Right Outside: Right-Wing Extremism in Europe today

6th – 8th February 2009

Right-Wing Extremism in Europe today

6.–8. Februar 2009

13. Karlsruher Gespräche

Sponsored by Sparda-Bank – Partner der Kultur
Rightist extremists can be found in almost all European societies. Over the past years, they have built up international networks – be it as a political party, as a social movement or sub-cultural milieu. The visible increase of racism and xenophobia in some countries shows that right-wing extremism is not solely a German problem. Rightist extremist tendencies and delegates even find their way into European Parliaments, which could go so far as to lead to a defamation on the institutional level of efforts for integration and the concept of a multicultural society. It is this topic of today’s globalized right-wing extremism that the 13th Karlsruhe Dialogues will address.

The ideology, the pragmatics and the demeanour of rightist extremists are using an increasingly professional approach. More and more they are infiltrating social areas that used to be the domains of leftists – such as criticism of capitalism and globalisation. Furthermore, through the expansion and differentiation of a rightist extremist subculture, young people with a rightist extremist orientation are connected via networks. They identify with each other over codes, fashion styles and music, and are increasingly violence-prone. But there is also the ‘extremism of the centre’ – tendencies of intolerance at the centre of society. These tendencies provide the sounding board for the expansion of extremist worldviews.

At the Karlsruhe Dialogues, scientists from various specialized fields will discuss with each other as well as with practitioners, and contemporary witnesses will bring in their personal experiences. The focus will be on topics such as right-wing extremism as a challenge for Europe, European networks of rightist movements, their various shapes and forms in EU countries, causes of and measures against right-wing extremism, recruiting methods and creeping right-wing demagogic processes.

How does the state uncover right-wing extremists, and which democratic freedoms have to be conceded to them? How can a tolerant mindset, appreciation of intercultural relations and contentment with democracy be mediated? What roles do the media and the internet play, and how does a rightist extremist sub- or youth culture form?

As usual, the analytical discourse will be accompanied by cultural activities that will bring in further aspects from the artistic view.

The ZAK is glad to have found a “partner of culture” with the Sparda-Bank Baden-Württemberg eG. Once again, the bank and the city of Karlsruhe support the Karlsruhe Dialogues financially. You can attend many events within the Karlsruhe Dialogues without an entrance fee. We’d be happy to welcome you!
### Music programme

<table>
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<tr>
<th><strong>Recht harmonisch. Das vertonte Grundgesetz</strong></th>
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<td>Thomas Bierling, composition and piano</td>
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<tr>
<td>Eva Weis, choreography and voice</td>
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<td>Ekkehard Rössle, saxophone</td>
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“Human dignity is inviolable.” There’s much discussion about the dignity of man and basic rights – in spoken words and written texts. Now the music will get its voice: excerpts from the jazzy-vanguard musical version of the Constitution will resound (*The Harmonious Right. The Basic Law Set to Music*). The interpretation of the text is of particular significance – in a musical and performative manner. Each of the 19 articles is distinguished by its own tune and musical language, ranging from expressive recitation and reminiscence of classical and jazz singing techniques to onomatopoetic and dadaistic vocal artistry. The parts composed in detail will then be spontaneously used in form of a collective improvisation in the course of the performance – such that the principles of democracy and equal rights can also be found in the composition.

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### Opening reception of the 13th Karlsruhe Dialogues

**Sparda**
Event-Center, Baumeisterstraße 21

**7:30 p.m.  Welcome addresses**

Thomas Renner
*Chairman of the Sparda-Bank Baden-Württemberg eG*

Heinz Fenrich
*Lord Mayor of the city of Karlsruhe*

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**Prof. Dr. Horst Hippler**

*President of the Universität Karlsruhe (TH), Board member of the Forschungszentrum Karlsruhe GmbH*

**Introduction**

Prof. Dr. Caroline Y. Robertson-von Trotha
*Director of the Centre for Cultural and General Studies*

**Opening speech**

**Right-Wing Extremism in Europe:**

**Social Developments and Misanthropic Mindsets**

Prof. Dr. Wilhelm Heitmeyer
*Professor of Socialisation and Director of the Institute for interdisciplinary Research on Conflict and Violence, Bielefeld University*

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**Reception**

*No entrance fee*

*Please register.*
13th Karlsruhe Dialogues: Symposium

Saturday, 7th February 2009

9:30 a.m. Welcome addresses
Bernd Bechtold
President of the Chamber of Commerce and Industry Karlsruhe
Prof. Dr. Caroline Y. Robertson-von Trotha
Director of the Centre for Cultural and General Studies

