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Chapter Six

Arriba Eurasia?

The Difficult Establishment of Neo-Eurasianism in Spain

Nicolas Lebourg

[6.0]

As a movement, neo-Eurasianism is far removed from the nationalist traditions of Spanish politics. It was imported as part of the long quest for new ideas and doctrinal references that followed the dictatorship of General Francisco Franco, who ruled from 1939 to 1975. Neo-Eurasianism is one of the ideological products patched together in the hope of resolving a political impasse—the far right has been limited to around 1 percent of the vote since the return to representative democracy in 1977. In addition to electoral impotence, the Spanish extreme right is characterized by exceptional fragmentation and powerful heteronomy compared with its European counterparts, especially in France and Italy.

[6.1]

Alexander Dugin conducts regular conferences in Spain. He has always been hosted by the same small group led by Juan Antonio Llopart, through its various iterations (Alternativa Europa in Barcelona in 1994, the Movimiento Social Republicano in Madrid in 2013). This group grafted elements of Dugin's theories to preexisting European nationalist contributions, while also following an electoral strategy modeled on Marine Le Pen's National Front in France. This made for a heterogeneous mix, the coherence of which existed within the Spanish radical extreme right, but probably little for the masses. Understanding this gap requires comprehending the upheavals of the Hispanic nationalist space within the European context. Within this substratum, neo-Eurasianist theses were imported as part of a global reorganization of the European radical right. Hence the Movimiento Social Republicano (*Republican Social Movement*—MSR) arose to take a fragile place in the country's political landscape.

THE IMPORT OF EUROPEAN NATIONALIST REFERENCES

[6.2]

With Franco in power, the margins of the Spanish radical extreme right often opted for a type of nationalism that differentiated it from the autarkic national-Catholicism of the regime. To exist, the extreme radical right continued to look to Europe and transnational relations. The prestigious Spanish philosopher José Ortega y Gasset already was able to express his Europeanism in *The Young Europe*, a journal the Third Reich published in 1942 to promote “European liberation” through the participation of European intellectuals and collaborators such as the Italian Julius Evola or the French Marcel Déat.¹ However, neo-paganism and esotericism were weaker in Spain as compared to many other European countries; even the most radicals often retained an attachment to the Roman Catholic Church, which partly explains the profound difficulties the New Right experienced in establishing itself in the country. In 1951, Spaniards participating in the Malmö meeting gave rise to the European Social Movement (MSE). However, the two essential experiences to comprehend the structuring of the Spanish New Right were those of Young Europe (YE) and the Círculo Español de Amigos de Europa (Spanish Circle of the Friends of Europe—CEDADE). It was on this dual basis of the “national communalism” of YE and the European nationalism derived from CEDADE that neo-Eurasianism made its contributions in the 1990s.

[6.3]

Founded in 1961, Young Europe is a European party. Its national staff, led by a European headquarters and subdivided into thematic offices with six-person “action cells,” ensures a cohesive agenda.² In 1964, after the split with Emile Lecerf—who called for a neo-Nazi-inspired Europe of ethnic groups—Jean-François Thiriart and Young Europe advocated for a single, Jacobin, and secular European state “from Reykjavik to Vladivostok.” The Spanish Young Europe group managed the organization’s European summer camp in 1966 and translated Thiriart’s book, *An Empire of 400 Million: Europe*, under the evocative title *¡Arriba Europa! Una Europa Unida: a imperio 400 millones de hombres*.³ The camp mixed sports activities with debates and organized a wreath-laying ceremony at the tomb of José Antonio Primo de Rivera, the founder of Falange Española. Songs of the Falange, Afrika Korps, French resistance, and Italian partisans were sung around the campfires.⁴

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However, Young Europe quickly fell into trouble in Spain. In March 1967, the authorities banned its nine-country conference in Madrid at the last minute. Thiriart saw in this move signs of U.S. influence on the Francoist state.⁵ Ernesto Milá suggested more prosaically that, despite Young Europe’s good contacts in the Franco regime, Thiriart had no way of understanding Spain’s pro-U.S. geopolitical position and that YE Spain would have to awkwardly address the European group’s fiery anti-American discourse with the Spanish authorities.⁶ Thiriart thus exited Hispanic nationalist political

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culture until the French New Resistance rediscovered him in 1991. Meanwhile, only Ernesto Milá tried to carry on this legacy, but he insisted that Spain should play an interfacing role in the new Europe because of its role in Latin America.

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By working with Spaniard José Cuadrado Costa, Thiriart came around to the idea that only Russia could build a greater Europe. In 1984, in the journal of the National European Communitarian Party (PCN), Cuadrado Costa introduced references to the Russian Eurasianist movement of the 1920s. He believed the Soviet Union would be well advised to embrace these ideas. Citing Ortega y Gasset, the Falangist Ramiro Ledesma Ramos, Stalin, and Thiriart, he stuck to the idea of a pan-European space that was closed to China and India, among others, a view corresponding to that of a Europe “from Dublin to Vladivostok.”⁷

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CEDADE was founded in 1962 by members of the Young Europe group in Madrid and was registered as a “cultural association” in Barcelona in 1966.⁸ For CEDADE, the fundamental flaw of Thiriart was his materialism.⁹ The movement experienced a rapid ideological evolution, leading to a neo-Nazi position in 1969, demonstrating an unprecedented degree of racialism and anti-Semitism in the Spanish extreme right (only 0.05 percent of the population is Jewish; however, hostility to Israel is common).¹⁰ It thus maintained relationships with the New European Order (NEO), founded in 1951 when the ex-communist, ex-Trotskyite, and ex-Waffen SS Frenchman René Binet split from the MSE (from its beginning, NEO defended decolonization and advocated the return of migrants to Africa in order to preserve each continent from biological and cultural mixing). NEO held its congresses in Barcelona in 1969, 1979, and 1981.¹¹ In particular, CEDADE was linked to the French neo-Nazis of the National and European Action Federation (FANE).

