

A Blaze in the Northern Sky:

Black metal as an expression of extremist politics in modern day Europe

Master thesis

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Foreword

“The truth is hidden in the grass, under some rocks. In a hidden trail, a forgotten trail in the forest. And when you try and find this trace, you will stumble, get some branches in your face. You will make mistakes but you will find it.” – Varg Vikernes

Upon finishing this thesis I came to regard it as something that took a lot out of me. When one studies an object that one really has to dive into in order to understand it, it teaches us something about the object, but also a lot about oneself. This made the process harder along the way and at times made me stop and step back for a while, having dived so deep into the madness of extremist thought. As the one studying the object, you become part of it and it becomes part of you, which is not always the most flattering thing to occur and at times it is a very difficult thing. When your views are so far removed from that which you study, it changes you when you get immersed into the thoughts of extreme figures. Norwegian black metal artist and extremist Varg Vikernes, Norwegian terrorist Anders Behring Breivik and Adolf Hitler suddenly become understandable, where before you'd see them as insane and violent, their cause starts to make sense. This is the moment where you want to depart from it again, where you want to take distance and move away from the topic for a moment.

I consider myself someone who sympathizes with the idea of Europe, with universal values and the worth of reason. Nonetheless, discussing my topic with others has made me more aware of the other side, the romantic side of nationalism, of valuing where you come from and desiring the identity that comes with a nationality. Talking to my girlfriend Justina about what it is to only have been a nation briefly, to understand what it means to be Lithuanian or to know what it is to be Latvian or Estonian as other people I've met along the way, formed a bridge to understanding the likes I've mentioned above. The need and desire for a tangible identity that comes with blood and earth is not so far away from any of us. Sports can turn the most fervent global citizen into a roaring nationalist for example. We all have two sides I believe. Reason is what guides us, but we always desire that need that is hard to describe for something else, for something romantic, something heroic. Why does one enjoy films and comics with superheroes, what makes us feel this special thing inside when the national anthem is played?

So when one starts reading the milder words of Vikernes, it is hard to not sympathize. His captivating and reasonable tone carries you along until suddenly the bloodlust in his words shines through as a rude awakening that brings the reader back to reality and re-establishes one's own values. Reading Breivik's last pages is frustrating to the point of biting one's nails. When he writes

his final entry you hope that he changes his mind. There's hope that he just tells us that what he wrote was just for laughs and that he sees the error of his ways. On the other hand you start seeing why they so heavily value their ideas. The thought of having a holy goal to pursue, something that you would sacrifice everything for, give up your own life to achieve. When someone does this for a noble purpose, for his values that we respect, than we appreciate it. We appreciate Socrates drinking the cup of poison, rather than denounce his beliefs. Jesus Christ was nailed to the cross for his beliefs that he stood by. Joan of Arc burned on a pyre for hers; believing God had put her on the path she was on. We even love it when Russel Crowe dies at the end of the film Gladiator, pursuing justice and vengeance to its logical end. Simply said, we love people that give up their lives for their values, as long as they are our values. A man who flies an airplane into a tower in New York for his beliefs is not one we like. The RAF, IRA, ETA and all these other movements, we call them terrorists and the good ones martyrs. Where is the line between the good and the bad? I believe that the people that will be dealt with see themselves on the side of Socrates and Jesus Christ.

Great ideas and extreme ideas, they are not easy to leave behind. They stick to you and one has to deal with it. Having tried to understand the ideas and also the minds of Vikernes and Breivik, I hope that to give this place in my worldview and not feel the pressing weight of their deeds. Sometimes it's hard to imagine the thoughts of these men are real and even harder to imagine that their actions were as well. I think I managed. Once you understand the base of the extremism and can accept it as temporarily your own, the thoughts of Vikernes and Breivik start seeming a lot less extreme, so I'm glad for the things that put me back on my feet again, back in the world that we deem normal, but can hardly be called that normal if we see what we find at its edges.

So a word of thanks should be added here to Dr. Sander Bax for helping me get through this, challenging me and reassuring me that I could do this, not just the thesis, but the whole masters degree. Thanks to prof. Dr. Odile Heynders for helping me out on the topic of Europe, opening doors and eyes simultaneously and lending me a whole pile of books. Thanks to Dr. Jan Jaap de Ruyter for the insight in evil in the arts and the interesting discussions about Breivik. Geertjan de Vugt for the inspiring talks and constantly prodding my interests. Thanks to my girlfriend, family and friends for supporting me, even though it sometimes seems no one has a clue what I'm doing. It mattered to me, so it mattered to them. Thanks for keeping me sane.

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Introduction

Europe is facing a crisis once more. It does not concern the finances of Europe, though the pressure it puts on its member states does stimulate the resurfacing of old stereotypes and hostilities. The crisis Europe sees is a fundamental one that on one side has the European Union and on the other a resurfacing nationalism of an unprecedented kind. Guided by universal philosophies that find their roots in the Enlightenment, the European Union tries to unite the member states under generalizing principles and ideals, where the nation-state rediscovers its past and the idea of the other as an enemy. Populist politics are receiving more support than ever and offer nationalism as an answer to the fading identity under a further globalization and unification of Europe. With more and more strangers and products pouring into Europe's once closed nations, its citizens embrace their old identities and nationalist past once more. Immigrants, goods and culture are slowly merging throughout Europe, generating a homogeneous European identity as a melting pot of the enormous variations that can be found in Europe.

This conservative turn towards nationalistic elements is not just a movement keen on retaining national boundaries, keeping a clear view of what Europe is and its differences, it also seeks for the cultural roots that define the nation and its origins. This prompts a look at the past, back to medieval darkness, gradually constructing an identity of the past that is obscurantist at least. Europe starts to do the same, looking at its past and constructing an identity, becoming a competition for which state would be most legitimate (Delanty, 1995). This only furthers the crisis Europe is finding itself in. In post-soviet Eastern Europe nations are rediscovering their roots, which clearly show in the popularity of folk culture. Strong nationalistic tendencies compete in Eastern-European countries with the pro-European viewpoints. An example I found in the book *The Latvian Saga* (2007), which creates the national myth of Baltic state Latvia. In the meantime politics have become more and more extreme, with populist politics even reaching the mainstream and becoming a contender for actual national governing. Riemen (2010) sees in populism the fascist voice of half a century earlier, relying on the dissatisfaction of the people to 'clean up' the country under a thin veil of democratic pretence, embracing totalitarian ideas. Looking at the past, even pagan religions have resurfaced, such as Odinism, Asatrú, Wicca, Romuva and Dievsturiba (Harvey & Hardman, 1995). There are enough reasons for worrying and much of the extremism now arising from extreme-right movements is beginning to boil and finds more appreciation in Europe, the Norse *Aftonbladet* even calls for stronger European governing to counter this tendency, since the presumed immunity to nationalism in Europe is not as strong as one might think (Lindberg, 2011). The own nationalistic and sometimes regionalist culture (in the case of

smaller nations within a state) is fading into something more abstract, the culture of Europe as we may call it (Delanty, 1995), which has prompted cultural preservation since the start of the European project. Some countries in Europe have expressed a strong wish to self preservation more than others, such as Norway, Great Britain and most of the new post-soviet states. By now, we can find it everywhere in Europe unfortunately (Motha, 2010). Populism has turned its back to Europe and reverts to Europe of the past, free of the outside influences that ruined the nation. It preaches nationalist ideologies and raises its voice against open borders, international collaboration and immigrants. National governments greatly oppose the European attempt at centralization and wishes for more power to the nation-states...

In Norway, the isolated Scandinavian country on the fringes of the EU, both literally as institutionally, extremism has found its strongest expression this far in the attacks of Anders Behring Breivik on his own people, which he considered traitors to the nation in 2011. Breivik wrote an enormous manifest about his ideas, what enemies and threats he sees and how the whole world around us is a conspiracy to allow the overthrowing of the European races (Berwick, 2011). Norway, a country with deeply rooted nationalist ideas, has a history on this topic. According to Wilson (2010) this has much to do with the deeply rooted Viking past. The nation has rather recently become independent and had an incomplete transition to Christianity, thus opposition to the universal pretences are strongly present in Norway. Almost twenty years before Anders Behring Breivik, another Norwegian was convicted for his violent acts in favor of an extreme ideology. This was Varg Vikernes, "the most notorious black metal musician of all time... (Dunn, 2005)". He is part of the notorious movement of extreme metal music called Norwegian black metal, a movement associated with more than just making grim and dark music. Vikernes expressed a hatred for Christianity and spoke out in favor of the Viking past. He was imprisoned for arson and murder and only recently was released. His work and writing tells us a lot about the extremist ideas that exist in Europe, expressed through culture. The question I will ask here is the following:

What does black metal tell us about the resurgence of nationalist politics and racial violence that emerges under pressure of the European Union and what is the underlying cause of these sentiments?

To answer this question I will need to follow two paths. I will have to understand the politics of Varg Vikernes and where they come from in the perspective of his art form, which is extreme metal music. Next to that it has to be clear what Europe is and where it is at now. How and why it was shaped in the way it appears to us now. For this purpose I will briefly introduce the topics at hand and the way I will deal with both of them. To understand the undercurrent of nationalism, of the romantic notion of the past that opposes the ideal of European unity in peace, we have to

understand this movement in order for the European project to succeed. If it fails, Europe might plunge back into war, back into the chaos it has been in since the Enlightenment.

Norwegian Black Metal

Art rarely is a simple expression of entertainment and neither is popular music. Popular music has been part of youth and protest culture ever since the phenomena surfaced in the 1950's, but none more than Heavy Metal ever since its first mention as genre in the 1960's (Walser, 1993, Weinstein, 2000). Pop music is part of – and an expression of – the society it is produced in. It expresses something that can be found in our society, that is opposed or embraced, it gives room to voice an opinion that exists, the ideals and ideas that are found in songs and artists are part of an ideology that finds expression in art. Music surrounds a culture, like the flower power or the punk movement that opposes war or social problems. So when art becomes more and more extreme, this must say something about the world we live in. Metal has not received much serious academic interest this far, it was regarded as merely a form of youth culture, giving a platform of expression. It took a long path for the genre to be recognized as something serious. For years it has mostly been mocked and metal heads were depicted as dumb hedonists. This stereotype was shown in films such as *This Is Spinal Tap* (1984), *Wayne's World* (1992) and *Little Nicky* (2000). For a long time the only sort of interest metal received was negative. Fundamentalist criticism of the music would denounce the music as abrasive noise with depraved themes and lyrics (Weinstein, 2000).

Metal has always been a genre with two sides, one mostly hedonistic, but another with a keen interest in the dark, romantic side of life, finding something else than the organized society where one lives in. Metal has always played with the dark, occult and in essence everything that would be an affront to traditional values. Baddeley (1999) describes how from the earliest metal bands such as Black Sabbath, Led Zeppelin and Alice Cooper a tendency towards the dark has been inherent to the genre. Led Zeppelin found inspiration in the work of occultist Aleister Crowley, Black Sabbath used upside down crosses for the sheer shock value during their live performances. The famous case of the P.M.R.C. brought metal to a new level. A list was compiled of artists who were depraving the American youth, for which they were brought to trial. Not only did this process result in a limitation on freedom of expression for the artists in the form of censorship for younger listeners (in fact the best promotion for heavy metal records possible, since young people always like to get what they shouldn't), the process also showed that metal was something real, something to be taken serious. It wasn't dumb and simply youth culture, it was much more and its ideas and themes ran much deeper (Dunn, 2005).

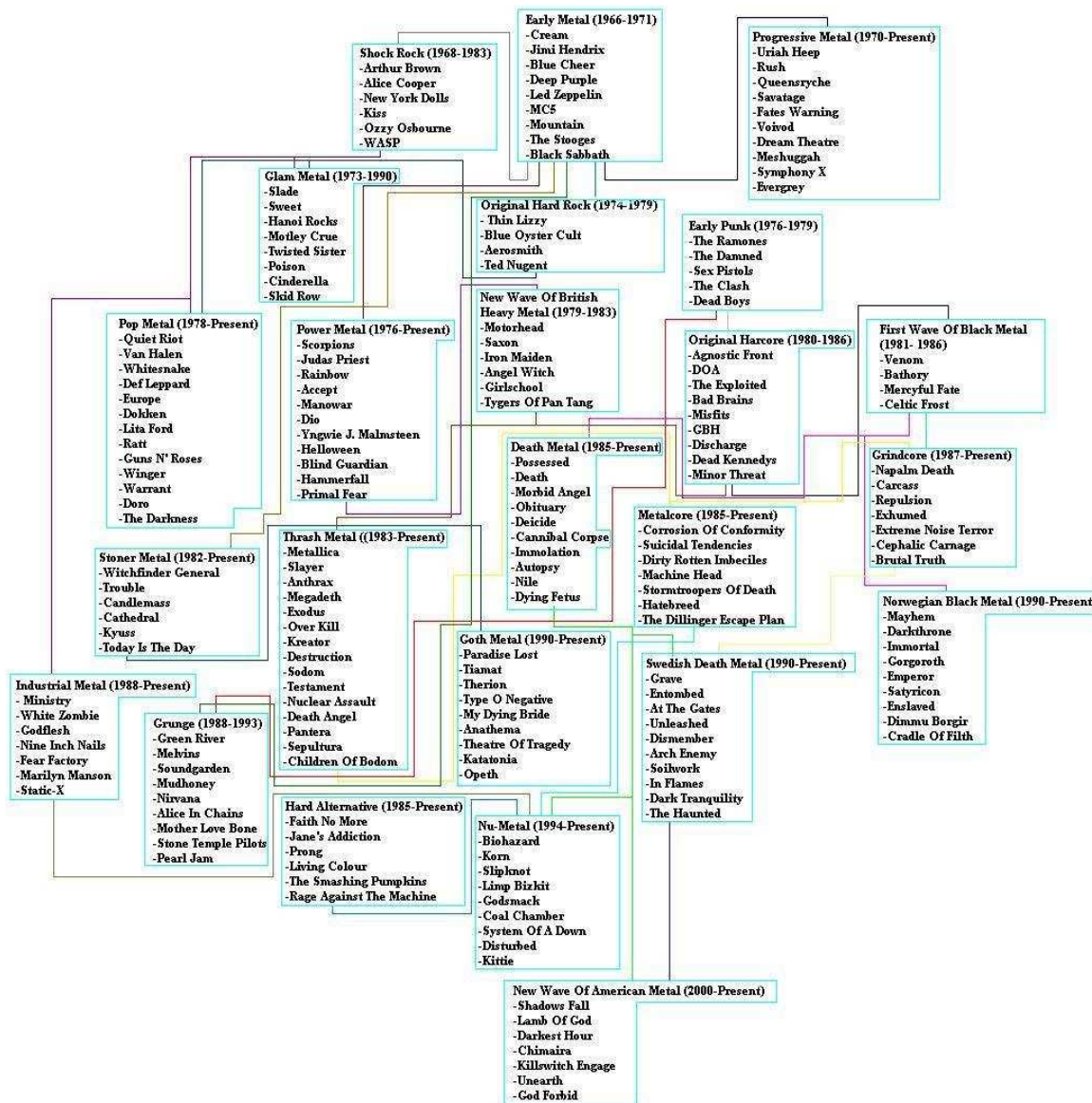


Figure 1. “Metal Family Tree”, (Dunn, 2011)

Metal has become an extensive family of music genres as is shown in the above figure. Before going any deeper into it, the roots of metal can be seen at the root of the family tree and traced to the genres I’ll be discussing (Figure 1). Those are black metal and death metal. I will be focussing on the genre Varg Vikernes is active in, black metal, but to understand the genre we have to look at where it comes from and how it differs from its contemporaries. For this purpose I will use death metal. In the 1980’s, a split can be found in the development of heavy metal. The genre went mainstream in the form of a hedonistic sex, drugs and rock’n’roll version that Spheris (1988) shows in her documentary. Glam metal becomes part of popular culture and has defined

the way we see metal artists from there on for years. This is not the side we will discuss, I will look at the genres that went underground, became more extreme and more ideologically laden (Moynihan & S oderlind, 1998). Both death metal and black metal are the most extreme of these, going further and more extreme than any predecessor, resorting to transgressive tactics (Kahn-Harris, 2011). The first step will be to trace this history and find its ingredients in there. I will not attempt to redraw the family tree of metal here and rely on the work of Sam Dunn (2005, 2008, and 2011) for this.

So here rises a new movement in the middle of globalization, European unification and increasing migration streams. The changing world forces a counter reaction in art and this comes in an extreme form. When one of the leading and most groundbreaking bands in the genre, Darkthrone, releases an album with a title that could be a metaphor for what follows: *A Blaze in the Northern Sky* (1992). A hellish fire burns in a most likely part of Europe and not just in a proverbial sense. An iconoclastic genre will change metal forever.

In Norway, land of the Vikings and a strict Lutheran church the story starts. Hidden from the rest of the world, with on one side the cold sea and on the other a mountain range lays this peculiar part of Europe. The isolated country has a strong national pride that has developed itself since the country became independent. This isolation is according to Lucas (2010) so much inherent to the country that a stranger is very easily regarded as intruder. In the early eighties a new genre started to emerge on various locations in Europe: black metal. In England the band Venom gave the genre its name. Their second album is aptly titled *Black Metal* (1982), which stuck and became the name of the fury driven, satanic themed extreme music the band produced. In Switzerland the band Celtic Frost invoked the spirit of Aleister Crowley with their debut and brought this occult tradition into the music. Most inspirational for the movement that followed in the nineties would be the Swedish one man project Bathory, by a man named Tomas Forsberg under the moniker Quorton. (Moynihan & S oderlind, 1998)The violent sounding, lo-fi music with satanic themes and later filled with Viking mythology inspired others to follow in his footsteps. The sound was one that had a vibe of ugliness, evil and darkness. The sensation of these daring themes brought lots of attention and also success to bands like Venom.

For some these elements become more than just part of the act. In Norway new bands emerge who take the evil of black metal as a way of life. With the band Mayhem at the forefront, this new scene develops into the most extreme the world has seen. The band Mayhem itself has been called the most extreme band of all time. The band was already a phenomenon before it ever released anything or even played a show for their sheer extremism (Rydehead, 2008). A main figure for the band and the scene itself is bandleader  ystein Aarseth, who calls himself (and so shall I)

Euronymous. Under this name he gained fame, also being the owner of the 'Helvete' record store in Oslo, giving the scene its geographic location and centre point. Many strange figures emerge in this store, among which the Swede Per Yngve Ohlin, who becomes the singer of the by then already notorious band Mayhem. In this band, art and life start to mix up. Extremism becomes its trademark and every member has a story to tell. I will elaborately describe the history of Mayhem because the band describes the shaping of the most extreme genre of the world and the bass player Varg Vikernes, who joins them at a later point.



Figure 2. Early press-shot of Mayhem. From left to right: Hellhammer, Dead, Euronymous and Necrobutcher (Moynihan & Söderlind, 1998, p. 52)

From a culture of opposition, of fighting the establishment and the common politics, the genre moves on to extremist politics of national and racist ideas. Shocking interviews, like one for Kerrang! Magazine (Arnopp, 1993) brings the genre to a global stage, shocking audiences worldwide. Grude (1998) shows the path of publicity that Vikernes has followed and how he managed to cause chaos and outcry among the public. The general verdict was that he was a madman, insane and even in league with Satan, which Vikernes wasn't and still isn't. I will look at his work, his music and writing, from there sketch an image of the ideas Vikernes adheres to.

Black metal became bigger than any form of extreme metal ever did before. It didn't become so famous for its music, but for its culture, which is very much a part of what makes a scene different from mainstream music (Lena & Peterson, 2008). Black metal is a life style and the ideas that were originally used for provocation and shock (the swastika was frequently used in early punk rock, a movement generally assuming a strong anti-fascism stance); in black metal it becomes an almost religious whole way of life. This has happened in Norway, in Europe and the genre has

spread around the world by now. The works of Varg Vikernes, written in prison, mainly his book *Vargsmål* (1997), have been published in Norse (in limited numbers) and in Russian. The east of Europe has a thriving scene of what is now known as NSBM (national socialist black metal), that heralds Varg Vikernes as an ideological leader (source). This is one of the places where the extreme music is pretty openly seen as what it is, but all over the world black metal has an element of extreme ideologies in it. In Europe we try to find the common grounds, the thing that can unite Europe. To understand an extreme element of culture that defies all current movements in towards union is vital in finding where this fear and anger towards the other come from, and to work on improving and solving these issues.



Figure 3. Press shot of Latvian pagan/folk metal band Skyforger on their First World War themed album 'Latvian Rifleman' in 2000 ("Latvian Rifleman" line-up, 2000)

In the meantime a new genre has developed that glorifies national heritage in a new way. It's called folk metal and bands like Turisas (Finland), Heidevolk (Netherlands), Cruachan (Ireland), Skyforger (Latvia) and Glittertind (Norway) play metal infused with national music. Even remote corners of Europe have their forms of this genre such as Tyr (Faroe Islands) and Orphaned Land (Israel). Dunn (2008) speaks highly of this new globalizing quality of metal, which has bands bringing their national culture all over Europe, using metal as an instrument for globalization and presenting different cultures. The last mentioned band, even though from Israel, toured throughout the Middle-East, bringing Jewish and Arabic people together. Skyforger singer Pēteris Kvetkovskis uses his band as a vehicle to tell the forgotten history of his people and even keeps a blog to elaborate on the lyrics. Even though this is not the project at hand here, it shows that

extreme forms of cultural expression are not necessarily home to extremist thoughts and do have the possibility to be a positive influence on the European unification, in fact many artists are very positive about globalization. Both show however a resurgence of nationalistic thought, of which Varg Vikernes is the peak of extremism. Regarding the wide metal family, I'd like to point out, also based on the other bands I've mentioned, that he is not representative for metal culture in general, but he is formed by its development.

Europe

The swing to the right of political Europe seems to be a fact nowadays. The inevitable extremism at that comes along with it. The rise of this is mainly an underground phenomenon, which is hard to notice until it manifests itself in the open. In times of recession the negative feelings that prevail in society, will generate willing ears for extremist party's who claim to have the truth to offer about how and why the world is becoming such a mess. Popular culture has very often been a vehicle for promotion and recruiting for neo-Nazi movements, as has been often pointed out. Mainly through the raw sound of street punk by bands such as Skrewdriver or Landser this genre created an impressive following for such a niche. When an ideology is relies mainly on dissatisfaction with the state of the world or nation and an urge to protest, then a young audience is usually willing to follow this movement. The skinhead movement was in this way used by extremist movements, which in fact destroyed the subculture in its liberal and open form as it once existed (Schweizer, 2003).

Black metal as a musical style is very far removed from the mainstream of pop music, but seems to express this dissatisfaction and also shows the search for identity and self value based on ones origin. Black metal seems to project a general dislike towards the current world and its state and more and more the way things seem to be going. Nationalism is already represented in the subculture itself, but this makes it a good breeding ground for new recruits to support extreme political ideologies. In fact, black metal musicians have already proved to be willing to go to great lengths for their ideals. One could even say to extreme deeds that border on the insane. Gardell (2003) describes the methods neo-Nazis are using for their actions nowadays. Rather than the groupmarches and clear symbology, which obviously doesn't find much support due to their second world war references, the tactics of '*lone wolves*' are applied. Solitary cells of persons willing to take action for the greater good of the race. Apart from the numerous examples from American society that Gardell (2003) shows, the case of Anders Breivik is also a good example of this. In the Norse black metal movement the individual action has also been shown by various individuals, as shown by Moynihan & Söderlind (1998), and this is according to the authors not limited to Scandinavia. Individualism and extremist ideologies of death seem to live up to this

new method of warfare. Black metal is a symptom of an unsatisfied world. To find these expressions and analyze them may well provide a first step towards healing the virus that infected Europe.

Europe has been plagued by war and hatred towards those who are different. It has seen devastating wars and genocide in the name of totalitarianism and nationalism. It has seen bloodshed in the name of the idea of a pure race and purifying the nation. Where do the roots lie for this almost existential crisis? Koselleck (1988) places it in the enlightenment, where the absolutist rule brought peace and room for people to start thinking about morality and their place in the world. This has sparked the French Revolution, which overthrew the divine rule of absolute monarchs. Man suddenly stands alone opposed to the world he lives in without God to limit his knowledge and fill in the blanks. Both the rational philosophy, which lies at the core of the Enlightenment and romantic thought, filling in the void have sprung from this period and they form the two positions that have defined Europe ever since. I will look at these two positions in the first part on Europe, because it lies at the core of how the continent has shaped itself up until now. The crisis that befell mankind after the Enlightenment has troubled the continent ever till the smoke cleared after the Second World War.

After the Second World War a new project started that of the European Union. Gradually but steadily, the nations of Europe worked together in shaping Europe as an unprecedented unity, guided by reason, democracy and liberty. Basing itself on principles, rather than the nationalist notions of ethnicity, language or culture (Hobsbawm, 2008). I will look at Europe and its Universalist ideology of unity that radically opposes nationalism in almost all aspects of its formation and creation. (Van Middelaar, 2009). To understand the extremism we find we must know what it rebels against. What it considers its enemy. This is the Europe that takes away the nationalities, that removes the importance of internal boundaries and differences, on which previously identity was largely based, on otherness. Therefore in Europe we will look how it positions itself to the outside as well as on the inside.

Then we come to the extremist movements that have been there ever since the Second World War, but are inevitably changed after the horrors of that war that have changed the way we look at the previously institutionalized racism. Social changes forced the movement underground and made it impossible for it to continue its existence the way it had before. When Europe changed, it changed as well. It became more organized and more underground, but also more extreme than ever. It tries to find its way into society and politics again in new ways and takes action in the previously mentioned way of 'lone wolf' terrorism. They see a different history and different truth to the world, one where we are being played with. They must make people aware of this and

protect their race. Preparations are being made for a white revolution that is supposed to save the white race. From this unchecked, underground extremism, that embraces a plurality of ideologies, comes Anders Behring Breivik. At the end of this development we can find his ideology and actions, like Vikernes, as a culmination of the development that has taken place since the Enlightenment. To understand both, we need their histories to see what ails Europe, what has plagued it for centuries. The right diagnostics of Europe's problem will not heal it, but understanding what troubles it will help us find a cure.

Information and education are the keys for a healthy integration of European nation states into a unity. Knowledge of the ideas and feelings that are to be found in such cultural expressions as black metal and mainly the form that embraces Nazi ideology (and its mystic derivatives) is utmost important to locate the objections found in our path. It allows a policy to be formed in order to resolve these problems.

Section 1: Black Metal

Part 1: Metal from hedonism to ‘pure fucking Armageddon’

A blaze in the northern sky

“The most important thing that happened is that a church burned down. That’s something I stand for... It’s kind of a statement to bring down Christianity. (Dunn, 2005)” Those are the words of Jørn Inge Tunsberg, guitar player in black metal band Hades Almighty, when confronted with his actions during the reign of the Norwegian black metal scene during which he set fire to a church. There are no regrets, none at all. This response is found with most of the iconic figures of the scene at the time. Bård Guldvik “Faust” Eithun, at the time drummer of the band Emperor, was convicted for murder, what made him a legend in the scene at the time and put this insignificant teenager at the margins of the black metal circle on a pedestal as a true hero of evil (Moynihan & Söderlind, 1998). Burzum and Mayhem band member Varg Vikernes regrets absolutely nothing, his church burnings, his stockpiling of weapons and even the murder of his friend. Anthropologist Sam Dunn called the Bergen-born metal musician “the most notorious black metal musician of all time” (2005). Charged with several church burnings and murder of a fellow black metal musician, Vikernes was given a prison sentence of the maximum 21 years in 1994, from which only in early 2009 he was released. When the by then 19 year old arrested an enormous amount of explosives was found, probably intended for further militant actions (Midtskogen, 2009). This prison sentence did nothing to silence ‘The Count’, as Vikernes moniker was at the time, who continued to develop a dark ideology from his prison cell, publishing books on it, sending out new death threats and inspiring new extremists worldwide. Recently he has been in the news again for criticizing Anders Behring Breivik, who put the plans of Vikernes to practice in bombing and killing the weak traitors of their race. The Count still rides the media with his extremist thoughts, as Grude shows in his documentary about the media heist around Vikernes in the nineties that still seems to continue (Grude, 1999). Some other people involved distanced themselves from these excesses from the genre, but a new sub stream of ‘National Socialist Black Metal’ appeared. This genre is mainly present in Europe, but it is a worldwide phenomenon. Black metal came to the world in a way best described by title of the first album the scene produced, as a blaze in the northern sky (Darkthrone, 1991). To comprehend it, first we shall have to delve a bit deeper into metal itself and how this type of music spawned Norwegian black metal.

Metal: the beginnings

No one seems to be entirely sure where metal as a musical movement originated. Somewhere during the sixties a number of bands started to play a louder form of rock’n’roll with a distinctly new sound, which artists such as Jimmy Hendrix, Blue Cheer and Deep Purple produced. Dunn

(2005) labels this group of artists who paved the way for what was going to become heavy metal as early metal bands. Two of these are always disputed to be the first metal band ever; those are Led Zeppelin and Black Sabbath. However one tries to determine how metal music took shape, the sonic, visual and verbal code of these two bands formed the code of what heavy metal was going to look like from there on (Weinstein, 2000). Judas Priest gave the band a more edgy look with the leather and spikes worn by front man Rob Halford in the prime of the band. This look stuck with the scene, even after the vocalist publicly admitted his sexual orientation and thus implying the origin of the look. Even though some more conservative fans turned away from Judas Priest and Rob Halford, they didn't turn away from the aesthetics that have been connected to metal music ever since. Metal became more raw and loud influenced by bands like Mötörhead, whose vocalist Lemmy Kilminster became known for his great and peculiar interest in war and Nazi aesthetics (his in possession of an astonishing amount of Nazi memorabilia and loves to fire the old weapons and dress up like a German soldier (Chirazi, Olliver, Orshoski, Singerman, 2009) as shown in the biopic Lemmy). The militant imagery always had a place in the broad spectrum that metal filled from here on. At the end of the seventies, in the wake of punk, music changed with a wide range of new styles. Much of this influenced by the back to basics ideas from punk rock that opened up music in a new way as described by Reynolds on his work concerning the wake of punk rock (Reynolds, 2005). The idea of getting back to its roots and work from there, close to the audience and forming a community feeling are characteristics of how metal developed from here. The idea Reynolds shows, is how musicians were able to reinvent what they were doing. From this moment on metal took on many shapes and forms and became a music world on its own, but also a community within society with its own codes, rules and aesthetics.

There's a method to the madness

We never kiss and tell

Have a drink on the boys

We'll entertain you in style

- 'Bad Boy Boogie' (Mötley Crüe, 1987)

Metal has always had many sides. There is the very well documented hedonistic side that is known for its Dionysian proportions, especially during the glam rock years, as shown by Spheeris (1988) in her documentaries about various genres at the time, one specifically on the lifestyle of glam metal artists. An example is found in the lyrics of Mötley Crüe, which involves drink, girls and entertainment and that's all there's left of metal in the glam rock scene, at least this is how many metal fans start viewing it. Bands like W.A.S.P., Quiet Riot, Ratt and the aforementioned Mötley Crüe bring the genre all the way to the mainstream, making it popular and taking away its

cult status. Hedonism and overly sexualized masculinity is a different side of the music style that is of no interest regarding the topic at hand. Band that inspired the Norwegian black metal scene may have had hedonistic themes in their music, in black metal there is no such thing to be found (notable exceptions such as the highly erotic themed band Cradle of Filth are there of course, but are hardly considered part of the scene itself according to Baddely (1999)). The spirit of sex, drugs and rock'n'roll is virtually absent in black metal. Back to the most important bands for the genre, Led Zeppelin and Black Sabbath. Black Sabbath was particularly important for the darker, gloomier sound that became so typical for metal. Though thematically satanic, the band never embraced or even liked this imagery as such. They consider their songs to be about the more grim side of life, although one can hardly argue that they are open to interpretation as satanic. One could hardly say that the below fragment refers to something else than the devil himself, though the devil has been used as more or less a symbol for other issues before obviously.

What is this that stands before me?

Figure in black which points at me

Turn around quick, and start to run

Find out I'm the chosen one

- 'Black Sabbath' (Black Sabbath, 1970)

It was the grim life in the industrial towns of England that got expressed in songs from these common British boys, who stumbled upon gold with their band. Dark imagery and upside-down crosses became part of their appearance and this is something we can strongly see in black metal later on. It must be noted though that the band members strongly distance themselves from the satanic and even oppose it with a hint of superstition (Dunn, 2005). This grim and bleak imagery with the dark foreboding sound is in strong contrast with the decadence and flamboyance of Led Zeppelin, a very hedonistic outlet for occultist enthusiast Jimmy Page. Page is the proud owner of the biggest collection of works from Aleister Crowley, possibly the man responsible for most occult ideas still prevailing nowadays. Crowley came up with concepts of mixed paganism, mysticism and occultism he found in various cults and used these to create his own sects, living a decadent life and preaching higher wisdom through studying the supernatural (Baddeley, 1999). Ironically Black Sabbath became known as the satanic band and not Led Zeppelin. The latter also made way for fantasy themes in metal like the works of J.R.R. Tolkien and horror writer H.P. Lovecraft. Both are found in black metal years later, Varg Vikernes was heavily inspired by Tolkien's *The Lord of the Rings* (Moynihan & Söderlind, 1998) and never seems to cease interpreting it anew. The hatred against the world of Lovecraft's work has been extremely

influential to the horror genre in literature and film and eventually also to metal music of various genres.

An important development of the sixties, that did provide the space for metal to develop, is the new Satanism from Sandor LaVey that very rapidly becomes part of the metal scene (even though LaVey is not too fond of metal himself, writes Baddeley (1999). LaVey is a strange figure dwelling on the margins of society, who worked various strange jobs like a criminologist, psychic investigator and organist in burlesque clubs. He got interested in the literature from the pulp magazine *Weird Tales*, which featured the work of the likes of H.P. Lovecraft. With an interest in the occult, he ended up feeling that Christianity refused to recognize the animal nature of mankind and this he embraced, founding the Church of Satan as a religion. LaVey became known as the black pope. The doctrine is based on 9 fairly simple statements. It is not strange that metal culture in its wild and hedonistic beginnings, became easily interested in this doctrine of liberty and indulgence.

1. Satan represents indulgence instead of abstinence!
2. Satan represents vital existence instead of spiritual pipe dreams!
3. Satan represents undefiled wisdom instead of hypocritical self-deceit!
4. Satan represents kindness to those who deserve it instead of love wasted on ingrates!
5. Satan represents vengeance instead of turning the other cheek!
6. Satan represents responsibility to the responsible instead of concern for psychic vampires!
7. Satan represents man as just another animal, sometimes better, more often worse than those that walk on all-fours, who, *because of his "divine spiritual and intellectual development,"* has become the most vicious animal of all!
8. Satan represents all of the so-called sins, as they all lead to physical, mental, or emotional gratification!
9. Satan has been the best friend the Church has ever had, as He has kept it in business all these years!

- Baddeley, 1999, p. 71

When Black Sabbath played their very first show on American Soul, LaVey was present to host the show, something the band would probably never have agreed to if they had known. The Satanism of LaVey is more or less a new sort of liberalism, speaking of self realization and rising above the average based on one's own ingenuity. The Satanist forces his will upon the world, being in control of his own destiny and life, becoming the Nietzschean "*übermensch*". The teachings of this Church Of Satan were written down by LaVey in *The Satanic Bible* (LaVey,

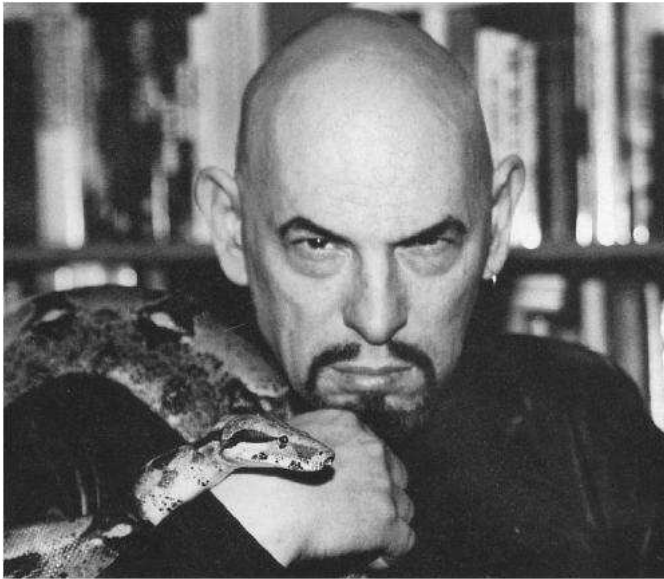


Figure 4. Sandor LaVey, founder of the Church of Satan (Baddeley, 1999, p. 132

1969). Satan becomes a symbol for earthly values and the embracing of life, dismissing religions such as Christianity for their denial of life. Satan becomes a prevailing symbol in metal music, representing the chaos in the world on one hand, on the other a modern day Dionysus (Weinstein, 2000). It represents power, control and the carnal of earthly life, themes that are ever-present in metal music in various forms. For example the overly sexual themes combined with substance abuse in glam metal representing the carnal and the

embracing of chaos and lost control (Spheeris, 1988) in contrast to the fascination with the carnal in death metal, in the form of decay, mutilation and abuse (Kahn-Harris, 2003). Death metal pushes the boundaries of what is acceptable with obscene and brutal lyrics.

