

14 European Far-Right Music and Its Enemies

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I'm patriotic, I'm racialistic,
My views are clear and so simplistic

(English Rose, 2007b)

In a self-conducted interview that appeared in his manifesto, Norwegian would-be right-wing terrorist and killer Anders Behring Breivik, under the pen name Andrew Berwick, argued that specific music helps sustain 'high morale and motivation' of 'self-financed and self-indoctrinated single individual attack cells' (2011, p. 856). He went on to list several 'motivational music tracks' he particularly liked. Breivik described one of these tracks, 'Lux Æterna', by Clint Mansell, which was featured in the trailer for Peter Jackson's *The Lord of the Rings: The Two Towers*, as 'very inspiring' and as invoking 'a type of passionate rage within you' (2011, p. 858). On 22 July 2011, 'Lux Æterna' supposedly played in his iPod while he was killing members of the Workers' Youth League of the Norwegian Labour Party on the island of Utøya (Gysin, Sears and Greenhill, 2011). Another artist favoured by Breivik in his manifesto is Saga, 'a courageous, Swedish, female nationalist-oriented musician who creates pop-music with patriotic texts' (2011, p. 856).

Saga soared to the heights of right-wing fame in 2000, when she released three volumes of *My Tribute to Skrewdriver* on the Swedish right-wing label Midgård Records (2000a). Her three-volume album featured cover versions of Skrewdriver, a model White Power band, whose late leader, Ian Stuart Donaldson, founded the Blood & Honour (B&H) music promotion network in 1987. Saga became so popular within the neo-Nazi scene that in November 2009 she was invited to perform at the B&H Remembrance Day Gig. On 27 July 2011, presumably disturbed by the Norwegian terrorist's rapturous remarks, Saga issued an official statement that condemned 'the most vile and criminal acts in recent history' (2011). She added: 'My music is conceived to be a positive step towards celebrating our identity and bringing about positive cultural and political change' (2011). Since most of

Saga's music is cover versions of Skrewdriver's songs, the nature of 'positive cultural and political change' is obvious:

Strikeforce, white survival, Strikeforce, yeah,
Strikeforce, kill all rivals, Strikeforce, into the devil's lair
(Skrewdriver, 1987a; cf. Saga, 2000b).

Or:

Our enemies are capitalists, communists as well,
Both these forms of evil are raining our death-knell.
(Skrewdriver, 1987b; cf. Saga 2000c).

Despite these lyrics, the enemies of White Power movement are not only capitalists and communists. As will be shown in this chapter, it is possible to distinguish two main objects of demonization in White Power music: (1) specific 'Other' communities, and (2) the 'System'. European national contexts offer unique variations, but general patterns do emerge among them. Before I discuss the theme of the Enemy articulated through White Power music, I will briefly analyse the relationships which exist between far-right music scenes and right-wing groups and organisations and describe the emergence of White Power music scenes in Europe.

'WE'VE GOT THE MUSIC, WE'VE GOT THE BANDS'

The far-right music scene is part and parcel of the far-right sociopolitical movement. Here, movement is considered in its broader sense as 'a poorly delimited, heterogeneous, loosely co-ordinated and hence "polycratic" current of ideas and values' (Griffin, 2003, p. 33). The hallmark of a polycratic movement is 'a minimum of central co-ordination or formally shared objectives, and it will tend to spawn numerous internal factions, sub-currents, conflicts and "dialects" of the central vision' (Griffin, 2003, pp. 33–34). At the same time, a far-right polycratic movement contains but is not limited to a total of much more distinct and centralised monocratic movements. A minimal shared objective of this far-right polycratic movement is to preserve, actualise or revive an ethnically or culturally homogeneous society. Monocratic movements are more specific in their ideology, agenda and practices. For example, in Britain, the far-right polycratic movement consists essentially of such monocratic groups as the party-political British National Party, the National Front, the British People's Party and the England First Party; the less centralised English Defence League and New Right/National Anarchist groups; regional divisions of Blood & Honour; and dozens of small, often violent and terror-oriented extreme-right groupuscules like the Racial Volunteer Force and the British Freedom Fighters. Each of these groups and organisations has more or less its own separate clear agenda; together, though, they constitute a British far-right polycratic movement.

In its turn, the far-right music scene is understood as ‘the elements of a [far-right] social movement’s culture that are explicitly organised around music and which participants regard as important for supporting movement ideals and activist identities’ (Futrell, Simi and Gottschalk, 2006, p. 276). However, although every component of far-right polycratic movement has its own culture and although it is possible to speak of a general far-right culture, music scenes are attributes of only a limited part of a broad far-right movement on either a national or a European level.