[6.8]

Among the groups linked to CEDADE were the National Socialist Party of Spain (*Partido Nacional Socialista Español*—PENS), with its bulletins *Nuevo Orden* and *Joven Europa*, and smaller groups such as Youth Association Jaime I (*Asociación Juvenil Jaime I*) for young people, the National Revolutionary Movement (*Movimiento Nacional Revolucionario*), and the Spanish Social Movement (*Movimiento Social Español*). External references are apparent in these names, and PENS maintained ties with Stefano della Chiaie, who led the Avanguardia Nazionale (National Vanguard), which was deeply involved in terrorism in Italy. CEDADE formed its own party in 1979, the European National Party (*Partido Revolucionario Nacional Europeo*), but primarily dedicated itself to publishing anti-Semitic and revisionist texts.¹² This status of relative importance allowed for the translation of *Imperium* by the American Francis Parker Yockey, the CEDADE’s racial-Europeanist reference.¹³ Fragmentation and ideological ferment were very present since the Spanish extreme right did not have the militant training or electoral

power to make itself an influential group. Multiple factions claimed to be the authentic Falange, and the New Force (*Fuerza Nueva*) party founded by Blas Pinar failed to win despite its participation on the Euro-right list in the 1979 European elections.¹⁴

The “revolutionary traditionalism” of Franco Freda (improperly called “Nazi-Maoism” by the Italian press) also resonated in Spain. The French People’s Fight Organization announced, after a similar statement by the Italian Lotta di Popolo, that with their arrival on the peninsula, the European Revolutionary Liaison Committee should see the “underground” birth of a Lucha del Pueblo section, built by members of PENS and Movimiento Social Español.¹⁵ The operation collapsed, as the Spaniards preferred to work with the Avanguardia Nazionale militants.¹⁶ Finally, the Spanish nationalist-revolutionary movement emerged through two distinct dynamics, which together formed the basis of the whole history of the Spanish New Right movement. The first is the founding in 1976 of the Authentic Assemblies of National-Syndicalist Offensive (*Falange Española de las Juntas de Auténtica Ofensiva Nacional Sindicalista*), inspired by the original fascist movement. The second came from a CEDADE split, which in 1978 gave way to the National Revolutionary Youth (*Juventud Revolucionaria Nacional*).

In 1983, some of its members founded Autonomous Bases (*Las Bases Autonomas*—BA), not a group in itself but a grassroots network like those in Germany and France. Although mainly located in Madrid’s universities, BA became the Spanish Nationalist-Revolutionary reference. They played on ideological oscillation by claiming the mythical figure of the Spanish anarchist Durruti, an antifascist fighter in the Spanish Civil War, therefore foreshadowing the dialectology that Troy Southgate developed fifteen years later. Their international contacts should not be underestimated. On April 3, 1987, the BA and the Phalanx of Assemblies of National-Syndicalist Offensive (*Falange de las JONS*) attended a meeting in Paris convened by the French group Third Way, along with the Belgian New Forces Party and the Portuguese Movimento de Accao Nacional. The ideological charter that they put together was the work of the French Third Way group, which published its “Manifesto of the European Nation” in 1986, to be approved organization-by-organization (starting with the Falange Española). After this meeting, the Italians of Terza Posizione and the Swiss Third Way joined the network. Thiriart aptly described the loose form of contacts among the organizations, dubbed the “March 12 Group,” as “the International of mailboxes.”¹⁷

This French influence gave rise to the Spanish Third Way, which integrated the March 12 Group. It was led by Alberto Torresano and published the newsletter *Revolucion europea*, the title of which was taken from the French Third Way newspaper.¹⁸ In 1989, it joined with the Coordinadora Alternativa Solidarista (founded in 1988 by a host of small groups) to create the Solidarist Third Way (*Tercera Via Solidarista*). At the helm of the organization

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were Secretary-General Juan Antonio Llopart (from the Juventudes del Frente Nacional of Barcelona) and President Alberto Torresano. In 1992, the Solidarist Third Way merged with the Vanguardia group, whose youth section took the name Joven Europa. Vanguardia was clearly neofascist, as evidenced by their use of the double ax of the Italian Ordine Nuovo. Denouncing Vanguardia's "right turn," Llopart and his allies kept their newspaper, *Tribuna de Europa*, and, following a European meeting, were the first group to invite Alexander Dugin to Spain.¹⁹

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THE NATIONAL-BOLSHEVIK ERA

[6.13]

Many extreme-right Spanish movements have sought to copy Le Pen in France, particularly in their anti-immigration sentiment—a tough bet in a country with 300,000 Roma, but where only 0.9 percent of the population were immigrants, of whom only 0.4 percent came from outside the European Union.²⁰ *Tribuna de Europa* simply recognized the impossibility of transforming neo-Francoism in quasi-Le Penism.

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The evolution of the Spanish Nationalist-Revolutionary passed through France. In 1989, Third Way Secretary-General Christian Bouchet said his organization had two choices: either form a movement within the National Front (FN) or break with it and try to work within other groups dealing with ecological or regional issues, and with Islamic movements.²¹ His central idea was to challenge the FN from the left, imposing on Jean-Marie Le Pen a Nationalist-Revolutionary movement that only existed inside the party in 1974–1978, but the FN president rejected this faction. Led by Bouchet and André-Yves Beck, the rest of the Third Way was forced to hide their defeat. In 1991, they founded New Resistance, an organization dedicated to rejecting the FN, operating in the style of Ernst Niekisch's National-Bolshevism, and the union of the periphery against the center.²² Their promotion of a united antisystem front clearly influenced Alain de Benoist, the leader of GRECE, the main organization of the New Right.²³

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European members of the New Right were interacting constantly, and the invitation to Dugin for the November 24, 1991, GRECE colloquium showed that this space was searching for post-Soviet ideological reconstruction. In order to make itself credible to Malliarakis, who stayed with Third Way, New Resistance contacted the March 12 organizations to propose a new international, the European Liberation Front—ELF, the name being taken from Parker Yockey. It was implemented much faster than had been expected, since the New Resistance founding congress gave itself the objective of creating a "representative European secretariat" in two years. The organization stipulated that all groups linked to Third Way would choose it.²⁴