Heavy metal always takes on a countercultural position, opposing pop music and thus society itself, which is the case with a scene based music genre, where the scene becomes more than just music (Dunn, 2005). The entertainment industry does have a habit of incorporating new cultural expressions at some point, so metal kept on developing further away from what is considered mainstream. This stems from metal being a scene based genre. Lena and Peterson (2008) describe different types of music genres, where the scene based type is not just the music, there is a whole culture attached to it with its own ideas, codes of conduct, dressing styles etc. The scene develops itself further away from what is considered mainstream; metal becomes louder, faster and more obscene. In the eighties new genres such as thrash metal, hardcore punk and death metal start to emerge, taking the abrasive sound of metal to the next level (Dunn, 2005). At this point metal is incorporated in pop music in the form of glam-metal, with bands such as Mötley Crüe, Poison and

W.A.S.P. living the Hollywood lifestyle of hedonism as portrayed by Spheeris (1988). This pushes the traditional metal forms further into their dark, fast and aggressive sound, trying to be as distant from the popular metal sound as possible (Weinstein, 2000). So when the glam scene starts to move into decline, another movement is on the rise. Bands such as Slayer, Metallica and Megadeth generate a new sound that is more extreme than ever before, pushing boundaries, which becomes the new trend for emerging bands and genres, pushing towards the mainstream all the way from the underground circuit. Among this first wave of new bands there is one band from the United Kingdom, called Venom, which produces a sound that only the hardcore underground of the metal scene appreciates. The band plays raw, aggressive metal with strong satanic themes and imagery. Their second album receives a title that will forever connect them to the genre: Black Metal (1982). Black metal is far from the only new genre that starts in this era, where extreme metal is born as a new part of metal music (Kahn-Harris, 2007).

Other main influences for the new genre, that slowly starts to detach itself from the other metal genres of its time, are Mercyful Fate from Denmark, producing dark, atmospheric music like their album *Don't Break The Oath* (1984). Hellhammer (later known as Celtic Frost) from Switzerland played heavy and bombastic metal (mostly in their Celtic Frost period) displaying a variety of extreme sounds. Bathory from Sweden sounded like utter chaos and rawness on the first record *Bathory* (1984), filled with satanic themes. All brought in various elements that were instrumental in the shaping of black metal. Where the raw, abrasive sound of Venom might have used Satanism as a theme for mere shock value, Kim Bendix Petersen, generally known by his moniker King Diamond (lead singer of Mercyful Fate, famous for his staccato vocal style), was, and still is actually a Satanist and proud member of the Church Of Satan. Though viewing himself more as an entertainer, the Satanist themes are clearly present in the music, which displays ritual elements (Davisson, 2010). The aesthetics in the work of King Diamond were picked up by the black metal musicians. Skulls and bones on the stage and most importantly the black and white face paint, that was also seen on the band Kiss as an attempt to depersonalize the band members. In both bands the face paint serves to give the band members different, unearthly identities, black metal later picks this up as well, dubbing it 'corpse paint', which helps showing themselves as demons or unearthly creatures of death.

Celtic Frost in Switzerland started producing a very bombastic form of early black metal. In its original guise as Hellhammer, the sound was raw and primal, but as Celtic Frost they took on a different approach. The band relied heavily on fantasy and horror from writers such as H.P. Lovecraft and Robert E. Howard, combining their otherworldly literature with the occultist works of Aleister Crowley (Davisson, 2010). The English language did pose a challenge for European

bands at the time, also for Celtic Frost. Most band members would choose stage names in extreme metal, very much prevalent in black metal, to express themselves as a different personality, often derived from mythology or fantasy literature. The names and looks chosen by bands such as Celtic Frost, Sodom and contemporaries in non-English speaking countries were a bit unfortunate and made the bands a bit less convincing (Baddeley, 1999). Probably the most important artist for what became known as the second wave of black metal, as the Norwegian movement is usually called, is the band Bathory. The name is derived from a Hungarian countess of the Báthory family, who according to folklore murdered hundreds of young girls in her castles. This band was really a one man project of Quorthon, a young Swede, who started something totally new inspired by the likes of Black Sabbath, Mötörhead and the hardcore scene of the United Kingdom with its raw sound. Raw production, fast tempo's and raspy vocals became characteristic for the satanic music Bathory produced and for the aesthetics in the Norwegian scene that followed, considered to be the second wave of black metal (Davisson, 2010). Von Helden (2009) actually describes Bathory's first couple of records as the foundation of what becomes black metal. Inspired by the sound of Venom and Satanism at first, Bathory was the first band to find its Nordic roots, implementing them in their music. From the album Blood Fire Death (1988) on Viking themes replaced the satanic elements with romantic depictions of martial scenes from the warriors of the past as the cover artwork and also the iconography of fascism and National Socialism (much of which is actually derived from the Viking age).

Musically the sound became more melodic and orchestrated, for the unfamiliar ear more musically and listenable. Vocals became audible and a classical influence became noticeable. At this time also the völkish occultism, mixing Nazism, Satanism and heathenism, started to gain more interest again, as shown in the thematic shift of Bathory, writes Baddeley (1999). He also interviewed Quorthon on this, where the vocalist spoke out about it: "We have been Christian for only 900 years so it would be much more faithful for Scandinavian bands to deal with Norse topics. *If they don't, and want to play Satanic stuff, okay, there's room for everybody* (Baddeley, 1999 p. 131)." Quorthon also states that the blood and gore was a main interest, stimulating him to play this sort of music. Bathory not only became known as one of the first black metal bands, but also with the blood and gore drenched death metal that arose inspired as much by this band.

Other highly influential bands that have been mentioned are first and foremost the Americans from thrash metal band Slayer, although the ideology has always been ambiguous and the imagery more aimed at provocation and shock. The band never really was part of either the death metal or the black metal scene; still they are often mentioned as an inspiration (Weinstein, 2000). A very interesting band that is mentioned as a main inspiration is from the unlikely location of Brazil

(although according to anthropologist Sam Dunn, the country has a thriving metal scene (2008)). Sacrófago, a band from Brazil, was one of the most extreme bands around 1987 according to Metallion, founder of Slayer magazine (one of the first metal magazines). Their raw sound opposed the by then internationally popular death metal style and their aesthetics were the ones that black metal embraced (Moynihan & Söderlind, 1998). Their press photos of the band wearing demonic face paint in a grave yard defined the look and the grimness black metal wanted to embrace (Davisson, 2010).

Death metal at the time was the most extreme music genre the world had seen this far. It became very popular, very global and very commercial to the point where American death metal band Cannibal Corpse could be heard in a mainstream, all ages film like *Ace Ventura: Pet Detective* (1994) with their song 'Hammer Smashed Face'. Even though its gruesome themes or sometimes strong satanic imagery, according to Davisson (2010) death metal bands would be mostly life affirming and pro-society. Black metal bands didn't appreciate this and ended up calling it "*(love of) life metal*" (Davisson, 2010 pp. 185). Cannibal Corpse vocalist George Fischer describes his bands overly violent themes and album art as simply something they consider to be 'fun' and that it should be viewed as art, detaching the artist from the product in a way (Dunn, 2005). For some of the beginning bands in Norway this was not serious enough, playing this extreme music with extreme themes and not being serious about it. A new course is decided upon by bands like Mayhem, Darkthrone and Emperor. These bands, sparked by the global, overly commercial death metal, will form a genre that is more extreme than any before. The Norwegian scene is rather small at first and most of the original bands are from the same region and the musicians would play in multiple of them. The main bands I will discuss are Mayhem and Burzum, since they form the core of the scene. Other bands I will use as examples. Emperor is relevant due to the participation in the activities of the scene and mainly the murder committed by their drummer (Moynihan & Söderlind, 1998). Darkthrone was initially part of the scene in a sense that they participated in the extreme discourse of ideologies, but later moved away from the extremism and focused on music (Aites & Ewell, 2008). Band names like Satyricon, Immortal, Thorns and various others can be found on the margins of the scene but are not very relevant for the story of Norwegian black metal.

Once Upon a Time in Norway...

To write the history of black metal as the most extremist genre in the metal scene is to write the history of Norwegian black metal, which started on its own without a real precursor scene in Norway. This means writing the history of Mayhem. Mayhem was the first band to release a record that can be considered as black metal. Inspired by the most extreme music that is out there,

a group of Norwegians start playing extreme metal that soon diverges from the death metal sound, into the dark domain of black metal. The band became famous before ever releasing anything by furiously promoting themselves as the most extreme band out there, according to original drummer Mannheim in interviews conducted by Aasdal and Ledang (2007). The band wanted to create an image that was opposed to the establishment, for which it used Satanism. Already having gained a pretty big following, *Deathcrush* (1987) becomes the unofficial first black metal album to be released (due to its length it's considered as an ep). A death cult, Satanism and mysticism based on the works of Aleister Crowley were inspirations for the band members, influencing their dark music that also was fiercely against the popular death metal at the time for not taking things serious. Black metal musicians were fed up with the death metal scene at this point (Zebub, 2007) A few scene members during interviews discuss how pink guitars and Hawaii shirts were part of the retinue for some of the more popular death metal bands. This was not much to the liking of the grim musicians in northern Europe, who appear to rely heavily on an anti-global attitude, contrary to what was prevailing in the death metal scene (Davisson, 2010). Where death metal went mainstream and 'commercial', black metal focused on the local or regional scene away and against society. Plans were forged in to take violent action against death metal musicians and death threats were sent out on a regular basis towards these bands (Aasdal & Ledang, 2007). Black metal from the start wants to be something that belongs to the scene itself, to the cult, as it often refers to itself in lyrics and titles, instead of being out there for everyone. Black metal becomes an elitist genre very quickly.

Being extreme seems to have been more important than holding on to an actual ideology at the time. Bandleader Euronymous (Øystein Aarseth), which means "prince of the dead" was according to early Mayhem band members a convinced communist at the time (Aasdal & Ledang, 2007). Black metal became very attractive because it immediately was more than just the art; it became an ideology and lifestyle. Death metal was musically and ideologically bankrupt and part of the established music industry, black metal aimed for a return to a "*more pure, uncommercialised, Satanic heavy metal epitomized by bands such as Venom and Bathory* (Spracklen, 2006)." Around the band Mayhem a scene developed and with this also the sound. The satanic imagery was still largely absent, slowly developing in the scene. As Manheim states, the band started out being more or less a punk band dabbling with more extreme forms like grindcore. This was still the sound on the *Deathcrush* ep.

After this release drummer Manheim and vocalist Maniac left the band and new blood was recruited. A new drummer was found in Hellhammer (Jan Axel Blomberg), who became famous as a phenomenal drummer, but also known for his controversial opinions. In an interview with the

authors of Lords of Chaos on the Norwegian scene he is quoted saying: "I'll put it this way, we don't like black people here. Black metal is for white people. ... I'm pretty convinced that there are differences between races as well as everything else. I think that like animals, some races are more...you know, like a cat is much more intelligent than a bird or a cow, or even a dog, and I think that's also the case with different races. (Moynihan & Söderlind, 1998 pp. 305-306)" He is also known to say that politics and music don't mix for him, nonetheless have his strong opinions contributed heavily to the image black metal received. The other figure is the dramatic character Dead (Per Yngve Ohlin), a Swedish vocalist who was formerly active with the band Morbid. His aptly chosen moniker represents a new element he brought into the scene that was already revolving around death, Satan and brutality: the death cult, a love for anything to do with death and decay on both a physical as well as a spiritual level.

Dead revered death in all its forms and this was reflected in the new performance style of the band, which featured self-mutilation. It didn't last very long though, after three years of working and living with the band Dead had enough of life and shot himself in the head with a shotgun while the other members were away from the Mayhem House. Various signals had been there for a while and basically people expected the suicide of Dead to happen. The body was discovered by Euronymous, who before calling the police first made pictures of the corpse (later used on an obscure bootleg record of the band as cover) and allegedly collected pieces of skull (Aasdal & Ledang, 2007). Temporary replacement vocalist Occultus remembers: "*Dead didn't see himself as human; he saw himself as a creature from another world. He was very much into death and the other world. He said he had many visions that his blood has frozen in his veins, that he was dead. That is the reason he took that name. He knew he would die...* (Moynihan & Söderlind, 1998 pp. 59)"

This is very significant in the development of the nihilistic foundations of black metal from where on the ideology keeps developing. Death becomes a thing very normal for the scene members, something to embrace. Another element follows immediately in the wake of Dead's suicide: war. Euronymous puts out a statement that reads the following: "*We have declared WAR. Dead died because the trend people have destroyed everything from the old black metal/death metal scene. Today "death" metal is something normal, accepted and FUNNY (argh) and we HATE it. It used to be spikes, chains, leather and black clothes, and this was the only thing Dead lived for as he hated this world and everything which lives on it. (Moynihan & Söderlind, 1998 pp. 59)*" A true death cult emerged in black metal, even spawning its own new subgenre dubbed DSBM (Depressed Suicidal Black Metal) with the self abusing vocalist Kvarforth. Grave desecrations took place in the black metal scene as well. Anonymous members are seen bragging about this in

the documentary *Black Metal Satanica* (Lundberg, 2008). Euronymous said the following about the event: “*When we say that we are into death-metal then it means we worship the dead. There is nothing that is too raw, disgusting or sick. (Davisson, 2010, p. 185)*”

The way the band dealt with the suicide was too much for founding member Necrobutcher (Jørn Stubberud), who left the band after these events. The way Euronymous used the suicide to propel the band to even greater heights particularly was too much (Rydehead, 2008). This left the band in need of new blood to fill the empty spots in its lineup. To replace Necrobutcher, Euronymous recruited a peculiar figure that was already making a name for himself in the scene: Varg Vikernes, ironically also the supplier of the ammunition for Dead’s shotgun with which he killed himself (Aites & Ewell, 2008). Euronymous is at this moment much the centre of the scene, every band out there is in touch with him. Bands like Darkthrone, Immortal, Enslaved and Burzum make up this scene that revolves round Mayhem and Euronymous, making him the uncrowned king of the scene (Moynihan & Sørderlind, 1998). Things seem to get out of hand from this point and the band descends into further madness. Death threats are sent to anyone they don’t like or that Euronymous feels should be threatened. Insane rumors are being spread by that band

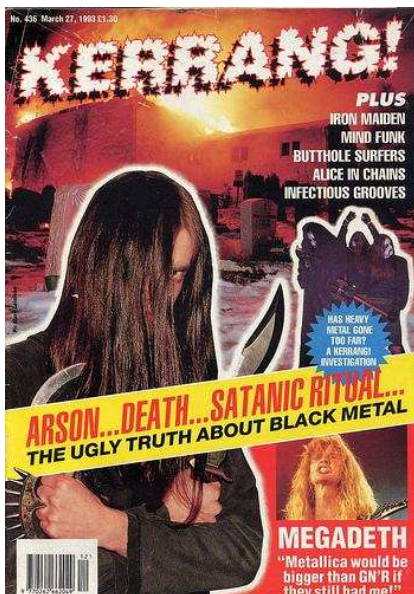


Figure 5. “Kerrang Magazine #436, Cover” (1993)

themselves, such as those of Euronymous possessing skull fragments of death and having eaten part of his brain (Aites & Ewell, 2008). Varg Vikernes is at the time when he joins Mayhem already very productive with his one man project Burzum, where he can make music the way he wants to. He also brings to the scene his strong racial views and hatred for Christianity, that due to the connection between him and Euronymous rapidly spreads through the small network of the black metal scene. War is declared on Christianity by Euronymous and the duo proclaims a campaign of terror against the faith. Soon the old, wooden churches in Norway start going up in flames, black metal starts their campaign for real. It is not clear who started it, but in general Vikernes is considered the mastermind behind the church burnings and also the most active

arsonist (Rydehead, 2008). Global attention was reached by an article in the well known Kerrang magazine in early 1993, containing an interview with Vikernes (Arnopp, 1993). The interview is filled with insane statements about a black cult, church burnings and mankind as slaves to the black circle. This black circle would be the secret order Vikernes and Euronymous are part of. They proclaim to work for Satan and are willing to do whatever it takes in the name of their dark

lord. The eyes of the world were now on Norway, black metal was reaching its absolute climax. Mayhem was still active, but needed a vocalist. One was found in the mysterious Hungarian Attila Csihar, by now known as one of the most experimental, extreme vocalists in the world working with extreme metal bands over decades (Csihar, 2003). Work started on the first official Mayhem album. There is always a problem when two big egos are put together and the happy unity between the two lords of chaos was short lived. Tensions between the two main figures in the scene, Varg 'Count Grishnack' Vikernes and Euronymous, started to rise in 1993 and the fatal event on the grim path for Mayhem was approaching.

The success the band had with their early steps and their unique sound motivated Euronymous to start a business in black metal, which he did after the suicide of Dead in 1991. In Oslo he founded the underground label Deathlike Silence productions and a record store named Helvete (meaning 'hell') that would become the center of the Norwegian black metal scene. Unfortunately Euronymous was living in a fantasy world when it came to his business and lacked proper insight into the workings of it, increasingly losing money in the following two years (Moynihan & Söderlind, 1998). The cooling relation between the illustrious duo mentioned earlier were based on differences in ideology and had to do with money that Euronymous owed Vikernes for his records. Their diverging ideas created a rift. Davisson positions the two musicians as opposites each other as Vikernes the nationalist and Euronymous the internationalist. For Euronymous black metal was global and he attempted to sign bands from all places in the world, even an Israeli band named Salem came under the attention of the entrepreneur Euronymous. Vikernes opposed this with his strong nationalist and racial views, even sending a bomb to the Salem singer and planned to bomb anarchist squats (2010). Something changes when metal becomes political. According to Scott (2009), art is mimesis, it represents society. Varg Vikernes takes on racial politics in a time when nationalism resurfaces at the end of the cold war. Scott answers his own question to what metal has to say about this, that metal offers an argument, it disputes and argues. In the case of Vikernes, this is not merely a voice, but acts. Euronymous doesn't appreciate these politics in the business he tries to construct. Their conflict starts to get out of hand. When Euronymous started sending death threats to Varg Vikernes, which he basically did all the time to anyone, the real confrontation was coming on. Attila Csihar describes Vikernes as a sharp witted, intelligent and calm person, so what happened was a surprise after which he lost all contact with the band (Rydehead, 2008). Former bass player Necrobutcher says about the death threats that it must have caused the murder of Euronymous: "*He must have thought better him than me...* (Aasdal & Ledang, 2007)" Vikernes was never the one to take a threat lightly and did strike before anyone would strike at him, which he did in a bloody manner.

On the 10th of August 1993 Euronymous was killed outside his apartment with numerous stab wounds, the perpetrator was soon found in Varg Vikernes who got sentenced for 21 years in prison for the murder and church arsons. He came by Euronymous's apartment that night under the pretext of discussing the contract for his band Burzum. The argument they had in front of the door turned into a fight which ended on the stairs outside the apartment, where Euronymous died after a stab to the head. The knife was embedded so deep that Vikernes needed to use his foot to pull it out (Rydehead, 2008). Vikernes claims to not have planned his brutal murder of his former friend. He heard of the rumors that Euronymous was coming after him: "My reaction to this was naturally anger. What the Hell did he think he was? The same day I decided to drive to Oslo, hand him the signed contract and tell him to "f*** off", basically, and by doing so take away all the excuses he had to contact me ever again. I have to admit that I didn't rule out beating him up too, though. (Vikernes, 2004e)" The media immediately made a big heist of it and all the headlines were full of the news (Grude, 1999, Aasdall & Ledang, 2007). For many people this was too much, the scene as it was ended with the murder of Euronymous. The whole story is a bit dodgy in general. Vikernes claims to have killed Euronymous face to face, where the police report states he was killed from behind. Vikernes claims it was all done in self defense (Aasdall & Ledang, 2007). "Euronymous was waiting for me in entrance, looking very nervous, and I handed him the contract. I may add that of course he was nervous. The guy he planned to murder showed up at his doorstep in the middle of the night. I then asked him what the "f***" he was up to, and when I took a step forwards he panicked. He freaked out and attacked me with a kick in the chest. I simply threw him to the door, and was a bit stunned. I wasn't stunned by his kick, but by the fact he had attacked me. I didn't expect that. Not in his apartment and not like that. He had just started to train "kick boxing" and like all beginners thought he had become "Bruce Lee" overnight, but still. (Vikernes, 2004e)"

The murder divided the black metal scene, which received a scar with these events (Spracklen, 2006). For a long time there was much unclear about the murder and who was involved with it. It was claimed that it involved a power struggle. The story of Vikernes denies this in every tone. According to him, there was no other way out of the situation: "By then Euronymous was back on his feet. He looked resigned and said: "It's enough", but then he tried to kick me again, and I finished him off by thrusting the knife through his skull, through his forehead, and he died instantaneously. The eyes turned around in his head and a moan could be heard as he emptied his lungs when he died. He fell down to a sitting position, but the knife was stuck in his head, so I held him up, as I held onto the knife. When I jerked the knife from his skull he fell forward, and rolled down a flight of stairs like a sack of potatoes - making enough noise to wake up the whole neighborhood (it was a noisy, metal staircase). (Vikernes, 2004e)" And so the prince of death was

killed outside his own apartment in his underwear with a pocket knife. Vikernes describes how he tried to avoid capture and was betrayed by all his so called friends. He does not deny the murder though.

Mayhem was dissolved after these events. With their vocalist back in Hungary, their guitar player dead and bass player in prison, only one member was left. Drummer Hellhammer was caught up in many projects so the band died, only to be reformed in 1995 by Necrobutcher. Mayhem continued its legacy as one of the most progressive bands in the extreme metal genre and now still is a force to be reckoned with in the extreme metal scene with one of the most intense live shows around, still on the margins of what is acceptable sometimes (Rydehead, 2008). Vikernes released one more black metal album whilst in prison, called *Filosofem* (1996). The album was recorded earlier, so thanks to the amount of already recorded music he could still produce something and cash in on the publicity he got after the murder. After this he moved on to make new age music, more in line with his ideology: “...*to be a true Aryan, one has to think like an Aryan as well, and people will never do that as long as they keep polluting their minds with alien (read: metal) music, or even worse, alien music and alien lyrics* (Davisson, 2010, p. 186)” Of course, Vikernes has always been very occupied with the shaping of his image and this statement makes it seem like a conscious choice of the musician to make the music he did produce in prison. In fact, he simply didn't have access to any sort of instruments apart from a synthesizer in prison, as he admits in an interview published on his own website (Mitchell, 2005). But the 'Count' always has a different story about these things.

Part 2: From beyond this world

The aesthetics of metal and extreme metal

“Like thrash, black metal evolves from punk and the new wave of British heavy metal with additional elements borrowed from shock rock. Its sound is raw, yet it is also epic and atmospheric. Like punk rock meets Wagner, dressed as Alice Cooper. (Dunn, 2005)” In black metal the music itself is of course heavily entwined with the message, content and form are in unity here. To understand how their interaction works and how the ideology of black metal is shaped, we will have to understand a bit more about the aesthetics of the music genre itself. Metal started out from rock music in the sixties and starts taking on different aesthetics, slowly moving away from what is considered the mainstream of pop music into a scene, an own micro cosmos of actors in a cultural field of itself. The definition Lena & Peterson (2008) for a scene best applies to the workings of black metal. Its sound is shaped by the scene surrounding it. It has an own field in the sense Bourdieu (1983) defines one (to a certain extent, since even though it’s counter position, metal is part of the broader sense of culture) and thus cultural capital is also something inside the scene, rarely valued outside it. In Norway itself there are notable exceptions of this, due to Norwegians having some pride in their biggest cultural product (Dunn, 2005). Various black metal bands have won mainstream pop awards in Norway. A series of own magazines, labels, venues, festivals and various cultural outlets allows the scene to form itself in opposition to society in a sense, it strongly moves away from the mainstream cultural expressions. “Metal is the music of the members of its subculture, it is their music. And it’s theirs in many ways – as an idealized representation of the life-style of their subculture, as the music that provides them with cherished experiences and, because of those services that it renders to them, as something that they can serve through their loyalty. Metal represents, legitimizes, and redeems the members of its subculture. (Weinstein, 2000 p. 143)” The scene can thus be seen as a micro version of the broader cultural field, very much closed off to its outside. This goes for most scene-based music genres and heavily defines the way we should look at extreme metal.

Metal culture is defined by its otherness by Weinstein (2000) and various other writers on the subject. Terms such as counterculture and subculture have been coined in past research on this subject (Brown, 2011). Defining it as scene serves best due to the flexibility of the word in this movement that is constantly in flux. Also it shows a certain exclusion to the outside and its opposing position best, making it particularly useful when talking about the black metal scene. Instrumental in its development is this counter position. Weinstein (2000) speaks about the code of metal, formed by an aural, visual and verbal expression. The most prominent element is power,

often expressed in sheer volume. This is designed to have the effect of empowerment in the listener. The guitar work is also very important as a very technical part of the music. Effects and manual dexterity are creating a wide range of sound that shows the skill and speed of the musicians themselves. Solos are very important at that. Complexity is a keyword to the sonic dimensions of metal, with also very powerful but complex rhythm sections in the form of bass and drums that are not only heard but quite literally felt by the listener. Metal really developed partly due to the increasing technical possibilities for musicians from the sixties onward, before that it would be simply impossible. The core of a metal band are guitar, bass, drums and vocals, of which the latter is working in harmony with the music, something that is different in this music genre compared to the pop tradition. Vocal styles are very important in metal and range from soaring vocals in an almost operatic style, such as seen in Led Zeppelin in the early days to a raw, guttural vocal style in later death metal. “*High volume, a wailing guitar, a booming bass drum, a heavy bass guitar line, and screaming vocals combine to release a vital power that lends its spirit to any lyrical theme... For heavy metal the sound as such – its timbre, its volume, and its feel – is what matters, what defines it as power, giving it inherent meaning.* (Weinstein, 2000 p. 27)” One very important thing for the distinct sound of heavy metal is the tritone, the diabolus in musica, the devils note. It was even banned at times for its physical effect in medieval times (Dunn, 2005). The heaviness of metal is very often traced back to the music of Wagner, who according to interviewees in *Metal: A Headbangers Journey* (2005) actually increased the amount of bass in his music to get to the bombastic, powerful compositions that gained him so much fame. This physical element in music is actually retraceable from Wagner to the burgeoning rock’n’roll scene through jazz and blues music, which was regarded as physical/sexual, loud and intoxicating (Moynihan & Sørderlind, 1998). This music also soon got mingled with voodoo and demonic traits. “...*Robert Johnson, is said to have sold his soul to the Devil at a crossroads in the Mississippi Delta, and the surviving recordings of his haunting songs give credence to the legend that Satan rewarded his pact with the ability to play* (Moynihan & Sørderlind, 1998 p. 2).” Satanism and music have a long history together. Music and the devil have always been connected, but in truth, there was nothing new to what the early metal artists did. Satan has always been part of the romantic music culture.

The importance of visual aspects has already been discussed earlier. The scene makes up its own characteristics, which become like symbols to scene members. The long hair, denim clothes, leather and studs are almost iconic to what a metal fan looks like. Like the music, the symbolism inherent to metals culture develops and finds meaning within the scene as described by Lena & Peterson (2008). Band logos are extremely important and based on scene conventions every type of logo also immediately tells a metal fan what kind of band it concerns. Covers use this

symbology to express feelings and vibes that are connected to the band and the style this



Figure 6. “Metalfans at the 2012 Fortarock Festival.”

(Verhagen, 2012)

fans, often mentioned in songs even (Dunn, 2005). The visual aspects of metal have always been victim to controversy and debate. For both visual as verbal expressions metal has always faced censorship and social criticism. For metal it’s scene and symbology is very important. As seen in figure 5. There’s a common dress code of preferably black clothing and the universal symbol of the devil horns. Festivals are specifically a place where the scene establishes these codes.

Verbal expressions of metal have always been just as controversial or made controversial. Both hedonistic (or as Weinstein calls it, Dionysian) and chaotic/rebellious themes have been discussed as well in the previous sections. Satan becomes a very easy symbol to use as opposition to western society. The Christian, capitalist and rational society that leaves little room for ‘the other’ is the thing metal opposes, in line with a long culture that Baddeley describes (1999), and even the Beatles have small references to this dark sub stream in European culture in their work. An important moment in the development of heavy metal comes around in the eighties. From its beginnings it developed into a scene, opposing the mainstream pop industry. Metal becomes mainstream, bigger than ever before, topping charts and getting into main conflicts such as the famous censorship court case with the P.M.R.C. (Parental Music Resource Centre) (Dunn, 2005). After the explosion of metal in the shape of NWOBHM (New wave of British heavy metal) metal gets to this crucial point where according to Weinstein (2000) the scene breaks down, fragmentizing into the popular lite metal and the heavy and extreme thrash metal. Metal’s aesthetics of opposition start changing into more than just that, reaching new extremes.

particular band is involved in. A certain conventionality is involved in the recognition of these symbols (Weinstein, 2000). There is always a certain visual aspect to the stage presence as well, very often with many theatrics. At other times bands will return to a more purist stance when it comes to metal, back to the basics of things. Black, leather, studs and ripped jeans have always been part and symbolic for the look of metal

Extreme Metal and Transgression

Since the focus really is on extreme metal here, the fundamental split in heavy metal that Weinstein (2000) mentions, yields us two distinct movements, depending on one's point of view. One of a more market oriented, popular form that Weinstein calls lite metal and one towards fundamentalism, that Weinstein hardly discusses in her work. Kahn-Harris (2007) gives us much more insight in the second movement, which turns away in disgust from the decadent pop metal of the eighties and moves towards its fundamentals, towards a purity and scene-based network. Kahn-Harris also uses the word scene for the extreme metal movement, where a short note on the definition of scene is required. The extreme metal scene consists of various genres and thus small scenes the way Lena & Peterson (2008) define them. The extreme metal scene is not very big and though very much global, thinly spread. These scenes mingle and will interact very strongly at times due to the limited numbers. At other times they might not interact at all and even oppose. The concept of scene is useful to speak about extreme metal, but one has to agree with Kahn-Harris, that it is almost impossible to pin it down to characteristics such as location, space and field. The extreme metal scene at that is defined by Kahn-Harris in a model of interacting scenes of different genres and localities, always fluent and diverse and ever changing. Autonomy is at times something a scene reaches in my opinion, regarding how a scene such as the Norwegian is obviously influenced by predecessors, but starts growing in an own small, local, underground bubble. Still, extreme metal is part of the metal scene and even that will always be part of the even wider classification of popular music. The purpose of this section will be, on one hand, to show what extreme metal is, but also to divide black metal from its peers. Kahn-Harris (2011) likes to treat the scene as a whole, for which there are numerous good reasons, but the explicit remarks of black metal artists themselves and the specific differences that Kahn-Harris notices in black metal himself do help us to form an idea of what black metal is within its extreme context.

So what makes extreme metal different from the heavy metal scene described in the previous section? First and foremost there is a general change in the attitude of the scene. After it was condemned openly for spoiling the youth, the scene was also embraced by the mass media and thus entered the mainstream, as Dunn clearly shows in his documentary (2005). The purism of the emerging extreme metal scene moves beyond the protest culture metal was before what we can almost call an existential shift. The embrace of common culture would take away everything that metal represents and shows that nothing is safe from its clutches. Kahn-Harris describes how not just right wing criticism forced metal into the position it found itself in, also more liberal critics saw in metal a sign of alienation among the youth, specifically in America (2007). This is exactly where a scene comes in; it gives meaning, a sense of belonging. Metal always needed its counter

position to the mainstream to maintain this and now threatened to lose that. Extreme metal seeks a new form of protest, instead of inward it is now going outward in the sense that instead of opposing the center, the mainstream, it seeks now to find the boundaries of the outer rings of extremity. Extreme metal thus becomes obscure and escapes the censorship and criticism of its regular opponents (though every once in a while something pops up). What extreme metal seeks is transgression (Kahn-Harris, 2007). Instead of looking for opposite poles to maximize its distance from the mainstream, metal now moves outward. So how does this transgression influence the aesthetics of extreme metal? Let us therefore take the same dimensions Weinstein (2000) used (aural, visual and verbal) in relation to the types of transgression that Kahn-Harris distinguishes.

Theories of Transgression

To speak of transgression, I need to clearly explain what I intend by this. Kahn-Harris (2007) relates transgression to the theories of Bakhtin (1984) and Bataille (1986). He distills from their theories both the Dionysian elements and the element of chaos, which Weinstein also related to heavy metal music (2000). Bakhtin links transgression to the carnivalesque, the outburst of transgression in a sense that the world is turned upside down and one would let go of inhibitions in the face of the grotesque... "The essence of the grotesque is precisely to present a contradictory and double-faced fullness of life. Negation and destruction (death of the old) are included as an essential phase, inseparable from affirmation, from the birth of something new and better. The very material bodily lower stratum of the grotesque image (food, wine, the genital force, the organs of the body) bears a deeply positive character. This principle is victorious, for the final result is always abundance, increase (Bakhtin, 1984 pp. 62)." By doing this, the form of transgression allows one to escape the world and stand outside its rules and conventions for a moment, however briefly. The experience of this, which is not necessarily a pleasant one, reaffirms society and its borders to the individual. It has much to do with the carnal, the gruesome and the obscene as well for the theorists of transgression. The things we consider to be outside of our life world.

One element that is very important in the transgression discussed by Kahn-Harris is the relationship to the abject, that which falls outside of our symbolic order according to Kristeva (1982). Kahn-Harris associates this with bodily fluids, women, animals and Jewish people as forms of abject. These are found repelling and fascinating at the same time, disgust and desire mix in the perception of the abject in a transgressive mode. It brings a crisis for our being one could say. "In the end, our only difference is our unwillingness to have a face-to-face confrontation with the abject. Who would want to be a prophet? For we have lost faith in One Master Signifier. (Kristeva, 1982, p. 209)" There is something more to the abject though for Kristeva, it also

suggests it becomes incomprehensible with an absence of science and a God to support the individual. The individual will have to make sense of its own world and that which falls outside it, giving it a place in art to process it. It tells us something about the way mankind must deal with its world and explores its boundaries. Bataille states something similar. “*Only the devil remained part beast, with his tail the sign first of transgression and then of degradation, of a hopelessness that is the counterweight of the affirmation of the Good and the duties imposed by the Good.* (Bataille, 1986, p. 136)” Transgression here is also affirming moral values and it helps dissolving and affirming one’s existence. Transgression embraces the carnal, the beastly nature of mankind and loosing oneself in it briefly for Bataille. It is in essence a way of dealing with life that faces us with the borders of our society. This fascination for the abject and the bestial, immoral behavior is expressed in the often gruesome work of many death metal bands (Dunn, 2005). It blows reality up to proportions that are carnivalesque, something we know is unreal and still it takes us away from this reality into a frightening pool of chaos. It is overwhelming, but it gives us a way to deal with and accept the transgression. “Metal confronts what we’d rather ignore. It celebrates what we often deny. It indulges in what we fear most. And that’s why metal will always be a culture of outsiders. (Dunn, 2005)” The themes that are described are sex, violence and evil, things that we sometimes find difficult to give a place in our world. These things in extreme forms have always been part of extreme metal according to Baddeley (1999), because it seeks out these extremes. Transgressive arts help us to deal with it. It shows us the limits of our society, of our perception and what we can basically ‘take’. Kahn-Harris (2007) makes metal seem like therapy, but transgression can be interpreted in another way.

Foucault is also mentioned by Kahn-Harris when it concerns transgression. According to him, Foucault states that it sets limits and challenges those (1977). This is very true, but he skips one notion of transgression that Foucault implies as well and this is the crossing over these borders. What happens when we find things outside of the borders, what does transgression do to the notion of a border? Herodotus already mentions transgression when he speaks about the symmetry in the world. He points out that people should stay in their parts, because transgressing the borders would lead to imbalance. Crossing over is however, always possible but a thing that is outside of the order of things (Herodotus, 1961).

Firstly, metal clearly challenges the borders of, always seeking to be more extreme and heavier than before. “*We wanted to create something new. Something harder, faster and heavier. More aggressive than anything we had heard within that expression.* (Manheim in Aasdal & Ledang, 2007)” It never ceases to push forwards to these borders, stretching them, pulling them as far as can go. Metal has only gone to more and more extreme points since it first was named as heavy

metal. One could hardly say that Mayhem has a sound originating from the early blues-rock as an inexperienced listener. The notion of the border for Foucault is much more complex than Kahn-Harris suggests though.”Transgression is an action which involves the limit, that narrow zone of a line where it displays the flash of its passage, but perhaps also its entire trajectory, even its origin; it is likely that transgression has its entire space in the line it crosses. The play of limits and transgression seems to be regulated by a simple obstinacy: transgression incessantly crosses and recrosses a line which closes up behind it in a wave of extremely short duration, and thus it is made to return once more right to the horizon of the uncrossable. (Foucault, 1977, p. 33-34)” What Kahn-Harris suggests, is that transgression is thus per definition society affirming. Black metal wishes to step outside these borders though, just like extreme politics. In this sense, transgression has been an expression of how the romantic feelings have been dealt with in the rational society since the Enlightenment, where De Sade (1990) starts giving place to things that fall out of the social order in art. Now, transgression has reached its maximum and society seems to be bursting at the seams. The literal meaning of transgression as stepping over becomes real. “The limit and transgression depend on each other for whatever density of being they possess: a limit could not exist if it were absolutely uncrossable and, reciprocally, transgression would be pointless if it merely crossed a limit composed of illusions and shadows. (Foucault, 1977, p. 34)” Bataille makes clear that transgression is not something unchangeable, it moves along with society and morality. We can clearly say this in our cultural expressions that have moved on to become more extreme through the years. Were swearing on TV was uncommon at first, it is now common in pop songs and such. In that way transgression serves to stretch those borders. Horror films have gotten more gruesome all the time as well, the limits move and transgression keeps on taking place. The limits that society sets for us appear to hardly be limits that protect us from the void and transgression illuminates them (Foucault, 1977). Extreme metal keeps transgressing those borders, reaffirming and stretching these borders.

“Transgression opens onto a scintillating and constantly affirmed world, a world without shadow or twilight, without that serpentine “no” that bites into fruits and lodges their contradictions at their core. It is the solar inversion of satanic denial. It was originally linked to the divine, or rather, from this limit marked by the sacred it opens the space where the divine functions. (Foucault, 1977, p.37)” Transgression thus opens up, it creates a yes where there is no. Moving into the space of the sacred tells us more about mankind since the Enlightenment than just about metal. The limits that the divine had set in our world are now open with the death of God and the new mankind has moved into this space as new masters of their world. For black metal this is their transgression. They stretch the boundaries as far as possible until the very edge if they can, ideologically willing to go to reach the utter profane in order to allow the ultimate sacred, perform

acts that are utterly inappropriate to make the world as appropriate as they wish. This thought does not limit itself to black metal.

