

Summaries

Janosch Steuwer, Contested Figures. Activists, Pollsters and the Transformation of »Right-Wing Extremism« around 1980

In spring 1981, the outcome of a research project commissioned by the Federal Chancellery in 1979–1980 to investigate the prevalence of »right-wing extremist attitudes« among West German voters became known. In particular, the result that 13 % of respondents held a »closed right-wing extremist world view« caused a stir, placing the study, which soon became known as the »Sinus Study«, at the centre of a heated political controversy and making it an early classic of right-wing extremism research. This article examines the origins, implementation and consequences of the Sinus Study. It shows how, in the late 1970s, the idea of using demoscropy to study »right-wing extremism« arose, illustrates the methodological challenges involved and traces how the figures finally produced changed public attitudes towards the extreme right. Analysing in depth the approach of the Social Science Institute Nowak and Sörgel, which was commissioned by the Federal Chancellery, the contribution also discusses the significance of the results of the Sinus Study and the role it played in the early 1980s in establishing a new concept of »right-wing extremism« that has since become commonplace.

Massimiliano Livi, The Extreme Right in Italy. From the 1970s until Today

The far right in Italy was considered something »fundamentally different« from Italian republican culture until its entry into the first Berlusconi government in 1994. Yet the »Movimento Sociale Italiano« (MSI) represented the neo-fascist right in parliament throughout the First Republic. Although it was not part of the »Democratic Constitutional Arc«, it was continuously represented with over 5 % and constituted a reference point for the international right in the European Parliament. Nevertheless, the phenomenon of the »extreme right« remained largely unrecognised in Italy, making it difficult to understand in its political reality. This contribution addresses the difficulties of defining the extreme right in Italy by discussing different definitions of the term and differentiating between neo-fascism, extreme right and radical right. In the main part, three case studies illustrate the political and structural continuity as well as the complexity of the extreme right in Italy. The case studies follow a chronological division of the history of the Italian extreme right into three phases. The first phase (1946–1976) is characterised by marginalisation and political restriction. The first case study looks at the development of the neo-fascist party MSI. The second phase (1977–1993) is characterised by the visibility of the anti-systemic right and a violent radicalisation of some splinter groups. Therefore, the second case study deals with the extra-parliamentary currents of the extreme right, especially the »Nuova Destra« and the so-called *destra eversiva*. The

third phase, since 1994, is again characterised by the systemic integration of the extreme right. The structural development of the extreme right in Italy since the 1990s, in particular the emergence of new organisations and networks that distinguish themselves from the traditional parties of the extreme right, forms the third case study.

Moritz Fischer, »No People, No Reich, No Schönhuber«. The Long Echo of Dealing with the Party »The Republicans« in the Federal Republic

Founded in 1983, the party »The Republicans« shook German society with its first electoral successes in West Berlin and in the European elections in 1989. No right-wing party had managed to enter a parliament since the 1960s, which made the reaction all the more intense. This article examines various reactions to the party's rise in the Federal Republic of Germany, starting from the premise that the confrontation with The Republicans continues to shape the way German society deals with right-wing parties today. To this end, it takes a multi-level approach, focusing on politics, academia and civil society, which makes it possible, among other things, to deconstruct social science theories such as that of the »losers of modernisation« and to reveal their impact. Overall, the often conflictual interplay between politics, the state and large sections of society led to the othering of The Republicans. The party was the undemocratic »other« and thus served as a foil to the Federal Republic's own democratic self-image, which was asserted with increasing self-confidence in order to dissociate oneself from The Republicans.

Katharina Trittel, Hans-Michael Fiedler and his »National Education Work«. An Actor-Centred Approach to Cadre Education Processes of the Radical Right

From the perspective of actor-centred research on right-wing extremism, this article focuses on the right-wing extremist multifunctionalist Hans-Michael Fiedler in the 1970s. It examines Fiedler's efforts to establish a »national education work« in the sense of political cadre training and relates them – understood as a meta-politically oriented strategy of action – to the transformation phases of West German right-wing extremism. These serve as hinges for evaluating Fiedler's cadre training on the basis of overarching lines of development. The contribution builds on a partial collection of Fiedler's personal papers, which has now been made available to researchers for the first time. Based on the available primary sources, it discusses the possibilities and limits of an actor-centred approach to strategies of cadre training within the radical right, using the example of Fiedler's »National Education Work« as a fibre of the socio-historical fabric of right-wing extremism after 1945. The article shows that Fiedler's role as a »mentor« beyond the party was the basis of his power in »small communities«, and that the discussion and training format of the »Göttinger Runde«, which he initiated, was decisive in organisational terms.