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Organizational icons also united the diverse nationalities in the ELF: all the cadres were influenced by the examples of Thiriart's Young Europe, Otto Strasser's European Popular Movement, and Yockey's Front, and fascinated by the example of the Fourth Unified International Secretariat.²⁵ Taken together, the diverse national publications also demonstrate Evola's strong influence (as could those of "Nazi-Maoist" Claudio Mutti in the ELF), but the ideological attitude was postmodern. The groups did their work with Evola or Thiriart, borrowing from them along the way as needed. This non-dogmatic Evolism was palpable in the ELF and likely contributed to the adaptation of Dugin's theses, which also were influenced, but not determined, by Evola. Moreover, when Dugin sponsored a conference in Madrid in 2013, he opened it with a long summary of *Il Fascismo visto dalla Destra* and voiced a radical antimodernism more than a conservative-revolutionary critique.²⁶ The "new convergences" he advocated led to the import into Western Europe of the Russian red-brown label. But they did not correspond to a real alliance between "communists" and "nationalists." Within the ELF, as within the groups that composed the red-brown alliance, it was actually an alliance of the "right" wing (*völkisch* cultural European nationalism) and "left" wing (the New Right) of the radical extreme-right. Thus the *Tribuna de Europa* published articles by Ramón Bau, the former CEDADE secretary-general who led *Mundo NS* (National-Socialist Earth).²⁷

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While not blocked by a powerful national-populist party, Vangardia also was experiencing the difficulties of groupuscules. Its participation in the ELF led it to adapt to its intellectual ancestors. This included the denunciation of the "System," which the French extreme right itself had used since the 1950s, having borrowed it from the German Conservative Revolution of the 1920s. The National-Bolshevik eagle, which the New Resistance took back from Niekisch's *Widerstand*, was presented as the emblem of the French Nationalist-Revolutionaries.²⁸ After, the eagle and the appellation "National-Bolshevism" are adopted together Vangardia translated and distributed a French sticker against the globalization of McDonald's. The ELF also seemed to implement common strategies: in a coordinated move the groups tried to infiltrate environmentalist parties in Spain and France, as well as in Germany, Poland, Great Britain, and Italy.²⁹ The connection with Russia was becoming increasingly comfortable before the Western European radicals took a trip to Moscow in the summer of 1992.³⁰ In France, Eduard Limonov contributed to *L'idiot international*, an anti-American periodical that supported rapprochement between the French Communist Party and the National Front, as well as the *Choc du mois*, a journal that interfaced between the FN and the radical extreme right.³¹

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In Spain, the European nationalist circles first noticed Dugin's work. In 1992, even before it was published in Russia, *Rusia, El Misterio de Eurasia* was released in Madrid by the publisher Grupo Libro 88, whose director was

a former member of CEDADE, which explains the neo-Nazi reference to 88. When it voluntarily dissolved the following year, CEDADE orphaned the organization's militants, but hybridized politics and esotericism. However, the ethnic obsession led them to participate more in an Islamophobic, populist, and Spanish group, Democracia Nacional, than to rally to neo-Eurasianist perspectives.³²

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The reconfiguration of the European radical extreme right continued in 1993. While the Franco-Belgian New Right was full of tension and the Spanish New Right had just produced *Hespérides*, the Community Activities Federation in Europe, a nonexistent structure that served to dress up a European neo-rightist university, organized a "summer university" in Lourmarin in southwestern France and brought together people in conflict with Alain de Benoist. Two members of GRECE set it up: Thierry Mudry, who associated New Right and neo-rightist circles in France with *völkisch* leanings (European Partisan, Nationalism and Republic, the Provence Forum, and the New Resistance) and his wife Christiane Pignacé (also a member of the Scientific Council of the FN). At the European level, the confluence ended in 1994, when Belgian Robert Steuckers managed the separation from GRECE by launching Synergies européennes.³³ Synergies promoted a differentiated neo-Eurasianism by devising a Paris-Berlin-Moscow axis. This Russian angle first was promoted in France by the People's Fight Organization, in particular Jean Parvulesco,³⁴ a member of Synergies européennes and significantly inspired by Dugin's thinking.³⁵

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At the same time, another Franco-Belgian crisis appeared, which resulted in the transformation of the ELF. In October 1993, the ELF excluded the PCN for being "reactionary." This included contacts with the Vlaams Blok and the Belgian National Front, and the proposed adoption of an Islamophobic campaign (under the slogan, "Europe will not be an Islamic republic") while the ELF wished to move forward in conjunction with radical Muslim groups. European Synergies and the PCN collaborated and, without knowing it, PCN members applied to French authorities to receive official status for the ELF.³⁶ The PCN launched a new journal in which it claimed to be the European partner of the Russian National Salvation Front (while Dugin still was participating in the ELF) and opting for a line affirming that Islamism was a tool of the American order and that Europe and Islam were irreconcilable.³⁷ In the aftermath of the wars in the former Yugoslavia, the PCN introduced, via Yves Bataille, the Serbian argument.³⁸ According to it, Serbs were defending Europe from the menace posed by the creation of an Islamic state in Europe, which would benefit U.S. objectives that sought to destabilize the continent.³⁹ The break between the ELF and European Synergies was less severe. In an internal note, the secretary-general of the ELF and New Resistance stated that although the structure was excellent in Spain and Por-

tugal, “in France and Belgium it is a small extreme right group on the margins of the FN.”⁴⁰