Transgression in Metal

The most obvious category of transgression in heavy metal here is the sonic transgression in the sense Kahn-Harris applies it (2007). The power that the music shows is changing in extreme



Figure 7. “Angela Gossow of death metal band Arch Enemy” (Achrome Moments, 2011)

metal. It leaves musical conventions behind, becoming almost painful, extreme and chaotic in its sonic representation. “*The thing that made this music different was that we rebelled against traditional song structure. (Varg Vikernes in Aites & Ewell, 2008)*” Where early bands like Venom (“*Technically, Venom stank...*” (Baddeley, 1999)) and Bathory in their early days just sounded raw and unsophisticated, later bands definitely have reached high technical skills and manage to create proper walls of sound and soundscapes. For the guitar, the solo is almost not present anymore; the riff is what matters, creating that actual wall of sonic noise. Depending on the genre the sound can be clinical and clean, but distorted (Florida style death metal) to a noisy, lo-fi and very trebled black metal guitar style. Vocals are taken to a whole new level, where words are barely decipherable anymore due to the guttural vocals or high pitched screams that are used (Kahn-Harris, 2007). A

range of vocal styles at first seemed to reaffirm the masculinity of the scene, but women have also mastered these techniques, such as Angela Gossow from Arch Enemy (Dunn, 2005). Vocals can be interpreted as a particularly transgressive element among the sonic spectrum, due to its ‘inhuman’ sound. This puts extreme metal easily further away from reality. Interesting enough, though the vocals are barely decipherable, the songwriting is extremely important in extreme metal. Lyric sheets are almost always provided for this particular reason. For someone who is not familiar with extreme metal it may be experienced as noise and random sonic chaos, this is far beside the point.

Nothing is random about extreme metal song structures. A great rhythmic complexity is also noticeable in extreme metal. Blast beat drumming reaches an incredible amount of beats per minute (300 to 400 BPM). Extremely fast guitar playing is also seen, very often found in black

metal actually. The amount of BPM that is reached makes the speed so high that a static sound becomes audible; a sound that seems like it reached a standstill. Though the extreme metal scene is always changing and there is much cross contamination, the static sound of extremely fast tremolo riffs is used very often in black metal to create a standstill sound that still feels very strong and atmospheric. The uniqueness of the black metal sound is expressed by Darkthrone bandleader Fenriz: *“Euronymous invented the typical Norwegian black metal riff. It’s sort of derived from Bathory, but it was a new way of playing a riff that had really not been done and not been stylized by anyone before. That’s what Euronymous did. You have a chord, you don’t play one and one, you play one and one up and down and you have the notes cling together so you have the eerie notes and they all string together creating this incredible eerie sound. It sends fucking chills down your spine. (Fenriz in Aites & Ewell, 2008)”*

Discursive transgression is related to the verbal expression Weinstein (2000) divided into one of chaos and one of Dionysian themes. In the approach of Weinstein, heavy metal still has something playful when it comes to the themes of death, war and Satanism. It represents something else or is described as simply expression of feelings from the artist. In extreme metal, according to Kahn-Harris (2007), there is no way out, no levity or ironizing the lyrics. Extreme metal is dead serious about its themes and lyrics when one looks at the product of art itself. As an example Kahn-Harris uses Deicide, a band with outspoken satanic beliefs that has stood by its extremity even when death threats were received (Baddeley, 1999). The artists might not be as dead serious about their work all the time though. Many bands admit using this whole imagery pure for art’s sake, such as Venom with their over the top Satanism *“Look, I don’t preach Satanism, occultism, witchcraft, or anything. Rock and Roll is basically entertainment and that’s as far as it goes (Cronos from Venom quoted in Moynihan & Söderlind, 1998, pp. 13-14).* Cannibal Corpse has been mentioned, describing their music and visuals as art and Slayer, a band always considered very much satanic, actually has a Christian singer Tom Araya who regards Satan as a form of protest (Dunn, 2005). In black metal the scene aspect of a lifestyle and culture comes to its fullest, where even outside the art, the artists embrace their lyrics as a whole way of life. Their lyrics of death, purity and Satanism become something they believe in and their acts in life are known to show this. One of the band members of Watain describes in an interview how black metal and his band are really his whole life (Lundberg, 2008). Extreme metal can be and has been very political as well through its development (Davisson, 2010), though never as extreme as in black metal where the politics become part of the scene and not just a mocking expression. Davisson shows a long history, where for example the grind core genre toyed with racism as something ‘funny’, where black metal literally develops a subgenre dedicated to racism.

The visual expression of extreme metal that Weinstein (2000) describes mixes up the discursive and bodily transgression. The imagery of extreme metal is clearly of transgressive nature, such as exemplified by the previous section. The satanic, blood and gore and warlike themes are presented on the stage as well in a theatrical way. In many cases this is really just theatrics, but black metal seems to be an exception to this once more (though in other genres extremism does occur as well). The warrior theme is extremely strong in the performance, being something that transcends being human for the artists. A different moniker is chosen by many of the black metal members, often based on LaVey's list of infernal names in his *Satanic Bible* (1969), which helps becoming an inhuman warrior. This warrior aspect stays with the black metal musicians, also off the stage. Bard "Faust" Eithun was convicted for murder and arson for example and in the black metal scene he was honored as a true warrior for his actions (Aites & Ewell, 2007). The name Faust was the one that his fans would use. This warrior aesthetics can be found in all early black metal bands, some applying it more successfully than others. This seems to originate from bands such as Manowar from the heavy metal scene, dressed in loincloths and furs while wielding swords on



Figure 8. "Bathory Go Viking" (Moynihan & S oderlind, 1998 p.17)

promo shots (Dunn, 2005). Celtic Frost and Bathory have made promo pictures that nowadays would be more likely to make one laugh.

The warrior mentality combined with individualist Satanism and national heritage,

specifically the Vikings in Norway, generates a dangerous new aesthetic that is shown on the stage as well. Davisson (2010) discusses bands like Marduk, Endstille and Slayer for second world war related imagery that is interpreted as glorifying war. Many black metal artists also show themselves with Nazi flags and symbols in promotion photos, embracing the transgressive qualities of Nazism, which stands outside of our society as it is (Baddeley, 1999). "The appropriation of Nazi symbols has always been a main feature of extreme metal... However, in black metal these appropriations have been accompanied by discourses that are highly conducive to the incorporation of Nazi ideologies. Unsurprisingly, perhaps, a number of black metal bands, such as Norway's *Burzum* and Poland's *Graveland*, have become involved in far-right politics and others have expressed some sympathy with fascist and racist ideas. Since the 1990s a fully-

fledged Nazi black metal scene has developed, existing in a complicated relationship with both the Nazi music scene and the black metal scene (Kahn-Harris, 2007 pp. 41).

Bodily transgression is described by Kahn-Harris as transgression of excess in alcohol and drugs. One finds delight in self destruction through these means according to his research. Bodily excess is also seen in overly sexual elements that appear in extreme metal, such as the overly erotic work of Cradle of Filth, always taking care to mix sex with a dose of blasphemy (Baddeley, 1999). Marduk caused controversy with a cover featuring a woman pleasuring herself with a crucifix for their first demo Fuck Me Jesus (1991), getting banned in many countries and gaining fame in the scene simultaneously. Physical violence is also part of the bodily transgression in the form of violent dancing, moshing and stage diving, all dangerous behavior that is known to cause injuries at time. Black metal, once more, is taking this to a different level according to Kahn-Harris (2007). The suicidal, nihilistic ideas present in the scene stimulate extreme behavior of which the band The Shining from Sweden is a prima example. Self-abuse and self-mutilation has had its place in rock music for a very long time, but in black metal it becomes almost part of a code. Singer Dead from Mayhem gained fame for his self mutilation and ultimate suicide (Rydehead, 2008). Self mutilation also became part of the act for Mayhem singer Maniac in the reformed Mayhem in 1995 and his friend Kvarforth from Swedish band Shining. Maniac became notorious for both self mutilation and alcohol abuse. The use of blood and other fluids in black metal concerts is not uncommon either, placing the abject once more in the transgressive tradition. Most extreme to date is singer Kvarforth from The Shining who claims the purpose of his band is to hurt people and promote suicide: *“It’s not about teenage angst or stuff like that, it’s like force feeding. Shining’s aim is to hurt. At a very young stage in my life I came to the conclusion that I wanted to explore evil. I started to destroy myself physically and foremost psychologically. I tried to break old borders... When you do stuff like this you either die or rise above (Kvarforth in Lundberg, 2008)”* Erik Danielson from the band Watain describes the process of getting where he is now as painful and tells how people literally ask him to “come back to reality”.

Bodily transgression and discursive transgression are expressed both visually and verbally. Black metal is different in how it embraces its matter into its small scenic culture. The fascination for eugenics and purity becomes very real and part of their ideology. Dancing at black metal concerts is very uncommon. There used to be a slogan ‘No Fun, No Mosh, No Core’ that the early black metallers adopted (Kahn-Harris, 2007 pp. 45). In this black metal opposes the habits that are scene in both the hardcore and death metal scene. Violent moshing and having a lot of fun is something they turn their backs on. In the Norwegian black metal scene, drugs and alcohol are not so much present in the art itself, though members admit their use of such substances (Aasdal & Ledang

2007, Dunn 2005). Vikernes opposes this bodily form of transgression, just as well as random sex, in his manifest of racial purity and racial hygiene (1997). In fact most Norwegian black metallers don't mention women at all, which may also be to them being largely absent in the early black metal scene. The pretending of being dead and worshipping death might have a lot to do with it as well. It very much seems as if transgression in metal is also very much shown in denying the hedonistic pleasures and maintaining control over oneself. No fun and no mosh at all, even though you might want to. Black metal transgresses the perception of a music genre. Its act of violence takes place in the real world in the shape of abuse, murder and arson, in this perhaps, making the most far reaching transgressive movement in extreme music thus far. No other genre focuses more on the abject than black metal, which simply regards almost everything as such, as things that should not be. The will to purify has been clearly shown, whatever the prevailing form the abject takes in the specific sub-scene. Black metal as a style has shown exceptions to this though, but in the case of Norwegian black metal that I discuss here, this is not the case and black metal that focuses on eroticism is considered an enemy.

The abject combined with racism, culture and heritage, work together with politics of transgression formed by the intertwined metal culture, that seeks opposition to the establishment through Satanism and paganism find its ultimate culmination in Norway. The individualism of LaVeyan Satanism and its derivatives meet up with Nazism and its thoughts of racial superiority and purity, generating a new form of radical culture aiming for the absolute. These things all come together in what forms the ideology of black metal.

The ideology of Black Metal

In the black metal tradition we can distinguish several ideologies that are prevailing in different subgenres. I will here attempt to describe these in the shape of their different expressions based on the characteristics of aural, visual and verbal expression found in the genre. I will also attempt to distinguish them based on how far each genre has an element of transgression between art and life, by which I mean if the opinions expressed in art are expressed outside of it just as well. An example is the church burnings, transgression here takes place in the form that art doesn't end where reality starts. The purpose of this is to further visualize the development of the prevailing elements within what becomes the radical ideology that black metal shapes and that finds its expression in acts by extremists in and outside the black metal community. It should be noted that rarely a band or artist can be placed into one genre and holds on to one theme. Neither does one subgenre express just one element. At the essence black metal is just as much part of the counterculture that is metal as any other scene is. Many of them have switched from one ideology to the next, specifically any band finding a kind of nihilism at first or an anti-Christian position



Figure 9. “Enslaved’s Grutle Kjellson” (Achrome Moments, 2010)

tends to look for something to replace that with. A shift in musical interest happens just as well, so this is merely an attempt at categorization based on the history and development of the genre, which will serve to place and explain the genre and ideology Varg Vikernes spawned.

A great example is the band Enslaved from Norway that started out playing standard black metal on their first demo. The band was contracted by Euronymous and released their first album dedicated to the, by then, murdered godfather of the black metal scene. This got the band attention in the scene for their sound. This debut showed a clear orientation towards nationalistic and pagan Viking themes, making Enslaved the first band to touch upon this. From here on the band starts developing towards a new genre and by the time of their third album *Eld* (1997), a totally new sound has developed that is now dubbed as Viking metal. This music is played in the vein of black metal, but Nordic themes have replaced the role of Satan. That would be just one example of the complex cocktail and development that the genre has. Clearly though, the themes expressed are ones that transgress the concept of the world we normally hold in a way not seen in art before. Instead of moving forwards, art is taking its inspiration from the past. Enslaved moved quickly on though, their 2008 album *Vertebrae* was nowhere near the pagan/Viking sound anymore and became a full on doom/progressive metal record. Enslaved might have not taken it very seriously, but for others the music offers a transgressive tool to move beyond the mundane and step outside of the world as it is. Escaping this futile world of credit cards and careers as they might see it.

Nihilism

One of the most profound characteristics of the black metal genre is an utter nihilism in the form of total destruction of the world as it is. This nihilism speaks to us from the strong lyrics expressing total war, nothingness, death worship and destruction. Clear references have been made to the philosopher of Nihilism, Friedrich Nietzsche, particularly to his morality and views on religion (Nietzsche, 1998). Nietzsche distinguishes in this between the noble man and the religious man, who is filled with resentment. Basically they consider themselves good, by

declaring the other bad. They live a life of spite of hate in despising the other. The other would be a noble man who leads a pure live and is his own master. When resentment sets in, he will find battle to overcome this. The noble man is free of the Christian hate. This is what the black metal movement, and mainly Varg Vikernes believes in, that they can become the noble people when done away with Christianity (Nietzsche, 1998). A very clear representation of this nihilism is found in the SDBM (Suicidal Depressed Black Metal) subgenre, which is a particularly small subgenre. The general purpose for musicians in this subgenre is to inspire people to end their lives or musicians ending their own, such as The Shining (Lundberg, 2008). In this particular genre we see verbal and visual transgression with lyrics dealing with depression, death and suicide. An example is found in the song *Besvikelsens Dystra Monotoni* (The Dismal Monotony of Disappointment). The aural expression of this nihilism is often closer to the doom metal genre than to the pure black metal sound, slow, gloomy and depressing music with tormented vocals.

Show me your world and *I'm* going to destroy it
Expose me your dreams and I will demolish them
Reveal me your sources of happiness and I am gonna murder them.

I want to kill you!
I'm gonna kill you!
I have to murder you!

- 'Längtar Bort från mitt hjärta', (The Shining, 2007)

In this text writer Niklas Kvarforth shows the opposites he sees and choices that can be made. He



Figure 10. "Niklas Kvarforth during live show".
Mehta, A. (2011)

chooses the dark side of life, the sorrow, the darkness and hate, demolishing life, destroying dreams. It expresses a wish to take away all hope that one still has, because when hope is gone there is only suicide left. This expression is strengthened during live shows by self abuse and blood flowing (Figure 10). Album covers are grim and depressing, often with imagery implicating suicide and such. The album by Shining for example features a woman on

the cover with a pistol in her mouth. The previously discussed figure Dead from the band Mayhem fits perfectly in this nihilistic tradition with his suicide as an inspirational departure for the subgenre discussed here. The whole death cult associated with black metal is just as much an expression of nihilism that can be seen in a whole range of songs. An example comes from the song 'Life Eternal' by Mayhem. In this we can see the belief that life is nothing and the desire of death as the only meaningful destiny. To call this destiny anything different than nihilism would be missing the point, because it does not stem from the idea that death is the best destiny, but the death worship in extreme black metal originates in deep despair. It embraces death as possibly the only thing that gives any meaning. The lyrics are filled with questions and searching for something to believe in. This can also be seen in the following lyrics by Mayhem. In this particular song the question that is asked deals with what human in fact is. One could read this as such that death has come which is part of the human condition. However, there is nothing that gives meaning to human existence inside so there is nothing human. If one isn't even human, what does have meaning then?

I am a mortal, but am I human?
How beautiful life is now when my time has come
A human destiny, but nothing human inside
What will be left of me when I'm dead?
There was nothing when I lived
- 'Life Eternal', (Mayhem, 1994)

Visually the corpse paint is an attempt to be death, to represent death and being one of the dead already. Black and white painted faces in all sorts of demonic expressions give a grim static look to the faces of band members, though the shapes can represent many kinds of feelings.

The origins of this form of corpse paint can be found with the band Kiss. Immortal is particularly famous for their corpse paint attire, although not in a good way. The band has become subject to joking but remains one of the most praised black metal bands (Kahn-Harris, 2007). In Figure 11 they can be seen for a recent promo photo. Also noticeable are the warrior garments, spikes and black leather. Black metal musicians like to be photographed in nature as well. It is all part of the



Figure 11. "Immortal promo photo", (Beste, 2009)

theatrics of metal that express the worship of death as an act of rebellion against society's norms and values. "These people are not an elite in a traditional sociological sense, but by coming to a black metal gig, by watching the theatrics of Mayhem throwing a pig's head into the crowd, or John from Dissection invoking Satan, or Marduk appearing in full-corpse paint and spikes, black metal fans are associating with things mainstream society finds threatening or repulsive.(Spracklen, 2006, p. 38)" A desire to be unearthly speaks strongly from this. The sonic dimensions of the music itself have many references to being dead in its static feeling and sound. The musical transgression that takes place when playing at intense speeds, as Kahn-Harris (2007) points out, generates a standstill. A moment of nothingness in a whirlpool of sound that you hear going at a phenomenal speed, that generates a point where no the speed makes the sound stand still. Still the stasis remains, everything stops and there's merely the melodic thrust of the greater currents in the sound that push you forward. The distorted, lo-fi sound of black metal bands is called the 'necrosound' (Aasdal & Ledang, 2007). "Call it necrosound, corpse sound, because it was supposed to sound the worst possible. (Varg Vikernes in Aites & Ewell, 2008). Using bad amplifiers and the worst possible material to generate the sense of an eerie, painful sound of death.

*It's the march of the blasphemous masses
The holocaust has just begun
Valleys about a thousand of coffins
Watching the death of a sun
Stand in the fog with so cold a heart
- 'Pure Holocaust', (Immortal, 1993)*

Nihilism can thus be found in the depressive tendencies of DSBM and the death cult that started with Dead from Mayhem. The element of war and final destruction is also part of this mindset. Songs like 'Pure Holocaust' by Immortal clearly show this idea of an ultimate war, the total destruction of mankind in war and holocaust. Cold and ice play a big symbolic part in the nihilism of these lyrics. It's not just death and holocaust, but pure, total and complete. The dying sun and the cold heart represent the clear end of humanity. The music is cold and static, it depicts the cold dead world of winter where thousands of coffins pile up. Death has come for all. The standstill, the nothingness that it brings sonically testifies of that. This is also heard in the sound, as mentioned before. The lifestyle of most bands revolves around the scene and the nihilistic outlook often becomes part of this. The search for something to hold on to, that gives meaning. The belief that society has no meaning, hatred towards society is in Norway that which sparks murder,

church burnings and suicides. The thought of prison sentences never even seems to have been part of the black metal lifestyle. One becomes detached from society, because there is nothing in it anymore for them.

The nihilism of black metal is here constituted out of various elements and strongly present in the music. From this nihilism on comes the search for an alternative world, the quest for meaning, something to live by and even die for in a romantic way. This will be elaborated upon later. Nihilism seems to be the starting point from which the other elements are found and explored that will blend in with each other towards the ideology that forms the extremism of black metal.

Satanism

Satanism has been ever present in metal and rock music in one way or another. From the early dark blues music to the metal of Led Zeppelin (Baddeley, 1999). The nihilism of black metal leaves room for something to fill it up. There is room for an ideology that resents and rebels against the hollow society. The nihilism of black metal seeks for its own ideology that can change and fight the world it resents so much. You need an icon for that rebellion that Spracklen (2006) mentions and who better to fill that void than that which society has ascribed all unwanted



Figure 12. “Nattefrost promo photo” (Nattefrost Facebook, 2012)

phenomena to since the dark ages: Satan. Satan stands opposed to the herd mentality and the equality principle according to its doctrines, of which there are many (Baddeley, 1999). Christianity is the symbol of the weak society that is despised. One merely has to invert the Christian cross to find its nemesis. This is exactly what black metal musicians do (Figure 12). They embrace everything opposed to society: war, violence, death and Satan.

Opposing everything becomes a key element in the burgeoning ‘Black Circle’ that gathers in Oslo (Moynihan & Sørderlind, 1998). The figure of Satan itself doesn’t seem to be present that much in

black metal itself at all. Satan is but a fleeting element for bands like Mayhem, Immortal and Burzum, where other artists like Emperor, Satyricon and Archeron never let go of their satanic elements (Baddeley, 1999). The upside down cross and animal heads have been visual aspects for various black metal bands in this phase. In lyrics, on the first Mayhem album (1993), Satan is surprisingly absent from the words of ‘the most evil band in the world’. From the theatrics of Venom and such, Satan started to move into more or less a symbol that only represents the opposition towards the establishment. Ihsahn from the band Emperor says the following on this: *“I think black metal tried to concentrate more on just being “evil” than having a real satanic philosophy. Everyone took it very seriously, but it’s hard to live up to those ideals. It’s hard for anyone to be as “evil” and as hateful as the ideals the black metal scene had. All of us tried in a way. (Ihsahn in Moynihan & Söderlind, 1998 pp. 194)”* The Aural characteristics of black metal thus became an attempt at just sounding as evil as possible, to be shocking and unpleasant to hear. Also the feeling of otherness comes into play here. The attempts to escape the mundane through transgression make this clear. Musically bands become increasingly innovative. *“Bands such as Ulver and Arcturus have incorporated classical music, ‘trip hop’, sampling, operatic singing, and drum and bass into their music. In addition, stimulated by black metal’s preoccupation with myths of nationality, a variety of bands from all extreme genres have incorporated folk’ music. (Kahn-Harris, 2007 pp. 133)”* Transgression becomes part of forming this ‘otherness’ and a way of forming cultural capital within the scene.

The use of symbology is clearly shown by Grude (1999), in his aptly named documentary Satan Rides the Media. Christianity is seen as the core element of the society that black metal fights. Though this is still the association that is made, black metal is already digging deeper for new symbols and forces to worship. One mention of the devil can be found on the Deathcrush (1987) album by Mayhem. Satan becomes more and more an abstract concept in the dark counterculture of black metal for opposition and strength. The lyrics from the song ‘Pure Fucking Armageddon’ do not express much symbolism and deeper thoughts yet though. They do however express both the nihilistic vision of total Armageddon and the elements of Satanism that become prevailing in black metal. It’s the blind raging against the establishment, it expresses the fury and hate of the young band members. Obviously this is no simple devil worshipping for the sake of worshipping. Satanism as described by Baddeley (1999) is a complex philosophical position that has been present widely in arts, music and esoteric thoughts of the last century.

Anarchy,
Violent torture,

Antichrist,
Lucifer,
Son of Satan
Pure Fucking Armageddon
- 'Pure Fucking Armageddon', (Mayhem, 1987)

Satanism is the LaVeyan individualism for the scene itself (1969), the ideology of winners in which one can overcome and rise above based on one's own merit. LaVey tells us in his Satanism that man can be the strong individual, stronger than others and above others. One can indulge and embrace one's own desires without regard of others. This is the true nature of man that should be followed. Nature and power are the elements derived from Lavey (1969). This becomes very much part of the philosophy that the likes of Euronymous and Vikernes adhere to. Opposition and superiority can be described as the characteristics Satanism brings to the scene. Black metal aims to look evil, opposed to the idea of the 'good' society. Nature is adored opposed to the culture of city life and the earth, the real world, is preferred to the Christian heaven (Shakespeare, 2010). Shakespeare describes how earth and nature plays an integral part in black metals esthetics. The physical earth is posed opposite the heaven in the sky. Power is found in nature with the lyrics referring to cold and ice, to mountaintops and ancient times when the bond between man and nature was still alive. Darkness opposes the light and Satanism becomes just the popular contender with Christianity, which is blamed for its own cruel takeover of Norway a thousand years ago according to Grutle Kjellson (Enslaved) in an interview with Dunn (2005), where he describes how essentially Christianity took away the Norwegian identity. Various artists can be



Figure 13. "Quorthon of Bathory".
(Baddeley, 1999)

heard saying similar things in various interviews and documentaries. *"I think it's a bit nauseating to see the beauty of specific cultures being contaminated by the not so beautiful facets of other cultures. At the same time it's a step on the way to the primordial source... (Garm from Ulver in Aites & Ewell, 2008)"* The following lyrics of Darkthrone say the same thing, the north is rising up, and the next thousand years are those of Satan, not of the Christian God.

We are a Blaze in the Northern Sky
The next thousand Years Are OURS

- 'A Blaze in the Northern Sky', (Darkthrone, 1991)

Satanism forms one part of black metal that still is called the satanic black metal scene. This can be viewed as a more or less rebellion culture, which is exactly how the black metal scene started out according to Vikernes (Aites & Ewell, 2008). If we look at the verbal, visual and aural aspects then Satanism seems to be a thin veil, a mask, which was used to give a face to the counter position black metal takes as an expression of the nihilistic attitude that is felt towards society. The early promotion picture of Bathory in the first days of the band (Figure 13) shows the shock value it tried to achieve. There are exceptions of course, though still expressions of transgressive behavior and trying to be different in a way. Tchort (a Slavic word for Devil), a black metal musician, tells how at first in the town of Kristiansand they got into Satanism through rituals, animal sacrifice and drinking blood, they liked the idea of action. "They did a lot of talking. We mostly identified ourselves with Varg Vikernes, the Count, he had straight forward ideas how to solve problems and ideas. (Aasdall & Ledang, 2007)" Also the grave desecrations, graffiti spraying and such rarely are expressions of true Satanism. The transgression itself that is found in all aspects of black metal culture and art is the Satanism of opposing. Transgressing here also means the moving beyond, the elitist club of black metal fans that is above and beyond. There have been endless reports of satanic actions by the members of the black metal scene itself. Lundberg gives numerous examples of grave desecration and devil worship in the series of interviews he conducts. Prime examples he gives of Satan worshippers are It from the band Abruptum, who apparently was so evil to have a name and Jon Nödveidt from the band Dissection. The vocalist, who was imprisoned for being accessory to murder of an immigrant, committed suicide later in a ritual sense for the glory of Satan. Pentagrams and upside down crosses have remained clear symbols of satanic affiliations within the black metal scene, though gradually have been replaced by different ones. Mayhem can be seen using animal skulls on the stage for example, which clearly relates to the sacrifice of animals that is expected of Satanists (Rydehead, 2008). Satanism is ironically part of the dichotomy it generates itself with Christianity, using the symbols that Christianity provides for it (Kahn-Harris, 2007). Related to the total sum of opposing everything and anything, this makes black metal move beyond it in a rather early phase.

Satanism does give way to feelings of superiority and a disposition that still needs firm rooting in a different tradition than the prevailing one in Europe. "In our contemporary society youth are pretty much lost. They have no direction, nobody is telling them what to do. That is, people are telling them what to do, but the youth have an instinct telling them this is wrong, you know?"

People are telling them Christianity is good. People are telling them that the USA is good. NATO is good, our democracy is good, but we know, if not intellectually, we know instinctly that this is wrong. (Varg Vikernes in Aites & Ewell, 2008)” These ideas, the general feeling that society as it is, is wrong and that it must be opposed sparks a search for that new identity that can be embraced. Much of the expressed sentiments by band members at the time are clinging to opposing, meanly for rebellious reasons. "Out of pure spite we pretty much always said the opposite of what the other said, no matter what they said, only to mark distance. That's how we ended up calling ourselves Satanists, despite the fact that we absolutely were not. There was not a single Satanist in the whole Black Metal scene in Norway in 1991-92. (Varg Vikernes in Midtskogen, 2009)”

We've previously discussed transgression according to Bataille (1986). The destruction and bloodshed of the early scene fits right in with this notion of transgression. This is clearly shown by the well documented behavior of the black metal scene members like Dead, Euronymous, Varg Vikernes and Bard 'Faust' Eithun in various documentaries (Aasdall & Ledang, 2007, Rydehead, 2008). This destruction of the other is a sign of power, of sovereignty, writes Kahn-Harris (2007 pp. 162). Gaahl, front man of the band Gorgoroth, uttered some frightening words about his Satanic beliefs, when Dunn (2005) asks him what the main ideology and ideas of the band Gorgoroth are. After a silence he just speaks in a sharp, determined tone: "*Satan...*". The following lines he utters when Dunn keeps pushing him for more: "*We have to remove every trace from what Christianity and the Semitic roots have to offer to this world. Satanism is freedom for the individual to grow and become the superman. Every man who is born to become king, becomes king. Every man who is born to be a slave, doesn't know Satan.*" In this quote we can see all the elements of Satanism that we've this far distinguished. Freedom, power, superiority and otherness. We see the Superman that Nietzsche describes, the *übermensch* that Hitler wishes to create in the liberal philosophy of LaVey. Satan represents this transgressive person that we have to become, the one that oversteps the limits and takes charge of his own destiny.

One more note on the idea of superiority. In the warrior mentality and the war themes found in the music, the LaVeyen Satanism can be seen in the willingness to struggle to rise above, the warrior dominates the other. From this point of view the Nietzschean philosophy arises again. Specifically his description of Christianity as a slave mentality placed in contrast to the free man, who is noble and brave. The noble man will not fall victim to the resentment, the hate of the slave religion which only constitutes itself as good by positioning the other as bad or evil (Nietzsche, 1998). It becomes clear that the nihilistic philosophy of Nietzsche with its notion of a higher man and a

disgust for Christian herd mentality falls in line with the LaVeyen idea of liberalism and elitist Satanism. Visual aspects of warlike garments and posing for pictures with swords or other weaponry can often be seen in black metal. Veneration for ancient warrior peoples enters the thought world of black metal, which inevitably leads to an appreciation of fascistic ideologies, ideologies of superiority (Kahn-Harris, 2007).

Nationalism

As said, the black metal bands start looking down further in history and there they find a romantic pagan past that is embraced by bands such as Enslaved once more, after the original efforts towards this by Quorthon from Bathory (Moynihan & Söderlind, 1998). Both Mayhem (1993) and Darkthrone (1991) refer to this hidden past already on their first albums, the second specifically referring to a non-Christian resurrection of the old believes. The example of the band Enslaved has already been discussed earlier, a band that uses Viking themes in opposition to the prevailing Christianity in Norway. Grutle Kjellson can be heard defending the church burnings as an act of revenge upon the atrocities committed by Christians during the Christianization of the North. "The church burning as a 'symbolic' act I can understand. I mean kind of a revenge, in a bigger historical point of view. I mean Christianity has been one of the most violent religions of them all. So in a historical point of view a bigger picture I guess they kind of deserve it. (Dunn, 2005)" Similar words are uttered by Varg Vikernes in an interview with Aites & Ewell and an anonymous person, saying it's no worse than what happened 900 years ago in Norway, when it concerns the burning of the Fantoft church. "Originally the place was an old pagan holy site, on top of a hill where our forefathers would celebrate the sun. What the Christians did, was to move this church from another place and not put it close to this holy site, but on top of it, in the midst of the circle actually breaking up the circle and on the pagan horg they put a big stone cross. So, if they have no respect for the Norwegian culture, why on earth should Norwegians respect their culture? (Aites & Ewell, 2008)" Reaching to ancient times was also done by other bands in the black metal scene, such as Mayhem and Darkthrone. Digging into the past, looking for that lost sense of identity that matches their satanic superiority ideals and warrior mentality. In a country like Norway, that search doesn't pose much



Figure 14. "Necrobutcher (Mayhem) in front of nazi flag" (Baddeley, 1999)

difficulty with a rich Viking history.

Pagan fears

The past is alive

The past is alive

Woeful people with pale faces

Staring obsessed at the moon

Some memories will never go away

And they will forever be here

-‘Pagan Fears’, (Mayhem, 1993)

Above lyrics were written by Dead. They express how the past is alive, how memory lingers and does not just leave the people. It is one of the first black metal songs that refer to the pagan past. This past is found by looking at the moon, the past, the dark and the obscured. It lingers there for those who seek it. So it goes and the horned king of the underworld fades away in favor of the one-eyed god of Norse mythology and a new genre is born, that is known as Viking metal when it comes to Scandinavian pre-Christian themes. Bands like Enslaved, Einherjer and Unleashed are part of this movement that expresses pride and appraisal for their own culture (Von Helden, 2009), but also the band Burzum. Other subgenres were spawned from here, since the pagan revival didn’t limit itself to Scandinavia. The umbrella term of pagan metal has been widely used to describe extreme metal bands that embrace their pre-Christian past. This goes as far as bands from the middle-east like Melechesh, singing songs with traditional music structures interwoven in it, about the Mesopotamian past (Kahn-Harris, 2007). Kahn-Harris mentions various examples more of band weaving national folklore and music into their sound like Skyforger from Latvia, Orphaned Land from Israel and Sepultura from Brazil, incorporating the national past into their music. Folk metal is another genre that has developed since the late nineties with bands like Turisas, Týr, Korpiklaani and Arkona, usually balancing somewhere between historic and folkloristic themes.

This appraisal is in most bands is rather innocent and can be more considered as a search for identity in a world that is rapidly globalizing and an appraisal for ones roots. Moynihan & Söderlind quote Unleashed singer Johnny Hedlund on this: *“The influences that I have are actually from my ancestors and from sitting in the countryside and feeling the power of nature- just by sitting here knowing that my grandfather’s, father’s father was standing here with his sword... by knowing that you are influenced by it.”* (1998, pp. 179) That the appraisal has very

little to do with the superiority principle in black metal is made clear by the words of Ashmedi from Melechesh and Peteris Kvetkovskis from the band Skyforger, both with whom I conducted an interview for Roar E-zine. Ashmedi: “The Middle East is much more than politics; *it’s a place* where civilizations were born. That is what we focus on, politics are merely the art of lying and *rationalizing human deaths. We think everyone deserves to live in dignity... I personally believe* in one race: the Human race. And thankfully I am very color blind. (Segers, 2010a)” Kvetkovskis: “*I love all cultures, I find them all interesting, but I do have my own culture and that represents me. In the end though we are all people and the red line is wher pride or love becomes hatred and superiority towards others. Our different cultures are what makes us interesting. What would still be exciting about people if we were all the same?* (Segers, 2010b)”

Von Helden (2009) states that this resurgence of national identity in metal is an expression of the self in the perspective of the bigger world. To avoid suspicion of nationalist sympathies a band like Finnish Ensiferum performs donned in Scottish kilts and war paint while singing of Finnish mythology, to express the innocence of this movement by avoiding single national imagery. This may be true for many bands but not all of them have the same honorable intentions as has already been made very clear. She describes the fascist and nationalist imagery already used by Bathory as innocent, nonetheless, these visual and verbal topics do pave the way to make extreme imagery acceptable in the scene.

Even though these bands distance themselves from nationalism and are more taking their national stories to the global stage metal represents (Dunn, 2008), their methods are also used by bands that are embracing nationalistic ideas and finding a strong interest in eugenics and fascist ideologies, which is much in line with the general romantic tendency of glorifying evil while resisting rationality (Safranski, 1998). It is in general the evil, the other, the strange that black metal embraces. In the pagan metal scene another thing is peculiar, namely that many bands do not use the English language, but their own national one without losing appeal to the global audience. Language, according to Hobsbawn (2008) is one of the characteristics nationalistic identity is forged upon. Skyforger for example uses the Latvian language and Enslaved for a time used the Norwegian in its old Edda form (Von Helden, 2009). Outfits of band members and symbols used become the pagan types, such as the hammer of Thor in Viking metal. From the international perspective of global metal that Dunn (2008) tries to show and also is used by Weinstein to characterize the extreme metal scene (2000), this nationalistic attire is a discursive transgression of the sense what metal is. It moves beyond and becomes something new on visual, aural and discursive terrain, the fields that Kahn-Harris (2007) describes. For most of the previous

bands this is something that stays in an art form, even though it's often of great interest to the artists themselves. When black metal meets nationalistic imagery, something else happens.

This uncritical celebration of the past, as Kahn-Harris (2007) calls it, goes hand in hand with the sense of the unpolluted nature and countryside and is moving away from the cosmopolitanism that we see in the world nowadays. It's a search for a romantic ideal that gives an alternative to the rationality of the western world. This search for identity gets mixed up with the nihilism and Satanism that black metal already has inside itself, the appraisal of war for one has a lot to do with the ugly shape this romanticism takes when pride and violent misanthropy enter the fray.

It took ten times a hundred Years
Before the King on the Northern Throne
was brought Tales of the crucified one
Coven of renewed Delight;
A Thousand Years have passed since then -
Years of Lost Pride and Lust
- 'A Blaze in the Northern Sky', (Darkthrone, 1991)

Fenriz, band member of Darkthrone, is often heard praising the beauty of his own nation in interviews (Aites & Ewell, 2008). In the lyrics of the first album of the band very often the search



Figure 15. "Panzer Division Marduk cover" (Marduk, 1993)

for that past visible and a strong appreciation for the northern lands and their natural powers. This is also found on their following records. Released in 1994, the back of the album sleeve *Transsylvanian Hunger* (1994) reads '*Norsk Arisk Black Metal*' (Norwegian Aryan Black Metal), which generated a small scandal (Moynihan & Sjøderlind, 1998). Fascist imagery played a role in black metal for a while as is shown in promotional pictures of band members from Mayhem and Emperor (Moynihan & Sjøderlind, 1998, Baddeley 1999). Depictions of war have been already described in the work of Immortal and Marduk, often also praising the northern darkness with its grim, freezing cold. Their controversial and transgressive

use of Second World War themes has been cause for discussion many times (Davisson, 2010).

Album titles like *Panzerfaust* (Darkthrone, 1993) and *Panzer Division Marduk* (Marduk, 1999)

don't do much good for the bad reputation that black metal already has gained. The band Marduk always used the imagery but continually stated to see this as a field of interest, a way of retelling historical events using symbols and such to create an atmosphere (Davisson, 2010). Darkthrone, or mainly bandleader Fenriz, has been a main force in creating the image of black metal. He distanced himself from the political elements of black metal though at a certain point, where his friend Varg Vikernes pursued this with much more passion. "*I just started going really musically, and direct my music into more music, music, music. And he was more into politics, so we just sort of took different paths. (Fenriz in Aites & Ewell, 2008)*" Varg Vikernes pursued the political path and became the godfather of the ultimate blend of metal and fascist, nationalistic ideals in a brand new genre: NSBM (National Socialist Black Metal) (Gardell, 2003). Combining all forms of transgressive values of black metal, already considered the most extreme music genre in that sense with an ideology that we associate with the most inhuman behavior mankind has shown in its whole history: a violent mix of racism, neo-Nazism and supremacy feelings on a background of pre-Christian history.