Varieties of Right-Wing Extremism in Europe
Prof. Dr. David Art (USA/Italy)
Department of Political Science, Tufts University Medford/Massachusetts, Max Weber Fellow at the European University Institute, Florence

History as Propaganda. Strategies of Commemoration within German Right-Wing Extremism
Dr. Michael Kohlstruck
Head of the working group Youth Violence and Right-Wing Extremism, Center for Research on Antisemitism, Technical University of Berlin

Modern Right-Wing Extremism: A Challenge for Prevention and Political Education
Dr. Rudolf van Hüllen
Political scientist, lecturer and freelance researcher of extremism, former Head of Division at the Federal Office for the Protection of the Constitution, Cologne

Right-Wing Extremism and the Centre of Society
Prof. Dr. Birgit Rommelspacher
Professor for Psychology (focus on interculturalism and gender), Alice Salomon University of Applied Sciences, Berlin

The Radical Right in Europe: Structure, Trends und Counter Strategies
Britta Schellenberg M.A.
Centre for Applied Policy Research (C.A.P), Ludwig Maximilians University Munich

12:30 p.m. Lunch break

1:30 p.m. Extreme Right Voting in Belgium and Some Limited International Comparisons
Prof. Dr. Marc Swyngedouw (Belgium/France)
Chairman of the Centre for Sociological Research (CeSO) and Director of the Institute of Social and Political Opinion Research (ISPO), University of Leuven, Visiting Professor at Sciences Po Lille, France

The 'Front National'. An International Comparison
Prof. Dr. Jean-Yves Camus (France)
Professor for Political Science, Institute for Jewish Studies Elie Wiesel and Institute for International and Strategic Relations (IRIS), Paris

The ‘British National Party’: Change and Continuity on the British Extreme Right
Dr. Matthew Goodwin (Great Britain)
Institute for Political and Economic Governance (IPEG), University of Manchester

Xenophobia and Radical Right-Wing Populism: A Vicious Circle?
Prof. Dr. Jens Rydgren (Sweden)
Department of Sociology, Stockholm University

Between (Anti-)Sexism and Racial Thinking. Women and Images of Women in the Right-Wing Extremist Scene
Dr. Renate Bitzan
Social scientist and co-founder of the research network Women and Right-Wing Extremism

“I want to feel at ease in my home“. Everyday Life of Families of Right-Wing Youths
Dr. Reiner Becker
Institute for Educational Science, Philipps University Marburg

Right-Wing Extremism as a World of Experience. Misanthropy with Entertainment Value
Dr. Thomas Pfeiffer
Department for the Protection of the Constitution at the Ministry of the Interior North Rhine-Westphalia, Assistant Lecturer for Political Science, Ruhr University Bochum

Attack from the Right-Wing: How the NPD and Comrades Use Football as a Strategic Tool
Ronny Blaschke M.A.
Freelance sportswriter, Berlin

No entrance fee
Rightist extremist organisations take advantage of various means of communication provided, especially, by the internet. The consequence is a rapid and global dissemination of these ideologies, as the documentary White terror, awarded the Zurich Film Prize in 2005, shows. The documentation Die Populisten-Maschine also features the use of new media as a means for propaganda. In this film, representatives from the populism scene and experts provide an insight into the courses of action of this movement. The film Leroy räumt auf, on the other hand, is about an Afro-German boy in Berlin, which was awarded first place as best short film in 2006. Leroy is torn between his national and ethnic identity and grapples with his being German and with xenophobia. Bernau liegt am Meer is about a young man from this small town in Brandenburg who has turned his back on the rightist extremist scene. The documentary was already featured at the Berlin International Film Festival in 2003, and it shows how right-wing extremism can be alluring for teenagers. The short film Mehmet explores the subject in a humorous and ironic manner: centre point is the Turkish dog Mehmet. He lives with German skinheads, whose actions parody the xenophobic milieu.
permeation of past and future, of dreams and promises. This epistolary novel from the 18th century illustrates the disappointment that can accrue from the love and expectations of one’s homeland. With the musical version of Wilhelm Müller’s texts, Franz Schubert created a “cycle of horrible songs”: \textit{Die Winterreise}. Some of the romantic lieder became popular folksongs, first of all \textit{Der Lindenbaum (Am Brunnen vor dem Tore)} which are said to help bring about a sense of identity. These two works are set in contrast to Elfriede Jelinek’s provocative monologue \textit{Wolken.Heim} (1988) – a linguistic work of art in verse prose about the ‘German spirit.’ Idealistic philosophy and German poetry are the source of this web of quotations: a collage of texts from Hölderlin, Heidegger, Fichte, Kleist, and letters of the Red Army Faction comes about. The staged language reinforces the impression that the meaning is distorted, or even perverted. The monologue of identity and home centres around the exclusion of the other, of the strange. We will hear the word “we” 362 times!