On the Spanish side, upon return to Lourmarin, Juan Antonio Llopart and his allies launched Alternativa Europea (AE), which was fully consistent with the orientations of the ELF. As its logo the organization adopted the five-pointed star commonly used by the New Resistance, which claimed that it was the symbol of “diverse anti-Yankee guerilla movements.”⁴¹ In reality it is the emblem of the Tupamaros (a left-wing movement in Uruguay), which the Red Brigade had introduced to Europe.⁴² The ideological hybridization was accomplished in the fourth issue of *Tribuna de Europa*, with the publication of an interview with Dugin.⁴³ On the summer solstice, Barcelona was one of the destinations of the Russian theoretician, while the ELF invited him to tour Western Europe (Grenoble, Milan, and Paris) from June 16 to July 1, 1994. Alternativa Europea deemed it a successful “full house,” even though published photographs show more modest crowds.⁴⁴ The following spring, *Tribuna de Europa* clearly marked a new inclination by publishing the entire transcript of a Dugin presentation on Evola and a dossier on Eurasianism translated in *Vouloir*, the journal of European Synergies.⁴⁵ Alternativa Europea also held a seminar on the opportunity to transform itself into the Partido Nacional Republicano.⁴⁶ To do so, it borrowed wording from the French on the concept of “identity.”⁴⁷ It is true that Alternativa Europea was growing and did not have any enemies on the right. It was discussed favorably in *Éléments*, de Benoist’s review, and worked with *Mundo NS*. Highlighting an international affiliation allowed Alternativa Europea to extract itself from the infighting that had overtaken the Falangist space. It also moved from being a Barcelona bastion to opening sections in Madrid, Valencia, La Coruna, Vigo, Zaragoza, León, and Almería.⁴⁸

The idea of the organization was to bring together all radical extreme-right movements under its Partido Nacional Republicano, along the ideological lines of the ELF. However, discussions with other groups brought with them the byzantine quarrels of which the extreme Spanish right was fond, leading Alternativa Europea to quit the PNR project. The Spaniards, French, and Germans of the ELF then held a joint meeting in Paris. They decided to: (1) draft an ideological manifesto that each group had to accept in order to be members of the ELF; (2) launch a coordinated agitprop campaign against NATO; and (3) work patiently to found a European party.⁴⁹

Nevertheless, the Spanish projects were affected by Franco-Belgian enmity. New Resistance was shaken by turbulence following the reconciliation of part of its leadership with the FN, especially by the fact that André-Yves Beck joined the FN mayor of Orange. Certain members did not like the signals given to the former National and European Action Federation neo-Nazi Michel Caignet, organizer of the review *Gaie France*. Soon after Caignet was arrested for organizing a pedophilia network. This apparent combi-

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nation of juvenile pederasty and the New Right was controversial. Faced with attacks, Christian Bouchet resigned and announced that he would manage affairs until a congress could be convened on November 30, 1996.⁵⁰ The PCN took the opportunity to go on the offensive and created the status of New Resistance.⁵¹ It announced that the militants of New Resistance would be excluded from management for their “collaboration with the Le Penist reaction” and with Satanist-pedophile militants and then voted to merge with PCN structures, putting the ELF under a Black-Red-Green front.⁵² Alternativa Europa and ELF groups unanimously rejected this organization and maintained their relationship with the remnants of the former organization, which renamed itself Resistance Circles.⁵³

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The New Resistance congress carried on. Their constitution was decided on the margins of the FN, along the lines of that of the New Right and based on publicity committees of the *Voice of the People* (the new name of the *Struggle of the People*), calling for unity among nationalists above all else. The ideological line was synthesized in the following terms: “In short, ‘Less leftism, more fascism!’” The internal bulletin informed its subscribers that all ELF groups had renewed their confidence in the leadership team and conveyed the difficulty of managing an international New Right. Thus the result of the congress was rightward shift, from which a logical conclusion could be drawn: it is necessary to break with foreign groups aligned with the “left.”⁵⁴

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In Great Britain, the ELF was displaced, with the general-secretary post passing to Troy Southgate. The primacy in the community of references to ideological coherence was evidenced in the title of the European journal, which at the time the second ELF thought to produce in four or five languages, for a total of about one thousand copies: *Young Europe*.⁵⁵ However, for Alternativa Europea, the French path could not be replicated in Spain, since no party there had absolute hegemony over the liberal-conservative right.⁵⁶ Alternativa Europea held its own congress in July 1997, opened with a message from Dugin, and featured presentations from the Frenchmen Christian Bouchet and Gregory Ombruck (*Napalm Rock*⁵⁷). The movement decided to found a Nationalist-Revolutionary party, a subversive matter of reputation since in this country with a Christian, Atlanticist, centrist, and monarchist right, the party was named Alternativa Europa-Liga Social Republicana (AE-LSR) and promoted federalism as much in “the Spains” as in the rest of Europe. This would be a Europe that included Russia, more than a Eurasia, along with many other Western ELF groups. Although the notion of empire was cultivated, ethno-nationalist worries prevented the full adoption of neo-Eurasianist theses.⁵⁸

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At the end of 1997, the ELF merged with the Committee for a Nationalist-Revolutionary League, which was based in England. There it came into constant contact with the Liaison Committee of the Nationalist-Revolutionaries, the structure of which comprised of movements situated in the United

States, Canada, and New Zealand. It was a clear departure from European thinking and a move toward white affirmation, but the ideological shift seems to have occurred easily. The September 19, 1998, meeting that established the new ELF was part of the annual festival of the FN, hitherto the supposed sworn enemy.⁵⁹ *Tribuna de Europa* published the list of member groups of the new ELF, which included Dugin's National-Bolshevik party.⁶⁰ In 1999, Southgate published a manifesto for the organization,⁶¹ centered around the idea of defending the white race against a Zionist plot that supposedly sought to bastardize the white race in order to assure global control (along the lines of a classic theme, but notable for its diffusion of the American acronym ZOG—Zionist Occupation Government—in Europe at the end of the decade, under the influence of the U.S. magazine *Resistance*.⁶²) *Alternativa Europea* expresses interest in anti-Semitism but has never exhibited much of it. The group did not publicize this text, and the second ELF slowly collapsed.

BETWEEN RADICALISM AND POPULISM

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The most important issues to AE-LSR were support for the extension of autonomy, violent rejection of the monarchy, socialist references (extending to references to the Confederación Nacional del Trabajo and German councilism⁶³), and European claims. This stood in sharp contrast to mainstream Spanish political life, which long had been dominated by José María Aznar (Partido Popular), head of government from 1996 to 2004, who aligned Madrid's policies with those of Washington.