It's not so surprising to see this happen in extreme metal, even when we put all the characteristics of the genre and the ideological mix to the side. Other ethnicities that aren't white are pretty much absent from the heavy metal scene. So much in fact, that in general one can go as far as saying it's an exclusively white music genre, at least in Europe it seems to be. South-America and Asia do have metal scenes though, but Africa with exception of Botswana is almost metal free (this exception remains a puzzling one), writes Kahn-Harris (2010). Weinstein (2000) argues there is a strong divide between white and black music. A clear example of this has been the nu-metal genre arising in the nineties. It's clear references to 'blackness' were not tolerated in the extreme metal scene, even though it has a particular influence from black musicians through its history, as Kahn-Harris (2007) points out, using Jimi Hendrix as prime example. By being pretty much exclusively white, in a relatively underground setting, away from the public eye, the Norwegian black metal scene which was all about further extreme transgression, ventured further away from the mundane than ever. "*The black metal scene challenged the extreme metal scene, previously committed to mundane stability, to incorporate new sounds and practices that were highly disruptive and potentially dangerous. (Kahn-Harris, 2007, pp. 132)*" Using swastikas, holocaust metaphors and war themes slowly paved the way for the ideology that accompanies these. The one-up transgression of trying to be more extreme, according to Kahn-Harris, is what led to the inevitable extremism of neo-Nazi identity being incorporated in the music.

Sons of Northern Darkness or a global thing?

Sam Dunn (2005) in his documentary tries to separate extremism from metal as it is by stating about the Norwegian scene the following: “It says less about metal than about Norwegian cultural sensibilities.” Meaning that the fierce anti-Christian and nationalistic sentiments are more related to Norway than to the music style it’s associated with in the case of Norwegian black metal. Regarding the history of the metal genre that I’ve described and how certain elements simply appear to be inherent to it, the statement of Dunn can be discarded. Metal is totally political, whichever way one looks at it, it reflects society in a sense and reproduces it in its own ways (Scott, 2009). From its extremity, we can deduce that black metal represents something peculiar to Norway (Taylor, 2010), but from the following it has across Europe, this is merely the catalyst of continental sentiment (Moynihan & Söderlind, 1998). It has a history of pushing further and further, not just in Norway. Specific attention has been given to the Russian NSBM scene by the aforementioned writers. Black metal is global, and so are its ideological sentiments. Another quote is from Tom Araya, front man of Slayer, when confronted with the violent and shocking work of his own band: “I consider what we do art, and art can be a reflection of society. *We're picking up the dark reflections*” (Dunn, 2005). Just as art is a reflection of society, society can be formed by its art. Black metal clearly is a product of its own Norwegian society, we’ve already established from Taylor who is siding with Dunn on this, in which racism is embedded deeply due to its geographical location and recent national independence. Taylor also mentions an uncompleted conversion to Christianity that makes the national identity and racial isolation combine into a deep distrust to outsiders. This may be very much true for Norway, but evidence suggests that this is not the only region of the world that is open for such renewed extreme ideologies in an art form or in politics.

Bands sprang up all around Europe embracing Nazi ideology and eugenics supporting racial superiority (Kahn-Harris, 2007), which can again be seen as transgressive discursive elements that positions the music style outside the borders of what is accepted in society. We have already shown that this transgressive capital edging towards nationalism isn’t limited to the Scandinavian countries. The series of actions that have already been described take hold in Europe, where for example a German Nazi band named Absurd involves itself with murder and racist ideologies (Moynihan & Söderlind, 1998). Davisson (2010) describes cases of NSBM bands from the Polish Graveland to Ukraine’s Nokturnal Mortem. Especially in Russia and Ukraine the genre is growing and anti-Semitic violence in relation to it is spreading, where according to Davisson the ethnic supremacism seems to be gaining a regular place in society. Moynihan & Söderlind also describe a spread of the NSBM genre throughout Europe but also the following of the Norwegian church

burnings in many countries (1998). It's important though to not mix up members of the black metal scene that use provocative elements, with the people following these ideologies in daily life, which seems to be more or less what Moynihan & Sørderlind are doing in their book. Moynihan himself has very often been criticized himself for his own tendencies to promote völkish neo-Nazi culture with his own band Blood Axis. Both Baddely (1999) and Gardell (2003) in his work on the racist neo-paganism that seems to grow criticize Moynihan, though not going as far as other sources that label him as one of the most influential right-wing figures in modern day America. Nevertheless, the cases that Moynihan uses to illustrate the rise of NSBM in all of Europe seem to be not entirely trustworthy, but partly motivated by personal interests. Gardell describes NSBM as a tiny part of the larger black metal scene (2003). It has become a separate scene though, with its own labels, online magazines and network. It is difficult to grasp the size of something that is so far underground, much more hidden from sight than the earlier neo-Nazi bands from the punk movement (Davisson, 2010). Nicholas Goodrick-Clarke (2003) in his work on extreme-right movements also doesn't manage to really grasp the NSBM scene, which he describes very much by its scattered elements that are found throughout the extreme metal scene from war-themed bands like Sodom to the previously mentioned black metal scene itself. It is hard to unite all these fragments and in doing so, the result will not be very useful nor correct. The skinhead scene for example characterizes itself as more or less a mass movement where hardly any ideological development takes place, it relies much more on the politicians that seem to have control over the scene (Davisson, 2010). It lacks the individualism and the ideological tools to develop theories that will actually appeal outside of their own scene. The skinhead scene sticks to what it knows and thus is incompatible with the individualistic black metal movement. Also, the skinhead movement focuses on the global, white revolution, where black metal focuses on the nation and its history. Key figure in this is no other than Varg Vikernes.

NSBM combines the nihilistic anti-western views with an alternative of romantic Satanism and pagan history. Finding national identity as something that can be grasped the 'survival of the fittest' idea of Satanism combined with racial and national idealizing of the self, partly sparked by the fascination for Nazi ideals, which fits into this romantic ideal, black metal spawns after a long history of these elements a genre that goes beyond all predecessors. I have attempted to show how these elements combine and how the transgressive qualities of extreme metal reinforce the power that this opposing ideology offers in relation to the current state of the world, which is rejected. The cultural capital that can be gained in the extreme metal scene through transgression is very important and therefore inherent to what extreme metal offers and what makes it the logical form of expression to facilitate an entry point for extreme ideologies in the metal underground (Kahn-

Harris, 2007). Similar developments were seen in the punk scene with the Nazi skinhead movement (Davisson, 2010). Also there one could see the extreme expression punk rock was in its time. The extremist ideologies that embraced the punk scene tried to mould into a tool of themselves (Gardell, 2003). The difference that I try to show is that black metal on its own path of transgression didn't find neo-Nazism, racism and nationalism with the help of outside influences. The extreme style got to this point without stimulus from outside, and that makes it so much more disturbing. If art is a reflection on society, than what do the developments of the extreme metal scene tell us? We see two main tendencies that make it so intriguing. Firstly, the transgressive pushing and tugging at the limits of society that metal in a broader sense has been doing, leading up to the transgressive politics of black metal. Secondly, the socio-cultural development that unites ideologies towards the point we find ourselves at here. Rampant extremism that is being expressed in art rarely surprises us anymore, whereas the first time the word "fuck" was spoken aloud on television, headlines were written. Both tendencies are reason for worry. Though perhaps small and insignificant, Varg Vikernes maintains to have an influence, recently gaining headlines again after criticizing murderer and terrorist Anders Breivik. I will now have a closer look at Varg Vikernes and his ideals.

Part 3: Varg Vikernes: Murderer, Arsonist and Prophet

Studying Varg Vikernes

Sketching the early developments of the ideology of Vikernes is tricky business. The statement by his mother tells us that there was no clear ideology to be found in the young Vikernes. Goodrick-Clarke takes the liberty of calling Vikernes an ‘ex-skinhead’, but in general his account doesn’t do much justice to the figure Varg Vikernes has already become at the time of writing (2003, pp. 204). Vikernes is described as a smart and literate person, but one must not forget how skilled this makes him at inventing his own identity. His personal descriptions of his life is often very different from what he has said in interviews that were conducted earlier. Vikernes describes being racially conscious at a young age and seeing the trouble in the country in above section, but in another interview he said this: “I grew up in an idyllic society, really. Homogeneous, no crime. Everything was basically perfect. (Aites & Ewell, 2008)” Here we see an example of the problem one faces when writing about Vikernes. I’ll try to deduce the ideologies that Vikernes adheres to from his own writings, trying to find a way around the maze he creates, discarding one ideology for another and then reaching back to them. Much has been written about Vikernes and most contradicts his own writing.

I believe they are best deduced from his own writing, since according to Vikernes most writings about him by others are false. This does seem rather unlikely. When we look at the words from his own mouth however, he can hardly retract them. It is interesting to mention that most works mentioning Vikernes have been read and reviewed by himself as well. Due to not having any other platform, reviews are published on his website. Vikernes rarely agrees with what anyone else says about him, to which he dedicates a whole chapter on his website: “In short all the biographies, articles and most of the interviews are full of lies. Instead of telling You about all the lies, in an endless stream of articles like this one, I will simply tell You not to trust anything you can read about me, unless it is written by me. (Vikernes, 2004d)” This had a lot to do about how Vikernes re-invents himself every few years. An interview he gave in 1992 or 1993 is easily discarded by him. Still, we can find elements of the puzzle that is Varg Vikernes in this, which we’ll have to judge for their value. Vikernes puts much work in describing and writing the experiences he went through in his own words, since he wishes the truth to be at least available from him, his side of the story. The facts and his words often contradict however...

“I speak the truth as I see it no matter what, and I couldn't care less about your personal sensibilities or the risks of political persecution where you come from. (Vikernes, 2012a)” A bold

statement and absolutely true for every interview that Vikernes gives, but his way of stating things fully and clearly has the downside that further developments in his own thinking usually form a negation of his earlier position. A clear example will be seen, when Vikernes moves from his Tolkien-related ideology to Satanism, exchanging that at some point for heathenism in turn. Vikernes strongly believes that the truth is within his grasp, made clear by statements in his latest work *Sorcery and Religion in Ancient Scandinavia* (2011). Vikernes there refutes any criticism on his view in a strong statement: “*When you encounter such apparent “mistakes” made by me you need to accept them as correct, and keep reading until you realize that my interpretations in fact correct.* (Vikernes, 2011, pp. 6)” In other words, if for some reason one would doubt the words of Vikernes, he is probably wrong. This absolute faith in his own capabilities strongly characterizes Vikernes’ writings. Vikernes rarely mentions the sources of his wisdom, specifically not in his *Vargsmål* (1997) of which only raw translations are to be found. He calls this a book written by an angry, young man, which is now outdated. Other disclaimers can be found in the introduction of his latest book again. About language problems he says: “*The language in this book is my second language, so especially native English speakers will have to bear with me.* (2011, pp. 7)” On the lack of academic standards Vikernes defends himself saying the following: “*Academics tend to disregard every book written without references to specific sources. This book is probably such a book, but I have to defend it by saying that I cannot list sources when the ideas are my own, the interpretations my own and the conclusions my own. You only need an open mind and common sense to appreciate the contents of this book, and hopefully this means that a few academics as well might appreciate it.* (2011, pp. 6-7)” These statements clarify the position Vikernes takes, he takes a popular rhetoric that makes him look like just an ordinary man trying to share his wisdom. He shows himself as someone who knows what he is doing, which the reader may doubt or not accept at first. Vikernes shows strong self reliance here as well. This is the strength of his writing and also what makes it dubious at times.

When Vikernes reinterprets pagan rituals, he does it from his own perspective, which may seem despicable or even horrid to some due to its strong violent and racial standpoints. On the other hand, for the open minded reader, Vikernes writes in a captivating and convincing style forcing the reader to follow his line of reasoning. In interviews in writing he seems to be rude and insulting, but the various video sources show a friendly and open Vikernes, ready to discuss all parts of his life, even the murder of Euronymous (Grude, 1999 et al.). When one tries to read his work while putting aside one’s own view of the world, it is very hard not to get captivated by his strong rhetoric and his opinions, often presented in a very convincing and reasonable way. At times, it’s merely the mention of an extremist term that wakes one up from being slowly pulled

into his stream of thought. Vikernes relates much of his ideas to reality, to the populist sentiment that there is someone who is to blame for our discomfort. He comes across as bright and reasonable and this is how he relates his ideas, clearly building up his argument and opening himself to discussion, characteristics one would expect in a reasonable, intelligent man. But Varg Vikernes is also a murderer and arsonist with extreme ideas. He is a man who claims to be willing to fight and kill for his nation and race.

Similar ideas were expressed in Norway years later by Anders Behring Breivik who put plans of Vikernes to action, unaware of the other. Many opinions voice the thought that Breivik must be insane, which would be a comforting thought (Mulder, 2012), but untrue and also ignoring the problem. The same thing applies to Vikernes, who is not merely a mad man with a very long prison sentence. There is nothing irrational about his ideas and even though he claims to develop much of it himself, there is nothing new about them. These are no insane thoughts, nor irrational motives. Vikernes was considered sane and it is very likely that Breivik will be to. The ideas he writes down might appear insane to us, but one has to take in account they were written from his own disposition, his own beliefs are what fuels the rational process that follows. To quote Protagoras: "Man, he says, is the measure of all things, of the existence of things that are, and of the non-existence of things that are not." (Jowett, 1892). From the beliefs that Vikernes has picked up, according to himself much self made, partly given from his family, he works out his ideology. He finds a threat in the world and sees the rational option of himself to respond to this. We have to understand what lies at the core of these ideas, what the reason and the thinking is behind gathering an enormous amount of explosives and planning to blow your enemies up. What reasons a man could have for writing pages and pages full of ideas that most people consider insane. What possesses a man to unload his guns on a crowd for the sake of protecting ones race? They see a sacred duty to the world, to their race and nation, but where does it come from?

Early years

Kristian Vikernes was born in Bergen, Norway in 1973. No official biography has been written but thankfully, many interviews have been gathered. Also Vikernes has documented his adult years himself very well on his website www.burzum.org. Vikernes tends



Figure 16. "Young Vikernes"
(Bore, 2012)

to speak in a glorifying way about his childhood in Bergen. Less positive is he when it comes to the year he spend in Iraq when his family had to move there for work. Vikernes noticed there was a difference between him and the other children on the Iraqi primary school he visited. The difference in treatment and his attitude towards the others is described in an interview with his mother, Lena Bore, by Moynihan & Söderlind (1998 pp. 142-146), who claims to not have any real explanation for his radical ideology: *“He had a strong need to rebel, and sometimes chose the paths that would be the most oppositional...But I feel that he now has gotten well into the ideologies he stands for, that he means what he says.”* About his family, Vikernes says the following: *“My father is an electronics engineer working as the security manager in a firm, my brother is a graduate civil engineer and is working in the administration of some security firm, my mother has some annoying complex education (so I don't bother listing it here) and she is working in a large oil company.(Vikernes, 2004a)”* The way he answers here might partly be due to his disposition at the time as evil metal musician, but he puts a lot of emphasis on how common and mundane his family is. Interesting is also the remark about education, which he in general despises as a form of corrupting the mind. He also describes how his father was hysterical about the swastika flag he had as a youngster, but at the same time he would be very angry about the amount of colored people living in their town. He also states that his mother was very ‘race conscious’ and worried about him bringing a black girl home. It’s not as if he blames his parents, but also here he tries to produce the idea of a heritage, a history of race conscious people. From early age the young Vikernes became fascinated by the German Nazi’s and this interest started his interest in its ideology he claims, though at first it was mainly weapons. Due to this and his, we may assume, already present racist ideas he became what he calls a skinhead (Moynihan & Söderlind, 1998 pp. 146-151). Vikernes says in the same interview that "There were no skinheads in Bergen" but they shaved their heads and were into weapons with thoughts like *“war means to fight, peace means to degenerate (p. 149)”*

We know thanks to the rather open description of his youth that when Vikernes became interested in music, he also got into playing the popular RPG’s at the time (Role Playing Games). In the meantime he started a band named Kalashnikov with two other guys, which he refers to more as a side note in his story (Vikernes, 2004b). The role playing games sparked an interest in the work of J.R.R. Tolkien (2005) in Vikernes, who read Lord of the Rings and other works and started interpreting them. His interpretation of Tolkien is rather interesting, since they stick with him throughout his writing. It seems as if Tolkien in his story describing the battle between good and evil has gifted Vikernes with enough ideological material to form his own. In his own story, he interpreted it as the Christian tradition of depicting the pagan gods as evil. Demonizing the old

gods in favor of the Christian god of light, turning them into darkness. For Vikernes the evil ruler Sauron in *The Lord of the Rings* is a personification of Odin (Óðinn, to do justice to the proper form). Baddeley states that drawing life lessons from a book like this is not as ludicrous as it may sound, since the Bible isn't much more than a book of stories. Drawing a moral code from this and relating the light and dark motifs of the RPG's an ideology is starting to form (Baddeley, 1999). In the interview Baddeley conducted with Vikernes, he gives a different account: "*I don't want to use words like Mordor (the evil land in Lord of the Rings) because it could be dismissed as a joke. Mordor is just one word for Hell. Call it whatever you like. Like Satan, you can call Him Sauron [sorcerous overlord of Mordor in The Lord of the Rings] if you want. I don't care, He's still my lord.* (Vikernes in Baddeley, 1999, pp. 206)" Apart from ridiculing Baddeley in his review, Vikernes blankly denies to have ever had an interview with the author. This review serves just as much in showing what Vikernes thinks of Moynihan and Söderlind (1998), who he greatly detests for placing him at the centre of the movement in their book (Vikernes, 2004c). His attitude towards journalists and writers has always been very negative; the only documentation of the black metal scene and his actions that he respects is that of Torstein Grude (1999). These interviews were much later though, and the Tolkien-ideology must have worked its way through the years. However, it only serves as a starting point for the complex line of thoughts that follows. Vikernes claims that he and other youngsters would take their air-pressure rifles when the first McDonalds came to Bergen and go shoot at it. Grinning he relates this story of how capitalism came to his city and how he greatly detested this (Aites & Ewell, 2008). We can see in early times how Vikernes is developing an aversion towards Jews, Islam, capitalism and Christianity. Holding on to this, his further development in these views is hardly surprising.

The Most Notorious Black Metal musician of All Time

Vikernes didn't start on his Burzum project without some previous experience. It started off with his band Kalashnikov, later named Uruk-Hai after the evil orc creatures from *The Lord of the Rings*. The band name shows that his interest in Tolkien remained; Burzum is also derived from the fantasy writer's work. If this interpretation is anywhere close to Tolkien's intention is rather unlikely though. Though the artist's intention to a certain extent remains hidden to us, according to his own statement it's more an allegory of the industrialization of the world and the loss of the old countryside that Tolkien adored (Ezard, 1991). In that sense, Tolkien might have stood closer to Vikernes. Vikernes loves the folk culture and the pagan past opposed to the globalization. The two might be more alike in their ideals than Vikernes might have thought. Who knows what a different reading of Tolkien might have made of Vikernes. The angry, younger Vikernes says: "*The elves are fair, but typically Jewish – arrogant, saying, "We are the chosen ones." So I don't*

like them. (Moynihan & Söderlind, 1998, pp. 150)” Vikernes turns Tolkien into a writer who dislikes his Norway, instead of a Jewish sympathizer. Again, a sign of how his viewpoint changes at later times. In naming his first band Uruk-Hai, he opposes the view of Tolkien, choosing the side of ‘evil’ in the war of Middle-Earth, siding with his own country and the Viking heritage he sees hidden in the words of Tolkien. *“To me, the language of the elves sounded alien and incomprehensible - just like Finnish is incomprehensible - while Orcish and Black Speech obviously was based on the language of my forefathers. So Uruk-Hai as a band name was a logical choice (Vikernes, 2004b)”* Vikernes describes this band as nothing more than a rock ‘n’ roll band with accompanying attitudes. This perhaps seems insignificant, but the idea of good against evil, light against dark in The Lord of the Rings seems to have triggered the ideological thinking for Vikernes, who seems to keep reinterpreting the book every time he is asked about it. His fascination in armor and Viking warriors might also come from the themes in the lord of the rings. He can often be seen wearing armor or weapons (Figure 17). In an interview with Moynihan & Söderlind he relates his whole theory about Lord of the Rings and the pagan past mixed up with Satan (1998).



Figure 17. “Vikernes in medieval armor” (Lunde, 2012)

At the age of 17, Vikernes joined a band by the name of Old Funeral. *“These guys were just interested in eating. They didn’t care about my sawed-off shotgun or my dynamite, or any of these things. They were just interested in hamburgers and food, they had absolutely no interest in the weapons that I liked. Eventually I also lost interest in my weapons as well. Then came more music, and an interest in occultism developed. (Moynihan & Söderlind, 1998, pp. 149)”* This is however an important step in the career of Vikernes, since in this band played various influential figures of the burgeoning black metal scene that may have influenced Vikernes either musically or ideologically. Both the musicians Abbath (Olve Eikemo) and Demonaz (Harald Nævdal) from Old Funeral went on to form Immortal, probably the biggest black metal band that is still active. Also in this band was Jørn Inge Tunsberg, who would later also play in Immortal and Hades Almighty and was convicted for church arson, along with Vikernes. The young Vikernes got disenchanted with the band and their musical direction and left. *“I eventually left Old Funeral, as*

I wanted to play my own type of music, a more original and personal type of music than the music we played in Old Funeral at the time. (Vikernes, 2004b)” Kristian Vikernes starts on the dark path that leads up to the 10th of august 1993, where without any remorse he will murder his former friend Euronymous.

“Most bands (except Old Funeral of course) had "cool" English names, like Immortal, Mayhem, Darkthrone, Destruction, Celtic Frost, Enslaved, Pestilence, Paradise Lost, Morbid Angel, Death, and so forth. I didn't want that, and that was one of the reasons I chose the Uruk-Hai and later Burzum name. At the time - before the release of "The Lord of the Rings" films by Peter Jackson, I may add - its meaning was pretty much solis sacerdotibus. Only initiates, so to speak, knew what it meant. Only people who had a special interest in Tolkien's world would know, and that was kind of cool - or so I thought. It enabled the listeners to feel special and to feel that Burzum was made especially for them (and it was). (Vikernes, 2004b)” He clearly wishes to distinguish himself from others, from the herd. He looks for something elite, something to set him apart from others, surprisingly, in a setting for people who are familiar with Tolkien again. Vikernes wants his band name to be something for insiders, which very much seems like the secret cults that in Satanism depict certain elitism. Vikernes decides to start a new band, with the name Burzum. He decides to do everything itself, which leads to surprising results that allow his star to rise very fast in the black metal scene, which mainly centers in Oslo at the time, where Mayhem is already becoming infamous. In the just cited part we see some elements that are important. Vikernes wanted to be different, special and unique compared to other bands. He does not adopt any English titles or lyrics after his first record. In fact his fifth release Filosofem (1993) comes with a Norse or German track listing, the common English language of globalization is absent. Names are particularly important to Vikernes. This says something about the identity search. He makes them say much more than just be a label. The name Vikernes chooses for his band is Burzum, as mentioned in the quotation, meaning ‘the



Figure 18. “Abbath from highly popular black metal band Immortal” (Achrome Moments, 2011)

black speech' in Tolkien's work (2005). Clearly this is in the language of evil, which sounds Norwegian according to Vikernes.

At the time when he starts recording with Burzum, Vikernes changes his own name as well. No longer is it Kristian Vikernes, but Varg Vikernes. The word Varg has a deep meaning in Scandinavian history, something he was most likely very much aware of (Moynihan & Söderlind, 1998). Apart from his personal name, which he officially changed, he also takes a stage name. Where many black metallers take this from Satanism and the bible, Vikernes again reaches for Tolkien. He becomes Count Grishnack, the name under which he will become notorious. "If people knew that Burzum was just the band of some teenager that would sort of ruin the magic, I figured, and for that reason I felt that I needed to be anonymous. So I used a pseudonym, Count Grishnack, and used a photo of me that didn't look like me at all, on the debut album, to make Burzum itself seem more out-of-this world, and to confuse people.(Vikernes, 2004b)" Changing his official name was rather urgent, since Kristian means Christ: "It was not my intention to become well-known (or "infamous"...) at all, and when they even used my real name at the time, Kristian (from Greek "Kristos", meaning "Christ") Vikernes, instead of the pseudonym, I was horrified - and this was the thing that actually tipped the scale and made me finally go and change my name legally. No way was I going to let the magic of Burzum be "ruined" by something like that... (Vikernes, 2004b)" Obviously, the name Kristian would make an ironic joke for a church burner like Vikernes, so he chooses a name based on Lord of the Rings again, the name of an evil orc, which is what he becomes at this time.



Figure 19. "Vikernes the Orc"
(burzum.org, 2012)

Here is a gap in the biography of Vikernes, as he writes it himself. From his early years, which is up until the time he went to Oslo until the murder of Euronymous is a gap in his own story. Like with his bands, it seems like this period is not very important to him or maybe even one he feels less proud of since he very much sought acceptance in the scene of Oslo, something he tries to hide in his other descriptions. He did go to Oslo after his demo's gained him some credit and started living in the basement of the record store owned by Euronymous, by then the most important figure in black metal (Baddeley, 1999). Euronymous was very impressed by the young Vikernes and released the first Burzum album. Manheim, drummer

of Mayhem, recalls: *“My impression of him was that he was a jerk. I told Øystein that I didn’t like him at all. Øystein was fascinated by him. He liked his ideas (Aasdall & Ledang, 2007).”* By this time Vikernes had already recorded a lot of material. To promote the music, Vikernes declares war on Christianity, in a literal sense, at this time still in collaboration with Euronymous (Baddeley, 1999). The church burnings start around this time. At the same time, the band Mayhem is reformed with Vikernes on bass and Attila Csihar on vocals (Rydehead, 2008). The album *De Mysteriis Dom Sathanas* (1994) is recorded by the band that is soon to end up in its second bloody affair after the suicide of Dead.

Already a dispute starts growing, due to the different interpretations of the scene. The two become the stars of the scene that others rally around, Vikernes sets the standards for extreme behavior, which others try to follow. Euronymous though, views himself as the leader of the scene at the time, presenting himself as the great leader of the “black metal mafia”, creating the myth of the ‘*Black Circle*’ of satanic terrorists (Aites & Ewell, 2008). The scene turns towards extremist behavior under the ideological guidance of the two main figures. Behavioral codes are established and transgressive behavior is being stimulated by both and talk becomes action (Aasdal & Ledang, 2007). *“It changed from being a group of musicians to a terror network all in a matter of six months and it was completely out of control in 1993 (Anders Nodden in Aasdal & Ledang, 2007).”* In interviews from this period, such as the one Baddeley has written down, Vikernes still uses Satanism as his ideological vehicle (1999).

Tchort, who played in various metal bands, recalls how the ideas of Vikernes were very popular for those who wanted more than just talk. Vikernes became very popular and drew outside attention, starting to overshadow Euronymous, though other scene members state the opposite. *“He knew us, and every time someone burned a church down he was going around talking to everybody, boasting that we have burned another church. He was always saying “we” because he wanted to be a part of it. (Vikernes in Moynihan & Söderlind, 1998, pp 119)”* Euronymous and Vikernes had different views and Vikernes then starts pointing out that Euronymous is not part of the action, just enjoys the publicity, drawing others to his side. *“Euronymous kinda had to stand up for himself... I think that Varg kind of put him in a corner and said something like, “Well... if you’re not against it, why don’t you join us doing it?” And so Holmenkollen church burned down. It was like Varg and Faust and Euronymous. (Hellhammer in Aites & Ewell, 2008)”* So succumbing to peer pressure within his black circle, Euronymous took part in the church burnings to not lose face. Together with Vikernes and Bård Eithun he had to show that he was just as evil as Vikernes. Euronymous started to feel much pressure on his position and Vikernes as the

one who tried to steal his crown. The example of the Israeli extreme metal band Salem is probably a very exemplary one. Euronymous had good contacts with the band and various others around the world, planning to release their albums on his Deathlike Silence Productions label. Vikernes had different ideas when it came to these, specially a Jewish band. Salem vocalist Nir Nakav received a bomb from Norway from Vikernes (Dunn, 2008). For Euronymous, black metal was business, for Vikernes it was total war.



Figure 20. “Vikernes and Euronymous”
(burzum.org, 2012)

For Vikernes publicity was very important, where Euronymous wanted to keep the underground status. To gain publicity Vikernes gave an interview to the newspaper Bergens Tidene: “I was frustrated when I realized that this movement was still the same bunch of braindead metalheads and I wanted to do something about it. So I tried to force them into taking another step by giving an interview to the newspaper. I told them that *we were behind the church burnings...* Of course he changed everything. Instead of printing what I told him, he went to the police and got me arrested. (Vikernes in Aites & Ewell, 2008)” Vikernes and Euronymous were interviewed together for Kerrang Magazine, in which they try to

come across as extreme as possible, pretending to be part of a secret terrorist organization, consisting of a small group of masters and the rest would be slaves (Arnopp, 1993). “Human beings are worthless and stupid, *they’re not supposed to think. They’re supposed to follow a god or a leader.* (Vikernes in Arnopp, 1993 pp. 43)” Vikernes goes on to praise Stalin, Hitler and Ceausescu. The whole interview could be recited here, but the bottom line is that the two guys position themselves as utterly insane or extreme, however you wish to read it. Again, we see how Vikernes refutes this at a later point: “*I wouldn’t take Kerrang!* very seriously. A lot was misquoted. (Moynihan & Söderlind, 1998, pp. 155)” We can assume that in this whole interview we see the provocative, angry Vikernes of a young age, not the ideologically charged version we see years later. Still, his opposing behavior to anything part of the social sphere and nihilistic look

at humanity is clear from the misanthropic statements in the interview. Euronymous got fed up with Vikernes who already linked the church burnings and even murder to the black metal scene that revolved around his shop, meaning also linking them to Euronymous himself. Now, we do not know whether this scared him or not, but it certainly wouldn't be good for business. He had enough of Vikernes.

According to bass player Necrobutcher, Euronymous started to threaten Vikernes, which in turn spurred the counteraction of Vikernes. "If you are laughed at and fucked financially, I would be pretty pissed off to. I understand why he did it. (Aasdall & Ledang, 2007)" According to Vikernes the threat wasn't an open one, like the way Euronymous normally did: "If he would talk about it *in the shop to anyone and anybody I wouldn't have taken it seriously, but he didn't, he just told a select group of friends and one of them told me.* (Aites & Ewell, 2008)" Rumors of this are mentioned by other scene members at the time, like Bård Eithun, who thinks the murder took place because Vikernes wanted to gain renown in the scene, cultural capital in the transgressive black metal scene (Moynihan & Söderlind, 1998, pp. 118). Manheim concurs: "*He wanted the status. The reason for doing such an act, he found in black metal and the satanic milieu.* (Aasdall & Ledang, 2007)" In general the opinions are showing a power struggle that could only have one outcome and that would be one of the two overthrowing the other. As drummer Hellhammer relates: "Euronymous was *saying "Varg really has to die" and Varg was saying "Well, I really need to kill this fucker..." I was like, whatever. I mean, handle it yourself.* (Aites & Ewell, 2008)" Fact is Euronymous died from various stab wounds outside his apartment. Vikernes was convicted for the maximum prison sentence for arson and murder, ending the era of black metal. Euronymous liked the cult-like status of black metal and was probably more into making a profit out of it and therefore could use the underground atmosphere. Vikernes was already strongly influenced by nationalistic and racist ideologies and saw black metal as a vehicle for an assault on society as it is. For Euronymous the transgressive character of black metal was merely its shock value, it was like the eroticism of Bataille (1986), something that sells. There was no ideological purpose behind it for him. For Vikernes ideology means everything and transgression, the extremism of black metal, gives a possibility to depart from the limits our world sets to reshape it in a 'better' form. It is a much stronger transgression than Kahn-Harris (2007) describes.

The Count Rides the Media

From the article in Bergens Tidene onwards, Count Grishnack is the name that the media write about. The Norwegian media leapt onto the subject from the moment churches were burned down in 1992 and wrote sensationalist stories about the Norwegian 'Satanists' and their special music

'black metal'. The clumsy interview that was conducted with Vikernes in early 1993 led the police to Vikernes, who was arrested later thanks to further investigation by journalist Finn Bjørn Tønder, who visited Vikernes for another interview: "The flat showed evidence of housing a person who could not be described as normal. (Grude, 1999)" Tønder traced the crimes back to Vikernes through his own admissions in the interview and some good journalistic investigation. From here on the media starts jumping on everything and both Vikernes and Euronymous used the publicity to boost their sales. Satanism became a hot item, which gave a lot of publicity to the Church of Satan as well, suddenly in the spotlights again. Grude shows clearly the media heist that follows. This caused Euronymous to even close his record shop. Everyone with long hair was harassed by the police at the time. The scene became torn, and is till this very day, between Euronymous and Vikernes. The interviews also put the black metal scene in the spotlight, which not all of the scene members liked. "The interview made them either stop having that image, or own up, or they'd look silly. If you don't own up people will laugh. They didn't like that. They had to decide and blamed me. Aarseth was cross with me for many different reasons. Mainly because he was the big shot. He was the authority. (Grude, 1999)" The black metal scene was never much for democracy, it requires a strong elite and everyone else to be slaves (Arnopp, 1993. Baddeley, 1999), so the outcome is not so surprising. What followed is history.

Vikernes is arrested again and in the end sentenced to 21 years in prison, convicted for three arsons and murder. When the defense tried to plead insanity, the prosecution opined that Vikernes was: "polite, well-mannered and correct in his behavior. His intellect is well-developed. He has shown in court that he is definitely not schizophrenic. There are no grounds to conclude that he suffered from temporary insanity during the murder either. (Baddeley, 1999, p. 195)" During the trial, the wildest things were claimed by Vikernes and other members of the black metal group that were arrested, which got the police to literally crawl down rabbit holes (Grude, 1999). Global



Figure 21. "Vikernes in court" (Grude, 1999)

media was present during the sentencing of Vikernes, which lasted for two years. "Oh, and of course the judge included in the sentence that: "Varg Vikernes believes in Satan", although I had repeatedly told in court that I didn't believe in neither "Satan" not "God". They ignored the truth, and made up their own reality, for political reasons. (Vikernes, 2004e)" Vikernes does not seem to really interesting fact of his conviction, not only mentioned by himself (Vikernes, 2004e) but also by other sources

(Midtskogen, 2009), is his possession of 150 kilograms of explosives which were intended to be used on political targets. Only his arrest prevented these further bloodbaths. In some cases an image says more than words. The picture here depicts Vikernes (Figure 21), a few seconds after he heard his maximum sentence, an image not a single documentary ever leaves out. Neither shall I. It shows the moment where the verdict is spoken, a maximum prison sentence which was not something common. Varg claims to just smile at the audience: “They were expecting me to be like wetting my pants or something and it just made me smile. I turned my head to the audience and I smiled and from what I gathered they smiled back. (Aites & Ewell, 2008)” The smile has been interpreted as evil and as contempt for the sentence. The explanation Vikernes gives is just as valid, its resignation. This is no crazy criminal and the verdict also shows that, he is not particularly evil or insane, the smile stems from his belief to accept his fate.

Prison Years

“In one sense it’s hard to have to be without freedom and do what I want and stuff like that, on the other hand it’s rather positive because I have the opportunity to like, read books and focus on more important things. I consider it like a stay in a monastery. (Vikernes on being in prison Aites & Ewell, 2008)”

In prison, Vikernes starts writing and forming his true ideology. He has the time for it and this is the blessing of his sentence according to himself. Some notable events happened and Vikernes



Figure 22. “Vikernes in prison: Skinhead” (burzum.org, 2012)

went through many metamorphosis of himself during this time. Vikernes lets himself be influenced by various things, which he has documented on his website.

Baddeley (1999) writes how Vikernes went from a Tolkienesque orc or troll to a Satanist, which is also clear from interviews at the time of his incarceration, though even in those the pagan themes are present.

Satanism turns out to be a phase, which Vikernes explains: *“I could argue that I never was a devil worshipper, but I think it is better to simply prove that devil worship is a product of the imagination of the Judeo-Christians. When you know that there has never been devil worship in any form in Europe, then you must also understand that there has never been any devil worshippers. When you know that, it should become*

clear that I cannot possibly have been a devil worshipper either. (Vikernes, 2005a)” In prison Vikernes shaves his head and becomes a neo-Nazi. His first years in prison are not quiet ones however. In 1997 a police raid took place and news of a so-called “einsatzgruppe” reached the headlines. This armed, neo-Nazi unit was planning various violent actions and also to get Vikernes out of prison. The group was financed by Lena Bore, Vikernes’ mother. *“Bore confessed, but claimed she had no idea these people were “right wing extremists”. She expressed concerns about the treatment her so received in jail, and claimed that he was subjected to violence from his fellow inmates. (Moynihan & Söderlind, 1998, p. 316)”* Vikernes appears in the media once more, this time in full neo-Nazi regalia: shaved head, bomber jack, SS belt buckle and combat boots. If the media had forgotten about him, Vikernes succeeded in reminding them. He also presented a new Burzum t-shirt design: “Created by Vikernes himself, the front featured the usual Burzum logo but was also adorned with a German World War II SS Death's Head logo. *This combined with a back print which bore the slogan “Support your local Einsatzkommando”, led to problems licensing and printing the shirt. (Beckwith, 2002)”* Uncovering this group leads to a whole series of uncovering of neo-Nazi military organizations related to Vikernes. This particular group was fully equipped for violent actions. Tom Eiternes was the most prominent figure in this group, a person associated with the far right, inspired by the works of William Pierce on lone wolf terrorism. Vikernes had associated himself with this violent, nationalistic movement, inspired by white revolutionary movements from the United States (Moynihan & Söderlind, 1998). The indicated threat of violence towards Vikernes seems to have been genuine though. In



Figure 23. “Vikernes at court session” (burzum.org, 1997)

2003 Vikernes escaped from prison, apparently after receiving death threats. He wrote to his mother that he planned to, but was captured after an hour long police chase (“UPDATE: Varg Held Family At Gunpoint, Fled Prison Because He Feared Attempt On His Life”, 2003). By this time Vikernes has left the Heathen Front behind and apparently wanted a normal life.