In most instances, new European radical right-wing political parties, which have been trying to present themselves as moderate, mature and respectable political forces, do not generate or produce music scenes.¹ Rather—as they are aware of the powerful role of music in promoting *any* socio-political ideas—they are trying to appropriate or penetrate other music scenes. For example, the Danish People’s Party (DPP) played ABBA’s hit ‘Mamma Mia’ at their rallies and meetings. In a version of this song performed by the youth wing of the DPP, the lyrics were changed to ‘Mamma Pia’ in honour of the party’s leader Pia Kjærsgaard. After ABBA threatened to sue the party for using their song for political purposes, the DPP stopped using the song, and no legal action was taken (BBC News, 2010). Right-wing populists also try to invite Folk, Rock and Pop musicians to play at their political events. However, since right-wing populism is considered *mauvais ton* in mainstream public opinion in European democracies, musicians rarely cooperate with the party-political far right for fear of losing their mainstream or nonpolitical audience. More often, the radical right criticises individual artists, particular music scenes and genres for ‘sins’ like not singing in their native languages, for not producing ‘right music’ and even for racism. David Rachline, former national coordinator of the youth wing of the French National Front, argued that Hip-Hop promoted anti-French racism, miscegenation and cosmopolitanism (Rachline, 2010), while the official policy of the French National Front states that ‘rap is not an expression of music’ (cited in Brown D., 2004, p. 199). Hip-Hop music, which derives its roots from African American culture, is a frequent target of the far right’s criticism. For example, the radical right-wing All-Ukrainian Union ‘Freedom’ called for a ban of a concert of the American ‘racist band’ Onyx in Ukraine and demanded the deportation of the band from the country (Svoboda, 2010; for more on this party see Shekhovtsov 2011a).

In contrast to the party-political radical right, the European New Right movement, which strives to diffuse a system of liberal-democratic values through ‘a metapolitical strategy, in other words a strategy situated outside political institutions and instead within the area of language and objectives’ (Faye, 1982/3, p. 10; for more on the European New Right see Bar-On, 2007), does have its own cultural manifestation in the domain of sound which is ‘metapolitical fascist’, or *apoliteic*, music (Shekhovtsov, 2009; see also François, 2006; Turner-Graham, 2010). For example, the prolific British New Right author Troy Southgate contributes vocals to such *apoliteic* bands as H.E.R.R. and Seelenlicht. The Russian Neo-Eurasianist author

Aleksandr Dugin occasionally produces his own music under the alias Hans Zivers, while the French New Right author Thierry Jolif is known in the musical sphere as Lonsai Maïkov.

At the same time, extreme-right political parties and groups have produced their own music scene, which is known as White Power music, or White Noise (Shekhovtsov and Jackson, 2012; Futrell, Simi and Gottschalk, 2006; T. S. Brown, 2004). The other name for this type of music, generally used within the scene itself, is the abbreviation RAC, which stands for 'Rock against Communism'. The RAC movement originated in Britain in 1978 with two Leeds-based bands, the Ventz and the Dentists (Anon., 1978a, pp. 6–7; Anon., 1978b, p. 10). The movement was originally promoted by the British National Front-affiliated periodical *British News*, edited by Edmund Morrison, and, from October 1978 on, *British News* regularly published a feature titled 'RAC'. The same year, Morrison launched a short-lived newsletter, *Punk Front*, which further pushed the RAC agenda (Morrison, n.d.). From 1979 onward, the RAC ideas were taken up by the main publication of the Young Nation Front, *Bulldog*, edited by Joe Pearce (Anon., 1979, p. 3).

It was not, however, until the early 1980s that the far-right musical scene began to flourish. The year 1983 was momentous for the British White Power music scene: the National Front's Joe Pearce and Patrick Harrington launched the White Noise Records label, which released the 7-inch single 'White Power' by Skrewdriver (Skrewdriver, 1983).

As Lowles and Silver trenchantly noted, the White Power music scene 'became one of Britain's most shameful exports' (1998, p. 7). In 1984, the West German label Rock-O-Rama Records started releasing German and British White Power music, most notably by Böhse Onkelz and Skrewdriver. In 1985, Skrewdriver played in Stockholm—this was the first White Power music gig in Sweden ever—and 'since then, groups and concerts have proliferated' in Sweden (Löow, 1998, p. 154).² Two years later, the Swedish racist organisation Keep Sweden Swedish sponsored the release of the first EP of Ultima Thule, arguably the most infamous far-right band in the country, which has released more than 15 albums to date.

During the 1980s, White Power music rapidly spread all over Europe. The French far-right music label Rebelles Européens was set up in 1987 by Bodilis Gael, who was active in the youth wing of the French National Front, Third Way, and, afterwards, the French and European Nationalist Party (Lebourg, 2004). Socialist Europe was not left behind, either. At the end of the 1980s, sympathisers of the National Rebirth of Poland party formed the far-right band Legion, which helped the organisation recruit skinheads for the political cause (Pankowski, 1998). By the mid-1990s, the far-right scene appeared in Russia, where the band Russkoe Getto, later renamed Kolovrat, was formed and rapidly reached cult status amongst Russian neo-Nazis.

The 1990s were undoubtedly the heyday of the White Power music scene in Europe. The B&H promotion network, which had by then become international, played a crucial role in the rise of the scene, which also became

increasingly profitable. B&H, which was taken over by the neo-Nazi organisation Combat 18 following Ian Stuart Donaldson's death in a car crash in 1993, idolised the late Skrewdriver leader, and, as a result, he 'became bigger in death than in life' (Lowles, 1998, p. 30). Combat 18 launched ISD Records ('ISD' is an acronym for Ian Stuart Donaldson), while Ian Stuart memorial concerts became a nexus for the European White Power scene. As argued on the B&H website:

Every year British and foreign bands take the stage at this event and play together in a vision of brotherhood and unity that Ian Stuart started.