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By transforming itself in 1999 into the Movimiento Social Republicano (MSR), AE-LSR mimicked the metamorphosis of New Resistance into Radical Unity, a so far near-perfect imitation of its skinhead magazine to a youth audience. This work to reach young skinheads appears to have produced results starting in 2010, when eighteen members of Blood and Honor were arrested for acts of violence, and seventeen of them ran on the MSR ticket in elections.⁶⁴ Militants from the two sides of the Pyrenees met regularly and, in 2001, jointly produced an anti-Zionist bumper sticker in the Catalan language.⁶⁵ The group also tried to move beyond the interior Spanish enclave. For the 2000 general elections, the MSR joined with three other nationalist movements to form the España 2000 platform. Despite support from Jean-Marie Le Pen, the platform obtained only 0.04 percent of the vote.

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The ELF disintegrated in 2002, with the departure of Radical Unity's Christian Bouchet, followed by the dissolution of this movement by the French public authorities. This led to the establishment in France of the Social European Movement Identity Bloc in tandem with the MSR. According to Philippe Vardon, one of the Identity leaders, the titular reference is to

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the MSR, not the MSE. The Bloc identitaire, MSR, and Nation of Belgians moved closer together, but the Bloc abandoned all fascist references, converting radical anti-Zionism to Islamophobia, leaving aside the Greater Europe of regions project in favor of the articulation of French-European regions, leading to the separation. In retrospect, Vardon thought that the socialist and European references fell under a national-revolutionary label. Young Catalans pushed the MSR to conform to the French line, but it was in vain.⁶⁶ The MSR and Nation of Belgians only began to represent a new international partnership when the Italian group Movimento Sociale Europeo joined them in 2011.

[6.31] In addition, the MSR maintained ties with the American Front, which had participated in the second ELF (and was renamed Open Revolt).⁶⁷ Having mounted the Radical Network in France, Bouchet launched with the Italian Sinistra Nazionale (publishers of the daily *Rinascita*) a Eurasian Geopolitics Network that attempted to follow the ELF and published the *Eurasian Nation* review. Nation, the Radical Network, and the Italians of the Democratici Egalitari d'Azione participated in a meeting in Barcelona on February 15, 2003, which the MSR convened in opposition to the war in Iraq. However, the MSR did not participate in the “voluntary human shields for Iraq” operation that Nation, *Rinascita*, the Radical Network, and the Party of French Muslims were undertaking.⁶⁸

[6.32] Although anti-Zionism remained a part of the MSR, Islamophobia was not totally ignored.⁶⁹ However, its adoption was difficult, given the pro-Arab tradition in the Spanish radical extreme right;⁷⁰ Islamophobia was present mostly in groups with *völkisch* identities. Still the 2002 summer solstice was celebrated with the French Land and People, a *völkisch* and Islamophobic movement defending a “Eurosiberia” to specify its racist discrepancy with the neo-Eurasianist project. In a sign that Islamophobia was not well-established, the MSR initially reacted to the March 11, 2004, Islamist attack in Madrid (191 dead and 1,400 injured) by essentially blaming it on Prime Minister Aznar’s opposition to Euskadi Ta Askatasuna (ETA), the Basque terrorist organization.⁷¹ Nevertheless, in 2009, the MSR made a common European election list with the identity movement Partit per Catalunya (obtaining 0.04 percent of votes). At the same time it signed stillborn agreements with other small groups of various ideological persuasions.

[6.33] Its participation in European elections allowed it to make contact with small groups. The MSR was part of the foundation of the European Alliance of National Movements (AEMN), chaired by the vice president of the FN, Bruno Gollnisch. In addition to the FN and the MSR, the group brought together Jobbik, the Movimento Sociale Italiano-Fiamma Tricolore (Italy), British National Party, National Front (Belgium), and National Demokraterna (Sweden). Various associative statuses then joined, including Svoboda (Ukraine), the Partido Nacional Renovador (Portugal), Bălgarska Nacional-

na-Patriotična Partija (Bulgaria), and Vlaams Belang (the Flemish nationalist party in Belgium). Hence, the AEMN has no ideological or programmatic coherence, given that it encompassed movements with totally divergent conceptions on both the nationality issue and on European projects. However, its members recognized their differences in worldview. The MSR was able to participate in the AEMN through social ties with the Briton Nick Griffin, but his electoral weakness and inability to unite the Spanish factions led the parties represented in the European Parliament to no longer want to fund him. According to Ernesto Milá, Bruno Gollnisch was annoyed by the incapacity of his Spanish partners to unite. Early in 2013, Marine Le Pen decided to end all ties with Spanish organizations, as they could not fall in line.⁷² Some months later, in order to avoid being accused of cooperating with neo-Nazis, the FN removed itself from the AEMN. In the European 2014 elections, the MSR won only 0.05 percent of votes (the five-party Spanish extreme-right list shared a total of 0.38 percent of votes).

Yet the shadow of the FN still hangs over the MSR. Although the MSR symbol is the flame of the Movimento Sociale Italiano, it was made popular by the FN. Its emblem changes as the French model changes, but remains in the black-red-white color scheme that is dear to the National-Revolutionary and to Falangism. It also gave a place of pride to the red and gold Spanish flag stripped of its coat of arms, which does not fit with the classic symbols of Spanish republicans (the purple, yellow, and red flag), but rather those of the nationalists of 1936. Some flags with chaospheres (spiked globes) were used during Dugin's 2013 conference. Although the symbol is customary in the International Eurasianist Movement, most observers likely associate it with pop culture, not politics.⁷³ One of the satellites of the MSR, the Study Circle La Emboscadura (*Círculo de Estudios La Emboscadura*—CELE), officially organized this conference. The CELE planned the annual “days of dissidence” that brought together the elite of the European radical extreme right,⁷⁴ during which anti-Semitic speakers and Holocaust deniers have the spotlight. Dugin took part in it in 2007, the Frenchman Alain Soral was in attendance, and in 2013 it was the German Ernst Zündel. Dugin has not been the only member of the International Eurasianist Movement to be present, as Alexander Kuznetsov represented the organization in 2008.