Let us go back to the early period where he becomes obsessed with Nazism. Obsessed with history, Vikernes claims to have descended from Vidkun Quisling, an important figure during the second world war of the collaborationist government. Quisling had developed an esoteric doctrine named universalism, in which pagan elements blend with the nationalist ideals. Vikernes

emphasizes the pagan elements in Quisling and also Nazi-Germany. Because of his adoration he even planned to add Quisling to his name, to which he claimed not only ideological allegiance, but also in blood, being a descended from the Quisling line (Moynihan & Söderlind, 1998). Later, when he starts to be part of the NHF, which will be discussed below, he did change his name and was then known as: Varg Quisling Larssøn Vikernes (Moynihan & Söderlind, 1998). Instead of the neo-Nazi look, he appears in court dressed as a soldier at the time, mimicking the looks of his new hero Quisling (Figure 23).

Vikernes moves from this onwards to the pagan doctrine of völkish nationalism, leaving the neo-Nazi scene behind, which has a global tendency to it according to Gardell (2003). Vikernes starts legitimizing Nazism in his writings, taking on a rather obscurantist view. Specifically when it comes to Slavic people, who were in Nazi-Germany not considered equals. This line in his article called *The Nazi Ghost* (2005b) speaks for itself. “The Norwegian "Nazis" never had a negative view on the Slavs, and even the Norwegian SS-volunteers reacted negatively to the Germans' behavior in the Soviet Union, so as a Norwegian I never really thought about the fact that it might offend Slavs when I - a Norwegian - occasionally used the term "Nazism" to describe my ideological foundation. Naturally I never had the intention to offend or alienate Slavs. Personally I have a very positive view on Slavs and Slavonic culture, and I think it is sad if people think otherwise.” Varg already had a large following at the time of writing from Russia and some of his writings were published in Russian as well. The title itself says enough of course, putting the spectre of Nazism in Europe down as a ghost, an imagined threat. Vikernes clearly takes his liberties with it, though starts distancing himself from Hitler at the same time. Vikernes then starts turning into the worshipper of the old faith that is seen in many interviews, and becomes affiliated



Figure 24. “Vikernes in prison: later years” (Aites & Ewell, 2008)

with the N.H.F. (Norwegian Heathen Front), a völkish supremacist movement, relating to the national heritage and folklore as the basis of their nation and race. This means another turn in identity and thus looks from the ever changing Norwegian. His looks seen on pictures from this period depict him as a bearded Viking, often donned in military garments. This is much how he appears in his later prison years (Figure 24). Here he looks much more like a prisoner, transformed from the young man he was before.

At first Vikernes has great expectations of this militant organization. He does start going to greater lengths with his ideology at this time, alienating more and more followers with his ideas about the skinhead culture and even brown-eyed people (Moynihan & Söderlind, 1998). Vikernes later leaves the organization again, for rather vague reasons. Rumor has it that he also changed his name again at this time, but to what and why remains a mystery. About his departure he said: “The NHF was persecuted in Norway, by the Antifa/Monitor, who repeatedly wrote that the NHF was neo-Nazi and that leader was Varg Vikernes, and so forth. Even when the NHF told them that Varg Vikernes is not the leader of the NHF or the AHF they just kept on about it. Even the secret police claimed adamantly that I was the leader of the NHF when they interviewed one of the NHF guys ... He told them I wasn't the leader, but they just ignored him and trusted their own sources *instead*. (Vikernes, 2004a)” Vikernes keeps getting and finding media attention in prison, but in general not much happens during this time. Notable exceptions are his escape attempts (Vikernes, 2004a).



Figure 25. “Vikernes in 2008” (burzum.org, 2008)

In 2009 Vikernes is released from prison, starting to write and work vigorously once more. Vikernes now looks like a jolly Viking (Figure 25), but his ideologies have reached a mature status. His website starts to fill up with ideological doctrines. In two years time he produced three albums, all with Slavic themes and the clear taste of racist ideology clinging to them (if one is willing to see them as promotion of the ideologies of Vikernes that is, one can of course listen to his work as the product of art that it is). The events in 2011 on Utøya then occurred, where Anders Breivik committed a massacre, after also bombings in Oslo took place. Now this resembles the plans Vikernes was developing at the time of his arrest, nonetheless, he doesn't support Breivik fully and puts a lot of shocking questions to the event, receiving media attention once more. On the fact that no one fought back Vikernes comments: “He says himself that he was attacked only once during his more than an hour long expedition, by a single person whom he simply pushed away and shoot dead on the ground. The number of left-wing extremists he shot dead never troubled me, the attack in itself never troubled me – or surprised me for that sake – but this very shameful fact troubled me from day one, and it still troubles me. (Vikernes, 2012b)” Vikernes finds new ideological fuel in Europe and its weak attitude. Again, the media is on it.

The works and ideology of Varg Vikernes

Vikernes has an ideology that is displayed in various works he produced, namely his music and his books. He also has done many interviews over the years, which can best be regarded in his early years as using the possibility of an interview as a platform for spreading propaganda about his works. Sometimes this can be considered marketing purposes, sometimes ideological purposes. It is hard to deduce the truth from those, where his works are clearer on their message. I will look at the views that are displayed in there.

The black sound of Burzum

“The truth is to be found, but in a sea of lies it’s impossible to find it. Unless you know how to look, where to look and when to look. It’s not possible to get up one morning and go like “I’m going to find the truth this day” and go find it. You have to try and fail and eventually you will weed out all the lies and find something maybe similar to the truth. The truth is hidden in the grass, under some rocks. In a hidden trail, a forgotten trail in the forest. And when you try and find this trace, you will stumble, get some branches in your face. You will make mistakes but you will find it. (Vikernes about the path to truth in Aites & Ewell, 2008)”

In looking at the work of Vikernes I will regard it in the order of release, chronologically. Some works I will barely touch upon, some I will look at more deep. In contrast to the figure and ideology of Vikernes, his music has remained very consistent with just small shifts in themes. There is always a search for belonging, for a something lost that was never found again. The search that Vikernes is on has a lot of Tolkienesque features to it and the imagery from this is always traceable in his work.

Varg Vikernes started out as a musician, recording some raw material with his band Uruk-Hai, mainly expressing his Tolkien fuelled angry ideology. Vikernes describes how he attempted to make the worst sounding music possibly by using terrible equipment, giving rise to the painful



necrosound of black metal (Aites & Ewell, 2008). The first two EP’s were later released as a combination album *Burzum/Aske* (1995). The album is a tragic, tortured experience to listen to, and thus became very defining for the sound of black metal. Vikernes screams his lyrics like a tortured soul, sounding raw and distorted with hardly decipherable lyrics. The sound is very much the transgressive extreme metal sound, abandoning traditional

Figure 26. “Aske EP cover”.
(Burzum, 1993b)

sound and becoming a repetitive dark drone. Where Vikernes recorded most of his music alone, on *Aske* (meaning ‘ashes’ in Norwegian, with a burned down church on its cover) *Samoth* from the black metal band *Emperor* plays bass and on *Burzum* a solo is played by *Euronymous*. Vikernes had the idea to play live for a while, but decided against it, leading to the departure of *Samoth*. About *Burzum* Vikernes says: “The message of *Burzum* is really all summed up in the lyrics of the first track on the first album. That was all I had to say really, and the rest of the *Burzum* lyrics are only like footnotes to this one. The magic was necessary only because I wasn't satisfied with the real world. ... So I figured I had to create the magic myself. It was very sad to see that this magic was ruined or at least reduced in 1993, when the media started to write about it, and a lot of former country, rock and Death Metal bands in Norway suddenly dyed their hair black and started to wear corpse-paint and play Black Metal; to become famous, to make money and to get laid - and not to change the world. (Vikernes, 2004a)” So for Vikernes, black metal was always about change, about transgressing the world he despised. The lyrics of the song mentioned are very significant here.

In Vain... but Who's to Know
 Further on Lies Eternal Search
 For Theories to Lift the Gate
 Only Locks Are Made Stronger
 And More Keys Lost as Logic Fades
 In the Pool of Dreams the Water Darkens
 For the Soul That's Tired of Search

- ‘Feeble screams from Forests unknown’
 (*Burzum*, 1995)



Figure 27. “*Det Som Engang Var* cover” (*Burzum*, 1993)

The lyrics here clearly show an attempt at escaping, searching the walls for a door. Transgression can be read in these lines as the way to escape this world, which Vikernes rebels against. It also shows a certain nihilism, trying to find theories, meaning truths, that help. This is the search mentioned in my opening quotation, which is also ever present in his early lyrics. Terms like ‘lost wisdom’ are seen very often on his albums, also on *Det som engang var* (1993) the theme of gates, lost wisdom and the despair that comes with this loss is very much present. The gate seems to represent that which prevents him from finding the truth he seeks, it is the block both physically and mentally that prevents the path to wisdom to be found. The music becomes more constructed and slows down from the abrasive sounds of his debut. This is the last album to have very clear Tolkien themes on it in the form of song titles like *En ring til å herske* (*One ring to rule*) and a

cover inspired by the role playing games he played. The cover depicts what seems to be the gate of the dark land of Mordor, from Lord of The Rings (2005), a significant location that must be crossed in the book. This might be significant for the gate that Vikernes seeks for in his lyrics. Also most of the titles are in Norwegian. Very noticeable is also the first ambient track on a Burzum record, called Han Som Reiste, which is an enchanting bit of repetitive synth music.

My eyes are shut I cannot see
though clear is thy despair
I drift away - far away
from places of which you seek

- 'Key To The Gate', Burzum (1993)

The nihilism is expressed in despair here. It is as if Vikernes is still stuck in the opposing attitude Satanism has yielded, but he never embraces Satan in a lyrical sense. The 'thy' in these lyrics appears to represent not one specific person, based on the thoughts Vikernes has vented, but more humanity in total. Mankind despairs and is groping around for something to hold on to. Vikernes is searching though and moving away from the despairing mankind, seeking his truth. It's always darkness as opposed to the light of Christianity but with what to fill this darkness? "My sources of inspiration? I think mainly my own (philosophical) despair. The fact that I know what causes the shadows on the walls to dance can be very frustrating, so to speak. (Vikernes in Skelos, 2010)" On the next two albums he seems to have found something. Hvis Lyset Tar Oss (1994) and Filosofem (1996) continue the experimentation with repetition and minimalism finding new borders to cross and topics to discuss. The artwork of both albums is by Theodor Kittelsen, a 19th century artist from Norway, famous for his folkloric work. The sound on Hvis Lyset Tar Oss is clearly different from before, with only four tracks of which two are fifteen minutes long, one being entirely ambient music. Both records focus very much on nature and the past in their lyrics. The power of nature is very much prevailing in the lyrics, also on earlier records, but not as clear as on these. Vikernes is portraying mankind opposed to nature, as it is shown in most works by Kittelsen. For the song Dunkelheit a video was made, there is though not a single human being seen in this video, it's merely nature that is depicted.

When night falls
she cloaks the world
in impenetrable darkness.
A chill rises

from the soil
and contaminates the air
suddenly...
life has new meaning.

- 'Dunkelheit', (Burzum, 1996)

The winter is a force that can kill, destroy and utterly annihilate life on earth. It is like the song 'Pure Holocaust' from Immortal in that sense. "*A chill rises from the soil and contaminates...*" this tells us of a similar extinction of life. Life is stuck on earth, it needs this extinction. The winter will give that, after the air is contaminated and the world is cloaked in frost and darkness, it will return with new meaning. It's like the situation of war, the nature state of mankind according to Kant (1917). Only through destruction meaning can be derived. "*I think the ideal situation is war. War between good and evil. (Baddeley, 1999)*" This is also the time that Vikernes gets into neo-Nazi thought. Filosofem also picks up the pagan themes in Rundtgång Av Den Transcendentale Egenhetens Støtte and the theme of transcendence. The sound quality is very fuzzy with the very clear synthesizer sounds in high contrast to it. About the choice to make the music not perfectly mixed: "*A few mistakes makes the music more alive and personal, it simply gives the music some "soul" and originality, so I never bothered to correct anything. The music on the Burzum albums is simply an honest and sincere, unvarnished and clear representation of me. Certainly I am not flawless or without mistakes, so neither is my music. (Vikernes, 2005)*"

The theme of war and destruction is very present throughout the lyrics on these first five albums. On the other the search for identity and belonging is prevailing at first, standing in opposition, looking for a ground. Vikernes finds that in destruction and pagan ideology. These are clearly his self proclaimed themes, leading up to Filosofem. "Well, I am not religious in any way, but I have a Pagan ideology and Pagan values. I believe in blood, soil and honor; family, homeland and hamingja; strength, traditions and courage. And I believe in a Europe waking up. (Vikernes in Skelos, 2010)" This is the last Burzum album in the classical sense. Vikernes goes to prison, where he does not have any access to instruments apart from a synthesizer. This results in two more Burzum albums of hauntingly beautiful ambient music with pagan Viking themes. Dauði Baldrs (1997) and Hliðskjálf (1999) are very interesting albums, but due to him not being able to defend himself in the media and seeing the turn black metal had taken, Burzum was cancelled as a project in 2000. "The new bands made Black Metal become a part of the modern world, rather than revolt against it, like they should have done. Maybe they felt attracted to it because the magic worked, because they felt attracted to something that was special. I don't know. I just know

that I don't appreciate what it has turned into; just another unimaginative "sex, drugs, and rock'n'roll" subculture in and a part of the modern world. It has become part of the "bread and circus" of the oppressors - it has become a part of the problem. (Vikernes, 2004b)" It is already very clear how the elements I've previously ascribed to black metal converge in the person of Varg Vikernes. His attitude against the world is very clear and his wish to create a new one whatever it takes is an almost holy mission. In this his ideology still very much resembles that of Nazism. In treating his writing I will compare the two as well.

The Wolf Speaks: writings of Varg Vikernes

Vikernes published several books during his incarceration. Some are unpublished, some are untraceable and only mentioned by Vikernes himself (2004f). All these writings come with a disclaimer. Most of his ideas have been published on his website in a newer form later, reformed in the light of new ideas and influences. The attempts of Vikernes at writing novels I shall skip, they might be interesting to interpret on a different level, but neither seems to have reached many readers anyway. The first work of interest is the well known Vargsmål (1997), cover pictured on the left (burzum.org). Unfortunately, when quoting from this, I do not have page numbers due to using a translation. Vikernes says about this book that it was written in anger and isolation in prison and he doesn't regard it as representative for his current opinion. The phase Vikernes was



Figure 28. "Vargsmål"
(Vikernes, 1997)

in during the writing of this book was his neo-Nazi period. After that he published two works on mythology, which are hardly interesting here, but do show his great skill at researching these topics. His short pamphlet *Irminsûl* (2002) gives a clear account of his view on race and *Sorcery And Religion In Ancient Scandinavia* (2011) is another scholarly work by Vikernes. Also his website offers long stories on various topics, never being politically correct.

The brutal truth of Vikernes' politics is revealed in *Vargsmål*, which means 'the wolf speaks'. Though not always as strongly written, the views laid down in this work have continued in his further writing and interviews. The book is much disorganized, but that was outside of his control due the troubles he faced writing in prison. It's mythology, politics and some autobiographic elements but also a lot of self reflection Vikernes (Moynihan & Söderlind, 1998). In the book, Vikernes shows a very strong view of the national culture as an organic whole that has to fight to keep itself

clean. If it doesn't, then it gets sick and weak. This very much reminds one of the noble man Nietzsche describes (1998), free of resentment towards the other because he goes onto the fray to fight and therefore clears himself from sentiment. For Vikernes, his nation has gotten sick and weak and Christianity is to blame. "Christianity was created by some decadent and degenerated Romans as a tool of oppression, in the late Roman era, and it should be treated accordingly. It is like "handcuff's" to the mind and spirit and is nothing but destructive to mankind. In fact I don't really see Christianity as a religion. It is more like a spiritual plague, a mass psychosis, and it should first and foremost be treated as a problem to be solved by the medical science. Christianity is a diagnosis. It's like Islam and the other Asian "religions" a HIV/AIDS of the spirit and mind. (Mitchell, 2005)" On multiculturalism he has the following to say: "*A blending of people* and races is just this, instead of a colorful world full of different people, we get a one-colored world with a degenerated mankind and the Jewish-Christian (anti) culture ruling over all! This is the reason that I call it an (anti) culture, because it destroys all other cultures and replaces it with its own. (Vikernes, 1997)" Vikernes does not oppose other cultures per se it seems, but he does believe they should be held separate. The multiculturalism of Europe is a nightmare from his viewpoint, because it poisons his race, which is also weakened by Christianity.

Vikernes has strong views on eugenics and beliefs that race mixing is harmful: "We have dawdled race hygiene research and discovered proof that race blending is harmful to offspring. The race hygiene institute in Oslo was taken down after the Second World War and all research results were destroyed because they were "Nazis". A fraction of the work was not destroyed. We know that race blending is harmful to mankind or more correct – those that made an effort to understand race hygiene found this out. (Vikernes, 1997)" Again, it is unclear where this knowledge comes from, apart from obscure sources that are hardly reliable when it concerns this sort of research. However, Vikernes believes that the facilitation of race mixing is degenerating the nation and the race. Vikernes also strongly believes that his nation is in grave danger and needs to violently fight off the invaders, who are weakening the race by copulating with the Norwegian women. "I don't tolerate foreigners that come here and destroy our people, with narcotics, venereal disease, race mixing, rape of our women! If we can spare a Norwegian woman from being raped by exile or certain death or taking the life of ten thousand foreigners than yes I believe that we shall do it! (Vikernes, 1997)" So we can see from this that the decline of the Norse people is found in the outside influences that spoil and defile the sacred blood of his people. Vikernes believes that for many of the Norwegians it already is too late. Not without reason he speaks about a last chance for humanity. So in his book we find superiority, politics of cleansing and eugenics as main items. He also talks about how one can become the superman and has to resist the seduction of leisure, but always train the body. A fitness schedule is even

described in the book, for mind and body. The body is a metaphor for the state that can rise to its former glory if it keeps itself clean from the outer influences. Pride of being northern is also proclaimed. Interesting enough, Vikernes realizes that other nations may have the same pride of their own. An idea is forwarded of a utopian past that is pure, simple and good. This is the world Vikernes wants to attain with his ideas that transgress the borders of what our society finds acceptable.

One can directly relate these views to racial theories used by the Nazi's. "If Nature does not wish that weaker individuals should mate with the stronger, she wishes even less that a superior race should intermingle with an inferior one; because in such a case all her efforts, throughout hundreds of thousands of years, to establish an evolutionary higher stage of being, may thus be rendered futile. (Hitler, 1939, pp. 223)" Hitler also writes about the downfall of his nation in allowing the racial problem to remain unsolved, like Vikernes regards the current form of politics and the European multiculturalism. "The ultimate and most profound reason of the German downfall is to be found in the fact that the racial problem was ignored and that its importance in the historical development of nations was not grasped. For the events that take place in the life of nations are not due to chance but are the natural results of the effort to conserve and multiply the species and the race, even though men may not be able consciously to picture to their minds the profound motives of their conduct. (1939, pp 221)" Here we see that the ideas that Vikernes proposes are no different from the ones that were already present in extremist thought. It steps outside of the society as we see it, it wishes to take full command of society to bring it in a better shape. These are totalitarian thoughts dealing with the nation as a physical entity that has become unclean and sick.

Vikernes talks of pure blood and how it is contaminated, just like Hitler did long before him. He blames socialism and Christianity for this. "What I put in the upper class is someone who comes from a good family, as it's called. No, what I say was more valid before when the family was with the good blood not washed out with whatever rabble as we have today! (Vikernes, 1997)" Closer reading reveals that what he reviles most is sexual liberties and capitalist seduction, both weakening the body. "Marriage is not an end in itself but must serve the greater end, which is that of increasing and maintaining the human species and the race. This is its only meaning and purpose. (Hitler, 1939, pp. 1999)" On sexuality, Hitler writes: "The life of the people must be freed from the asphyxiating perfume of our modern eroticism and also from every unmanly and prudish form of insincerity. In all these things the aim and the method must be determined by thoughtful consideration for the preservation of our national well-being in body and soul. The right to personal freedom comes second in importance to the duty of maintaining the race. (pp.

201)” The similarities are endless, both support strong leadership and there are no laws that should prevent us from saving our race. Both stand outside of the world as we know it of tolerance, democracy and multiculturalism. They embrace a purpose that is holy, the means to achieve it do not matter, as long as the blood becomes pure again and the body healthy, refraining from excess and sexual liberties. Marriage and sex must both serve the race. Vikernes appears to agree on this and speaks of natural love that is part of the pagan tradition, which is strengthened through hardship and is hardwired into our systems to keep the race pure: This love is based on and stems from the blood, from the DNA. This is a primitive and natural love, and although not as noble and divine as ást it is quintessential to the survival and improvement of mankind. This is what makes us love our offspring, feel attracted to genetically speaking healthy partners and reproduce with them, and make sure our genes are carried on to the next generations. This is the love we still partly understand, in spite of the Christianization of Europe, simply because it is instinctive; because we are pre-programmed by our DNA to understand it. No amount of brainwash can ever remove our capacity for natural love. (Vikernes, 2006)” Love serves the race and if it appears not to, than it must be false and wrong love. It is the false love that denies our nature and our race. It shows how globalization, Christianity and multiculturalism separate the link between us and our natural state, between us and nature.

In a very brief sidestep I'd like to remark on a contrast between 'western' thinking and what Buruma and Margalit mean by the title of their book as *Occidentalism* (2005). They draw a sharp distinction between the rational, democratic and open societies of the west that also embrace capitalism and on the other hand the romantic, spiritual and passionate societies that are opposed to it. Both Hitler and Vikernes belong to that opposing tradition, disregarding law and life for the greater glory of a higher purpose they strive for. Their personal lives mean nothing, as Vikernes has also stated when it comes to his role as a chieftain of his Norwegian tribe. It's his fate to suffer for their glory. Place these within western values and they are breaking through the borders of our laws, which don't matter, the end justifies its means. Like the romantic paintings of their time, they stand opposite the elements and will stand because they see no other way. "*If you want to build something new, you first have to destroy the old.* (Vikernes in Aites & Ewell, 2008)”

No other work from Vikernes comes close to the blind fury of his *Vargsmål*. The only reason to discuss other works is that they were written at a later time. *Irminsúl* (2002) is a short pamphlet that is surprisingly well written and beautifully analyzing the worshipping of pillars and its position in modern cultural perception. Vikernes even moves towards a positive article about attitude towards development and improvement. Unfortunately this ends just before the end of the article. On page 7 and 8 Vikernes conveys his ideas of a superior race and land, which is the

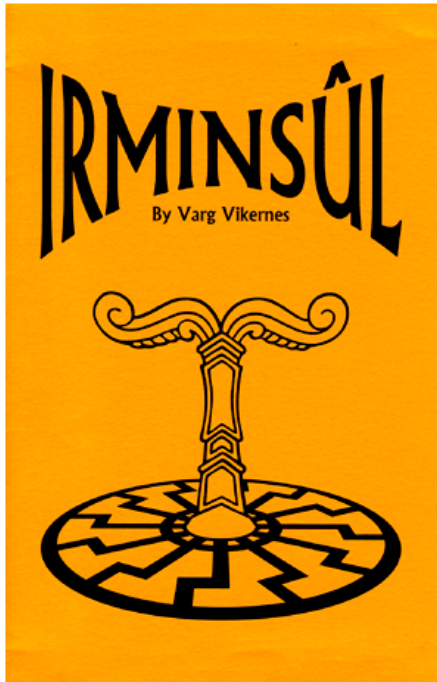


Figure 29. “Irmingsûl”, (Vikernes, 2002)

Aryan race in Scandinavia. *“In our evolutionary chain, there are seven races; the five mentioned above and two others. Only the seventh is complete and in order to understand and develop the technology, we need to bring the universe to a higher level. The sixth race will be called the solar race and will consist of pure Aryans with a highly developed intelligence and body. All true folk-companions shall join together in Scandinavia. (Vikernes, 2002, pp. 7)”* By perfecting this Aryan race, the seventh stage can be obtained. *“The seventh race will be born – the astral race. The process towards these two goals is humanity’s sixth level of development: the Solar race.(pp. 8)”* What this text shows is a belief in an ancestral goal, a development and purpose for the race itself and a reason to be separated from the others. It also shows how Christianity, according to

Vikernes, has dumbed down people and obscured the truth

from them, truth that the pagan ancestors did have. Vikernes believes in a different history, a history of pagan knowledge, lost knowledge that places the Aryan race far above the lesser races. Though clearly racist and nationalist in kind, the text is a lot milder. Even easier to read is his latest book on Sorcery and Religion in Ancient Scandinavia. Surprisingly, Vikernes states the following about it on his website, amidst his anti-European rants at the time: *“When I die I hope that I will be remembered as the writer of this book more than anything else. Music is my escape into my own world, and it doesn’t really matter one way or the other, but this book is important to our European culture. (Vikernes, 2011a)”* Vikernes doesn’t wish to be remembered as an extremist who burned churches and killed his friend, he wants to be significant for Norwegian and European culture. He has various other titles planned for release.

The Wolf Unleashed

During the prison years, the NSBM scene flourished and Vikernes did have contacts around the world it seems. Church burnings became common for a while in Europe (Grude, 1999) and the NSBM scene blossomed. Still, towards the end of the prison time Vikernes became less interesting to the press, apart from some documentaries made about him. When Vikernes gained his freedom again, he soon published his book that is mentioned above and in a rapid tempo started recording cd’s again under the name of Burzum. On the first album he released, he strangely took an uncommon name for a pagan god as title. Originally the name of the album was

supposed to be Den Hvite Guden (the white god). Most likely Vikernes thought that might be pushing it a bit and settled for Belus (2010). When one looks close at the album and its themes, it does become rather suspicious. The dying god who then is resurrected in a powerful form

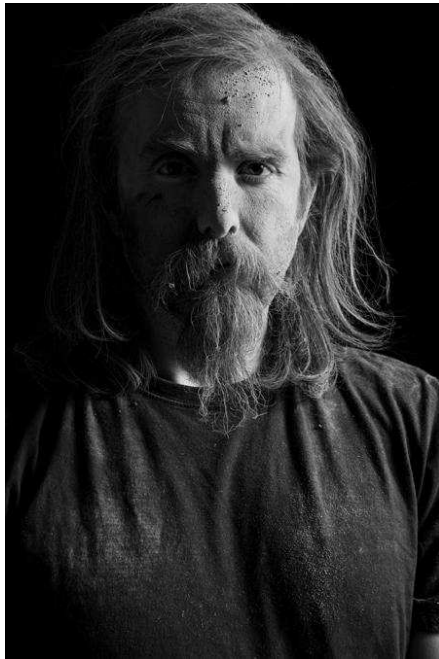


Figure 30. “Belus promo Photo”
(Segarra, 2010)

combined with Belus being the god of purity is very much in line of his earlier philosophy. In the promo material for this album he presents himself in a new form not seen before. It is no longer the warrior skinhead or Viking, but more and more he looks like a wise man. He is after all a seeker of truth and wisdom. His ideas are not anything milder though but his focus on wisdom instead of anger and hate towards the perceived enemies of his nation (which is just as much imagined historically, though historical obscurantism on behalf of Vikernes creates the idea of one nation).

However one wishes to look at it, the ideas are obscured by good musicianship. On this album he returns to the old fashioned black metal sound. His next album, *Fallen* (2011), is going more in the direction of classical music.

Pagan themes are again mostly present on both and existential themes are also back on the latter. Also has Vikernes got his own label now called Byelobog Productions, named after the Slavic deity resembling Belus. Belus is according to Vikernes, the god of light and purity, through which enlightenment can be found. Not much has changed in jail it seems (Vikernes, 2010). Vikernes seems to have become more quiet and secretive about his ideals after his prison time though. Silence before the storm perhaps, because in July 2011 after the massacre on Utøya a new chapter opened in the Burzum.org online library: War in Europe.

Conclusion and Utøya

Though he looks very far back into the past, the world Varg Vikernes wishes to come into being, the world he feels he belongs to, is nothing but a Utopian fantasy. His *Vargsmål* reads like it was written by a modern day version of Hitler, in the vein of populist politics. It's so raw and full of anger that it will scare away most people. Vikernes is willing to offer everything for the ultimate, the absolute good that his nation or race (his definition of this shits and remains vague on some points) could attain in the form of absolute knowledge and control of the world. This is what follows from his writings in *Irminsûl* (2002). He even suggests that his ancestors were on a much higher level of intelligence than any evidence suggests. His romantic notion of the past is much

based on an obscurantist look at history, seeking out the elements that support his views. His opposition to religion in the Semitic sense is overwhelmingly present. In fact, he sees religion as a good way to define people's intellect and divide races into categories of intelligence (Figure 31).

Average IQ:	Group:	The majority of them believe in:
56	Australian aborigines	Spirits
62-67	Negroes	Spirits and Gods or God/"Allah"
85	American natives	Spirits and Gods or God
85	Arabs/Iranians/Pakistanis	God/"Allah"
85	Indians	Gods
90	Turks/Central Asians	God/"Allah"
90	Indonesians/Indo-Chinese	God/"Allah"
100	Europeans	Science
105	Eastern Asians	Science

Figure 31. "Religion or reason" (Vikernes, n.d.)

So the elements we find in the works of Vikernes are consistent with what I've previously stated to be the core of black metal ideologies. In his early work, Vikernes expresses despair, a nihilistic view on the world that he tries to make sense of through the works of fantasy writer Tolkien. This despair is also found in his early music, he is looking for a way out of the confines of society it seems. Here we start seeing transgression in its new sense. Vikernes does not need to clarify and visualize the boundaries, he wants to break the prison of society that weakens the blood and his race. He seeks opposition in ideologies that are opposed to western values and from the liberal elitism of Satanism (which for a time he tries to oppose even in its own established form), Vikernes finds the values of opposition and elitism.

His lyrics display darkness, nature and cold as elements that oppose those we find comfortable and constitute our lives and society. Culture, comfortism (Buruma & Margalit, 2005) and the light of reason and religion that illuminates our lives with what Vikernes sees as a false light. In the categorization he shows how religion limits our potential and like a true romantic he rages against the whole world. From his counter position he has discovered nationalism in the racial form and völkish mysticism as the ground for his extreme politics. In Vikernes these metal-inherent elements converge. From the warrior aesthetics of early heavy metal bands and the elitism of early occult elements in a culture that rebels against the establishment on, Vikernes seems to be a product of both heavy metal, national cultural sentiments and the pressure of globalization. Elements of nationalism have lingered in Europe ever since the Second World War, when national pride suddenly became unwanted. A reawakening has been taking place in Europe and Vikernes

was at the very forefront of it, when we look back. Vikernes wants to go back to the past world he imagines and describes as idyllic. This may be done by whatever means. *“When you grow older you see that things aren’t the way you want them to be.... We stockpiled weapons, preparing for war... We knew that if you wanted to build something new, you have to destroy the old first. (Aites & Ewell, 2008)”* The struggle will be necessary to liberate the nation from the illness that is inflicted on it. Vikernes aims to become the noble man from Nietzsches philosophy again, the noble man free of resentment. He is of course full of resentment, but he is not a slave to his resentment the way he sees it. Unlike the slave mentality of Christians, Vikernes believes that through struggle that free, noble mind is obtainable again and the resentment will be sacrificed to this goal. By fighting resentment is prevented from poisoning the body. Through fire and ice, blood and death, purity is within mans grasp. On his website he has a series of writings, which look as a range of essays. The most recent part seems to be the result for Vikernes’ thinking: War in Europe.

After the massacre on the 22nd of July, it took Vikernes two days two write his new article: Qui Bono? Bluntly asking the question who was the real cause of the atrocities committed, placing the blame on an unlikely location. According to Vikernes, this is a Jewish conspiracy. *“Who benefits from this? Israel does! The Jews do! None of our aggression will be directed at them were it all should be directed. We will be fighting each other instead, whilst they move about in the background, out of the spotlight, and profit from our suffering, and in secret tighten the chains of slavery around our waists and ankles. Oh, and by the way; true nationalists don't kill children of their own nation, even if someone tries to brainwash them, like AUF did. They were not (yet) Marxist extremists; they were just children. (Vikernes, 2011b)”* He blames the Jewish conspiracy for creating ideologies such as Marxism, to weaken the body of the nation. If everyone is kept alive and made equal, the strong won’t survive and the weak will flourish, weakening the whole race. A point he already made in Vargsmål (1997). Europe as it is has got many problems that make it very un-European to Vikernes and likeminded thinkers. So this union is wrong. He starts putting those to word with his new article The Price of Anti-Racism (2012c) *“The problem is the "anti-racists" lack of respect for and comprehension of the fact that we actually have a diversity on this planet not only in respect to different animal races and species but also in respect to different human races and even different human species (see www.atala.fr for proof of that)! If you take a look at nature you will see that the various animal races and species do not mix naturally; only animals who have had their instincts broken down by breeding and domestication and in a few rare cases also wild animals who have no alternatives (like animals in captivity) mix with other races or species. If you for example take a dog and place it amongst wolves the wolves will kill it immediately. That's how nature works, whether we like it or not. "Anti-racists" for sure*

don't like it, for various reasons, but it is wrong to attack racists only because they are exactly how nature intended them to be.(Vikernes, 2012d)” Vikernes reaches for the natural state once more and describes Breivik as a cornered animal that is driven out of its habitat due to different animals taking over the domain. He claims that racist ideologies are merely natural responses coming from the natural state of human beings. For him, mankind is not a single species but a family of species that are distinctly different. A small note though, the question if he actually considers all of humankind as human remains a question. There are more problems with this Europe though.



Figure 32. “Vikernes 2012, Umskiptar promo” (M.C., 2012)

Christianity, what he now also calls a Jewish product, is what has taken away our identity, it has erased all European culture. The Europe we live in now, is not the Europe that Vikernes envisions, it’s a perversion of the ideal Europe under its various national cultures. “*There’s more chaos, war and pollution now than ever before in our recorded history. Of course we might have known a period with even worse conditions, but the Christians burned all the records that could tell us about it anyway, like in the library of Alexandria. Wherever the Catholics, the Protestants or the Christians came, they destroyed the culture, they’ve ruined the culture and they burned the records of these cultures. That includes the European cultures. That includes African cultures, Asian cultures and American cultures, wherever they went,*

they destroyed everything. They want to replace our culture with Americanization, the Judeo-Christian cultures. *Christianity is the cause of all problems in the world. It’s hard to know what to do about it, critical voices are not accepted in our contemporary society.* (Vikernes in Aites & Ewell, 2008)” Apart from Christianity, also the capitalism that is taking over the pure nation and seducing it into decadence, is a Jewish invention that we must oppose as much as we can (Vikernes, 2003c). The latest promo photos show Vikernes up in arms again for the release of his Umskiptar album (2012). One series he is dressed as a hunter in a military outfit, the other he is wearing medieval armor once more (Figure 32). Vikernes is up in arms once more, awoken by the actions of Anders Behring Breivik. The title Umskiptar translates as metamorphosis, Vikernes

believes we are heading for a new ice age and he calls his album a criticism of modern popular political movements in the age of lies we live in.

But there is more, as Vikernes writes in his *Homo Sovieticus* (2012b). I've already mentioned that he sees the state weaken and threatening in that its natural inhabitants and mindset. The social politics of Norway and thus other European countries also form the main issue. "The Social Democracy in Norway is not only to blame for the motives of the gunman on Utøya, but also for the number of victims, and I am gravely worried about the future of my nation when I see how broken down so many Norwegians are by this system. My countrymen are being turned into feeble, worthless, spineless, self-hating sub-human beings, completely helpless and fully dependent on the state to take care of everything for them; they turn into a Norwegian form of the homo sovieticus. (Vikernes, 2012b)" So in essence the pillars of modern day Europe, are in the eyes of Varg Vikernes all false, taking away the diversity that the world has to offer. This diversity is what makes the separate national bodies healthy, where these violent ideologies of capitalism, Christianity and Marxism take away the identity, only leaving despair. This gives birth to men like Anders Breivik.

In April 2012 Vikernes writes another text, titled *Si vis pacem, para bellum* (2012d). In here he writes with the same anger that characterized his earliest texts. He blames the Jewish conspiracy now for trying to destroy all European cultures and make them weak and docile. They go to great lengths to establish this, so Breivik is a Jewish agent according to Vikernes, also his mentors were Jews. But there is hope to be taken from this. "Is Breivik right when he says that the only means left for us to use is violence? I don't think so. What I see is a Jewish community in panic. They do not have as much direct control in Europe as they want us to believe. Their main influence is through their money and their different -isms, from Liberalism to Socialism, from Feminism to Communism, and their religions, from Islam to Christianity, and through their media, spreading their hateful ideas, but they don't have that much real power. We only think they do. They want us to think they do, to make us lose hope and give up. (Vikernes, 2012d)" Vikernes thinks that the victory of the conspiracy he believes exists is slipping from the fingers of the Jews. He warns to be careful what words to use and avoid the stigma of nationalist and racist, because that will make one ineffective in the struggle. He himself can't start a party, because of his criminal record, he casually remarks at the end of his text. The real shocker is in the following lines: "If you want to hang someone or shoot them in the back of the head, for betraying their own race or for attacking out nations with coward and dishonest means, I understand you very well, but please wait until after we have won, when you can do this lawfully. There is enough rope for all of them, and

bullets too, so just be patient. They will hang soon enough anyhow. And their brainwashed offspring too. And their f***ing dogs. (Vikernes, 2012d)”

A pure holocaust, a purification of the world of those considered inferior, poisonous to the blood of the nation itself for the greater ideal of a healthy, glorious race. Vikernes is nothing short of the Nazi Germany in his ideals and a true romantic at that, believing in restoring the former glory of the Viking age in Norway and becoming the noblest of man through total war. This Europe is not right; we instinctively should feel this world is wrong. The society and its laws mean nothing to Vikernes, nothing should stand in the way on the path to Enlightenment for the nation. Hope remains that this path does not appeal to many others, for it leads Europe down to war and bloodshed, plummeting it back in the darkness it came from, into pure fucking Armageddon.