Entrance fee: € 8.–/10,–

Sunday, 8th February 2009

\textbf{Morning panel discussion}

\begin{itemize}
  \item Sparda Event-Center, Baumeisterstraße 21
  \item 11:00 p.m. \textbf{Right-Wing Extremism: Easy to get in, hard to get out?}
  \item Panel discussion with international speakers
  \item Introductory presentation: Cornelia Schmalz-Jacobsen
  \textit{Former member of the Bundestag and Delegate for Foreign Nationals of the Federal Government, vice chairwoman of Gegen Vergessen – Für Demokratie e.V., chair of Humanity in Action Germany}
  \item Moderation: Prof. Axel Buchholz
  \textit{Honorary professor for radio journalism, Johannes Gutenberg University Mainz, former editor in chief at the radio station of the Saarland Broadcasting Corporation}
  \item Ibraimo Alberto (Mozambique/Germany)
  \textit{Representative and delegate for foreign nationals of the city of Schwedt/Oder, social worker, engaged in networks against right-wing extremism, Award Ambassador for Democracy and Tolerance 2008}
\end{itemize}

\begin{itemize}
  \item Jörg Fischer-Aharon
  \textit{Ex neo-Nazi, freelance journalist and education officer on the subject of right-wing extremism, deputy chairman and executive director of the haKadima – Bildungswerk für Demokratie und Kultur e.V. Berlin}
  \item Alev Korun M.A. (Austria) (t.b.c.)
  \textit{Member of the Austrian National Council for the Green Party, spokeswoman for Integration, Migration and Human Rights, founder member of the European Network Against Racism (ENAR)}
  \item Dr. Rafal Pankowski (Poland)
  \textit{Deputy editor of the magazine and member of Never again, expert for extremism at the Collegium Civitas Warsaw}
  \item Bernd Wagner
  \textit{Managing director of the ZDK – Society for a Democratic Culture, co-founder of EXIT Germany, ret. Detective Chief Superintendent}
\end{itemize}

\textbf{Reception}

\textit{No entrance fee}

\textbf{Theatre/Reading}

\begin{itemize}
  \item INSEL (Badisches Staatstheater Karlsruhe), Karlstraße 49 b
  \item 8:00 p.m. \textbf{So kam ich unter die Deutschen} (premiere)
  \item Friedrich Hölderlin: Hyperion
  \item Franz Schubert: Die Winterreise
  \item Elfriede Jelinek: Wolken.Heim
  \item with Klaus Schneider (voice), Stefan Veselka (piano) and members of the actors ensemble of the Badisches Staatstheater
\end{itemize}

The theatre’s production takes a comprehensive and profound approach to the topic of the \textit{13th Karlsruhe Dialogues}, asking about who ‘we’ are and where ‘we’ position ourselves. An installation of works by three very different authors traces the national climate and outlook of ‘the Germans’. The linguistic sonority and the wealth of emotion in Friedrich Hölderlin’s \textit{Hyperion} prepare the mood for the permeation of past and future, of dreams and promises. This epistolary novel from the 18th century illustrates the disappointment that can accrue from the love and expectations of one’s homeland. With the musical version of Wilhelm Müller’s texts, Franz Schubert created a “cycle of horrible songs”: \textit{Die Winterreise}. Some of the romantic lieder became popular folksongs, first of all \textit{Der Lindenbaum (Am Brunnen vor dem Tore)}, which are said to help bring about a sense of identity. These two works are set in contrast to Elfriede Jelinek’s provocative monologue \textit{Wolken.Heim} (1988) – a linguistic work of art in verse prose about the ‘German spirit.’ Idealistic philosophy and German poetry are the source of this web of quotations: a collage of texts from Hölderlin, Heidegger, Fichte, Kleist, and letters of the Red Army Faction comes about. The staged language reinforces the impression that the meaning is distorted, or even perverted. The monologue of identity and home centres around the exclusion of the other, of the strange. We will hear the word “we” 362 times!

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Europe must rise to the challenge and show its colours against right-wing extremism. The Karlsruhe Dialogues provide a forum for discussion. The ZAK is much obliged to all co-organizers and sponsors for their outstanding support. Thank you!