Other satellite structures exist, such as the Workers' National Union (*Unión Sindical de Trabajadores*), the Students' National Union (*Unión Sindical de Estudiantes*), and *Alternativa Joven*, for young people who are not students. Infiltration into environmental groups varied, with work in animal rights and anti-speciesism circles and the creation of dedicated structures such as Spanish Patriots Against Animal Torture (*Patriotas Españoles Contra la Tortura Animal*) and Green Spain (*Hispania Verde*). Circle Athena (*Círculo Atenea*) was founded in 2013, inspiring the French Antigones, who are “anti-FEMEN.” *Nueva República* editions spread the ideological materi-

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al. This led the Barcelona provincial court to sentence Juan Antonio Llopart in 2009 to two-and-a-half years in prison for the diffusion of ideas that support genocide (whereas Ramón Bau, who in 1997 founded a Circle of Indo-European Studies to succeed CEDADE, was sentenced to three years). This judgment was overturned in 2011 by the Supreme Tribunal, which found that while anti-Semitic and Holocaust-denying materials were disseminated, they included no direct appeal to perpetrate massacres.

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All of these difficulties led the MSR to have a tense congress in 2014. Fifty delegates were supposed to represent the three hundred militants who officially comprise the party.⁷⁵ The number seems excessive, twice what was represented by movements such as New Resistance and Radical Unity, despite the smaller population of Spain and the balkanization of its nationalist scene. Tensions were strong enough to cause a confusing split. Llopart and his allies founded a new faction, *Soberanía y Libertad*, inspired by the Identity Bloc and using as its symbol the Greek lambda, which also represents its youth movement, Generation Identity.

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CONCLUSION

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The extreme Spanish right has been in disarray since the end of Francoism. The importation of nationalist-European, and neo-Eurasianist references has not succeeded in resuscitating it. It remains crushed by the power of the Partido Popular, which has recycled old Francoists while adopting essential basics from the liberal-conservative right and maintaining a pro-U.S. foreign policy stance. Worse still, the neo-Eurasianism overhaul attempts labeled the MSR as a neo-Nazi movement in the mainstream media and among most of the right. Alexander Dugin's presence at various times in Spain thus highlights the particular impossibility of finding individuals with social and political pull. In twenty years of contact, he has passed from circles concerned with the breakdown of neo-Nazism to the hodgepodge of neofascism. Even the high tension that Catalan separatism created among the state's repressive sectors has not provided any dynamism. In addition, during his 2013 Madrid conference, Dugin mentioned neither these separatist tensions nor the economic crisis that has devastated the country (the unemployment rate among young people reached 53.8 percent in 2014). Instead, his ideas concentrated on the agitation France experienced during the seemingly endless protests against opening marriage to same-sex couples. His discourse seemed to be much more geared toward Paris than Madrid. The absence of a mass electoral party is clearly detrimental to the development of a pro-Eurasianist influence in Spain.

NOTES

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1. José Ortega y Gasset, "La Vocation de la Jeune Europe," *La Jeune Europe* (1942), 4–6.
2. Directorate of Military Security, *Hiérarchie du mouvement néo-nazi Jeune Europe*, May 7, 1963, Archives of the Préfecture de Police of Paris GAJ4.
3. Jean Thiriart, *¡Arriba Europa! Una Europa Unida: a imperio 400 millones de hombres* (Barcelona: Mateu, 1965). "Arriba España" was the most famous slogan of the Franco regime, thus Thiriart offers a substitute ideology.
4. *La Nation européenne*, September 15–October 15, 1966.
5. *Le Monde*, March 23, 1967.
6. Ernesto Milá, "La Nation européenne, el ultimo proyecto de Jean Thiriart," *Revista de Historia del Fascismo*, no. 2 (December 2010–January 2011): 152–74. Having known Thiriart, Ernesto Milá is a figure of the new Spanish right. During this period, he was a member (successively) of the PENS, Frente Nacional de la Juventud, and Frente de la Juventud.
7. José Cuadrado Costa, *Insuffisance et dépassement du concept marxiste-léniniste de nationalité, Conscience européenne*, no. 9, (October 1984). Founded in 1984 in Belgium, the PCN claimed to be the pro-European integration party based on Thiriart's ideas.
8. Rosario Jabardo and Fernando Reinares, "Démobilisation de l'extrême droite en Espagne," *L'Extrême droite en Europe, Pouvoirs*, no. 87 (November 1998): 116.
9. CEDADE, *Thule, la Cultura de la Otra Europa* (Barcelona: Ediciones Wetlaschauung, 1979), 235–37.
10. Gustavo D. Perednik, "Naïve Spanish Judeophobia," *Jewish Political Studies Review* 15 (2003): 87–110.
11. See, for example, *Les Peuples blancs survivront-ils? Déclarations du Nouvel Ordre Européen de 1967 à 1985 présentés par G-A. Amaudruz* (Montreal: Editions celtiques, 1987).
12. José Rodríguez Jiménez, "Antisemitism and the Extreme Right in Spain (1962–1997)," *Analysis of Current Trends in Antisemitism* (1999). Accessed January 22, 2015, <http://sica.huji.ac.il/15spain.html>.
13. Christian Bouchet, "Yockey, le précurseur," *La Revue d'histoire du nationalisme-révolutionnaire*, no. 1 (December 1998); Michael Whine, *Mapping the Extreme Right in Contemporary Europe* (Abingdon, UK: Routledge, 2012), 319.
14. After having obtained 2.1 percent in the 1979 European elections, Fuerza Nueva slipped to just 0.5 percent in 1982.
15. *La Flamme*, January, March, and September 1972.
16. Selon Yves Bataille (leader of the French OLP), interview, June 21, 2004.
17. Third Way, *TV Rapport d'activités mai 1986* (internal document). Also see two pamphlets published by Third Way: "Pour la France" (1986) and "Pour l'Europe" (1987); Christophe Boutin, "L'Extrême droite française au-delà du nationalisme 1958–1996," *Revue Française d'histoire des idées politiques*, no. 3 (1996): 153.
18. This was also the title of Emilie Lecerf's newspaper after his falling out with Thiriart. Alberto Torresano is a member of Madrid's Falange and a Francophile who frequents the leadership of the FN. He is also an admirer of François Duprat, the French Nationalist Revolutionary who was assassinated in 1978 while he was second-in-command of the FN.
19. Collectivo Karl-Otto Paetel, *Fascismo Rojo* (Valencia, 1998), 95.
20. Moreno Feliu, "La Herencia desgraciada: racismo y heterofobia en Europa," *Estudios Sociológicos* 12 (1994): 54.
21. Christian Bouchet, *Troisième voie-Année zéro*, 1989 (internal document).
22. Christian Bouchet, discussion, August 12, 2002. The former has now joined the FN, the latter is the head of the cabinet of the Le Penist mayor of Béziers.
23. Thus in the *Éléments* of May 1992, Alain de Benoist seems to use elements from the editorials of the *Lutte du peuple*, the NR's organ.
24. *TV Circulaire SG-8*, September 4, 1991; *Nouvelle Résistance SG-9*, September 23, 1991 (internal documents).
25. Christian Bouchet, *Les Nouveaux nationalistes* (Paris: Déterna, 2001), 57. Before the war the Juntas de Ofensiva Nacional Sindicalista were in contact with Otto Strasser.