With its massive success and status in the musical resistance networks calendar, nations from all over the world now copy the I.S.D. [memorial concerts] in their own lands and pay homage to the man who opened the worlds [sic] eyes through music. . . . (Anon., n.d.)

The scene has grown weaker in the first decade of the new millennium, but this weakness is relative, and the scene is still very strong in 'post-Socialist' Europe. Because of the opposition of anti-fascists, B&H is not able to advertise music events publicly in Britain and many other Western European countries, whereas, for example, in Russia, White Power bands are allowed to perform not only in clubs but in central squares, as well. For example, in 2009, the far-right organisation Russian Image arranged an open-air gig for its 'official voice', Hook Sprava and Kolovrat, at Moscow's Bolotnaya Square (Kozhevnikova, 2010). However, music-related strategies of the extreme right in some West European countries have become more sophisticated. One of the notable examples of the far right's advanced strategies is a Schoolyard-CD project devised by the National Democratic Party of Germany in 2004. The Schoolyard-CD project involves distribution of free CDs with White Power music targeting young people, mostly schoolchildren, outside the extreme-right milieu. The year the project started, the National Democrats, with the help of far-right bands and distributors, allegedly produced about 200,000 CDs that also contained information on how to contact German extreme-right organisations (Pfeiffer, 2009, pp. 292–293).

As seen from this brief analysis, far-right music constitutes an integral part of far-right movement. Bands and artists involved in the White Power music scene usually cooperate with established or emerging extreme-right organisations, while their releases and concerts represent important tools of recruitment, fund-raising and propaganda. It is often the case that White Power music scenes, and especially concerts and music Internet forums, act as the only conduits between otherwise disengaged right-wingers in European countries. Music scenes in general and the White Power music scene in particular create a powerful sense of community and belonging. As Eyerman argued, this music 'provides collective experience—not exactly courage, but a sense of belonging to something greater than the individual, instilling a sort of strength' (2002, p. 452).

Thus, far-right music acts not only as a point of entry into a far-right sociopolitical movement but also helps keep this movement together. The *Blood & Honour Field Manual* reads:

You meet in the local pub, café or beer joint—or even in your home; drink a little, talk a lot . . . , listen to [White Power] music and generally have a good time. That’s propaganda too. Many have been drawn to the Movement simply through a need of a social life, tight comradeship and a common purpose in life. Of course, such basic events must be followed up by thorough education and more serious activism, but don’t let go of the social bit. It is needed—both to keep people with us and to keep spirits high. Fellowship is the essential platform of all revolutionary forces. (Hammer, n.d.)

However, defining a community and creating a sense of belonging at the same time imply defining the enemies of this community: the White Power music scene employs various strategies ‘to construct a “we-group” through particular acts of reference that simultaneously imply a distancing from the “other”’ (Colombo and Senatore, 2005, p. 59). In case of far-right movement in general and the White Power music scene in particular, the ‘Other’ is an outright Enemy. Violence against the Enemy is glorified, while historical or contemporary organisations or individuals associated with the destruction of the Enemy are given ample praise.

GLORIFICATION AND CONDEMNATION

At the height of its infamy, during the 1990s, the White Power music scene attracted attention of the authorities across Western Europe: gigs were cancelled, records banned, bands and individuals persecuted. Several major right-wing labels were closed down or seriously abated. German Rock-O-Rama Records ceased to exist after a police raid in 1994, while the business of the Swedish company Ragnarock Records was seriously damaged after the police found two fully loaded automatic guns and hand grenades at the label’s office in 1998. In Britain, one of the most virulent neo-Nazi CDs, *Barbecue in Rostock*, recorded by No Remorse and released on ISD Records, became the first record successfully prosecuted for offensive lyrics.³ In Finland, Marko Järvinen was imprisoned for producing the *Kriegsberichter* video magazine released by the Danish label NS88 and the Finnish Ainaskin (Barber-Kersovan, 2003, p. 197). As a result, as Lööw argued,

the [White Power] music industry has been forced to adopt more discreet marketing methods as well as to tone down the ‘messages’ put out by their groups. Song writers have, to some extent, abandoned their openly racist and anti-semitic language in favour of a coded message. (2001, p. 56)

In Germany, at the same time, Barber-Kersovan observed two opposing tendencies: 'the texts became less openly fascistic in order to avoid repression', but a further radicalisation was also evident (2003, p. 196). However, the forced moderation course was more observable in Western than in Eastern Europe. Moreover, the rise of non-European, principally US-based,⁴ White Power music labels, as well as the worldwide spread of the Internet, contributed to the growth of the shadow economy of the scene, so explicitly racist lyrics and imagery ceased to be a problem. No Remorse's *Barbecue in Rostock* (released in 1996) may still be seen as the most spiteful right-wing album in the Anglophone world, but only because it cannot be worse: 10 out of 11 songs featured on the album explicitly incite violence against blacks, Pakistanis, Jews, Turks, communists, antifascists, gay people, and even rival White Power musicians.