Interlude: from Norway to Europe

From the ideologies of Varg Vikernes in Norway, we step away for a moment to look at the tendency in a broader, European perspective. On the 22nd of July 2011 extremism in the shape Vikernes describes and promotes it, became reality in Norway with the assaults of Anders Breivik. This takes place after protest against Europe has started to resurface in the shape of renewed nationalism. Culture and society go hand in hand. We can place the black metal extremism of Varg Vikernes in contrast with a society that has seen increasing tendencies of nationalism ever since World War II. Like with Vikernes, the history that leads up to the actions of Breivik must be looked at to understand its culmination.

This period of history starts with a time of relative peace that is overshadowed by the Cold War. Europe starts looking for forms of unity that can be attained on the old continent, which is been given shape through various stages of development, starting with a mining union and moving on to present-day situation. The European Coal and Steel Community was in 1952 the start of this attempt to change Europe into the union some considered it destined to be based on its common history and ideological traits (Van Middelaar, 2009). Perhaps the origins of the union can be found in the Benelux, the collaboration between Belgium, The Netherlands and Luxembourg, that precedes the mining union. Through some juridical bluff and political maneuvering, the community becomes more and more present in Europe that step by step moved forward. Interesting enough, every step Europe took, made the nation-states more aware of the threat to their sovereign power. This has made the process of uniting Europe such a hard and complex trajectory this far. Especially because the focus has been not on a total integration, but merely certain aspects, which effects other elements in society. “Today, then, the European idea has engendered a contradiction: the antinomy of political, economic and military integration on one side, and on the other social and cultural fragmentation. (Delanty, 1999, pp. 132)”

The feeling of uniting Europe, as Delanty states, generates a resurgence of nationalist or even regionalist sentiments, clinging on to identity that is rapidly slipping away if the idea of Europe becomes reality. Europe is an abstract idea, it does not seem to be very concrete and has to be given shape, given content, like a blank slate according to various thinkers (Gasché, 2009, Van Middelaar, 2009). This makes it very hard give Europe credibility and thinking of Europe, trying to imagine it from its past seems a haughty task, though it has been attempted to base Europe on its so called western values. Europe is becoming something, though one may say it was already here, that is new and unprecedented and this is the only way to go for most thinkers. “The idea of Europe is essentially a cultural idea based on a geo-political entity and its politicization as a political identity inevitably results in a distortive and regressive adversarial value system. The

only way out of this dilemma is to break the connection between the idea of Europe and the ethno-culturalism that it has until now been based upon. (Delanty, 1999, pp. 159)” Gasché speaks of an idea, a concept that is becoming in the shape of an infinite project that will have to be identified, figured out and imagined (Gasché, 2009, pp. 17).

No, Europe is clearly not a new super state or federation of states in the same sense of the Americas, it has a history of conflict, war and clear opposing ideals that complicate unity, sometimes even in a single nation when one wishes to base nationality on characteristics such as ethnicity, language and religion (Hobsbawm, 2008). Europe is taking the shape of an ideal union that Mazzini saw, growing together organically from the nation-state into a whole. The process though, is a top-down one that is being forged by a supranational organization that seems to replace national symbols with international, vague ones of this Europe that has no history, no nationalistic base or folklore that would help forge it into unity in the same sense as nationalism does (Wilson, 2004). Europe is moving towards post nationalism, according to Berezin (2003), who states that the post nationalist Europe is stirring up a negative reply in Europe from populist parties that not only have a problem with the globalization that brings more immigrants to the country, but also the recalibration of borders and Europeanization. They see this as a threat to the old national political space they wish to maintain.

This threat has prompted a reply, a backing up or support lately from nationalist politicians, populist movements and further extremism in the form of resurfacing xenophobic thought and neo-Nazi movements. In the wake of public dissatisfaction and media that profits from this, extremist movements develop again, raising nationalistic topics, heavily relying on the idea of linguistic and ethnic distinction (Hobsbawm, 2008). This prompted Riemen (2010) to speak of an eternal fascism, always resurfacing in a new shape to hamper and destroy the democratic, liberal ideals of Europe. It’s a resurging phenomena that enters the fray every time criticism and critics are pestering the European nations like a disease that is ignored or denied its existence by governments as long as possible according to Riemen (2010). The voice populist parties’ use is that of racial nationalism, veiled by economical arguments and the concept of ‘western values’ (Delanty, 1999). These elements of criticism and crisis are according to Koselleck (1988) elements that have entered civil society at a specific point in history, on which I will elaborate. The reason for this is that the historic turn Koselleck discusses gives birth to two movements that form a struggle that has been enduring ever since, expressing itself in war and peace alike. To continue on the point of sovereign powers of the nation-state, from where do these originate? And what gives them their power? To investigate this further, and to understand the issue that is at the core of nationalism, populism and resurging xenophobia in post-war Europe (Hobsbawm, 2008),

we will have to look at a period in the past where mankind changed its destiny. Ever since, mankind has been struggling to regain identity, belonging and order in the chaos that followed from the Enlightenment. To come to the core of what it is that troubles Europe and its family of nations every since, would be vital in understanding present day extremism from the likes of Varg Vikernes, but also Anders Breivik. If we understand the root of our problems, we can uproot the weed that has been raging throughout Europe for centuries, the ghost of nationalism to which peace and unity was sacrificed in bloody war, which still looms over us (Delanty, 1999). We will have to find the roots of this struggle. The origin of the problem lies in the past that we must understand, to find solutions in the future.

The European Union clearly didn't become a reality just start from the moment Europeans decided that they had seen enough war through the years. The origins of the existential crisis that Europe has found itself in started roughly 300 years before the smokes and ashes of the Second World War. This war is the latest in a long line of incidents history shows between conflict between the nations of Europe and attempts at forging a lasting peace (Delanty, 1999). Ideas of forging a union of Europe have existed ever since the Enlightenment of which the European Union is the latest version. This comes forth from a perennial struggle looking for a firm ground for a state, union and society ever since revolution tore down the old order. The seed for revolution was sown during the time of the Enlightenment, where free thought and philosophy after a silence of 2000 years starts blooming once more (though of course there are notable exceptions) due to a certain space that Absolutism granted to the people. This space is used as the metaphorical crack that is opened further by the philosophical wedge of the Enlightenment. The room that is opened gives rise to criticism and a whole new way of viewing the world that still occupies us to this very day and in this Koselleck (1988) finds the path that leads up to the second World War. The space that is created at first room for free thinking gave rise to criticism that lead up to the French Revolution, where the regular citizen was just as much in the right to define the destiny of the nation. When the ruler is dispatched of by either beheading or reforms of the government, the crisis emerges of how to form a state and legitimize it. This gives birth to the universal philosophy on one hand and nationalism on the other, one rational, the other romantic. Where Kant suggests a form of perennial peace that is to be attained (1917), searching for ways to escape the violent nature state of war, the states of Europe choose something else. Nationalism is born as an idealist way of giving shape to post-Revolution Europe, but starts on its path to become a monster that requires blood an earth to satisfy it in later times, becoming a monster that looms over Europe.

Departing from this point a history unfolds that characterizes itself by bloodshed and war (Delanty, 1999) and an endless struggle to make sense of nationalism itself, which is not as easy as it sounds. Hobsbawm shows how complex cases can be and how so many aspects of nationalism are never homogenous within the state (2008). Language, religion and ethnicity do not offer the strong root for a nation that is being searched for, nor does the folkloric origin of a cultural unity that forms the nation (Barnard, 2003) offer much hope. It merely leads down an obscurantist path of rewriting the history of the state, which at first already is an imagined community in itself, but turns itself in an utopist version through selective shaping of a national identity. Reason and passion struggle with one another in the way the European states are moving forward towards the future. Combined with sprouting evolution theory and racial theories, that are based on the new way of conducting philosophy that Kant was pivotal in, give all the ingredients for what results in the furnaces of concentration camps.

Our search will start at this point of the Enlightenment thus, though some notes should be added to make clear why it is so important for the permanent crisis Europe finds itself in ever since. I will explain this here briefly, using the concept of the Panopticon as forwarded by Jeremy Bentham. “Morals reformed - health preserved - industry invigorated instruction diffused - public burdens lightened - Economy seated, as it were, upon a rock - the Gordian knot of the Poor-Laws are not cut, but untied - all by a simple idea in Architecture! (Bentham, 1995)” The Panopticon is essentially a prison design that Bentham produced. It features all the prison cells in a circular shape and one guard tower in the middle that serves as an all seeing eye, keeping watch over all prisoners. It serves in a way that as long as the prisoners feel that the gaze of the watchtower is on them, they will be in check. Now, as a metaphor, this serves perfectly for the time of absolutist, divine rule. When we imagine that the power of this guard tower is based on the idea that behind its windows someone is watching over all, then the Enlightenment opened up these windows and revealed that the tower was empty all along. Whatever absolute guard is in there, it turns out he is just as much one of the inmates in this prison, no different than any other man. The prison that society is becomes equal for all and there is no ever watching divinity that keeps one from escaping it. Nonetheless, it seems that society tries to keep the Panopticon-status intact, attempting to refill the tower with new forms of legislation.

Removing the effect of the ever watching eye of divine rule, has removed limitations to what mankind can achieve. Where the period of Absolutism offered a glass ceiling that limited mankind's ability of good and evil, the Enlightenment removed this, giving the power to do absolute good and absolute evil to mankind instead of placing in the hands of divinity. Lévy (2008) underlines this, stating how totalitarianism is one of the new guards in the tower that can

reach the absolute, believing that perfection is in its grasp and that nothing in the world is incurable.

Firstly we will look at the development that followed on the Enlightenment, giving rise to numerous new forms of state, government and legislation that lead up to where the European Union becomes the new idea of forming lasting peace within the continent. The rational universalism of Enlightenment philosophers is at the base of this ideal, which starts to sound a lot like the perennial peace Kant theorizes about (1917). This ideal clashes with the ever resurfacing monster of nationalism, also born from the Enlightenment, seeking for legislation for the formation of nations within a state, based on loose standing characteristics such as language, race and culture. An organic vision of the nation comes forward in this, often used as a metaphor of a body that every man must serve. Nationalism is born out of the idea of a romantic predestination, the ideal of 'volk' as an organic whole that is separate from others. It appeals to the idea of certain values that should just be assumed to be truth. In this it opposes the rationality of the Enlightenment and fills in part of the emptiness it leaves in the world. In the first part about Europe I will look at how these two juxtapositions started a new chapter of European thought and history, creating new views of the world that have ever since been struggling within Europe.

I will pick up the story in the following section after the second world war, where I will look at the shaping, imagining an inventing of Europe from exactly those rational, universal values that the Enlightenment brought. On the other hand it clashes with the ever present nationalism that managed to shock Europe once more in its history in former Yugoslavia (Judt, 2007). Extremism and populist politics rely on the narrative of the nation and bring up the old conflicts that set fire to Europe in centuries past once more. Nationalism is on the rise once more. To clarify this we will also look at western extremism ever since the Second World War and its strange, obscurantist and often violent views of the world. Instead of remaining on the broad level I will zoom in on the case of Anders Breivik and his violent ideals that have left not only Norway, but Europe in shock and forms a clear example of how the Panopticon-society experiences transgressive break-outs, of which Varg Vikernes is also an example of this tendency. Breivik will serve as comparable casus of extremist transgressive politics that surface under pressure of European expansion and its becoming. This together will demonstrate how the struggle between rationality and romanticism is still taking place and finds its expression in both arts as in society itself.

I will thus first show the roots of this struggle by analyzing how the Enlightenment gave rise to this juxtaposition. A brief look at nationalism is also part of this, though the purpose is not to analyze nationalism deeply, due to this not being the place for that. The following section will

deal with Europe and resurfacing extremism within and under it, leading to the case of Anders Breivik that in a conclusion I will put next to that of Varg Vikernes.

The pages of Europe's history are smeared with blood that has been spilled in name of nationalism. *"In modern democratic societies, this linkage of the good with some notion of perfectibility seems archaic and potentially dangerous. The twentieth century offered several examples of teleology and visions of completeness put into the service of murderous absolutisms, in which organic wholeness was a central element of totalitarianism. (Entrikin, 2003, pp. 53)"* To understand how deep the nationalist ideology has become rooted in a Europe that loses its identity is significant, because it involves the future of the continent. This could become a unity of peace that could perpetually serve to prevent the massacres of history, but the risk exists that the powder keg goes off once more. This could lead to more than just reinforcing nation-states, but could lead to war. The imagining of a future Europe relies heavily on understanding its past.

Section 2: The roots of modern day Europe

Part 1: The Enlightenment

Perpetual peace

'No Treaty of Peace Shall Be Held Valid in Which There Is Tacitly Reserved Matter for a Future War' (Kant, 1795)

To sketch a picture of Europe as it is, one has to start somewhere. There is the starting point in ancient times, looking for the first mentions of the continent and the shaping of the culture that it has embraced ever since in a constant us and them dichotomy. Leerssen (2011) departs from the mystic times where the pillars of the western world start taking shape, slowly deconstructing them with counterexamples from ancient Greece all the way up to the romantics. Of course the way one prefers to depict the history of Europe, it can become a great story that depicts a dialectical formation towards the end goal of a united Europe. It's not an uncommon thing to mythologize Europe in its becoming, as Delanty (1995) tries to point out. This easily falls victim to a sort of idealistic obscurantism, generating a myth that is far from the truth of Europe. Lévy warns for this sort of thinking, which will lead down a path of inevitable determinism resulting in an absolute state, the pinnacle of its own constructive history (2008). I will get back to this later when discussing the current state of affairs. This sort of reasoning is one that I carefully will try to avoid. The European project is still in full swing, standing on feeble legs like a baby deer, trying its first steps into a violent world that will tear it to bits when its parents forget to protect it. Thinking about Europe is important as well, just as much as not trying to dive blindly into it. When the feeble baby deer doesn't succeed in walking on its own, in protecting itself, the parents might abandon it. Leave it for the wolves so to say.

To understand our present we will have to look at the past. "Everything is illuminated in the light of the past" as Jonathan Safran Foer wrote, and this is no different. To understand Post-War Europe, we have to know its roots, which lie in the Enlightenment and the new way of thinking about the state and finding peace within Europe. It's hard to make a suggestion of a unified Europe in a time when there's no such thing as civil rights and a voice for the common man. This would also be the basic argument for me to not invoke previous unities in Europe that we can find in its history. Delanty (1995) names a few exceptional moments where the pillars of European identity are established, which I will at a later point present due to their importance in shaping the wanted and unwanted aspects of Europe that we will later discuss. A few examples of pre-Enlightenment unity are found in the Greek civilization, already creating a dichotomy between the Occident and the Orient and of course the Roman Empire that covers half of Europe up to the great rivers dividing north and south. From the Greek civilization we also find the original myth

of Europe, as Zeus seduces her in the shape of a bull and rides into the sea with her, as Europe is a land near the sea (Figure 33). Great medieval empires also played a part in the shaping of what is to become Europe, such as the empire of Charlemagne and Fredrik Barbarossa. The rise of the Papal States also generates a certain unity in Europe that ends up in the all shattering wars between the sovereigns of the states and the church, both vying for absolute power. The absolutist state is the child of this time, bringing back order in Europe and secularizing the church to prevent further strife, placing the ruler as absolute monarchy, only recognizing God as a higher authority (Koselleck, 1988). With morality and law vested in a monarch, who ruled according to the *raison d'état*, peace descended on Europe and the royal families grew into a family, only furthering the

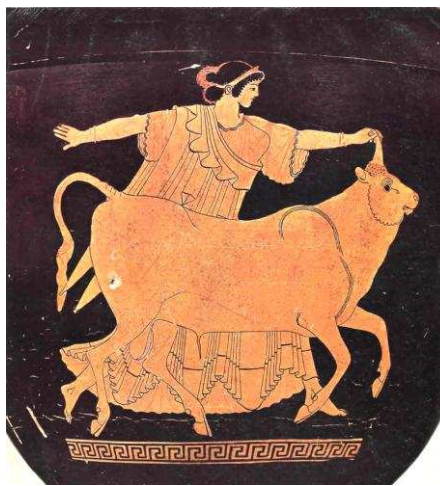


Figure 33. “Europe and the Bull: mythical depiction of the origins of Europe” (Unknown Artist, 480 BCE)

transnational state of peace. While the monarch dictated law, room was available for a private morality among the subjects of the absolute state, giving way for a new philosophy and power being vested in reason, leading to the intellectual movement we call the Enlightenment.

With this thinking, the seed for a new world order is sown and a change takes place during the Enlightenment that still defines the way we perceive the world, the state, society and ourselves. Europe is in its own way a representation of these ideas coming to fruition and finding their path through a difficult period towards the end project of the European Union. Inherent to its own development there are also the seeds for its dispute and the difficulties the union experiences to this very day.

Here I will try to demonstrate how these parts become inherent to western thinking and therefore defining for it's the dichotomy it awakens in its citizens and non-citizens. This is, just as I wrote earlier, not in a way to demonstrate a linear development, but to show that current extremism, such as the deeds of Anders Breivik, are not an act of madness that we can simply refute as not being part of our world. Society raises and educates its children, this doesn't make it the guilty party whenever the child chooses to be a monster instead of an obedient son or daughter. That is also the liberal right of every human being derived from the Enlightenment, where values as democracy, equality and liberty are derived from the new philosophies that found their expression in the French Revolution.

The critical citizens of Europe

Not without reason I've opened this part with a quotation from Immanuel Kant, perhaps one of the most important figures of the Enlightenment for his contributions to philosophy and according to Koselleck (1988) a key figure in the process of Enlightenment thinking and quite possibly the turning point in philosophy. The reign of reason had started to gather speed as a snowball effect in its breaking down of the absolutist order which helped cause the French Revolution. Like a powder keg that got ignited by this movement, Europe exploded into a new age of strife. Now, it is not of our concern to look at the specific cases of how the intellectual movement reshaped the map of Europe, though its giving rise to the first enlightened conqueror is of some significance for the point I'll try to make from here. Arguments have been forwarded to study the Enlightenment in its national context, focusing on its peculiarities, an argument forwarded by Robertson (1997) for example. "The conviction that the Enlightenment was a European-wide intellectual movement has ceased to be the starting-point of enquiry. With the enthusiasm of iconoclasts, some scholars *have begun to question whether there was 'an' Enlightenment at all....Deconstruction, in short, has caught up even with the Enlightenment: in consequence, the Enlightenment is proclaimed never to have existed.* (Robertson, pp. 671)" Though this may be a valid point, it is of no consequence for the ideas of the Enlightenment that we can verify to have arisen from the great minds of its time. The matter if there has been a movement called the Enlightenment seems arbitrary. I will treat the movement as a European one that in all its diversity generates a unity, relying on Koselleck for this crucial period that shapes Europe as it is now.

This is the departing point for Koselleck (1988) and his theory of how the change in thinking about politics started up the modern times. Previous eras of course suggest a certain degree of unity, but also a unity forced upon the inhabitants of Europe who were at time serfs or even slaves of the powers that were vested in the absolute rulers. When people become citizens and thus part of the unity that is established, only there can we start speaking of a modern Europe. It starts from the point where the absolutist establishment starts to be discussed and legitimized by the likes of Thomas Hobbes in his *Leviathan* as a necessary bond that protects us from untold evil that will descend upon us if there is no order (Hobbes, 1985). Likeminded philosophers start speculating on this topic of the state and the natural order, most importantly removing divine right from the equation, thus making the right to govern and the formation of state and the place of morality a debate involving earthly matters and perceptible to human reason (van Peperstraten, 1991). It gives rise to the individual as well, being allowed thoughts on its own. I've already mentioned the secularization of the church, this followed on a rise of the humanist tradition in the 16th century combined with a wish to create order by the established monarchies (Koselleck, 1988). This

period also starts showing a distinct development of the idea of Europe, based on Christian humanism as opposed to Oriental rationalism, according to Delanty (1995). This is the period of relative peace that Koselleck also mentions, where *“Enlightened monarchs became the systematic promoters of their people’s happiness.* (Koselleck, 1988, pp. 49) The idea of Europe is more or less a vague concept that can just as well be replaced by Christianity, but what is most significant is the way it takes shape. The dichotomy between the self and the other is what generates the idea of a loose unity, based on ‘otherness’ and the features that make one distinct from another. This plays a big role in identity forming for and within Europe

The Scotsman David Hume made enemies with his theories of very much everyone and even did the previously unthinkable in philosophizing about religion. One quote from this influential thinker I can hardly leave out when discussing individuality, which is so very important to the liberal philosophy of its time. *“Now if life, without passion, must be altogether insipid and tiresome; let a man suppose that he has full power of modeling his own disposition, and let him deliberate what appetite or desire he would choose for the foundation of his happiness and enjoyment.* (Hume, 1986, pp. 281)” Nonetheless, one cannot remove the individual from its link with society: *“As no enjoyment is sincere, without some reference to company and society; so no society can be agreeable, or even tolerable, where a man feels his presence unwelcome, and discovers all around him symptoms of disgust and aversion.* (Hume, 1986, pp. 280-281)” We can already see how the union between ruler and state becomes more cooperative and based on a mutual agreement of sorts. This idea clearly finds its culmination in the social contract from Rousseau (1977). Society becomes constituted here as a collaboration between its participants, as in the contract between an employer and employee. Both will have to provide the other with certain services to keep the collaboration successful and rewarding.

The period opens up a new development in the division of morality and law between the monarch and the people. Giving way thus for free thought on what morality is constituted by. The following developments can be best described by the saying *“You give them a hand, and they’ll ask for your arm”*. Where Hobbes still puts the absolutist monarch as an necessary evil to keep society in check and away from the edge of chaos (Hobbes, 1985), a shift can already be seen in the likes of Hume and Rousseau. Of course there are many other thinkers involved in this process of man finding his new place as a citizen, as a part of the society that in this new thinking necessarily also involves its subjects. Mankind can now consider itself in this sense a subject and later on even a citizen of a society that would not exist without him. Hume, as quoted, already states certain collaboration between states and individual that creates its unity and progress (1986). The final and most important step seems to be the idea of the social contract, which does

not just make the ruling power dependent on its subjects to constitute the state, it places them on an equal level as being dependent on one another to make the state successful (Rousseau,1977). Rousseau thus places man at the center, thus forming the foundations for future utopian ideas. The Frenchman already envisioned a greater European identity developing from his social contract (Delanty, 1995, pp. 71). The state is now constituted by the people themselves, there is no higher authority than that of the state and thus it becomes possible for the state to strive for perfection and utopian values due to the popular sovereignty. Placing man central also generates different forms of thinking about humanity, kick starting modern science. Reason

The process of unrestricted reason ends with Kant, who applies criticism to this principle. Where reason transformed the whole way a nation was constituted in the time of absolutist regimes, criticism puts the power of doubt in the hands of the normal citizen. What Kant does is question reason itself and deprives it of its straight path to absolute truth, criticizing reason itself. “*Every error discovered, every hurdle overcome reveals fresh obstacles; thus the human compulsion to unravel finds ever more subtle methods to seize on evil and do away with the continuous flow of confusion, until finally there is nothing left for reason to do. Criticism transformed the future into a maelstrom that sucked out the present from under the feet of the critic. (Koselleck, 1988, pp. 109)*” To put Kant in a direct line with social philosophers that precede him would be wrong, but his thinking did redefine the direction of philosophy in general. “It always remains a scandal of philosophy and universal human reason that the existence of things outside us should have to be assumed merely on faith, and that if it occurs to anyone to doubt it, we should be unable to answer him with a satisfactory proof (Kant, 1998, pp. 121).” So what criticism really is, is letting go of pure reason as means to the truth, one now also looks at the world itself for proof. This of course gives a stronger sense of truth, but also further contributes to the extent to which man can grasp the world.

Kant calls for legislation in the world itself, thus opening everything to questioning. Even religion is no longer free and above the earthly laws of man. “Religion through its holiness and legislation through its majesty commonly seek to exempt themselves from it. But in this way they excite a just suspicion against themselves, and cannot lay claim to that unfeigned respect that reason grants only to that which has been able to withstand its free and public examination. (Kant, 1998, pp. 101)” Criticism becomes the way forward, whatever path it takes. Even if it’s through destruction, the critics search for the truth is sovereign for Koselleck, thus making anything allowed in the quest for truth, giving the critic absolute freedom. I’d like to go further into this citation in the broader context of the Enlightenment it works in. Religion had formed the absolute demarcation principle between the knowable and the unknowable. Science that in the past clashed with

Christian doctrine would be denounced and the scientist or thinker could face prosecution. When Religion becomes part of the investigations of the Enlightenment, it breaks through the glass ceiling that absolutism had laid out for the subservient people of the Middle-ages. The idea that critical reason can make us understand the world and that no stone is going to be left unturned, reflects the new position man takes in his world. It embraces the world as something mankind can grasp, absolute truth is reachable and makes man the absolute in the world. He can now achieve, full and total knowledge of the world around him, because there are no longer limits to be considered. Any divine or absolute right on morality thus becomes irrelevant and morality comes into the domain of man himself. Absolutism is obtainable by any mere mortal and thus man becomes master of his own faith and world.

The whole shift in how people view their world turns the world upside down. “*At first it appeared as if the subject was potentially guilty, measured by the innocence of princely power, but now it was the monarch who was guilty from the start, in the measure of the citizens’ innocence.* (Koselleck, 1988, pp. 50)” The fact that the monarch became responsible at an equal level as any other man is the resulting problem. Morality demands justice, though Kant always viewed Enlightenment as a liberal and peaceful process. “This spirit of freedom is spreading beyond the boundaries [of Prussia] even where it has to struggle against the external hindrances established by a government that fails to grasp its true interest. [Frederick's Prussia] is a shining example that freedom need not cause the least worry concerning public order or the unity of the community. When one does not deliberately attempt to keep men in barbarism, they will gradually work out of that condition by themselves. (Kant, 1784)” We may safely say that Kant here underestimated the rational capabilities of the people of Europe, who in a bloody tidal wave washed away the Ancien Régime, followed by a struggle in finding a new unity and legislation for the way the world is, that still endures to this very day.

The significance of the French Revolution

So the powder keg exploded, regimes fell, new ones were established and fell down just as easy. The Europeans struggled with their freedom and the happiness and dignity of its people suffers greater lows at times than in past eras. The question remains if the revolution was a success in the end. Delanty (1995) considers it a failure in the sense of attaining a true state of reason and liberty. I think the revolution sparked an existential dilemma that we still struggle with. Koselleck (1998) theorizes that the sphere of morality, that had set itself apart from the ruling class, was proclaiming its abolishment. Secret sects and Masonic lodges were constructing new bourgeois frameworks of society, but the world was reeling towards revolution nonetheless (p. 137). An interesting reply to the question of its significance is deduced from Kant by Foucault (1986), who

states that not the Revolution itself is what matters, but the change it contains in human thought. “*What matters in the Revolution* is not the Revolution itself, it is what takes place in the heads of the people who do not make it or in any case are not its principal actors, it is the relation they themselves experience with this Revolution of which they are not themselves the active agents. Enthusiasm for the Revolution is, according to Kant, the sign of a moral disposition of humanity; this disposition manifests itself in two permanent ways: the right of every people to provide itself with the political constitution which appears good to the people itself, and the lawful and moral principle of a constitution framed in such a way as to avoid, by its very principles, all possibility of offensive war. (Foucault, 1986, pp. 93)” In other words, the revolution becomes a revolution of the mind revealing a new disposition for people regarding the way they view themselves, their place in the world and even the world itself. A liberal way of thinking and the freedom of each man to be his own becomes a new reality, giving way to various ways of seeing the world. Each man becomes equal, sharing the same faculties of reason and thus reinventing of society without its divine or absolutist legislations starts here. The painting of Delacroix shows how liberty guides the people, she guides them to their new world, in their hands, to do with as they please, to shape as they want. It also shows the romantic notion of war, of reaching through perils and death for a



Figure 34. “La Liberté guidant le peuple” (Delacroix, 1830)

higher purpose. It represents the revolution and what it did to the world (Figure 34).

“The starry heavens above me and the moral law within. (Kant, 1998, pp. 1)” Maybe this quote from Kant embodies the dualist connotations of post-Revolution thought. It places man on the threshold of a new age, with his own faculties and moral compass as guidance and nothing between

him and the stars. It also puts the legislation within man themselves with the moral capabilities to decide his own fate in hand and the capacities to observe and analyse and thus master the world around him. New thought comes up and Europe becomes a serious idea for many thinkers at this time, since all man are equal, a unity of Euope is suddenly no alien thought. Philosophy is generally concerned with universal values (Wilson, 2004), thus even further giving way to

thoughts of continent wide collaboration. Delanty (1995) discusses for example Voltaire and Giuseppe Mazzini as thinkers of a united Europe. Mazzini favored the idea of reshaping European unity based on two principles: democracy and national self-determination. National unity was a first step towards a future international brotherhood of nations. He shares the same ideas about this as Kant expresses in his Perpetual Peace (1917), though much more explicitly. The most important are individual values for Mazzini, which he values higher than popular sovereignty, constituting what makes us human. Mazzini's nationalism is a positive form that only is a step up towards that universalism of Kant and many others. Even T.S. Eliot had a very similar notion of culture as a whole way of life that organically composed the nation. These organic national cultures were the sum of individual cultures. In the same sense also a European and even global culture could come into being (1948). Nationalism can thus fill the gap that the Revolution created.

So what did the French Revolution eventually bring to Europe? Well, the answer for Foucault is the enlightened form of thought, not a revolution in itself. It removes the glass ceiling placed by religion and monarchs, obscuring the possibilities that human capacities are able to reach and intellectual challenges it can take.



Figure 35. "The Wanderer above the Mists", (Friedrich. 1917-1918)

Mankind becomes free in a world that is seen in a new light, where one can once more explore and progress through the means of critical thought, theorizing and experimenting at will. Man is not anymore confined to the borders set by a higher power and stands naked in front of the elements, as is clearly seen in the arts of the time. This new disposition sparks a new movement there as well, no longer depicting saints and rulers, but nature and mans place in it. A good example is The Wanderer above the Mists, by Caspar David Friedrich (Figure 35). Interpretations of the painting vary, but indicate both directions of the Enlightenment. One is the insignificant place of man opposed to nature, the romantic version of mystery and power that we

witness in the fog. The man stands as a speck opposed to nature, watching it in awe.

Transgressing the normal state for a moment, sucked in to the overpowering sense of being outside in the powerful nature. This sense of transgression is very much part of this romantic tradition where one loses oneself in the overpowering of the natural state.

One could also see the critical rationalist in this painting. Standing above the clouds, his view clear and nature opposed to him as the challenge of his knowledge. Not held back by anything, he can become the master of his dominion of earth now. Investigating and understanding all of it to the fullest, without anything holding him back. Enlightenment can be seen for what the word means, mankind steps out of the darkness again and into the light. There is a sense of empowerment in that. So what the revolution did is give way to a new society where man has to redefine himself and the contrasts of this society. One can embrace the rationalism and find the truth in the world, but nationalism offers a safe truth that is assumed instead. It stems from the fear of that overwhelming nature, the sense of transgression it brings. I have already discussed transgression as an element of extreme metal, transgression serves to overstep these boundaries and thus showing them, the boundaries that help us to keep the world in check. With the loss of a higher authority, transgression is needed to establish these and keep the tension on the borders of what is acceptable but also shows the nationalist position as necessary to keep life ordered. A prime example of this would be the Marquis de Sade in Revolutionary times and his *Philosophy in the Bedroom*, represented in all his works due to its (even now) transgressive values (De Sade, 1990). De Sade is considered a prime example of these transgressions and of libertine philosophy that took a strong hold in culture. The search for a new foundation of the nation also leads to another child of the Enlightenment, namely romanticism, of which this transgression is a part. If we look at the history from here on we can see two tendencies in Europe. Rationalism and romanticism, in a weird twist another movement is born from this: Nationalism. Nationalism offers an order that the universal philosophies don't offer, it protects one from the feeling transgression gives as one loses oneself in the chaos, which we find in the painting of Friedrich. When man was freed from absolute reign, the light was too blinding and man ran back to the safety of established nationalism.

Nationalism as a Romantic Answer to the Post-Revolution Crisis

“No nation imagines itself coterminous with mankind. The most messianic nationalists do not dream of a day when all the members of the human race will join their nation in the way it was possible, in certain epochs, for, say, Christians to dream of a wholly Christian planet. It is imagined as sovereign because the concept was born in an age in which Enlightenment and Revolution were destroying the legitimacy of the divinely-ordained, hierarchical dynastic realm. (Anderson, 2006, p. 7)”

Not many philosophers ever wrote on nationalism, nor did many have much sympathy for it. If they did, not much of it has shown theoretically. Nationalism comes into existence as what could be considered a necessity after the chaos of the revolution. According to Haikala (1997), in

analyzing Koselleck, in the popular sovereignty established after the revolution, the root for future totalitarianism and dictatorship can be found. The *volonté générale* that Rousseau made famous, becomes something else than what it was intended to be and a public dictatorship creates the Terror that the new regime produces under Robespierre. Thinking about a proper grounding for the new state thus becomes a dangerous and complex matter to prevent further bloodshed. There is dire need for guiding principles to establish order. The quest for new legislation has been a rocky path with various elements used to generate the idea of a nation as a group of people bound together by certain characteristics. Even when the concept of a nation was formed, it took time before it became an actual political idea, up until 1884 even (Hobsbawn, 2008).

When we look at theories on philosophy, there is only one name that defined nationalism in his work, amidst the universalism of contemporaries. Johan Gottfried Herder writes his theories during the Sturm und Drang period, which became significant as a precursor for romanticism and the Revolution itself. “The political question whether the apparatus of Absolutism and its sovereign ruler would continue to govern or whether they would be replaced by the leaders of the new society first surfaced in Germany during the Sturm und Drang era. (Koselleck, 1988, pp. 127-128)” In this period Koselleck also sees the exclusion and demonizing of the ‘other’ appearing, laying the roots for the ugly face nationalism obtains later. Herder considered the revolution as a significant event, giving way to progress and advances on levels of science, technology, education and commerce, but “*warned against the hazards of social disintegration in the wake of industrialization and urbanization, if such developments were not tempered by measures of “humanization”* – a term he used almost synonymously with Humanität. (Barnard, 2003, pp. 5)” For Herder the nation is formed by what he calls Volk, which captures the essence of the nation in a culture and way of thinking, which is typical for the specific nation. In this he focuses very strongly on the German nation and its *völkish* qualities that distinguish it from others. Barnard, has closely analyzed the writings of Herder, who has been called many things that he is not. Herder does not distinguish between different kinds of Volk. There is no Herrenvolk, master race or Favorit-Volk for Herder, for when one lives on the labours and lives of others, they both rob themselves of something essential to their being (Barnard, 2003, pp. 8).” Herders nationalism thus does not object any different race and he even speaks about collaboration between different peoples in a way similar to Mazzini. The basis for identity remains with the Volk itself though, within its own confines it should be respected and given sovereignty to live the way it sees fit.

So what is this Volk for Herder? Volk is the essence of a nation, an eternal, organic element giving shape to its identity. For Herder this identity is obscured and almost lost, but it can be reclaimed, found again by delving into the folklore of the nation. Each nation has its own folklore and thus

its own identity. A common heritage, law and love for its own forefathers is also part of what constitutes this, making this form of identity a search for legislation of the state in a similar vein as the pre-Enlightenment times, finding it in these elements that have similar absolutist qualities that do not require nor can receive any rational explanation. One can hardly deny ones roots. Herder looks at the non-rational elements that shape social and political cultures (Barnard, pp. 150). These elements that we cannot rationally explain are part of what we know and feel to part of our identity, it is an essential part of us that we cannot deny, nor explain. This places Herder in the tradition that Isaiah Berlin dubs counter-enlightenment even, though he does not object progress itself (White, 2005). “Those peculiar national characters which are so deeply implanted in the oldest peoples unmistakably manifest themselves in all their activities on earth. As a spring derives its component parts, its operative powers, and its flavor from the soil through which it flows, so the ancient characters of nations arose from family traits, from the climate, from the way of life and education, from the early transactions and deeds peculiar to them. The customs of the fathers took deep root and became the internal prototypes of the race. (Herder in Wilson, 2004, pp. 822)”

For Herder there is no possibility of a European federation, union or any form of unity, due to the variety of races that each have a right to their own, to live the way they see fit without foreign meddling. To resurrect the golden age of each nation, each has to rediscover its folklore. The enlargement of states though, writes White, is very much unnatural due to this. “Nothing, therefore, is more manifestly contrary to the purpose of political government than the unnatural enlargement of states, the wild mixing of various races and nationalities under one scepter. (White, 2005, pp. 172)” Natural is the core thought of Herders nationalism, an organic coherency that makes up for the nation. The nation can be envisioned as a body that should be kept healthy and vigorous. The idea of a physical development of the nation stems from the early thoughts on evolution of the time, according to Wilson (2004). The romantic tradition also serves to safeguard the remaining dynasties in Europe, that were still, though after a certain loss of their powers, in the seat of power but now ruling more carefully than in the time of the Ancien Régime.

