to *Heritage and Destiny's* Mark Cotterill and Peter Rushton, to the British Democratic Party's Andrew Brons and Adrian Davies – look at GI and mutter, "well,

it's good to see bright young chaps recruited into our movement, but all this metaphysical stuff is all very well: what are their practical political aims?"

Anti-fascists likewise might dismiss GI as Facebook cranks. This would be a mistake. A network that connects South Africa's leading racist propagandist with American college



Alexander Markovics, one of the leaders of Generation Identity in Austria, on the left of the group holding a GI flag



American Jewish collaborator Paul Gottfried at a GI conference in Stockholm

lecturers is not to be lightly dismissed. And we should not forget that much of Europe is a tinder box, with mainstream political leaders widely discredited and liable to adopt sudden policy lurches in response to street violence.

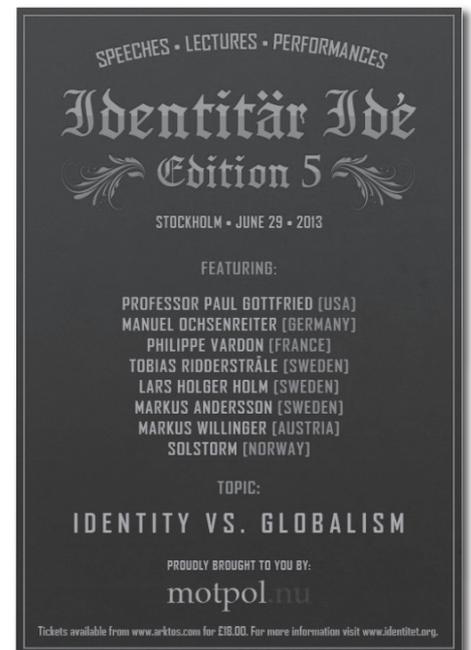
John Morgan of Arktos and several of his closest associates, such as the American fascist Greg Johnson of Counter Currents, are now based largely in Budapest, close to some of the most militant flashpoints of anti-immigrant activism. Hungary's populist prime minister Viktor Orban

has been hailed by GI as "Europe's unlikely hero", though Morgan and Johnson are closer to his radical fascist opponents Jobbik, and especially to Alexander Dugin, the far-right philosopher with links to the Moscow Godfather himself.

Two years ago Arktos published Dugin's book *Putin versus Putin*, arguing that the Russian Mussolini had "attempted to balance two opposing sides of his political nature: one side is a liberal democrat who seeks to adopt Western-style reforms in Russia and maintain good relations

with the United States and Europe, and the other is a Russian patriot who wishes to preserve Russia's traditions and reassert her role as one of the great powers of the world. According to Dugin, this balancing act cannot go on if Putin wishes to enjoy continuing popular support among the Russian people. Putin must act to preserve Russia's unique identity and sovereignty in the face of increasing challenges, both from Russian liberals at home and from foreign powers."

If so, Dugin must have been glad to see the fascistic side of Putin's "political nature" coming increasingly to the fore. And while it remains



Poster for the 2013 Generation Identity conference



Jason Reza Jorjani, part-Iranian US academic and psychokinesis fan due to speak at GI 2016

difficult to discern an easy path for GI to turn itself into a political movement, its cadres can operate within broader and increasingly successful parties such as Marine Le Pen's *Front National*, to Moscow's benefit. Most disturbing would be if Willinger's call for street action leads a few intelligent and ideologically committed Nazis to form cells under the cover of lumpen anti-Muslim bigots. If funded, trained and directed by governments seeking to disrupt Western societies, these could form a truly dangerous spearhead for a movement that has for decades (as *Searchlight* has shown) been at war with society.