Cotter argues that the message of White Power music fits into the ideology of contemporary extreme right-wing groups and organisations and includes 'hatred toward outgroups, antisemitic conspiracy theories, chauvinistic nationalism and a disregard for conventional political behavior' (1999, p. 122). Corte and Edwards add another ideological dimension, namely the glorification of the 'White race', to which Saga referred in her quoted statement. They distinguish five core themes of White Power music: (1) 'pride in belonging to an embattled White ethnicity', (2) promotion of 'white supremacy and racist views toward non-whites and immigrants', (3) condemnation of 'homosexuals, ethnic minorities, "multiracialism", interracial marriage and . . . "race-mixing"', (4) denouncement of Jews and "Zionist Occupation Government" (ZOG), and (5) 'opposition to communism, socialism and any other leftist, progressive or liberal political programs' (2008, p. 8). While this observation is certainly true, points 2–4 can be largely merged into one core theme: the negative or violent attitude towards the 'Other'. In his analysis of the lyrics of the German White Power bands, Flad highlighted three main themes: (1) objects of love (e.g. Germany, *Volk*), heroes (e.g. Ian Stuart Donaldson, Rudolf Hess, Viking and Norse gods), and (3) evil forces (e.g. foreigners, the left, punks, police) (2002). Flad's conclusions are also true for the White Power music scene in general. It should also be noted here that, ideologically, the 'heroes' theme lies between the other two themes: the 'heroes' are considered to be fighters *for* the 'objects of love' and *against* the 'evil forces'.

The 'evil forces' represented in White Power music are diverse. First of all, these are the 'Others', which include particular ethnic, religious and social groups believed to pose an imminent threat to the 'White race'. For the far-right movement in general, people of non-White background are irredeemable, as it is exactly their unchangeable ethnic background that makes them 'evil'. Religious identity is often considered irredeemable, too. White Power music demonises drug users and homosexuals, as well, even if they are of 'White' origin, since they are thought to defile and to not contribute to the growth of the 'White race'. The 14 words of the late US

right-wing terrorist David Lane, ‘We must secure the existence of our people and a future for White Children’, are a guiding star of this kind of logic. The second kind of ‘evil forces’ are ‘traitors of the White Race’. These are people of ‘White’ origin who are believed to have betrayed their roots by either actively promoting internationalist/multiculturalist ideas or being engaged in ideologically-motivated resistance to ultra-nationalism. To this category, the far right assigns left-wingers, liberals, progressive academics, journalists, anti-fascists, and the like.

Another major enemy is the ‘System’. This is a complex, depersonalised structure that incorporates political and legal systems, education, banking, transnational corporations, and mass media. The ‘System’—this concept is a clear conspiracy theory—deliberately seeks to poison, corrupt, impoverish and ultimately destroy the ‘White race’. Thus, it is natural that the ‘System’ is often synonymous with ZOG, or Zionist Occupation Government, which implies that governments are controlled by Zionists or ‘World Jewry’. Although this was originally introduced in 1976 by a US neo-Nazi, Eric Thomson, and received wider dissemination in 1984 through a *New York Times* article on the right-wing terrorist group The Order, the ZOG concept became extremely popular among the US neo-Nazis in 1990s and quickly travelled across the Atlantic. Sometimes the ‘System’ is also synonymous with the state, meaning a government and its ‘repressive apparatus’. White Power bands and artists attack this enemy either in its entirety or in part. Police forces, which are often identified with the ‘repressive apparatus’ of the ‘System’, are the most common target, and the abbreviation ‘A.C.A.B.’, which stands for ‘All cops are bastards’, is often used for song titles.⁵

It is important to highlight that the theme of the Enemy in White Power music generally reflects the neo-Nazi ideology that draws both on historical Nazism and postwar right-wing extremism. The old adversaries of Nazism are kept intact; in particular, these are Jews, Roma people, homosexuals and ideological enemies like left-wingers and liberals, as well as elements of the ‘System’ such as transnational corporations and banks. The new enemies can be highly contextualised, that is, conditioned by the alleged problems in a given society, or generalised to the European context. Thus, Pakistanis are mostly demonised by White Power bands and musicians in Britain, Turks in Germany, Arabs in France, and so on.⁶ At the same time, blacks, unnamed immigrants from ‘third world countries’, anti-fascists, police and other state institutions are vilified by White Power musicians across the whole of Europe. It is easy to detect that White Power music, being part of the far-right movement, naturally shares the perceived Enemy with extreme-right organisations.

