



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!

### **The Karlsruhe Dialogues are presented by:**

ZAK | Centre for Cultural and General Studies  
Karlsruhe Institute of Technology (KIT)  
Universität Karlsruhe (TH)  
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### **Convenorship:**

Prof. Dr. Caroline Y. Robertson-von Trotha

### **Organisation:**

Ina Scholl M.A.

*Conference languages: German and English, simultaneous interpreting.*



# 13th Karlsruhe Dialogues 6th–8th February 2009

## Right Outside: Right-Wing Extremism in Europe today

Friday, 6th February 2009

### Opening reception of the 13th Karlsruhe Dialogues

SpardaEvent-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*

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*

#### Music programme

##### Recht harmonisch. Das vertonte Grundgesetz

Thomas Bierling, composition and piano

Eva Weis, choreography and voice

Ekkehard Rössle, saxophone

“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 onomatopoeic 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.

#### Reception

*No entrance fee*

*Please register.*

Outside: Right-wing extremism

Saturday, 7th February 2009

## 13th Karlsruhe Dialogues: Symposium

● Saal Baden at the Chamber of Commerce and Industry Karlsruhe, Lammstraße 13–17

### 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*



Sunday, 8th February 2009

## Morning panel discussion

● SpardaEvent-Center, Baumeisterstraße 21

### 11:00 p.m. Right-Wing Extremism: Easy to get in, hard to get out?

Panel discussion with international speakers

Introductory presentation: Cornelia Schmalz-Jacobsen  
*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*

Moderation: Prof. Axel Buchholz  
*Honorary professor for radio journalism, Johannes Gutenberg University Mainz, former editor in chief at the radio station of the Saarland Broadcasting Corporation*

Ibraimo Alberto (*Mozambique/Germany*)  
*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*

#### Jörg Fischer-Aharon

*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*

#### Alev Korun M.A. (*Austria*) (t.b.c.)

*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)*

#### Dr. Rafał Pankowski (*Poland*)

*Deputy editor of the magazine and member of Never again, expert for extremism at the Collegium Civitas Warsaw*

#### Bernd Wagner

*Managing director of the ZDK – Society for a Democratic Culture, co-founder of EXIT Germany, ret. Detective Chief Superintendent*

#### Reception

*No entrance fee*

## Theatre/Reading

INSEL (Badisches Staatstheater Karlsruhe), Karlstraße 49b

### 8:00 p.m. So kam ich unter die Deutschen (premiere)

Friedrich Hölderlin: Hyperion  
Franz Schubert: Die Winterreise  
Elfriede Jelinek: Wolken.Heim

with Klaus Schneider (voice), Stefan Veselka (piano) and members of the actors ensemble of the Badisches Staatstheater

The theatre's production takes a comprehensive and profound approach to the topic of the *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 *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": *Die Winterreise*. Some of the romantic lieder became popular folksongs, first of all *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 *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,-*

**Rechtsextremismus gefährdet unsere demokratische Grundordnung. Europa muss diese Herausforderung ernst nehmen. Die Karlsruher Gespräche bieten ein Forum zur Diskussion.**

Das ZAK bedankt sich bei allen Mitveranstaltern und Sponsoren für ihre großartige Unterstützung. **Danke!**

**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!**