Sebastian Lotto-Kusche, The »Reichstag in Flensburg« on 23 May 1975. A Turning Point for the Extreme Right and the Self-Proclaimed »Reichsbürger« to Delegitimise the Federal Republic of Germany

This article examines the use of myths about the »Reich« in extreme right-wing parties and groups in the Federal Republic of Germany since 1945. It shows that the last Reich government under Karl Dönitz in Flensburg during May 1945 left behind difficult legal and moral consequences for the establishment of democracy in Germany. In their speeches and party manifestos, right-wing parties such as SRP, DRP and NPD frequently referred to an alleged continuation of the »Third Reich« or fantasised about the creation of a »Fourth Reich«. Manfred Röder and Thies Christophersen convened a »Reichstag in Flensburg« on 23 May 1975 to commemorate the arrest of the Dönitz government and to emphasise the continued existence of the German Reich. Although the event was banned and could only take place in a small circle on a farm in Angeln, it changed the attempts of the extreme right to delegitimise the Federal Republic. By renouncing all the offices of the German Reich to which he was supposedly still entitled, Karl Dönitz paved the way for self-appointed chancellors and presidents of the Reich such as Wolfgang Ebel and Manfred Röder, who henceforth called themselves legitimate heads of state because they did not recognise the Federal Republic as a state. This laid the groundwork for later and present-day »Reichsbürger« (Citizens of the Reich), some of whom pursue a bio-political nationalism and seek to propagate a racist concept of population.

Johannes Schütz, Racist Violence in the Late GDR. Chains of Events and Social Contexts Based on an Example from Saxony

This contribution examines racist violence in the late GDR using an example from Saxony. Starting from the observation that this violence has been extensively documented, but at the same time only rudimentarily researched, it searches for source-critical perspectives and fruitful methodological approaches. With this in mind, it situates the history of violence within the history of migration: violence occurred simultaneously with migration to the GDR, and social contexts and specific situational constellations determined the chains of individual violent events. The article focuses on an example of racist violence process-sociologically described and reconstructed from documents of the Ministry for State Security (MfS) and prosecution and judicial authorities. It shows that social conditions, constructions of masculinity and situational dynamics were essential factors influencing the escalation of violence and constituting the chain of events. Constructions of masculinity as well as alcohol consumption facilitated violent practices and enabled the actors to connect with their social environment. At the same time, it can be shown that state functionaries reacted ambivalently to this violence and also identified the »contract workers« from abroad as a problem. Thus, even before 1990, violent actors succeeded in driving racialised people out of their homes using physical attacks.

Sebastian Bischoff, »The Position on Sex Is Increasingly Becoming a Clear Political Dividing Line«. The Struggle of the West German Right against the »Wave of Porn« around 1969

This article examines right-wing perspectives and reactions to the »sexual revolution« in the Federal Republic of Germany using the example of a central marker of contemporary sexual modernisation processes: the »wave of porn« and the discussion about the (partial) liberalisation of media perceived as obscene, planned by the social-liberal coalition. The focus is on different groups of actors among the German right and their differences and similarities in terms of argumentation and action. The contribution presents the four most popular right-wing stereotypes, examining »right-wing knowledge« about the alleged perpetrators and profiteers of the »wave of porn« in terms of its projective function and significance for the negotiation processes about the modernisation of sexuality and thus fundamentally about the moral-ethical interpretive hegemony of the time.

Maik Tändler, Schönhuber's Fan Mail. NS Past, Populist Rage and Antisemitic Resentments before the Emergence of the Party »The Republicans«

This contribution deals with the thousands of letters that Franz Schönhuber, later co-founder and chairperson of the radical right-wing party »Die Republikaner« (The Republicans), received in the early 1980s. The deluge of correspondence was triggered by the publication of his autobiography »Ich war dabei« (I Was There) in 1981, when Schönhuber was a journalist and prominent presenter for the Bavarian Broadcasting Corporation (Bayerischer Rundfunk, BR). In it, he apologetically described his time in the Waffen-SS, which he had joined as a volunteer in 1942 at the age of 19. The debate over the book led to Schönhuber's dismissal from the BR but also earned him a large number of expressions of sympathy, which are part of his personal papers. The letters reveal a populist right-wing potential for anger that was widespread among parts of the West German population at the time and, I argue, had a formative influence on Schönhuber as a politician. Based on a selection of letters, the article analyses key patterns of perception and emotion of the letter writers: the biographically shaped interpretations of the Nazi period and the creation of a generation of historically defamed people, a populist anger ignited by this and related to the present, and finally the antisemitic resentments associated with it.