Likewise, White Power bands derive their lyrical inspiration from the same sources used by other segments of the European extreme right. In addition to the conspiracy and Nazi ‘classics’ such as *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion*, Adolf Hitler’s *Mein Kampf* and Alfred Rosenberg’s *The Myth of the Twentieth Century*, far-right musicians draw on the ideas that

come from a vast array of books, brochures, essays, websites, other musical production and online and offline videos that—in terms of ideology—range from blatant ‘White racism’ and neo-Nazi propaganda to historical revisionism (especially Holocaust denial) and Islamophobia. Doubtlessly, it would be inaccurate to assert that all the members of White Power bands actually *read* or *watch* these sources. Despite the immensity of this storehouse of hate and prejudice, unique ideas are few and far between. They are common memes within far-right culture, while its members, including White Power musicians, may well be not aware of the original sources of these ideas. Moreover, many members of the extreme-right movement get infected with these memes exactly through White Power music even before they are indoctrinated either by the literary and visual sources mentioned or by representatives of extreme-right groups and organizations.

In the next section of this chapter, I will discuss the main types of the Enemy articulated through White Power music.

‘EUROPE IS FOR WHITES’

In 2004, a German court banned Nordfront’s debut album *Werft Sie raus!* (Throw them out!).⁷ The eponymous song from the album released by Püh-ses Liste⁸ particularly alarmed the Federal Office for the Protection of the Constitution, which collects and analyses information concerning ‘efforts directed against the free democratic basic order’ or ‘against the existence and the security of the Federation or one of its States’ (Bundesamt für Verfassungsschutz, n.d.). The song features the following lyrics:

Enemies surround, encroach and cram the country . . . , so we have begun
our struggle.
Against all those who exploit the country and defile the German honour.
(Nordfront, 2000)⁹

The album was banned with reference to Section 130 of the Criminal Code of Germany, which imposes criminal liability on those who ‘incite hatred against segments of the population or a national, racial or religious group’ (Bundesministerium der Justiz, 2008, p. 114). This case is interesting, because Nordfront did not specify what ‘enemies’ they referred to. Earlier in the song, they did mention ‘*Autonome, Zecken, die roten Ratten*’ (literally: autonomists, ticks and red rats; these may mean autonomous anarchists, antifascists and left-wingers), but this is clearly a coded message. It is possible to identify ‘those who exploit the country’ with immigrants coming to Germany (‘outer enemies’), while those who ‘defile the German honour’ may be identified with ‘traitors of the White race’, that is, left-wingers (‘inner enemies’). Thus, in the latter case, Nordfront revives an old stab-in-the-back myth (*Dolchstoßlegende*).

However, many other German bands are less ambiguous in their lyrics. Landser, which was arguably the most infamous German neo-Nazi band, became the first music group that was recognised as a criminal organisation under Section 129 of the Criminal Code. A Berlin court found the musicians of Landser guilty of production and distribution of CDs with criminal content, dissemination of propaganda of unconstitutional organisations and denigration of the state and its symbols (Niedersächsisches Ministerium für Inneres, Sport und Integration, 2007, p. 44). The court sentenced the band's lead singer, Michael Regener, to 40 months in prison (Fleishman, 2003). The lyrics of Landser's songs and the album covers were the focus of criminal prosecution. For example, their scoffing 'Afrika Lied' (Africa Song) viciously depicted the repatriation of black people from Germany to Africa by sea and their suffering on boats. The song ended with the following words:

Africa is for apes, Europe is for Whites,
Shove the apes in a toilet and wash them down like shit. (Landser, 1995)

The cover of Landser's *Ran an den Feind* (Attack the Enemy) featured the image of a white fist crushing the grotesque figures of the 'evil forces': black people, Jews, Vietnamese, punks and anarchists. The back cover carried a statement in English: 'No music, just politics'. This statement, ironically, confirmed that Landser was a political organisation rather than simply a rock band.

Before Michael Regener was sent to prison, he had formed another band, Die Lunikoff Verschwörung, and had its debut album studied by lawyers with respect to possible criminal contents. Nevertheless, the album was indexed by the Federal Department for Media Harmful to Young People.¹⁰

German legal provisions against White Power bands are the harshest in Europe. Thus, German bands sometimes try to make their lyrics 'less guilty' before the law. For example, in its 'Schwarze Division' (Black Division), Stahlgewitter¹¹ tells about a 'Turkish city on German soil' populated by 'millions of strangers', and, in the refrain, the singer suggests dispatching a 'black division' to Kreuzberg (1998). Nowhere is Kreuzberg explicitly identified with the 'Turkish city', while Kreuzberg itself is not and never has been a city or a town. By giving this Berlin borough (known for its large immigrant population) city status, Stahlgewitter isolates it from the rest of the capital as something xenogenic and then calls for its destruction.

Because of the laws, many German right-wing bands are forced to release their records on US, Canadian, Scandinavian and Eastern European labels, in countries where the laws on hate speech either do not exist or are implemented less methodically than in Germany. In Finland, the Penal Code imposes criminal liability for threatening, defaming or insulting 'a certain race, a national, ethnic or religious group or a comparable group' (Suomen oikeusministeriö, n.d.). However, Mistreat, which is one of the oldest and most prolific Finnish White Power bands, produces self-released albums featuring Finnish and English songs condemning a long list of enemies—'black

monkeys’, ‘greedy Jews’, ‘third world immigrants’, ‘queers and faggots’, ‘commies’, ‘junkies’—unrestricted by the authorities. Mistreat also associates black people with sexual offenders, as in the song ‘Ei Armoa!’ (No Mercy!), which calls for the expulsion of ‘Pakis’ and ‘black rapists’ from Finland (Mistreat, 2002).