So to summarize the thoughts of Herder, the nation is the whole of characteristics that unite the people within the nation. Ancestry, law, tradition and folklore make up this unity and what the nation starts basing itself upon, if not present, formed in such way (Hobsbawn, 2008). This makes up for the body of the nation that should have an autonomy and independence towards others. Each nation is equal and should be left to its own devices if it wishes so. Herder thus opposes any form of imperialism as wrong, for it tries to derive the nation of its autonomy. Two other facts from Herders theories are worth mentioning. For Herder the common folk, the common people of

the nation are of the utmost importance, for they constitute the family, the unity of the nation itself. A state itself doesn't make sense to Herder, only when it is a nation-state it would be the least unnatural. Herder exemplifies his theory by looking at the Jewish history and how their 'belonging' was created based on what bonded it as a nation, far before it became a state. All in all, to consider Herder a precursor of Hitler's Nazism would be rather farfetched (Barnard, 2003). Here we very much see the romantic side of Herder and his wish to go back to nature and leave the thoughts of cosmopolitanism behind: "The savage who loves himself, his wife and child, with quiet joy, and in his modest way works for the good of his tribe, as for his own life, is, in my opinion, a truer being than that shadow of a man, the refined citizen of the world, who, enraptured with the love of all his fellow-shadows, loves but a chimera. The savage in his poor hut has room for every stranger; he receives him as his brother without even inquiring where he comes from. His hospitality is unostentatious, yet warm and sincere. The inundated heart of the idle cosmopolite, on the other hand, offers shelter to nobody. (Herder in White, 2005, pp. 174)"

The second point is the urgency that Wilson derives from Herders work, he writes: "*As Herder had hoped it would, the folk poetry revival moved German literature away from the rationalism and cosmopolitanism of the Enlightenment, which Herder believed had led to a sterile uniformity, and based it on the irrational and creative force of the people. He had once said that unless our literature is based on the folk "we shall have no public, no nation, no language, and no poetry of our own... (Wilson, 2005, pp. 829)"* This urgency we see returning in a perverted form at later points in history, where violent solutions become the only way to save the nation, to cure the body of the state. Herder's nationalism is an idealist notion of the nation as a way to peace in a natural situation of autonomous cultures, multiculturalism is something Herder does not oppose, but it should remain separated in various nations. This shows some flaws in Herders thinking, but these are of no concern here. Herder does not oppose any other nation, though nations may find themselves through placing them in opposition to another. This has no expression of value towards one another though, all being equal in their diversity. Herders concern, as mentioned, is more with humanity remaining human, natural and not become the cold pure rational beings, but leaves room for nature and the un-rational. He values organic natural relations and fears what industrialization and capitalism will do to the people, because if it deprives them of their Volk essence, they will lose something very precious. They will lose their humanity.

The Perversion of the Nationalist Ideal

"*No State Shall by Force Interfere with the Constitution or Government of Another State. (Kant, 1917)"* It is clear from our history that this is not the shape nationalism took in our modern day world. Nationalism soon embraced a certain notion of supremacy in favor of culture, religion or

language. Ethnicity becomes the core of nationalist thought (Hobsbawn, 2008). To explain how the rationalism of the Enlightenment gave way to the romantic notion of nationalism as Herder presents it, would be very complex and this wouldn't be the place for this discussion. There is however a clear link between the two, that Kemiläinen (1993) tries to show in analyzing the Finnish independence and legislation of its newly formed state by nationalistic elements. Wilson also writes how this is visible with newly established states, which have held on to their identity through folklore and such, using it in a rational manner to form their state and present its validity (2004). Not without reason often one speaks of the '*National awakening*'. Though clearly romantic characteristics are present in the nationalism that we see in modern times, rational elements are just as much present according to Kemiläinen: "*Nationalism has often been considered to belong to the Age of Romanticism in the 19th century. On the other hand many historians and thinkers say that Modern Nationalism originated during the French Revolution and was based on the rationalistic doctrine of National Self-Determination. Both of these conceptions are right. (Kemiläinen, 1993, pp. 307)*"

It is not uncommon still in these days to see elaborate celebrations of national identity, stimulated by governments themselves. One only has to look at an international football tournament nowadays to see this happen (Hobsbawn, 2008). That being said, international matches between club teams also show similar dedication to the region of origin among fans, which shows that identity and nationalism are not necessarily as strongly related as ideology tries to establish it. Identity relates to different scales of locality and shows that nationalism is not such a strong identity predicate as politicians have and still try to suggest (Agnew, 2003). Two important things are part of what nationalism means for the nation according to Van Evera (1994) Firstly, the individual gives his loyalty to the nation-state, above all else. Thus the individuals' freedom is subjugated to the state (Koselleck, 1988). This is a very important notion for its unity. Secondly, the nation-state desires independence and self-control. It is important to note also, that the revolution didn't remove the Absolute rulers in all cases. Many European states still had a ruler of one of the pre-Enlightenment monarchies that basically just handed in a bit of his or her power so the position could be maintained. The First World War made an end of these dynasties. Before that and this clearly reflected in exactly that war, there would be a discrepancy between nation and state. Some nations there for would have to be subjugated in the state of a different one, subjugating to an oppressors nationality. This self control that Van Evera (1994) mentions, thus is not necessarily what the nation wants, but what the ruler desires (Anderson, 2006).

What is clear is that the birth of nationalism and the age of rationalism are two sides of the same coin. The search for a re-enchantment of the world, as Delanty (1995) puts it, goes hand in hand

with a re-Christianization. Herder's ideals were only partly pursued by the newly formed nation-states. The idealism of his theory was put to practice in the new critical tradition that seeks for proof in reality. If we combine this with the legislation required for the nation-states, than one state will try to position itself as better than the other. The Christian Europe had for centuries characterized itself in the light of the other, the Orient, writes Delanty (1995). Science occupies it with evolution and later also racial theory, which can all be used to establish ideas of superiority. Delanty ascribes the rise of imperialism also to the redemptive nation of the church that considers the 'other' people to be in need of salvation. This was a big part of the imperialistic motives, though one can always speculate on economic motives that may have played a very strong part.

Reuter (1945) describes how racial theories have given shape to politics since the time Hellenic times and resurfaced in the Romantic era, becoming part of politics and cultural expressions, aimed at establishing the heterogeneous population of the nation-state and thus keeping it healthy and prosperous. Race has been connected to how advanced a nation would be for a long time in this sense. Evolution theorists also play a part in this: "*Certain prominent social Darwinians... were proponents of the doctrine that Nordic or Aryan races are inherently superior and that progress and civilization are dependent upon the racial composition of the population.* (Reuter, 1945, pp. 454)" Combine this with the redemptive nature of Christianity, that Delanty describes, whereas the people outside of Europe were regarded as a low breed, even as monstrous races, worse than savages (Delanty, 1995, pp. 87). Europe was supposed to save those, though at the core, they were beyond redemption: "At the root of European chauvinism was a racist doctrine which held that even if Africans and Asians were converted to Christianity they would still be imperfect, for the superior races were white. (Delanty, 1995, pp. 96) "This racism has dubious roots though, since it was already there in medieval times when it was fairly difficult to distinguish on race based on looks alone. Anderson (2006) ascribes racism as rooted in a notion of class, rather than that of nation, which corroborates with the deeply rooted racism in Europe that Delanty (1995) describes.

The nation-state is not born out of peace, but out of war, writes Delanty (1995). It's not very hard to see how these elements reshaped and twisted the nationalism and gave birth to imperialist rulers like Napoleon, bringing Europe the light of the Enlightenment and democracy. When European values become considered universally, this gives rise to shaping Europe as opposed to the rest of the world, leading to strong racist views. Then there is the issue of what is the centre of Europe. It's easy to see how this sparked a further shattering of any form of unity into different nation states. "I should like to define racism simply as the refusal to recognize oneself in the other, who is then reduced to the condition of nature. The history of European civilization demonstrates

that it is possible to speak of the unity of a distinct European civilization only by ignoring the *'non-European' elements*, in particular the Oriental and Jewish contributions. But these are non-European only by virtue of the ability of the dominant culture to construct an ideology of Europeanism as a myth of civilization with its roots in nature. (Delanty, 1995, pp. 98-99)" The equal appreciation Herder gives to nations is fading away soon and the idea of supremacy starts to resurface and Europe enters a bloody age where its rationalism struggles with the romantic ideals that filled the gap of meaning and belonging after the revolutions. Nationalism doesn't just construct the nation from its cultural and folkloric elements, it does this in a selective manner.

Through a magnifying lens, colored by obscurantist utopian colors, the nation is mystified and thus also it's racial other as the perennial enemy of the nation. It gives rise to a hostile ideology, to which the rational universalism of Europe is sacrificed. Anderson (2006) even goes further in his verdict of this forming of a nationalist state. The idea that a nation is a community in any sense is largely imagined. Rationally the tradition that forms the nation is constituted by its new rulers (according to Koselleck, this is ever since the Enlightenment the bourgeoisie, 1988). There may very well be some common ground that the nation shares, but this is very limited when it's viewed rationally. According to Anderson the proof for a nation is so hard to define and is open to much criticism. The line he writes what makes the nation-state imagined, that probably says it all is the following: "It is imagined because the members of even the smallest nation will never know most of their fellow-members, meet them, or even hear of them, yet in the minds of each lives the image of their communion. (Anderson, 2006, pp. 6)" The post-Enlightenment sovereignty is imagined according to Anderson to replace the missing coherency in society. What first is based on a natural sort of nation later becomes molded and constructed and from a rational progress the romantic idea of the nation is shaped and transferred to its people. What is very important to note is that for Anderson this does not mean the same as false or fake. They are not necessarily fabricated but largely imagined and created by the people themselves just as well as the rulers. For Anderson every community that exceeds direct contact becomes imagined. The explanation is in the earlier quotation, the bond with people you do not know is never real. The old system worked simply because being subject to an absolute monarch does not require any sort of consent from the subject itself. Nonetheless, nations arise in Europe and soon turn their eyes to others over their borders and disputes erupt. Intellectuals from the Enlightenment era can only watch as war reshapes the map of Europe and borders that previously never really existed, come into being as new forms of power emerge.

Gentile (1994) ascribes the rise of fascism out of nationalism to its complicated relation to modernism itself. In trying to form a synthesis of the two the fascist doctrine emerged. Particularly in Italy the avant-garde art played a big role in this according to the historian. “What distinguished this nationalism, what made it modernist, was its intention to reconcile intellectual culture, or spiritualismo(spiritualism)--understood here generically as the primacy of culture, ideas, and feelings--with mass industrial society, an intention that aimed at opposing and avoiding the negative effects brought in the wake of modernity, such as materialism, skepticism, hedonistic egoism, egalitarian conformism, etc.--all that modernist nationalism identified with the rationalist and individualistic tradition of the Enlightenment. (Gentile, 2004, pp. 60)” Now Gentile does merely discuss the Italian situation in his writing, but it illustrates is how nationalism has found its place, its legislation, within modern society. To give itself meaning it has to find potential others, which Europe’s history has plenty of, to derive its identity from. The idea of exclusion and otherness lays at the very core how identities are shaped in Europe. This gave rise to an era of blood from Europe and even the world has still to recover.

The rational mind constitutes a mythic unity of the nation, glorifying it as the healthy body of a strong nation among others that are inferior. Machiavellian methods are not uncommon to be mentioned in titles discussing these proceedings. “*This is why so often in the ‘nation-building’ policies of the new states one sees a genuine, popular nationalist enthusiasm and a systematic, even Machiavellian, instilling of nationalist ideology through the mass media, the educational system, administrative regulations and so forth. (Anderson, 2006, pp. 113-114)*” The white race, after all, is superior. Europe does have strong elements of non-European inhabitants lingering in its culture. The redemptive nature that nationalism inherited from the new church also plays its part, Europe has to be saved from bad influences and the body must be made healthy by expelling the diseases. The multi-cultural view of Herder is rapidly disappearing from the ideals of nationalism. What remains is the notion of a body that must be preserved. This must be done whatever the cost. Good and evil are in the hands of man since the Enlightenment, so when evil and decadence are invading the body of the nation, than absolute good can be attained by people when they use their critical view on the world.

“It was to nationalism that the Great Powers eventually sacrificed Europe both in theory and on the battlefield by 1914. (Delanty, 1995, pp. 79)” This ideology that has both traditions inside it, in a perennial struggle to find meaning, truth and place in the world, culminates in the holocaust, in a cleansing of the world in an attempt to make sense of it once more. Imagined communities become imagined nations in states that are formed in opposition to the imagined others just to create order (Anderson, 2006). It is the evil that is seen in liberty that is fought, for when people

are to do as they please, to follow their own desires, chaos erupts in our world. Liberty, evil and chaos can be seen as one when we chose to; it's what must be controlled, brought to its knees, whatever it takes (Safranski, 1998). In it rages the struggle between the rational nature and the romantic disposition mankind suffers from. Without a God to guide them, they must make up the truth for themselves, leading to struggles of excessive control or lose liberty leading to the same sort of tyranny of one over others. It shows the opposite positions we have in the world ever since, struggling to retain balance on a thin cord between the two opposing and warring sides Buruma & Margalit sketch (2004). The struggle continues on ever since the Enlightenment and finds its culmination in the genocide of the Second World War. We find these elements in the speech Himmler delivered to the SS troops at Poznan on the 4th of October 1943. Himmler expresses the idea of the nation as a body that has to be healed. He also expresses moral superiority and explains what they are doing as something that might go against feeling, but is in the end the only right and rational thing to do, to preserve and return the Glory of the state. In the redemptive nature of this ideology, not just the state will be saved, but all of Europe, maybe even the world. It tries to bring order to the chaos of liberty, it has witnessed an element that disturbs the harmony and will have it exterminated for the sake of the greater good, for which any sacrifice can be made. It is the noble task that waits.

“We have taken nothing from them for ourselves. A few, who have offended against this, will be [judged] in accordance with an order, that I gave at the beginning: He who takes even one Mark of this is a dead man. A number of SS men have offended against this order. There are not very many, and they will be dead men - WITHOUT MERCY! We have the moral right, we had the duty to our people to do it, to kill this people who wanted to kill us. But we do not have the right to enrich ourselves with even one fur, with one Mark, with one cigarette, with one watch, with anything. That we do not have. Because at the end of this, we don't want, because we exterminated the bacillus, to become sick and die from the same bacillus. I will never see it happen, that even one bit of putrefaction comes in contact with us, or takes root in us. On the contrary, where it might try to take root, we will burn it out together. But altogether we can say: We have carried out this most difficult task for the love of our people. And we have taken on no defect within us, in our soul, or in our character. (Himmler, 2004)”

Buruma and Margalit (2005) wrote in their essay *Occidentalism* how there are two main traditions to be distinguished in the world. One of rationalism and one of romanticism, neither ever revealing itself in a pure form of itself though. Even though nations have established, rationalism and democracy prevail in the Capitalist West where the general happiness of the population seems to be the main purpose of society, where individualism is one of the most important things within

the state. In the Occidental states, that do not limit themselves to the Middle East, the individual is never more important than the nation itself. Sacrifice for the higher goal of the nation is something noble. *“Dying for one’s country, which usually one does not choose, assumes a moral grandeur which dying for the Labour Party, the American Medical Association or perhaps even Amnesty International cannot rival, for these are bodies one can join or leave at easy will. (Anderson 2006, pp. 144)”* What people were looking for and what they found in nationalism is something real, something that is very deeply part of who you are as a person. A thing to belong to, to forge identity and make one whole so to say. Nationalism offers that, but did change with another idea and that is the idea that it can reach the absolute, become the true race, the most powerful through understanding the world. Making the nation better becomes the highest goal, a romantic purpose for which all should be sacrificed. Western-Europe left behind the nationalist ideals in favor of capitalism and thus embraced something else that can be called *komfortismus* (Buruma & Margalit, 2005). An individualist, hollow aim at being comfortable financially and having the goods to make life pleasant. Nazi-Germany brought something else, it brought the nation as a unity with a purpose to rise to the glory it deserved through whatever means. Since the Enlightenment, the individual gives purpose to himself which if unchecked and not stimulated results in the hopelessness of *komfortismus*, a material satisfying of one’s need. The nation offers more, it offers belonging, purpose and identity and a goal to strive for the greater good. This is the romantic tradition that arises when criticism emerges in society, if purpose and belonging is waning; nationalism rises up in times of crisis (Koselleck, 1988). It restores order through violence that transgresses the moral codes sets down, through war and bloodshed it re-affirms society. This is what the Enlightenment has left us with. Reason in times of peace and romanticism in times of struggle, perennially clashing with one another in Europe.

Kant assumed a peaceful transfer from the old to the new enlightened world. The Prussian state he held in high regard concerning this, its king being an enlightened monarch (1784). When the smoke cleared in 1945, not only was it very clear that peaceful didn’t enter the equation at any point, the nation-state of Prussia had disappeared from the map of Europe and its nation had disappeared into the German. Königsberg, a city of the Enlightenment, was named Kaliningrad and home to an absolutist regime. Kant could hardly have pictured it differently. *“No State Shall, during War, Permit Such Acts of Hostility Which Would Make Mutual Confidence in the Subsequent Peace Impossible: Such Are the Employment of Assassins, Poisoners, Breach of Capitulation, and Incitement to Treason in the Opposing State. (Kant, 1917)”* Nothing of the ideal of perpetual peace remains standing, not just Europe, but peace seems to have been sacrificed on the battlefields of Europe. Perhaps the European Union is a chance to redeem these woes, if performed right.

Section 2: The Crisis of Globalisation and the European Project.

The problem of identity

Nationalism is part of an ongoing series of attempts at forming new unities within Europe. Berezin notes different attempts at calibrating the shape of nations, borders and then again unity in Europe with little success ever since the time of the Enlightenment. She also repeats the criticism of White on Herder's theory of nationalism: identity is simply not so coherent in a nation and changed and reshaped by many factors. "*Neither identity nor territory is cast in stone.* (Berezin, 2003, pp. 10)" That identity and nationalism aren't perfect bedfellows is shown in countless independence movements following the spark of nationalism that occurred in Europe around the year 1900, but also in how there are nations locked in a different nation-state than their own or totally stateless nations such as the Roma. Nationalism still holds sway in the Europe of reason. An example can be found in the article of L.L. Farrar Jr. Farrar (1989) struggles with the difficult relation between state and nation. He explains how hard it is to rationalize states from the point of view nationalism takes, because it is extremely difficult to draw up the lines for borders based on ethnicity or language. The elements of nationalism are hard to grasp because they all seem equally important and elusive: "*The nation is a body which inspires nationalism and evidences a particular character in his history.* (Farrar, 1989, pp. 716)" Farrar demonstrates how nationalism is being legitimized from a perspective that feels very similar to an idea of 'what else?' He describes the way nationalism is constructed as almost essential part of how our social sphere works. Objective elements that can be rationally explained are combined with subjective elements as the concrete in a brick wall, connecting everything into what composes the nation the way that is most suitable. The then formed nation-state thus ascribed an identity to its citizens, but is identity as simple as that?

We have established that the answer is negative to this question. Identity is a composite of various levels of concreteness or dispositions, usually forged by excluding others (Eidelson & Lustick, 2003). What seems logic from this is that when pressured the grip of one identity will become stronger, which is the problem of European identity that Delanty sees occurring (1995). The national identities, which were never very strongly present until the 19th century, are resurfacing under pressure from the European identity that is emerging as a new concept of an identity that has no real history to adhere to. When it tries to create a history of its own, Europe is creating a

problem because it enters the domain of the nationalist identity. Attempts to unify Europe have in the past already clashed with nationalist idealists, stated Delanty (1995), which is what creates the problem of European identity versus the national. De Mul (2011) suggested a series of pillars for on which the European identity rests, but these do not apply to all parts of current Europe and their historical rootedness is very much obscured by different movements in the past, they would not serve as a proper legislation for European unity as it is now. If one focuses on those strongly, Hobsbawm argues, one brings up references to anti-communist standpoints, Charlemagne but also Nazi-Germany (1996). Also something that Europe likes to steer clear of. The past dividedness is too great for this, it would require the same obscurantist notion of Europe as nationalism applies it. Also the problem would be that this still rests on the principle of otherness, which will result in a manicheistic worldview that Buruma and Margalit (2005) discuss in their work on the difference between the romantic eastern culture and the rational western culture. Creating a big divide between the two worlds that will go their separate ways, then still new divides will appear. The risk of violent nationalism to reappear is ever present according to Van Evera: “*No European nationalism today displays such hegemonism, but the vast trouble that it caused in the past advises alertness to its possible reappearance in Europe or elsewhere (1994, p. 13)*” There are various factors that play a part in this possible reappearance that Van Evera lists and the way Europe tries to unite the nations can trigger various of these, particularly the issue of borders and ethnicity within the current borders mixed with the complex and often bloody history still plays part in this. Then again, it has been rather easy to destroy the dream of Europe, since a lot of its

work is invisible to most.

Cartoons like Figure 36 are not uncommon in Europe.

What is a particular cause for concern is the still persistent image that nations have of themselves and others. Dealing with this requires an enormous portion of tact and versatility from the uniting organization. “Most of the nationalisms of the West

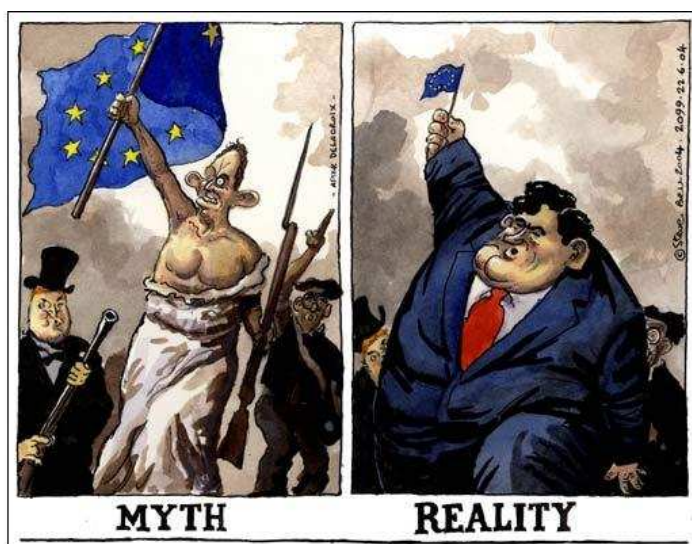


Figure 36. “Europe: myth and reality” (Bell, 2004)

are satisfied, having already gained states. Western diasporas are few and small, reflecting the relative homogeneity of Western national demography, and Western minorities are relatively

well-treated... The regimes of the West are highly legitimate, militarily secure, and economically stable; hence chauvinist mythmaking by their elites is correspondingly rare. (Van Evera, 1994, pp. 33-34)” For the time of writing, the statement of Van Evera is very much true, though this was before current developments such as the rise of populist politics, economic crisis and a further developed unity of Europe. Under pressure of these factors a new nationalism arises that opposes European identity in favor of nationalistic (Delanty, 1995) and gives rise to all the past conflicts and prejudices that exist in Europe (Leerssen, 2011). The changing social cohesion and the loss of identity stimulate a new racism and manicheistic worldview to emerge when the two movements of old romantic nationalism, relying on mythmaking and vague notions of ethnicity or linguistic unity (Hobsbawn, 2008), and rationalist universalism clash once more over a Europe of peace or conflict (Delanty, 1995).

Europe cannot go up in arms against the nation state using the weapons it is accustomed to. That has been the main reason for this clashing of ideals, the attempt to imagine Europe as a substitute for the nation-state. The clash is between Euro-nationalism and nationalism (even regionalism). The shape Europe has been taking even showed a re-emergence of the Mitteleuropa idea as a counterpart to the capitalist west of the continent (Delanty, 1995, pp. 1995). The problem is that Europe as a union cannot try to manifest itself as a super state, it has to manifest itself in a new shape that takes into account the cultural sensibilities that underlie European history. Supranation might sound suitable, but still the notion of a nation is present. Europe has to become something new, instead of another anachronism in a world that is already outdated by the globalizing world. It can be considered as a concept that still has value to work on, an idea that can develop to become something new (Gasché, 2009). Right now though, it suffers the problems of new nationalism that tears at its seams. Europe faces problems within its own sphere but also outside it, always struggling with where to put its borders. I will therefore provide a sketch of modern day Europe and its development. I will focus on the current status between nationalism and Europe that is becoming a problem. From there I will take a leap to extreme politics and their position ever since the Second World War, which has changed the face of the world and thus also the face of extremism.

I'd like to add one more not to the problem of identity that should be taken into account. The French philosopher Lyotard wrote about the postmodern condition that followed in the developments after the Second World War (1984). Lyotard states that the grand narratives, such as Marxism and the Enlightenment have come to an end, thus society loses its unity due to these grand narratives and splinters into various smaller narratives like fragments. According to Balibar, the end of the Cold War is pivotal in this postmodern development, bringing about the start of the

end of nations and on to something new (2004). Even though Lyotard later calls it a parody and admitted to have made up most of it, the work has been a main influence on modern thinking (Anderson, 1998). Europe has become the philosophical concept, a grand narrative, which is exactly the thing that makes it problematic. Interestingly enough, the way Lyotard referred to books he hadn't read in his *The Postmodern Condition* (1984), is similar to the way nationalists construct their arguments, which are used to oppose this grand narrative of the European Union. Nonetheless, the postmodern condition the world ended up in due to its own developments is not a reason to abandon the narrative of Europe of course, which is shown by the continued research and development of the concept in a new way like Gasché shows with his phenomenological analysis (2009), another version of looking at Europe. So the narrative of Europe doesn't have to be abandoned.

“The thesis I wish advocate is that unless the idea of Europe can be linked to multi-culturalism and post-national citizenship, it is best regarded with skepticism as a political notion. (Delanty, 1995, pp. 159)” Narratives that formed nations are of course deeply rooted to the extent that they appear to be natural and organically conceived, also they are very restrictive. Nonetheless, for the forming of a new union the narrative in this way does have the same validity anymore opposed to the already developed national narratives (Hobsbawn, 2008). What it does give way to is a new way of thinking about forming a unity as a post national one. By this a greater union is indicated, to which the other states are subservient, generally making the existing nation-state less important. Hobsbawn shows how nations subsumed their economic interests under these larger international organizations (2008). Post national citizenship is also what Delanty proposes for Europe, though this still has to deal with the difficulties of nationalistic narratives that seem to emerge again. Pease (1997) shows how the national narrative and the post national narrative can co-exist, creating a space between nation and post national. Though the nation state has become an anachronism according to Pease (1997), it is hardly dead yet and still has a role to play out. “The world economy requires socially and territorially more complex organizations than nation-states, which have subsequently become splintered rather than developmental in form. The time bound and enclosed nation-state whose institutional form once foreclosed other possibilities has given way to more complex patterns of interdependence grounded in the belief that the local and international are inextricably intertwined (Pease, 1997, p. 2)”. While the bigger European slowly merges with the bodies of the nation-states, they can still offer the social cohesion while the European unity unfolds.

“*The essence of post-national citizenship is that citizenship is determined neither by birth nor nationality but by residence. (Delanty, 1995, p. 162)*” Unfortunately the nation-state isn't as

withering as is assumed and the notion of postnationalism is troublesome. Berezin (2003) thus suggests transnationalism as a better indicator of the present state of the union. One can only be a European when one is a member of one of the member states, around which most political, social and cultural mechanisms still revolve. Transnationalism refers to how people are much more in between states and how the process of migration is becoming more permanent than the notion of one move from location A to B, writes Berezin (2003) Two movements occur, a post national optimism about this new Europe that is becoming, but also a populist pessimism about the loss of the nation-state. “*Demographic policies from which European politicians had distanced themselves because they evoked the eugenics and genocidal policies of the 1920s and 1930s have begun to appear attractive to center and left politicians. Declining birthrates combined with an aging population have begun to threaten the economic foundations of the European Welfare State (Berezin, 2003, pp. 26-27)*” Thus migration is required to keep Europe in a healthy shape, prompting the European Union to allow more migration into the nation-state, slowly breaking it down. This is the core of the problem that populism presents; Europe is in its liberal tendencies and democratic openness indirectly the cause of the breakdown of the nation-state by washing out the things that are perceived to be typical for the imagined community (Anderson, 2006) that is the nation.

Once there was Europe

“From 1945 until early 1953, Europeans lived, as we have seen, in the shadow of the Second World War and in anxious anticipation of a third. (Judt, 2007, p. 242)” After the Second World War a new unity started forming in war-weary Europe in between the power blocks of the Soviet Union and the United States. Two superpowers that held the world in fear, intertwined in their Cold War that lasted for half a century. The world was divided in two spheres, both aimed at countering fascism in their own way, the United States on one side, the USSR on the other, both seeing the past of Nazi-Germany as the situation to protect the world from. The situation was more complex though, with states have disappeared and emerged between the great wars and nations locked inside another nation-state once again. For example, the Baltic States that appeared in the Interbellum and then once more were subjugated to the Soviet Union or the altogether disappeared Prussia (Hobsbawn, 1996). Europa was in a tight spot with big powers looming over them and the first international organizations and inter-state relations start emerging under this outside pressure (Judt, 2007). To understand currents underneath the surface of modern day politics that lead to extremities we must look at Europe and what it represents. How the universal union conflicts with the romantic notion of nationalism and how the spark of the nation state and race lingers in dark corners of Europe.

“In spite of the horrors of their recent past – and in large measure because of them – it was Europeans who were now uniquely placed to offer the world some modest advice on how to avoid repeating their own mistakes. Few would have predicted it sixty years before, but the twenty-first century might yet belong to Europe. (Judt, 2007, p. 800)” It is also a glorious rebirth for capitalism and liberal democracy. A very different situation than what could be perceived in the interbellum (Hobsbawn, 1996). Slowly but surely a new European unity is unfolding, starting with talks of creating a new European family. In May 1949 a European council was inaugurated in The Hague. It had no actual power, but its significance lies in its mere existence. In the mean time the first form of union was already established among the Benelux countries (Belgium, Netherlands and Luxembourg) starting their own form of unity in 1948 (Judt, 2007). At the time Europe is cut in half, with one half under the wings of the Soviet Union, willing or unwilling and the other rebuilding with American help of the Marshall plan, slowly figuring out how to approach the future. The result is “an entirely unprecedented form of political organization, namely a permanent (or at least a long-lasting) arrangement to integrate the economies, and to some extent the legal systems, of a number of independent nation-states. (Hobsbawn, 1996, p. 239), namely the European Community in 1957, consisting of the six states France, West-Germany, Italy, the Netherlands, Belgium and Luxemburg. Preceding this is the European mining union that was started of in 1950 followed by the Schuman Declaration (Van Middelaar, 2009). What early developments of the European Union show is that it is, at its core, an economical Union. This it also remains for its first period of existence. The steps towards a new union, a democratic cooperation are taken carefully on ground not trodden before, where they try to create a union instead of imagine one. They start from zero and every step is a rationally conveyed one.

A military project was also initiated between the six countries in the Schuman Declaration, though delayed due to French objections to the plans for this. It eventually took years for a military cooperation to take place (Judt, 2007). When these forms of unity emerge, one also has to start thinking about the tendencies stimulated by globalization and transnational agreements that follow. Tesfahuney (1998) writes how the rise of transnational organizations has also opened a new fear of the outsiders, thus when Europe starts forming, it rapidly becomes the dreaded fortress. In 1949 already the NATO (North Atlantic Treaty Organization) was formed, uniting the United States and Canada with various European states, as a political and military collaboration between its partners. Obvious reasons for this pact would be the counterweight to Soviet militarism, but also the United States had other interests in this project. Similarly to the Marshall plan, intended to rebuild Europe and enable it to manage its own affairs, the NATO came into existence and plays a significant role still (Judt, 2007). It’s important to notice that like NATO, the European community was stimulated and formed with American help. So Europe was born by

and against the United States. It is also an attempt of Europe to stand on its own legs in between the two superpowers dominating the world. The relations between Germany and France were at first troublesome and giving equal power to the first was seen by the French as a main threat to Europe (Hobsbawn, 1996). This shows how deep the wounds of the past lie upon Europe, which could hardly be united under a banner of its past, which is what Delanty (1995) strongly objects to. Europe had to find a new path for itself to become the unity that would prevent that looming world war and make the old continent once more the center of the world. The true genius of Europe lies in how it managed to become (or is in state of becoming) an unprecedented form of unity, not bound up by the traditional fallacies found in nationalism. Though it does seem to be a long and hard road, the goal seems to be clear. The path however is obscured by many obstacles.

Relief came when Soviet dictator Stalin died in 1953, giving Europe a relative political stability. This coincides with the end of the Korean War and at this point domestic strife seems to end as well, when communist parties start their retreat from the political scene. Europe has peace for the first time in decades (Judt, 2007). So the new Europe starts to become real. It starts of having no real power and being more or less an empty juridical sheet. There is literally no European unity when the commission starts their sessions and start to shape Europe out of nowhere, putting very much thought in how to make this unity of diversity work (Van Middelaar, 2009). Obviously a lot of time was spend in finding the democratic means to make the union work, in which Europe tried to look at its past and learn from its mistakes. An example particular to the democratic principles that were prevailing in Europe ever since the Enlightenment was found in the Polish Sejm. On this day all landowners would gather and decide on matters, these meetings could last up to a hundred days. Every member would have veto rights, making decision making a dreadfully slow process, which ended in the Partition Sejm in 1795. The Polish-Lithuanian commonwealth was divided up between Austria, Prussia and Russia by its own failure as a democracy due to the unlimited veto rights (van Middelaar, 2009). The veto has been thus been subject to much debate and has halted many European experiments. Veto right enabled one of the states in the union to stop any proceedings for all others. Delimiting this freedom would go against the liberty of each nation to choose its own path. Europe very much chooses to follow a path that was acceptable to all participating nations. In this sense, it's way of dealing very much resembles what De Mul (2011) describes as the 'poldermodel' which is a term used to describe Dutch consensus politics, in which all acting parties try to find the solution that is most acceptable to all, combining pragmatism with the plurality of the governing body. One can see that the veto-right can have its value in this, but can also be an anchor to the tendency of moving forwards, hence it being heavily debated in the European formation.

Making the formation of Europe workable is one of the first goals of the six states who sit down together and start forming the first treaties for various communities, the veto-problem arises the first time when England, Denmark, Norway and Ireland applied for membership and France under De Gaulle tries to block this, resulting in the empty chair crisis (Van Middelaar, 2009). Contrary to what the French anticipated, the meetings continued without them until in 1966 the Luxembourg compromise was reached. With this compromise a middle ground was found and a significant moment in the democratic development of Europe was reached with the compromise, negotiations were reopened and in 1973 the new member states joined, with exception of Norway, who rejected membership after a referendum (Judt, 2007). Interestingly enough, the referendum, also in later periods of the European project, gives the ultimate decision to become European to the people that make up the nation. Ironically, the next time a nation used the Luxembourg Compromise, it was Great Britain, viewing the compromise as a legitimate part of what made up the European Community at the time. The compromise is still a strange and elusive set of words that have kept things going. The words open up the possibility for disagreement, but also for continuation, and that is the most important thing for the union:

I. Where, in the case of decisions which may be taken by majority vote on a proposal of the Commission, very important interests of one or more partners are at stake, the Members of the Council will endeavor, within a reasonable time, to reach solutions which can be adopted by all the Members of the Council while respecting their mutual interests and those of the Community, in accordance with Article 2 of the Treaty.

II. With regard to the preceding paragraph, the French delegation considers that where very important interests are at stake the discussion must be continued until unanimous agreement is reached.

III. The six delegations note that there is a divergence of views on what should be done in the event of a failure to reach complete agreement.

IV. The six delegations nevertheless consider that this divergence does not prevent the *Community's work being resumed in accordance* with the normal procedure.

(Source: Playret, Wallace & Winand, 2006, p. 325)

This conflict is significant in two ways, firstly, how it shows the attempt of France (De Gaulle) to exclude Great-Britain to not limit its own power but also to keep American interests out of the European Community. At the core it was the French and the Germans that formed its unity. One reason for this may have been the previous Anglo-French Suez War, which was aborted under

American pressure (Hobsbawn, 1996), strengthening anti-American and anti-British sentiment on the French side prompting their actions in the European Community (“France’s own lesson from Suez”, 2006). One can argue that it springs from the French nations pride and feeling betrayed, nonetheless it is pivotal in European becoming its own creation. The other side of it is how the compromise kept the divided community together, without damaging its process of unification that started in Rome in 1957. Europe stands with one leg in agreement; the other just still has to cross the river, as Van Middelaar writes (2009). The compromise forms a temporary bridge that allowed proceedings to continue, but “*het doel ervan is nooit geweest en kan ook niet zijn dat een lidstaat bij machte is het functioneren van de Gemeenschap te verlammen* (the purpose of it was never and can not be that one member state has the power to cripple the Communities functions) (Van Middelaar, 2009, p. 111)” The formal side of the European Union has always found ways to overcome problems that seem to be impossible to overcome. France was directly opposed to the direction Europe was taking since Rome, but nonetheless, Europe continued on, trudged on towards unity, though making the important decision to give the nations making up its organization the right to decide for themselves, which is then again transferred to the people that make up the nation through referenda. Europe becomes a project of reason and logic, sterilizing the wounds that nationalist romanticism sometimes tears in its fabric with rational genius. Vikernes and like minded thinkers see very little in this democratic union. It is what they wholly oppose, a unity that gives room to equality and multiculturalism and gives equal voice to nations and races considered lesser. This shows even more the strength of the Union, its attempt to unite all voices, even those that are considered unworthy by some.

The compromise was very important for the further development towards the unification that started in 1957 with the Treaty of Rome and ended up with the Single European Act (SEA) becoming effective in 1987, allowing free trade and opening the door for further disappearing of borders. Preceding this is the signing of the Solemn Declaration in 1983, which was opening the path towards the European Union and was signed by all member-states. “*The precise shape of such a Union was then hammered out in the course of negotiations leading to a Single European Act which was approved by the European Council in December 1985 and entered into force in July 1987* (Judt, 2007, p. 529)” This act was in fact a revision of the original treaty, which sidesteps the notion of a collaboration defense and foreign policy, according to Judt (2007). The main point of the treaty is found in its first article which stated: “The European Communities and European Political Co-operation shall have as their objective to contribute to making concrete progress towards European unity. (“Single European Act”, 1987)” With this treaty signed, the compromise had helped Europe onto the main road towards unification and had played out its part. When the SEA comes into effect, “the Luxembourg Compromise no longer holds any

operational force (Palayret et al, 2006, p. 308).” Europe would not be able to function any longer with the principle of veto rights due to its increased amount of member states, but chooses for other ways to uphold the liberty of each member-state. Europe by then has expanded and grown in many ways towards this moment, one of the most important developments is the Schengen Agreement in 1985. It allowed free travel within Europe, making an important step towards an open borders within Europe. It opened up the countries to each other, becoming a bit more Europe (Judt, 2007). By now Europe has its own flag, which is by now a symbol every European is familiar with. It also changes its name to Union in 1992. At the Maastricht Treaty the European Union was born, leaving the word community behind. This flag, the blue flag with twelve stars, also fanned the flames of discontent among the more nationalistic minds in Europe. Europe becomes real and starts to break down the borders of the nation-state. Nationalism steps out of the shadows where it had lurked all this time and becomes part of national politics again, more and more, leading to an increase in violence and racism in Western Europe (Koopmans, 1996). In this period also Varg Vikernes becomes active in the black metal scene, where superiority feelings arise.