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26. See, for example, Anton Shekhovtsov and Andreas Umland, "Is Alexander Dugin a Traditionalist? 'Neo-Eurasianism' and Perennial Philosophy," *Russian Review* 68 (2009): 662–78 and Alexander Dugin, "La Cuarta teoría política," Madrid, November 12, 2013. Accessed January 22, 2015, <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=V-N7fnST5t4>.

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27. *Tribuna de Europa*, no. 5 (May 1994).

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28. *Tribuna de Europa*, no. 2 (May 1993).

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29. *L'Europe combattante Note d'orientation no. 3 du secrétariat général de Nouvelle Résistance*, no. 2, 1992 (internal document).

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30. There was as much space for the New Right as the NR: de Benoist, Battarra, Bouchet, Michel (PCN), Schneider, Steuckers, Terraciano, and Thiriart. There was none for Spain. Michel Schneider's presence testified that the FEL was not excluded vis-à-vis neo-populist parties, since this part of the FN founded *Nationalisme & République* (which involved many FEL members) to try to displace Jean-Marie Le Pen in favor of Marie-France Stirbois, the widow of the former Front secretary-general Jean-Pierre Stirbois (Michel Schneider, letter dated March 27, 1990, addressed to several members of the French extreme right, in author's possession). Launched in 1991, *Nationalisme & République* promulgated a strongly anti-American and "anti-Zionist" line and called for the convergence of the sovereigntist left, environmentalists, and the extreme right.

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31. The international stakes of hybridization was intense and multidirectional. When Limonov and Dugin launched the National-Bolshevik Front in Russia, they used this logo of Otto Strasser's *Scharwze Front*. The FEL was already using the logo following its adoption by the youth section of the New Resistance. Fabrice Robert led this group (he is now president of the Identity Bloc). Coming from the skinhead musical scene, he borrowed it from the clearly neo-Nazi musical label European Rebels (founded in 1987 in France).

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32. Xavier Casals, *La Tentación neofascista en España* (Barcelona: Plaza & Janés, 1998), 132–33.

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33. Robert Steuckers, email, May 30, 2014.

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34. In the review that he led with Yves Bataille, he took up the spatial conceptions of Mackinder and Evola on cyclical time, in order to affirm that Stalinism sought "Eurasian continental unity, occult goals of 'global revolution at the center of the earth,' the same great polar goals in the trans-historic pursuit of the Heartland at the end of a 'final obscure cycle.'" According to him, Eurasia would be built to become a place of dialectic confrontation between the United States and the Soviet Union, resulting in "the final assumption of all toward a new united civilization [within] a same community of civilization, of being and destiny." (*De l'Atlantique au Pacifique*, February 1976). Thus here is a Nordic racial thinker using the concept of Eurasia, resulting in more closeness to the concepts of Europe Action, which was renamed Septentrion, in identity circles during the late twentieth century.

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35. See, for example, Alexandre Dugin, *La Grande guerre des continents* (Paris: Avatar, 2006).

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36. Declaration No. 9253, November 10, 1993. Archives of the Valenciennes sub-prefecture.

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37. *Nation Europe*, February/March 1994 and June/July 1994.

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38. Xavier Bougarel, "Travailler sur l'islam dans la Bosnie en guerre," *Cultures et Conflits*, no. 47 (2002): 49–80; Jacques Sémelin, *Purifier et détruire. Usages politiques des massacres et génocides* (Paris: Le Seuil, 2005), 33.

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39. Yves Bataille became a resident of Yugoslavia, where his wife was colleague of Radovan Karadzic, the leader of the Bosnian Serbs. See, for example, Yves Bataille, "Chronique d'un embrasement annoncé," *Nation Europe*, no. 3 (January/March 1995); Luc Michel, "Ni République islamique ni colonie yankee . . . l'Europe aux Européens," *Nation Europe*, no. 4–5 (February/April 1996).

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40. Christian Bouchet, letter dated October 7, 1994 (internal document).

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41. *Pour la Cause du peuple. Manifeste de Nouvelle Résistance* (Nantes: Ars Magna, 1997). The text takes its title and some of its ideas from the 1974 German "Nazi-Maoist" manifesto, *Nationalrevolutionäre Aufbauorganisation—Sache des Volkes*.

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42. Renato Curcio, *A Visage découvert*, Paris: Lieu Commun, 1993, pp. 12–13.

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43. Cited in *Lutte du Peuple*, no. 19 (December 1993/January 1994).