Russia’s judicial system is less liberal with regard to White Power bands. The Ministry of Justice of Russia maintains the Federal List of Extremist Materials, which, in particular, features names of banned songs by such Russian right-wing bands as Order, Zyklon B, Kolovrat and Bezumnye Usiliya (Ministerstvo yustitsii Rossiyskoy Federatsii, 2012).¹² It is worth noting that the Russian White Power scene—to a certain extent—differs from other such scenes in Europe in that it is strongly influenced by a ‘straight-edge’ ideology that, in particular, promotes absolute rejection of alcohol, tobacco and drugs. Sometimes, right-wing bands tend to racialize these ideas. In one song that discourages people from buying from non-Russians, Kolovrat claims that *khachi*¹³ sell drugs to Russian people, while in the song ‘Pryamaya liniya’ (Straight Edge) the band declares that ‘straight edge’ is ‘a weapon in the war for survival of the race’ and continues:

Let the blacks die out, let alcohol gnaw their liver with cirrhosis,
And let the nicotine noose strangle their bronchi and throats. (Kolovrat, 2002b)

Another Russian band, Iron Order, calls ‘straight edge’ a run-up for ‘inter-racial wars’ and ‘knife onslaught’ and insists that ‘alcohol interferes with the National Socialist deed’ (2009). However, some minor Russian White Power bands, for example, xTerror Wavex and Trezvy Reikh (Sober Reich), dissociate ‘straight edge’ and racism. For xTerror Wavex, the enemies are, first and foremost, drug dealers, ‘junkies’ and ‘drunks’. The band members also believe that immigrants are a consequence rather than a cause of the problems in Russia. For them, it would have been better ‘if the number of murdered migrant workers had amounted to the number of murdered politicians, human right activists, [and] corrupt bureaucrats’ (Anon., 2009). The utmost seriousness of Russian straight-edge White Power musicians is proved by the fact that two members of Trezvy Reikh were sentenced to eight and nine years, respectively, in a colony for beating and murdering two homeless Russian people.

An interesting case is European White Power bands’ relationship to other European nations. Landser was extremely critical of the Poles. In the song ‘Polacken Tango’ (Polish Tango), Regener sneered at ‘Polish louts screaming “White Power”’ and went on:

Oh, how I hate this shit nation
Since when do Poles belong to the Aryan race? (Landser, 1997)

Landser’s hatred towards the Poles is driven both by ‘Aryan racism’ and, as it becomes evident from the rest of the song, by territorial claims. Naturally,

no Polish right-wing band contributed to two volumes of *Tribute to Landser*. However, as Pankowski argues, since the late 1980s, there has been ‘a split between the openly [N]azi and the “national-Catholic” element’ within the far-right culture in Poland (1998, p. 66) and that neo-Nazi Polish bands sympathise with German National Socialism. In 1992, for example, an organisation named *Aryjski Front Przetrwania*, formed by several influential Polish bands, including *Konkwista 88* and *Honor*, arranged the Hitler Festival.

Another instance of the territorial claims articulated through White Power music can be found in the lyrics of the influential Hungarian band *Radical Hungary*:

We can speak again when all of Slovakia will be Hungary again . . .
Oh, you Slovak nobodies, you are shit like the Romanians. (*Radical Hungary*, 2009)¹⁴

The Netherlands’ most productive but now defunct band *Brigade M*, however, called to rise above the territorial issues, promoted a ‘European unity’ and declared ‘fraternisation through music’ the band’s mission:

Hungarians and Rumanians, Germans and Poles, know the history of
territory stolen,
Everything that binds us will never set us apart, and that is why Unity is
the very start. (*Brigade M*, 2005a)¹⁵

Indeed, animosity towards other European nations is uncommon in the European White Power scene, while Landser’s hatred for the Poles and *Radical Hungary*’s enmity towards the Slovaks and Romanians are exceptions, rather than the rule. Particularly interesting here is that sometimes right-wing bands do not harbour the enmity towards particular ethnic groups which is prevalent in the rest of the right-wing movement in their home countries. Thus, *Sokyra Peruna*, one of the most important Ukrainian White Power bands, gets along well with the Russians, and this is extraordinary for the Ukrainian far right, which generally sees Russia as the cause of all the troubles in Ukraine (Shekhovtsov, 2011a). *Sokyra Peruna* often plays gigs in Russia, sometimes sings in Russian and prefers to promote ‘Slavic unity’ and ‘European brotherhood’, rather than narrow Ukrainian ultra-nationalism.