Ulrike Löffler, »Anti-Fascist Education« in the West. Pedagogical Reactions to the Boom of Right-Wing Extremism in the late 1970s

The second half of the 1970s saw a wave of right-wing extremist mobilisation in the »old« Federal Republic, combined with an increase in visibility and militancy of the right-wing scene, including terrorism. The West German public perceived this boom primarily as a youth problem that needed to be addressed pedagogically. Left-wing pedagogues and educationalists, in particular, felt challenged by right-wing ideolo-

gy and influence and called for »anti-fascist education«, including an intensive study of the Nazi era. In the early 1980s, numerous projects and events took place in schools, in youth work and in extracurricular education under the label of »anti-fascist education«; several publications appeared on the subject. This contribution analyses the aims, methodological considerations and conceptual references of these approaches and explains why extracurricular education, in particular, played a key role – for example at the memorial sites for Nazi victims that were being established. It finally shows the significance of both phenomena for the development of memorial sites and early education work in these places. The article thus shows how the boom in right-wing extremism around 1977 and the efforts to contain it contributed to the educational confrontation with the Nazi past and the development of memorial sites in the 1980s.

Caner Tekin, »Grey Wolves« in the Federal Republic of Germany. Joint Responses of Left-Wing Turkish Migrant Organisations and German Trade Unions until 1980

This contribution examines the mobilisation of associations founded by labour migrants of Turkish origin, often referred to as »Idealist Clubs« or unofficially as »Grey Wolves«, as well as reactions and protest actions of left-wing associations of Turkish origin and German trade unions during the 1970s. Special attention is given to the relations between ultra-nationalist, socialist and social democratic associations that formed the Federation of Turkish Democratic Idealist Associations in Europe, the Federation of Turkish Workers' Associations in the Federal Republic of Germany and the Federation of People's Associations of Turkish Social Democrats, and finally the German Trade Union Federation and the Industrial Union of Metalworkers. I will discuss the steps taken by the »Idealist Clubs« to organise themselves in the Federal Republic of Germany, the extent to which left-wing migrant organisations interacted with German trade unions in their campaigns against the »Grey Wolves«, and how the »Idealist Clubs« got on the agenda of the German trade unions. Against the backdrop of these relations and based on trade union documents from this period, I argue that right-wing extremism among people of Turkish origin was no longer perceived by German labour organisations as a specific problem of migrant workers from Turkey but as a general problem of German society, similar to National Socialism.

Stefan Zeppenfeld, Participation, Security – Right-Wing Extremism? Motives, Actors and Controversies of the German Initiatives »Foreigners into the Police Force« (1979–2013)

At its first meeting after the deadly arson attack in Mölln in November 1992, the Standing Conference of Interior Ministers and Senators of the Länder (IMK) advocated opening up the police force to non-German citizens. Previously, naturalised citizens with a migrant background had found their way into the police force in isolated cases, the first in West Berlin in 1979. However, the IMK did not take this decision because of the right-wing violence of the early 1990. Migrant and especially

Turkish voices and interest groups made the connection all the more emphatically a little later in response to the further arson attack in Solingen in May 1993. Efforts to open up the police force have always been accompanied by controversial debates; contexts and implementation in the Länder differed, sometimes considerably. By tracing the long history of the diversification of police structures up to the present day, this article opens up a perspective on right-wing extremism after 1945 through the lens of those affected by it and those opposed to it: on the one hand, with a view to migrants' demands for participation and security, and on the other, with a view to the reactions of state institutions. This shows the extent to which the dangers of right-wing extremism in Germany, the perspectives and demands of migrants, and the (supposedly compelling) political reactions followed different trajectories. The arduous, sometimes contradictory developments described help us better understand the complex history of Germany as a »country of immigration against its will«.

Yves Müller, The Anti-Nazi. Kurt Hirsch, the »Democratic Action«/»Democratic Initiative News Service« and Its Fight against the Extreme Right, 1968–1983

This contribution is concerned with the Austrian communist and Holocaust survivor Kurt Hirsch (1913–1999), who in 1968 founded the »Demokratische Aktion« (DA, Democratic Action), which in the 1970s, as »Pressedienst Demokratische Initiative« (PDI, Democratic Initiative News Service), became an important instrument in the struggle against both the extreme right and the democratic right in the Federal Republic of Germany. With the DA/PDI, Hirsch set up a network that centred on himself and that functioned neither as an association with rights and duties conferred by membership nor as a non-binding environment. Its members were mainly writers and politicians. The PDI's impact was mainly due to its numerous hand-outs. A history of anti-Nazism is a research desideratum. As organised and integrated nationalisms made various wave-like attempts to achieve hegemony, their opponents also changed. Based on the formation of anti-Nazism, the article illuminates Hirsch's political biography and the history of his network group. It looks at the confrontation with the NPD in the second half of the 1960s, the fight against extreme right-wing organisations in the 1970s, a campaign against Franz Josef Strauß and the volatile relationship with Social Democracy.