44. *Tribuna de Europa* 1 (October/December 1994); *Lutte du Peuple*, no. 23 (September/October 1994). [6n44]
45. *Tribuna de Europa* 2 (May/June 1995). [6n45]
46. *Lutte du Peuple*, no. 28 (September/October 1995). [6n46]
47. The concept came from German nationalism. Postwar radicals used it to circumvent the antiracist constitution of the Federal Republic of Germany. In this context, the OLP introduced it to France following a vote on new antiracist legislation in 1972. [6n47]
48. *La Voix du Peuple*, no. 35 (February/March 1997). This is still the organ of Nouvelle Résistance. [6n48]
49. *Tribuna de Europa* 2 (February/March 1996) and (April/May 1996). The project on a European party was already on the agenda during the European meeting in Venice in 1962 (with Mosley, Thiriart, and others). [6n49]
50. Christian Bouchet, *Lettre ouverte aux cadres de Nouvelle Résistance*, August 16, 1996 (internal document). [6n50]
51. "Statuts de l'Association Nouvelle Résistance," September 2, 1996, 3 p., archives of the Raincy sub-prefecture. [6n51]
52. See, for example, "A propos du Front Européen de Libération et du PCN" and "Communiqué de presse de Nouvelle Résistance—November 10, 1996." Accessed January 22, 2015, <http://fel.nr.free.fr/propos.htm>. [6n52]
53. *L'Europe combattante*, October 1996 (internal letter); *Tribuna de Europa* 2 (December 1996). [6n53]
54. *3e congrès de Nouvelle Résistance Motion présentée par le secrétariat général de l'organisation*, 4; *L'Europe combattante*, November 1996, 1–2 (internal documents). [6n54]
55. *L'Europe combattante*, Summer 1997 (internal document). [6n55]
56. *Tribuna de Europa* 2 (May/June 1997). [6n56]
57. *Napalm Rock* is one of a number of peripheral fanzines of New Resistance conforming to its strategy of aggregation at the margins. Dedicated to metal music, the title is violently pagan and Thelemic. [6n57]
58. *Tribuna de Europa* 2 (October/November 1997). [6n58]
59. *La Lettre du Réseau*, November/December 1997 and November/December 1998 (internal documents). Meanwhile, the French founded Radical Unity, which the authorities dissolved in 2002 following an assassination attempt on President Jacques Chirac by a UR militant who claimed that he was an "agent of ZOG." [6n59]
60. *Tribuna de Europa* 2 (October/November 1998). [6n60]
61. Troy Southgate, "Manifesto of the European Liberation Front," 1999, reproduced in his *Tradition and Revolution* (London: Arktos, 2010), 125–32. [6n61]
62. Martin Durham, "From Imperium To Internet: The National Alliance and the American Extreme Right," in *The "Groupuscular Right": A Neglected Political Genus*, ed. Roger Griffin. Special issue of *Patterns of Prejudice* 36 (2002): 50–61. Radical Unity also founded a journal called *Résistance* that had an equivalent in Spain: *Resistencia*. [6n62]
63. See *Tribuna de Europa* 2 (December 1997) and (June 1998). [6n63]
64. Frauke Büttner, "Right-Wing Extremism in Spain: Between Parliamentary Insignificance, Far-Right Populism, and Racist Violence," in *Is Europe on the "Right" Path? Right-Wing Extremism and Right-Wing Populism in Europe*, ed. Nora Langenbacher and Britta Schellenberg (Berlin: Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung, 2011), 185. [6n64]
65. Since the Treaty of the Pyrenees (1659), the part of Catalonia situated north of the Pyrenees has belonged to France. [6n65]
66. Philippe Vardon, email, May 29, 2014. [6n66]
67. The site Open Revolt offers texts written (and translated) by Alexander Dugin. [6n67]
68. *Actualité Juive*, February 13, 2003. [6n68]
69. SOS Racismo, *Informe anual 2007: sobre el racismo en el Estado español* (Barcelona: Icaria, 2007), 196; "Los ultras celebran la Hispanidad con actos xenófobos en Barcelona," *El País*, October 13, 2010. [6n69]
70. Xavier Casals, *El fascismo, entre el legado de Franco y la modernidad de Le Pen* (Barcelona: Destino, 1998), 67–70. [6n70]

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- [6n71] 71. Secretaría de Prensa del MSR, “El Movimiento Social Republicano (MSR) exige medidas excepcionales y responsabilidades políticas tras el genocidio cometido en Madrid ” March 11, 2004.
- [6n72] 72. Ernesto Milá, “DOSSIER |La extrema-derecha ante las elecciones europeas. Lectura crítica (i),” *Minuto digital*, March 24, 2014. Accessed January 22, 2015, <http://www.minutodigital.com/2014/03/21/dossier-la-extrema-derecha-ante-las-elecciones-europeas-lectura-critica-i/>. After participating in DN, Ernesto Milá began writing profusely.
- [6n73] 73. On the chasosphere, see Stéphane François, “Un Occultisme postmoderne: la magie du Chaos,” *Fragments sur les temps présents*, October 10, 2009. Accessed January 22, 2015, <http://tempspresents.com/2009/08/10/stephane-francois-occultisme-postmoderne-magie-du-chaos/>.
- [6n74] 74. The website of the official French FN newspaper announced these days only once, in 2008, when Christian Bouchet attended them. He supported Marine Le Pen over Bruno Gollnisch to succeed Jean-Marie le Pen in 2011.
- [6n75] 75. Xavier Rius Sant, “Mapa incompleto de la extrema derecha (3) MSR, Juan Antonio Llopart,” *Xavier Rius Blog*, July 29, 2014. Accessed January 22, 2015, <http://xavier-rius.blogspot.com.es/2012/08/mapa-incompleto-de-la-extrema-derecha-3.html>. After his departure, Juan Antonio Llopart said that the MSR had €2,500 for its European elections campaign, which should give an idea of its militant status. See “Juan Antonio Llopart sobre la ruptura con el MSR,” *Tribuna de Europa*, August 20, 2014, <http://www.tribunadeeuropa.com/2014/08/20/juan-antonio-llopart-sobre-la-ruptura-con-el-msr/>.