‘Aryan racism’ is also inherent in the band’s lyrics, and, for *Sokyra Peruna*, the enemies are Jews, blacks and ‘race traitors’. The latter are, first and foremost, Hip-Hop fans. In ‘*Rapper*’, the band states:

You behave like a nigger, dress like a monkey, you will eat bananas and
climb on a palm.
And this is a White person?! This is just a disgrace, the Race War will start
with you. (*Sokyra Peruna*, 2004)

Brigade M conveys almost the same message with regard to Hip-Hop fans: 'Rich kids, wannabe niggers . . . they betray their own kind / So I hate, I hate, hate all them phoney, Karl Kani buying race traitors' (2005b).¹⁶

Jews, a common enemy for White Power bands across Europe, are usually endowed with an almost superhuman status, as they are believed to be ubiquitous and omnipotent. For the legendary British band Brutal Attack, in existence since the early 1980s, everything that their 'ancestors fought for . . . has all been stolen by bankers of the Jewish fold' (1998). A relatively new British act, Section 88, echoes the British White Power veterans and also associates the alleged loss of Britain's historical legacy with Jews: 'in a quest for power', Jews set out 'to destroy our race and historic past' (2008). Kolovrat maintains that Jews 'pitted the Great Nations against each other' during the Second World War (1998). In its turn, the once popular but now defunct Polish band *Deportacja 68* insisted that 'the Jewish syndicate govern[ed] the whole world' and wondered why it was not possible to shoot Jews (cited in Pankowski, 2001, p. 20; for more on racism and popular culture in Poland see Pankowski, 2006). Direct or indirect appeals to murder Jews are implied in almost every White Power song that deals with the alluded-to 'Jewish power'. According to the twisted logic of the 'Aryan racists', whereas other 'alien' ethnic groups, especially Africans and Asians, can be simply driven out, Jews can only be killed, as they can 'rule the world' from any place on the planet. Holocaust is also a widespread topic in White Power songs. While the majority of the far-right bands openly propagate Holocaust denial, they actually support the genocide of Jews. Thus, in a song called 'Six Million Words of Lies', Sokyra Peruna exhorts listeners to 'free Europe from the [Jewish] plague' (1999).

Because of the twofold interpretation of Jews in White Power music—as a demonised ethnic group and as the driving force behind the world government conspiracy—antisemitism serves as a link between two major types of the 'evil forces', that is, the 'Others' and the 'System'.

The depiction of and the struggle against the 'System' occupy important places in White Power music, and this is where all kinds of conspiracy theories are unleashed. For example, Kolovrat identifies the 'System' with a 'police state'; it is 'a realm of tyrants' which is 'one of the elements of the Masonic design', 'the triumph of totalitarianism' and 'a tool of manipulation of the masses by the capital and globalism' (2008b).

While some far-right bands believe that Jews are seeking to destroy the 'White race' and are making 'White' nations fight each other, others put forward the idea of the 'organised Jewry' that is known as ZOG. For Sokyra Peruna, 'ZOG caused civil wars and revolution', and now it 'propagates the infection of interracial unity and love' (2003, 1998). Messages about the plot in which the 'System' destroys the 'White race' are commonplace in White Power lyrics. Mistreat sings that 'the cosmopolitan rulers dream their multiracial dreams' (1997), while Kolovrat tells listeners that 'This criminal regime is cursed by the people / It organises and promotes the process

of race-mixing' (2002a). The British band Avalon, which has almost a 20-year history and describes itself as 'one of the longest running bands in the sphere of Political & Racial damnation' (2012), fears that the 'New World Order . . . almost seals our race to extinction' (2006).

In one of the interviews, Hook Sprava gives its own list of the 'System's' evils:

the cult of money, making of consumer society, proliferation and legalisation of sexual and social vice, protection of interests of parasitic minorities at the expense of majority, limitation of liberties of the creative majority, 'cyborgisation' of people, extreme individualism, egoism, birth-rate fall, destruction of the cult of family and religion, profanation of traditional values. (Anon., 2008)

The far right's response to the 'System' is as violent as that to the 'Others'. In fact, as xTerror Wavex implied in the interview quoted earlier, the 'disturbing' presence of the 'Others' in European societies is seen as a consequence of the 'System's' actions, and the 'System' is to blame. Hence, a relatively new German right-wing band, Strafmass, that, to date, has released two albums, argues that it is 'fighting against the System and against the treason of the *Volk*' (2010). In the same extreme populist way, the Russian act Molodyozh Tule¹⁷ also opposes the people and the 'System' and insists that 'The sentence to the system is each new shot / This is the only way we can be taken seriously' (2008).

It would be, however, erroneous to argue that the concepts of the 'System' and ZOG always coincide in White Power music. The former concept is generally more prevalent than the latter, the justification for which often resolves into blatant antisemitism. Notably, the idea of the 'System' is indebted to both right-wing and left-wing strands of radicalism. The left-wing roots of this concept are particularly evident in one of Brigade M's songs:

Everywhere you go the same logos and names you'll see indoctrination by
radio and TV,
Multinational monsters dominate the scenery, they divide the market
without a penalty.
(Brigade M, 2003)