Vojin Saša Vukadinović, Racial Knowledge 1978–1983. The Forgotten Contribution of Migrants to Early Research on Right-Wing Extremism

Even before the institutionalisation of research on racism in the 1980s, academic works had been published in the »old« Federal Republic of Germany analysing a phenomenon that at that time was mostly referred to as »xenophobia« or »hostility towards foreigners« in the political context of the post-1960s-1970s, a period in which many so-called »Gastarbeiter« (migrant workers from South and Southeast Europe) had come to Germany. Between 1978 and 1983, the social scientists Haris

Katsoulis, Badi Panahi and Georgios Tsiakalos independently published studies on the subject, which, like many other publications by migrant authors responding to the reality of life in West Germany, are now largely forgotten. Their books are particularly noteworthy because they can be seen as contributions to the analysis of right-wing extremism that made its main elements, racism and antisemitism, tangible in their German-specific manifestations. In contrast to most of their colleagues of German origin, these scholars also focused on the consequences for those directly affected, in order to identify the political problems described not as a marginal issue but as a primary concern for the centre of West German society. The fact that the findings of these studies were not widely accepted in the 1980s and have been shrouded in a veil of oblivion in contemporary historical research has had repercussions to this day. This is evident, for example in today's understanding of racism, which often lags far behind the findings of these scholars.

Frank Schauff, Santiago Carrillo's First Coup? The Formation of the »Juventudes Socialistas Unificadas« in Spain and Its International Context, 1933–1936

The »Juventudes Socialistas Unificadas« (JSU) were the only case of a socialist youth organisation uniting with a communist youth organisation and arguably the only one that ever took place in Europe without the force of the Red Army behind such a process. This development leading to the unification can only be understood by taking into account a number of national and international processes: 1. the specific long-term historical development in Spain; 2. the extreme fragmentation of the Spanish labour movement and the never-ending conflicts within the socialist part of this movement; 3. the frustration of the socialist left with the results of the first years of the Second Spanish Republic; 4. the economic, social and political impact of the Great Depression on Spain and other European countries; 5. the growing international threat of fascist take-overs since January 1933; 6. the international and Spanish phenomenon of growing politicisation of young people in the interwar period. Internationally and in Spain, these critical developments opened up the space for new political options, favoured by the factor of historical contingency. In the course of a frantic search for solutions to social decline and the fascist threat, the Spanish Socialist Youth Federation decided to opt for unification with the significantly smaller Communist Youth League. This step, taken shortly after the election of the Popular Front government and just before the outbreak of the Civil War, led to a multiplication of membership. With the beginning of the Civil War, the JSU started to play an important role in the defence of the Republic and quickly moved out of the Socialists' orbit to join the Communist Party. This in turn led to further conflicts within the Socialist Party, the main governing party of the Republic during the Civil War. Towards the end of the Civil War, the JSU started to disintegrate and fell apart after its end, with the Socialist Party officially severing ties with the youth organisation.

Benjamin Ziemann, Mass Movements of German Workers in World War One: The April 1917 Strike

On 16 April 1917, about 230,000 workers in Berlin and another 30,000 workers in Leipzig went on strike. The immediate trigger for the strike was a reduction in bread rations that came into effect on 15 April. Yet from the first day of the strike, the workers in Berlin also voiced political demands, such as a change of government and immediate peace talks with Russia. In Leipzig, the strike was dominated from the onset by the political agenda of the Independent Social Democratic Party (USPD). In Berlin, the USPD dominated only after the delegates of the social democratic metalworkers' union DMV had decided on 17 April to call the strike off. This article argues that the strike in Berlin was characterised by three distinctive phases: it displayed characteristics of a communal strike on 16 April, when many female workers joined demonstrations to the city centre and looted bakeries and other grocery stores. On 17 and 18 April, the strike was driven by factory-based discussions and shopfloor meetings. Starting on 18 April, the political agenda and leading representatives of the USPD dominated discussions.

Fabian Rausch, Constitutions as Revolutionary Histories. The Legitimation of Constitutional Rule in France, 1814–1851

This article examines the tension between historical and constitutional concepts in France from 1814 to 1851. The analysis shows that the national-historical legitimisation of constitutions played an important role not only in constitutionally stable states, but that political actors also attempted to stabilise constitutions in unstable constellations with historical arguments. The French case draws attention to the opportunities and risks of such legitimisation strategies: constitutions are an integrative point of reference for polities when they are not only interpreted as an expression of the historical conceptions of their authors, but when they can also be linked to various historical designs and expectations of the future based on them in a certain political culture and can thus be further developed. The failure of the constitutional monarchies of 1814 and 1830, as well as the Second Republic of 1848, can be traced back to the attempts of French political actors to resist constitutional development in the name of their own conceptions of history. At the same time, these attempts point to the limits of the instrumentalisation of normative-prescriptive representative constitutions, whose polysemy was put to use time and again, above all by the progressive, but also by the conservative opposition.