The German band Hetzjagd dedicated one of their two albums to the 'fight against the System' (*Kampf dem System*), and one of the songs, titled 'A.C.A.B.', deals with the police (2006). The police are usually seen as both an element of the 'System' and its servant. Kolovrat holds that the police 'do not have nationality or Fatherland / Zionists turned them into their house-dogs' (2008a). In terms of the twisted logic of the White Power music scene, the police are the most visible, immediate manifestation of the 'System's' repressive policies towards the far right. Thus, the veteran British

band English Rose complains that the police storm right-wing gigs and take freedom of speech away from them, not because they break the laws but because they are ‘white’ (2007a). In a similar vein, another prominent British band, Whitelaw, hates ‘coppers’, because police film them with CCTV (2007). Sometimes, however, White Power bands—when dealing with the issue of police—resort to mocking. For example, Mistreat has a song called ‘Man with a Badge’, and one verse reads:

His face is bright, but his mind is black, he beats his wife and kids, ‘cos they
don’t hit back!
Huntin’ folks with a big black stick, he needs to prove that he’s got a dick!
(Mistreat, 1995)

Presumably, this kind of humour is intended to persuade right-wing listeners that—as English Rose has it—the ‘bastards’ will fail in the end (2007a).

CONCLUSION

White Power music is an integral part of a revolutionary ultra-nationalist movement, and these scenes cannot be considered as something separate from or as an insignificant appendix to the extreme right in European countries. While the revenues of different White Power music scenes vary widely depending on the size of a given enterprise, they still are able to provide financial support to various extreme-right groups. Some distributors are able to support themselves and employ members of the far-right movement as staff, and ‘the movement-connected jobs are an important structural factor fostering the sustained commitment’ (Golova, 2010). Furthermore, White Power gigs are sometimes the only communication link between far-right extremists within a particular European country.

Significantly, White Power bands are more ‘internationalist’ in character than purely political or even party-political organisations, as their music is not only politics but business as well. By adopting ‘Aryan racism’, bands define their market, which, therefore, spreads across the whole Europeanised world.

Right-wing bands and artists voice far-right ideas, and their message is even more explicit and unvarnished than that of more or less organised sociopolitical extreme-right groups. Propaganda through music is also more powerful than that spread through speeches, leaflets or visual forms of promotion of the far-right agenda. As Ian Stuart Donaldson observed, ‘A pamphlet is read only once, but a song is learnt by heart and repeated a thousand times’ (quoted in Griffin, 1995, p. 363).

White Power bands name the enemies of the ‘White race’: the ‘Others’ and the ‘System’. Most commonly, the former are blacks, Asians, Jews, natives of the Caucasus region, homosexuals, left-wingers and anti-fascists,

while the latter is a demonised state, a regime with a repressive apparatus (judiciary and police), the New World Order or—in an anti-Semitic context—Zionist Occupation Government. Besides naming the enemies, bands and artists explicitly tell their audience what should be done with the Enemy, and thus the threat they pose to the democratic development of European societies is as serious as that coming from any other part of the extreme-right movement.

NOTES

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This chapter is dedicated to the memory of the prominent Russian researcher and antiracist activist Galina Kozhevnikova (1974–2011).

1. In 2005, the British National Party launched its own music label, Great White Records, to release nationalist ‘folkish’ ballads but managed neither to create a music scene nor maintain the label. See Shekhovtsov (2011b).
2. The designation of 1985 as the year of the first White Power gig in Sweden is contested, however, by Andersson (2002), who gives the year as 1986, and by Larsson (1998), who gives the year as 1987.
3. The band No Remorse, which recorded ‘Barbecue in Rostock’, is different from another British neo-Nazi band under the same name that was led by Paul Burnley.
4. In the United States, racist music is protected by the First Amendment to the US Constitution.
5. Although the usage of this slogan precedes the development of the Punk scene, it was the British band 4 Skins that popularised the abbreviation ‘A.C.A.B.’ in Punk music through the title of one of their songs. It should be noted that 4 Skins was not a right-wing band, and, since 1980s, the abbreviation ‘A.C.A.B.’ has been used by both left-wing and right-wing bands.
6. That is not to say that any national White Power scene can claim ‘ownership’ of any particular adversary group.
7. This has not, however, stopped Nordfront from releasing albums. At least four studio albums were released afterwards.
8. The Pühses Liste is owned by Jens Pühse, a high-ranking officer of the National Democratic Party of Germany.
9. Translations into English, unless otherwise stated, are by the author of this chapter.
10. For a deep analysis of the lyrics of Landser and Die Lunikoff Verschwörung see Naumann (2009). To date, the band has released five studio albums.
11. After the self-released *Germania*, Stahlgewitter released three more studio albums on one of the most active German White Power labels, PC Records. ‘PC’ is used sarcastically, since it stands for ‘political correctness’.
12. Of these four bands, only Kolovrat is indeed famous in Russia. Interestingly, Russian courts banned separate songs of only four bands, although, during the first decade of the 20th century, there have been more than 60 White Power bands in Russia.
13. ‘Khachi’ is a pejorative, ethnic slur for natives of the Caucasus region.

14. English translation by Áron Szele.
15. Hereinafter, English translations of Brigade M's lyrics are by the band.
16. Karl Kani is a US fashion designer and the founder of a Hip-Hop fashion brand.
17. Molodyozh Tule released one demo and two studio albums between 2004 and 2008.

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