Where the communities and various previous organizations were forming collaboration between the European countries, this treaty envisioned an ‘even closer Europe’, a step more towards unity. The Union is at first, based on three pillars that are united in its formation period, which was completed with the forming of a constitution in Lisbon (2007). Those pillars were: the European Community (covering most of the policy areas encompassed by the EU), the Common Foreign and Security Policy, including the European Security and Defense Policy and police and judicial cooperation (Dinan, 2005). Europe is now on the road towards an economic and monetary union, resulting in the Euro coin. At this point two new problems arise for the further forming of Europe, which is now a union. The union is on the economic level, but lacks the cultural component which is so essential in uniting its people. Who are its people? Where do they become the ‘other’ people? *“The issue is not principally to know whether the European Union, too, will become a great military power, charged with guaranteeing a “regional order” or with “projecting” itself outward in humanitarian or neocolonial interventions; rather, it is whether a project of democratization and economic construction common to the East and West, the North and South, of the Euro-Mediterranean sphere will be elaborated and will gain the support of its peoples – a project that depends first on them. (Balibar, 2004, p. 10)”*

Again, what can be seen here is how Europe tries to form a union is by a path of democracy based on universal principles. What it attempts is to give equal voice to all parts of the union, without valuing one higher than the other. However, it’s losing touch with its people. It reaches levels of

abstraction that estrange the people of Europe from the European project, which is the general danger of the philosophers union it has started to become. Nationalism has a history of creating their union based on a perceived culture and unity based on ethnicity, language and culture, something that is hard to break down if at all possible (Hobsbawn, 2008). It's very deeply embedded in European culture and how people perceive the world, the unified people of the nation under their own flag and language that had started to grow since book printing made languages uniform (Anderson, 2006).

Europe and its borders

“In opening the internal frontiers between some EC member states, therefore, the Agreement resolutely reinforced the external border separating them from outsiders. Civilized Europeans could indeed transcend boundaries – but the ‘barbarians’ would be kept resolutely beyond them. (Judt, 2007, p. 534)”

When the European collaboration starts, it is rather clear where the border for its expansion lies, to the west and south is a sea dividing it from other continents and nations and to the east lays an iron curtain across Europe, dividing it between the Soviet sphere and the European sphere. When Europe finally realizes its ideal on becoming the Union in its first stage in 1992, this curtain has already fallen and new European states have started to emerge. Economical and political instability led up to the ultimate fall of communism in the Eastern parts of Europe, which was already the Achilles heel of the Soviet Union, in particular Poland and Hungary. Revolts had led to the satellite states being coerced into the Soviet system, but not fully integrated in it, especially since more tolerance and materialism entered the socialist sphere in its later period. Hobsbawn (1996) points out how the rebellions took place in Eastern Europe and not within the USSR itself, which was relatively stable. The reforms of glasnost and perestroika that Gorbachov initiated opened up the way for the oppressed states to escape the grasp of the Soviet Union, which started to crumble itself. On the 23rd of August 1989, more than one million people joined hands between Vilnius in Lithuania, through Riga in Latvia, until Tallinn in Estonia. The Baltic Way became a very significant protest against the Soviet Regime, leading up to the first state declaring its independence from the Soviet Union: Lithuania. It showed that independence wasn't something that extremist groups wanted, like the regime had tried to explain the uprisings, it showed that this was the will of the people (Kiaupa, 2004). Like dominoes, other nations followed in its wake.

For some nations, independence brought a restoration of the nation-state as it had existed before, for some it was a nation finally within its own state, like Belarus and Ukraine (Judt, 2007). The Baltic States had a brief spell of independence and now had a chance to expand on that national

sentiment that they retraced through ethnicity and language, though almost unrecognizably changed by centuries of foreign domination. The works of Kiaupa (2004) on Lithuanian- and Ģērmanis (2007) on Latvian history show the familiar romantic quest for their roots, picking out even battles fought for the Red Army as elements of national pride. The sudden emergence of these states had a major impact on the world, economically but also on ideologies. With the disappearance of these two great narratives, the time had come for a post-modern world that Lyotard (1984) had predicted. At the end of the century, which was one of the bloodiest in human history, the world was in turmoil and it would take some years to create new order in the chaos that the Soviet disintegration left it in (Hobsbawn, 1996). An example can be found in Figure 37. The Lithuanian nation celebrates on the 6th of July its statehood, based on a historical fact



Figure 37. “President Daila Grybauskaitė of Lithuania on the Lithuanian statehood day 2012” (Gelūnas, 2012)

significant to its national sentiment, namely the coronation of the only king the region ever had. Mindaugas ruled over 750 years ago, this far nations will reach to find icons, representations of their legitimacy, opposed to Europe that has trouble finding its public figures, its representatives opposed to a legion of symbols the nation can rely on (Balibar, 2004).

It lasted up until 2004 before the newly formed states were on their on feet again and joined the European Union. The enthusiasm for the existing members was not too great but on principle they could hardly decline these applications. Interestingly enough, quotas were filed for the amount of Eastern-Europeans allowed to flow out to western states (Judt, 2007). Nonetheless, the nations joining the European Union have a strong two sided disposition. On one hand, they are not so keen on the word Union, since the connotation is that of the Soviet Union, which can hardly be considered the Enlightenment idea that the European Union tries to embrace. Secondly, influenced by the strong nationalistic attitude and characteristics of communism, the nations are forming an extremely nationalistic identity for themselves within a Union that tries to overcome the border structure within its new body (Balibar, 2004). This border of Europe moves on all the way to Ukraine, Estonia and Finland on the borders of Russia. Now the question where the eastern border lies of Europe can be raised. When one speaks of European culture, Soysal (2003) concludes that attempts are made to exclude Belarus, Ukraine, Russia and also Turkey from its

sphere. Every European nation is allowed to become member of the Union, but where does Europe end? When one looks at this geographically, Europe ends in the Ural mountain range, separating European Russia from Asian Russia (Delanty, 1995, Soysal, 2003), thus including Russian influence on Europe. Buruma & Margalit (2005) acknowledge two main spheres in the world, that of romantic east and rational west, but they go to great lengths to exclude Russia from that rational west.

Europe seems to be unclear about its function and position, which is not very strange if we look at its formation out of nowhere in a way that has no predecessor as an example and even when it becomes real its power is still ambiguous to all, but mostly to itself (Van Middelaar, 2009).

Balibar questions the denial of Russia's European character and the blindness to conflicts on the borders of Europe involved with this. Can Europe pretend to have absolute borders and claim that England is within them and Ukraine outside of it (2004)? In this he finds the weakness Europe, also related to another border and the conflicts that erupted there after the fall of communism.

Another border point for the Union is the region of the Balkans, historically a border to its influence sphere, which has shifted during the ages (Delanty, 1995). The Balkan is a disputed region which burst into war soon after the fall of the iron curtain, which served to remind Europe not to underestimate post-communist problems. To the surprise of Europe, nationalist bloodshed erupted on European ground once more (Judt, 2007). "*It (European Union) proved unable to prevent the civil war in (former) Yugoslavia, which produced the worst crimes against humanity since Nazism, whether by offering a framework for development and coexistence to the various Balkan communities... or by launching a military intervention to neutralize the aggressors and protect the populations with some chance of success...*" (Balibar, 2004, p. 217)" Todorova describes the Balkan as a disputed land which is neither entirely European, nor part of the Orient. It is in-between and has historically been part of both sides of the coin that Buruma & Margalit sketch (2005). "*This in-betweenness of the Balkans, their transitory character, could have made them simply an incomplete other; instead they are constructed not as other but as incomplete self.*" (Todorova, 1997, p. 18)" The Balkan states are made members of the Union, even though they are transitory, which is also the case for Ukraine and Russia to an extent. The point that is made clear by Todorova is that the European values do not apply to the same extent everywhere and neither that the borders in the east can be put so easily (Todorova, 1997). "*There was no question of Russia joining the EU: new entrants, as we have seen, were required to conform to 'European Values' – with respect to the rule of law, civic rights and freedoms and institutional transparency – that Vladimir Putin's Moscow was very far from acknowledging, much less implementing.*" (Judt, 2007, p. 764)" Many Russians do feel European and in sports tournaments like the European Football Championship, Russia participates as well. The concrete borders of Europe are starting to

blur, neither geographically, nor socio-culturally are they easy to define. It also tells us something about Europe, how it identifies itself with its own workings. Russia does not fit in to those of democracy and equality and the universal principles put down in various conventions on how to treat human beings. Russia has a long path ahead if it wants to become western again it seems.

Ironically, where the European nation of Russia is considered to be outside its borders, the outside lying nations of Cyprus and moreover Israel are considered part or at least close kin to the continent, the first becoming a member state and the second working closely together with the Union on many fronts. One application for the European Union has been gathering dust on a shelf for more than two decades however, which is the application for membership of Turkey. Turkey has historically been close to Europe and has sought to approach the European nations for a long time (Delanty, 1995). It applied for membership in 1987 after having signed, alongside other nations from across the seas for membership (as did Morocco, which was rejected). It has been a topic of debate for a long time if the bridge to the Orient should become part of the European Union or not. This is the discussion that will determine where Europe ends and what it is supposed to become, this also includes countries such as Ukraine and Georgia (Van Middelaar, 2009). Ironically, one of the reasons Turkey is held at bay is that it is not a Christian nation, even though it is becoming more and more European (Judt, 2007). This problem would be precisely the same when it comes to the Balkan states which Todorova describes (2007). Religion doesn't even form a union within some of these countries, let alone in the whole region (Hobsbawn, 2008). Europe has come to its historical edges and is about to overstep them. "*The Ural Mountains may appear as a feasible and tangible place to mark the end of Europe and the beginning of Asia (after a generational changing of the guards in Russia), but once Turkey is in, as Schmidt professes, no line will be left to demarcate Europe. (Soysal, 2003, p. 199)*" Europe has been flirting with Israel and Turkey for a long time, admitting one of them will either open up or close down the walls of fortress Europe. Apart from that, one could hardly claim that the values that Russia doesn't adhere to apply fully to these two countries, probably more for Israel than for Turkey. But isn't it the place of Europe to stimulate behavior that would apply to all men? Or would this be arrogance and Eurocentrism once more? However one wishes to answer this question, Europe shows that it defines itself by its ideals, not it's global pretense or Eurocentric attitudes, to join the union is to accept its values and act accordingly. The choice however, is in the hands of the people.

This poses the central question Europe will have to answer now, which will determine its future course: Will Europe be a Fortress or an open haven? Will it base itself on characteristics that must be found in a nation, or ideals that can be achieved by one? It is the perennial discussion between

the rational, universal union and the romantic, nationalistic state. If Europe opens itself through Turkey, it chooses the universal principles, if it creates its borders as hard demarcations between itself and the other, it becomes a super state in the tradition of current nationalisms in Europe. Post-national identity and European identity are closely linked to immigration questions, according to Delanty (1995), because the way Europe deals with the other is inherent to the form it embraces, it defines what Europe becomes and if it holds on to its universal intent. Europe as a super state might not be too likely at this point though. Exactly the constitution that causes its current internal issues is what makes it impossible to become that: “Yet the threat of a European superstate is a myth. The European constitutional settlement imposes tight constraints on EU policy. These combine and exceed the most extreme constraints imposed in national systems by consociational or consensus democracy (beyond, say, the Netherlands or Austria of years past), federalism (e.g. Switzerland or Canada), separation of powers (e.g. the United States), and reduced fiscal competences (e.g. the United States or Switzerland). (Moravcsik, 2002, pp. 606-607)” Nonetheless, what not is can still become reality. The core problem lies in that Teshafuney (1998) writes about the borders of Europe. The extensive closure of its borders would reduce the ‘other’ to a second rate person in the union. Due to various pacts even gradations can exist in that, which will reinforce the possibilities for racism and populist politics that will use this other as scapegoat or enemy. It will in essence create the manicheistic worldview that Buruma & Margalit describe, where one is good and one is evil (2005). If Europe falls into the trap of forming itself as a new form of the nation state, it will surely fall back to violence again.

It brings back the question of pillars of Europe, which De Mul (2011) forwarded. These become useful when they are a thing to strive for, because they are the principles that allow the existence of the Union. They do, however, not form a principle of demarcation that can be considered absolute, the form an ideal, which is much what the European Union is about. It was shaped out of nothing, as something new and unprecedented. Embracing the same sort of arguments of demarcation as the nation states preceding it would be a mistake “*The formation of independent, sovereign, unified, or homogeneous nation-states at the same time failed in a very large part of the world, or thrown into question, not only outside Europe but in certain parts of Europe itself. (Balibar, 2004, p. 7)*” Europe must not forget its past and move on beyond in this new shape which is open and liberal and above all rational and universal, or it will fall into the same mistakes that it tries so hard to avoid. It is well beyond the simple transnational organizations that Hobsbawm (2008) describes, that leaves the nations intact, and it is becoming something more. However, it has to be clear where it goes to shape its outside but also its inside, where the opponent of rationalism has arisen once more. Delanty (1995) poses the question: Will Europe end up solving the problem of nationalistic disputes by overcoming nationalism, or will it

reinforce its problems? The question of what shape Europe will take also is at the core of internal struggles in the Union. Europe should deal with its borders the way it has constructed itself internally. There is no absolute border to Europe, neither is it the center of the world. It should leave the decision to form a unity in the hands of the people and let its values shine. The nation state has failed but is still very strongly present. This does not mean it will not fade over time. Time is also what Europe needs to grow and let even the most extreme thoughts slowly adapt.

Europe and its internal division

“Despite (or perhaps because of) the relatively rapid increase in its policy and geographical scope, all is not well in the EU. Apart from concerns about sluggish economic performance, international terrorism, and the assimilation of ethnic minorities, and apart also from the usual complaints about politics and politicians, Europeans are ill at ease with the EU. A few are outright hostile, wishing that their countries would leave or that the EU would cease to exist. (Dinan, 2005, p. 5)” The unique thing about the European Union, that became a reality in 2007, is how it managed to create itself out of nothing but a vague unity, mystic characteristics and a history that is best left buried. Though now formed as a governing organization, it didn’t create itself as a power reigning over all others, which is the way any historical movement preceding the EU achieved their goals. They gradually formed it based on the principles of individual liberty and democracy placing the right to determine its cause in the hands of the European nation-states. When the real purpose surfaces, the unification of Europe, the Union finds that not all of its enemies are to be found at its borders, but mainly within. With the formation of a constitution for Europe, a central question is asked by Di Fabio (2001): *“If Europe gives itself a constitution, does this not subcateously establish a federal or even a centralized European state? Would this not ultimately imply finalizing the Union without a debate in the sense of a European “étatism”?*” (p. 161). This is the fear that is expressed by nations themselves who feel threatened by the EU, is what Delanty states (1995).

To further the unity of Europe and make it more the creation of the people, attempts have been made to allow more room for citizens to voice their opinions through voting and of course referenda. The hope existed that Europe would become something of the European people, who in fact could then be considered Europeans. Nonetheless, Europe hasn’t succeeded in that. It has become a complex, boring unity that can’t even understand itself due to the massive amount of languages (Van Middelaar, 2009). *“Europe needs drama”* Van Middelaar writes, it needs something that will move its people, which dry rhetoric will definitely not do. Nationalism has plenty of drama though, and when Europe suddenly becomes a reality without a cultural basis to make it more acceptable, Europeans suddenly feel they are being treated as an undifferentiated

mass, prompting a resurgence of nationalist sentiments (Delanty, 1995). So what does this constitution for Europe actually mean? “Many avoid the term "Constitution for Europe" because it implies an apparent recognition of a state-like status for the EU. At least at first glance, any further development of the Treaties that is specifically labeled as a "constitution" also implies the recognition of a sovereign community. (Di Fabio, 2001, p. 160)” Though here is not the place to define what Europe should be, it will have an impact on what the future of the Union will look like. The problem now is the distance between citizen and Europe itself, it has become the abstraction that Delanty (1995) warns about, which makes civilians grasp for the identity and security that is offered by the nation-state. Europe simply does not seem to be strong enough, nor clear enough, to make clear its intentions. Van Middelaar (2009) writes about how some pure bluff allowed the European Community in 1963-1964 suddenly becomes a reality as common lawmaker due to the *Van Gend en Loos v Nederlandse Administratie der Belastingen* – and *Flaminio Costa v ENEL* cases. European law is then supposedly strengthened by the Charter of Fundamental Rights of the European Union in 2000, which was supposed to be a clear and even ambitious expression of the Union’s competence and authority. Also the shaping of a constitution was supposed to reduce the national representation in the European commission; this would strengthen the power of the Union to act (Judt, 2007). It may not have been enough. “A European Charter of Fundamental Rights cannot be a mere credo of liberal fundamental economic convictions, no matter how important those may be. At the same time, the varied demands of societal groups and associations with respect to the Charter of Fundamental Rights indicate that some desire, in effect, to rebuild in Brussels the very fortresses of wide-reaching state authority that were recently dismantled in the Member States. (Di Fabio, 2001, p. 166)” Europe didn’t enforce itself on Europe, it just became by the grace of the people and the member states. Every step it has taken could have been rejected but due to discussion and voting it has gotten this far.

Writing the constitution was done by the members of the Convention, of which all were European, also their background. “*They represented above all white, Christian Europe* (Judt, 2007, p. 774)”. The unity of this Christian background can be disputed due to the enormous variety of forms of Christianity and its heavy secularization in most European states. The constitution was declined though, by the people of France and the Netherlands on referenda (Van Middelaar, 2009). By this the very core of the Union has blocked its ascendancy to a higher level and Europe would remain the sum of its elements and nothing more. The idealism of Europe may yet find a way, but the voice of nationalism had spoken once more, under pressure of Europe it was on the rise again. This is of course a defeat of the European Union, which has to struggle with the deeply rooted nationalism, the romantic notion of the nation which can hardly be done justice.

However, this ideal has been slowly breaking down and future generations seem to have a different outlook.

“An organization of continental scope will, of course, appear rather distant from the individual European citizen. As a multinational body, moreover, it lacks the grounding in a common history, culture, discourse and symbolism on which most individual polities can draw. Neither of these reasons, however, need necessarily disqualify the EU from being treated as a democratically legitimate body. (Moravcsik, 2002, p. 604)” Exactly those things missing from Europe, where there anyway and this is something that writers have tried to point out for a long time. Delanty (1995) shows how the Unity of Europe has a long history and culture, though finds it not enough to use it as a basis for Europe, also because that would be taking the path of nationalism, which is what it tries to break with, but it also fears this still strong nation-state. However, every nation has its own symbols, culture and myths, Europe has got those just as well, the big difference is however the shape Europe tries to create. If we see nationalism as an organic ideology (Wilson, 2004, White, 2005) we will have to recognize that European identity is just as much organic based on a history and culture, which Balibar (2004) ascribes to the nation. The missing link is something that makes it common, something that gives it that spark nationalism has got. It is the great fallacy of the European Union that it doesn't have a cultural component next to its economical etc. collaborations (Delanty, 1995). This cultural component however, runs the risk of becoming the same basis of a nation-state-like construction, something to be avoided in Europe unless it wishes to put romanticism into the union. The danger of it becoming the super state it is feared to be would become very real, its young fundament would not be able to hold against that of the deeply rooted nation. Europe needs to be something else and its culture needs to bind the separate elements.

However, in a way it is on the same level as the nation-state, the struggle will now be what will become the ruling principle in Europe. The nation is clearly described based on its culture and history, it has representation in symbols, art and persons that work as icons, which Europe is missing (Van Middelaar, 2009). Europe will have to make a move. *“I recognize that we cannot escape the question of the shaking of the foundations and existence of the nationform and its historical and social function (Balibar, 2004, p. 30)”* Europe will have to meet this struggle head on instead of obscuring its purpose as long as possible to obscure this from the nation-states, which will probably rise up against this (Di Fabio, 2001). What has to be recognized is that the nation-state is merely a ‘social formation’ of a kind, making it not the only possibility. The persistence of the idea that the nation-form is the natural state is the main problem. *“We do not need the new establishment of a state on the European level; it could come too late, as was once*

the case with the founding of the German nation-state, and thus send a false message. One should, however, accept and understand such an open and cooperative statehood as a new form of organization and base it on the models of the national constitutional traditions, so as to avoid losing sight of the concepts of freedom and democracy. (Di Fabio, 2001, p. 172)” At stake is not the question of identity according to Balibar (2004), but overcoming the internal divisions of Europe and to democratize its borders.

So why still the nation? With new enemies at the gates of Europe the problem of migration becomes a threat to the nation. New forms of racism and xenophobia come from the loss of identity that European unity brings whilst obscuring the nation (Delanty, 1995). Even though the idea of a nation is a contradiction according to Balibar (2004), its idea is still the one that holds on. The people of Europe seem to disagree, they feel comfort in the nation which was illustrated when the people declined a European constitution. Bergman poses that the alternative to nationalism is merely despair. It’s the only thing people know and which has shown to be persistent through the last century (1993). Nationalist politics quickly assume exactly that stance, the one that the people wish to see and hear, a stance of populist politics that expresses the voice of the people and leaves behind the slow moving, ineffective European Union who questions the borders and blame problems on exactly the aforementioned features of Europe, it’s inability to protect the nations from a ‘tsunami of the Islam’ as populist politician Wilders from the Netherlands describes it (ten Hove, du Pré, 2006). Populism has become accepted and is receiving votes. It’s hard to still speak of left and right parties, so populism is the new word for the new enemy of European unity and the new attack on rationalism.

Populism

Populism comes in many forms and shapes, which Lévy (2008) describes as new barbarism. The old connotation of left- or rightwing politics, usually associating the nationalist tendencies with the far right, has started disappearing. Particularly in central- and Eastern Europe this is very much the case, where no real democratic history and establishment is to be found (Ucen, 2007). This leads us to the question what populism actually is. According to Riemen (2010) it is nothing short of early 20th century fascism, taking the shape that is most fitting to the location and culture it operates in. “*Populism in modern democratic societies is best seen as an appeal to ‘the people’ against both the established structure of power and the dominant ideas and values of society.* (Canovan, 1999, p. 3)” It’s a political form that opposes the established situation, in the case of Europe the established parties and the European Union. For the east of Europe, oppositional politics have been an ongoing feature ever since the collapse of the Soviet system and the parties fitting the populist description are legion: “*The nature of their trespassing may be manifold; they*

may be anti-democratic, anti-capitalist, anti-Western, or despise liberal facets of democracy and disdain moderation. Usually, *they combine several of these “vices”*. (Ucen, 2007, p. 51)” One could say that populism has a good side in shaking up the establishment and get something going again, but it remains to be seen if this is the case. What is clear by now is that it appeals to the people of Europe, more than the European narrative does at least.

Populist politicians with national sentiments have been successful on various locations in Europe. Hobsbawn mentions a discussion in Lithuania where ultra-ethnic noises were heard when a leader whose name indicated German heritage came to power. The question was if he would be able to grasp the deep ancestral aspirations of Lithuanians (Hobsbawn, 2008, p. 186). In the United Kingdom there have for a long time been racist elements in society, due to the countries wide stream of immigrants. The British National Party has been active there for a long time, even trying to use the popular culture movement of punkrock to gain a foothold among youth as shown in *White Light*, an analysis of the neo-Nazi skinhead movement in the country (Lowles & Silver, 1998). In Austria and France the names of Jörg Haider and Jean-Marie Le Pen (succeeded by his daughter Marine Le Pen) have had great success with their nationalistic and xenophobic programs, kindling the fire of European racism, which is deeply embedded in its society (Judt, 2007). The list goes on, though some may argue that the figures of Pim Fortuyn and Geert Wilders in the Netherlands have been major players in this movement. For Riemen (2010) they are exemplary of the danger populism brings, masking itself as the opinion of the people, but in reality being nothing more than the same old romantic nationalism with absolutist tones. There is a long list of countries and their particular populist parties that oppose Europe and even more so the outsiders all the way from Norway to Greece (Judt, 2007). With the loss of a perennial enemy in the Jewish people, nationalist tendencies have found a new scapegoat in immigrants.

Is this racism something new for Europe? Not according to Delanty, who puts it at the core of old European sentiments. Race nationalism is the voice of populist parties and becomes the voice of the people, who need a victim to blame for whatever they feel or are told that is wrong (Delanty, 1995). Some parties may be against Europe as it is, but would embrace it as a totalitarian form, keeping the strange elements on its borders at bay. This is the attitude that could already be found with the National European Party in 1962 (Goodrick-Clarke, 2003), which we will discuss later. Europe reinforces this notion of the other, both internally due to the emphasizing on national characters, but also on its borders (Teschke, 1998). The way racism is embedded in Europa becomes clear from the research of Koopmans (1996), who shows that racist crimes take place all over Europe in an equal manner, though it becomes less when racism is politically embedded in some form, like in Norway and Switzerland, two countries that have kept their borders more

closed to Europe and the other than most (Judt, 2007). The problem of racist crimes, according to Koopmans (1996), hangs strongly together with the way politics define the problem of immigrants and the way it is dealt with. It seems to voice the popular frustration in most cases or the way governments frame matters for various purposes. How dangerous should we consider this populism then? “These movements do not propose to abolish free elections and install dictatorship, while their admiration for the Swiss system of popular referendum is hard to construe as a dangerous symptom of tyrannical tendencies. (Canovan, 1999, p. 6)” Canovan warns us not to draw the comparison with Nazi-Germany too soon, because it still is part of the whole of voices in a democratic society, where compromises are being reached between all these voices. In fact, the institutionalization of racism in parliamentary politics is according to Koopmans (1996) reducing racist violence and further social problems. However, for Riemen (2010) and De Mul (2011) see it as a big danger. Riemen considers it a modern form of fascism and both find that it opposes democracy itself in its methods and ideals. They see it as the biggest threat to the nation-state and Europe. One could argue that Europe has produced this threat itself with its failing cultural policy, like Delanty (1995) does. I tend to agree, but the threat populism offers is just a stimulus for an even more extreme movement underneath the visible currents of politics.

One can hardly define what populism is. Similarly to fascism, it appears to be a mere shell to the ideology at its core. One can hardly claim that Italian fascism and German fascism were the same, though their aesthetics were similar. Likewise, the Soviet Union had a knack for the similar display of a warrior spirit in military parades and totalitarian regime. Populism is much more diverse even, which is something we can hand to the postmodern condition of the world. Populism's main feature is similar to that of fascism, its appeal to the people and giving them a voice (Canovan, 1999). Populism is not necessarily left or right, it is merely a shell or method for political goals. Its true nature is yet to be revealed, though developments like that in the Netherlands, described by Waerden (2012) in *The Guardian*, show a face of populism which makes Canovan's view rather naïve notion of populism within democratic politics. Yes, to an extent it stays within the democratic path we work with in Europe, but as slowly the limits get stretched steps are taken beyond and violence becomes part of its politics. The collapse of the Dutch government is caused by an absolutely undemocratic attitude of populist politician Wilders, not adhering to the customary methods of the ‘poldermodel’ (De Mul, 2011) in trying to compromise. In this sense, populism is a danger and the writings on the wall are there for me to agree with Riemen (2010).

The Universal and its perennial struggle

The problem Europe faces is not one it's unfamiliar with. It is the well-known struggle between Europe's universal ideals and the smaller national ones. *"To be sure, it's not the first crisis – nor, I'll bet, will it be the last – of the old, beautiful idea of human universality. There was the Romantic crisis, a direct reaction to the Enlightenment: Universality doesn't exist; the only thing that does, said Herder, are individual cultures, each bearing witness to the progress and the appearance of God among men. (Lévy, 2008, p. 187)"* Lévy claims this line of attacks on the universal continues all the way to this century. Populism changes this dispute into one between the elite and the people, which essentially boils down to universalism as an elitist position and nationalism as the romantic and natural form of the people. *"At heart, the defining feature of populism is the view that society falls into two homogenous and antagonistic groups: "the people as such" and "the corrupt elite". It proceeds to argue that politics is the expression of the general will of the people and that the social change is possible only via the radical change of the elite. (Krastev, 2007)"* The notion of left or right has started to evaporate and the struggle that has persisted since the time of the Enlightenment is revealing itself again. This totalitarianism is best described by Lévy, when he discusses what he calls the movement of 'New Philosophy', which investigated the power and appeal of totalitarianism.

Lévy defines four pillars on which totalitarianism rests, which I find represent the romantic nationalism very adequately in its form that was witnessed by the world in its last century. The first characteristic is the Absolute or Good, which means that it is not merely an idea or an absolute divine quality that mankind can merely attain but a possible reality that can be achieved whatever the cost: *"What does a passing evil, or transitory sufferings, or the sacrifice of a generation or two, or a police state, or camps, matter, if it's the way, the step, the means, to bring about the sovereign good? (Lévy, 2008, p. 66)"* This is the condition the world was left in after the Enlightenment, where the absolute of a divine ruler was cast aside, the absolute was now within grasp of mankind who faced the world itself. It is the post-Enlightenment condition that gives way to the idea that the world is makeable in man's own image. The second element is history in a sense of a linear path leading towards the light of the absolute. Even though there may be darkness on the path, the ultimate goal is that light of the absolute, making the trials and tribulations all worth it. The third is the dialectic, which is how history is viewed as leading towards this absolute and how the suffering has all served to reach the following stage (Lévy, 2008). In this we can see the characteristics that have made nationalism into the violent threat it has become in the 20th century. The idea that history supports the nation in its purpose to be the best, the absolute peak of humanity is at the core of the violent nationalism that gave birth to

racist and nationalistic ideologies. The fourth element Lévy ascribes to it can be considered the binding factor in what forms the totalitarian thought. It explains the cohesion of the pillars that towards the absolute. This is the notion of Evil. When the absolute good is attainable, than absolute evil can exist in the world as well. The evil is in nationalism, in the violent form that regards itself as superior, the other. For Europe this is also the evil it faces, the other, within and without.

“Either we believe in Evil – we are Judeo-Christians and we believe that there is, at the heart of *the human condition, an unbreakable heart of darkness that no politics can finish off: and if that’s the case, who’s going to risk one of those construction sites/mass graves known as revolutions? Or we don’t believe in it: we’re anti-Christian, anti-Jewish, hostile to this offense to His Majesty Mankind, which is the idea of original sin, and we suspect – what am I saying? We come out and say that these dim-witted theologians have understood nothing, chosen every side, made an idiotic mistake, confusing mankind’s humble sicknesses with their terrible, enormous, radical Evil: and then, onward! ...The last principle of totalitarianism, the last column of its invisible edifice: the idea that nothing is incurable.. (Lévy, 2008, p. 68)”*

It is the belief that evil in the world is a disease and like the possibility of absolute good in the hands of man, evil also is possible and must be fought and cleansed from man’s domain. We see the metaphor of the body, of the nation here again. The nation must be healthy and as long as there is this disease, it won’t be. Nothing is incurable for this totalitarian philosophy. There are plenty of graves to testify for that. So what does Europe do with this? If it takes the path of this totalitarianism, the nationalistic idea of a super state, than this is the ultimate danger it faces. It is also the ultimate threat it faces from the undergrowth of society, where extremist politics are working unseen until it strikes, which is its way.

Europe needs to surpass this old notion of national citizenship and become something new, the post-national unity it has been trying so hard to become. “The essence of post-national citizenship is that citizenship is determined neither by birth nor nationality but by residence. Unlike nationality, citizenship should not be embodied in the national culture of the state. (Delanty, 1995, p. 162)” Europe needs to liberate itself from this form of nationalism, this citizenship as an accident of birth, to take away the main reason for racism and otherness in Europe and towards its borders. But it also needs to worry about the violent undercurrent of conservative, nationalistic and racist politics of which populism is merely the tip of the iceberg.

Part 3: Post-War Extreme Politics and Anders Breivik

Nationalism and racism are deeply embedded in our society, so deep that there are various cases in which we don't even realize it. The black metal band Darkthrone ones put anti-Semitic lines on their album cover, but got away with it and referred to it as slang. Like nationalism, the dislike and mistrust towards the other is something that is part of our society. Before we move on to I will relate an example of how deep nationalism can entrench itself in a nation and its identity. The case of Russia tells us a lot about nationalist thought and the way Hitler and also Vikernes reinterpret history. From there on I'll treat the way religion has become a big part of the opposition that the nation takes to the universal connotation of the faith and how it shaped itself since 1945 as a movement. I will then continue with the methods it uses to peruse its goals.

Russia: an example of forming a nation

Laruelle (2008) illustrates nationalism and its social acceptability by using the example of Russia, where Slavic nationalism has become part of the national culture and politics. For a long time this idea has started to merge with the Russian social sphere, based on the book of Veles, a historical work of which the original has been lost. Even during Soviet times, the investigations into paganism and anti-Semitic roots of the Russian nation continued. Pogroms and anti-Jewish sentiment had been present in Russia since the 19th century already, under Czarist regime (Hobsbawn, 1996). This pagan nationalism, placing the Russians as the true Aryans, not the Germans and centering civilization in the heartland of Mother Russia has gone so far that institutions were funded to research and prove these theories by Russian governments and schools teaching these vague findings to young pupils. Most of these 'historic' constructions of the nation are based on false manuscripts, of which the book of Veles/Vles is the most well-known. That the Slavocentric world history is unknown is ascribed to conspiracy theories, trying to obscure the glorious truth of the Russian nation from the world (Laruelle, 2008). "*Thus, the Sumerians, Hittites, Etruscans, and Egyptians are retrospectively considered to be Slavs; the Russians would have played the central, but until now unknown, role in the fulfillment of the great ancient civilizations of the Mediterranean Basin. (Laruelle, 2008, p. 292)*" The nation thus becomes an imagined community, constructed from historic findings, obscuring normal methods of reconstructing history with false sources and fitting in things that support the ideal of the superior nation. In this we recognize the form of totalitarianism that Lévy describes (2008). The unfolding of history as the path for the glorious nation towards the light, discarding Semitic religions as attempts to undermine the nation form achieving its peak, regarding both Hitler and Stalin as heroes of the Aryan race, the latter replacing the first more and more as a savior of the Slavic race

(Laruelle, 2008). The way nationalism is worked into the Russian culture is not an exceptional thing, it is seen through all of Europe, re-embracing the pagan past and discarding Universalist pretenses of Christianity of Judaism. “Moreover, the interest in Slavic prehistory, and the trend toward alternative history, conspiracy theories, and paranormal phenomena all contribute to *creating a ‘mystical’ atmosphere*, which is accompanied by a revival of culturalist theories that *analyze the ‘essences’ of peoples, thereby contributing to a revival of old forms of racism.* (Laruelle, 2008, p. 299)” In this example, both the romantic notion of the nation is shown, embracing a mythic past and obscurest view of the nation as superior. The warrior ideal is visible in the violent tendencies towards the other. On the other hand there are the universal pretenses of an Aryan race, including the myth of an Aryan northland form where the white man emerged. The idea of an Aryan homeland in the north is at the core of white racism, the idea of a united white race that must be preserved from extinction, being the peak of human development (Goodrick-Clarke, 2003). The struggle continues, more fiercely than ever, which started back in the Enlightenment (Koselleck, 1988).

The importance of religion in the neo-nationalist movement

So why this focus on religion? Because it divides and binds the movement at the same time. The problem of an impossible unity that Europe faces is just as much the issue for the revolutionary white supremacy movement. By nature it is bound to its nation, its own people and earth, its own religion. Christianity is very much an issue for a large part of the movement and even the worshippers of Creativity, though appearing Christian, don’t accept it in the conventional way. There is something wrong with society the way it is according to the white revolutionaries. Adolf Hitler, though Christian, also saw the problem of his world in its values, meaning also its faith. “How devoid of ideals and how ignoble is the whole contemporary system! The fact that the churches join in committing this sin against the image of God, even though they continue to emphasize the dignity of that image, is quite in keeping with their present activities. They talk about the Spirit, but they allow man, as the embodiment of the Spirit, to degenerate to the proletarian level. Then they look on with amazement when they realize how small is the influence of the Christian Faith in their own country and how depraved and ungodly is this riff-raff which is physically degenerate and therefore morally degenerate also. (Hitler, 1939, p. 226)” The ideology is based on opposing the values of the society that is deemed wrong and weak. Vikernes takes Satanism for this purpose and later paganism, something that is not unusual in the dark counterculture that has developed in the last century (Baddeley, 1999). Christianity, democracy and rationalism, all have failed when the nation and the race gets tainted. They must be discarded.

The three movements that Dobratz (2001) describes seem to be on the face of it, impossible to unite. Especially since the radicalization of the movement in the 1980's, that pushed on the new views of racism. "If Christianity is a Jewish conspiracy to mentally control Aryan man, pagans believe, then returning to pre-Christian pagan traditions is an act of spiritual emancipation—a prelude of racial rebirth and the restoration of Aryan independence. (Gardell, 2003, p. 136)" With this dividedness, it would appear that it remains an undercurrent of dissatisfied racists, who merely theorize, but they also have taken up their weapons to defend their threatened holy race. The religious aspect of it demonstrates its wild, romantic growth of ideals and myths that go in all directions but therefore separating the movement more than ever until the point of no return. Non-religious participants will embrace the idea of social Darwinism, which also supports the superiority of the white race (Gardell, 2003). Race is everything, thus the movement strongly tries to unite itself for its greater cause under slogans such as "our race is our religion" (Dobratz, 2001, Gardell, 2003) and the 14 words, coined by David Lane, considered one of the most well known political prisoners for the white cause in the world: "*We must secure the existence of our people and a future for White children.* (Goodrick-Clarke, 2003, p. 268)" Now, one can hardly expect that a movement that lives and dies by this credo stands by and watches their holy white race be diminished by a tide of unclean immigrants? This is the tide that the likes of Vikernes rage against and that must be attained whatever the costs. This movement in violent opposition to the universal ideals of globalization or the European Union has methods of its own.

American Hitler

After the Second World War, the rebirth of extreme racist politics could hardly have been in Europe, still recovering from the horrors of this nationalist war with racist violence on a scale not seen before in the world. America had been largely untouched by the destructive forces that tore through other parts in the world (except of course the attacks on Pearl Harbor) and already had a strong history of racist politics and violence. In fact, racism is at the core of United States history, way back to its founding and selective policy on who was to enter the nation (Gardell, 2003). America was to be a purely 'Saxon' nation and that was that. Now, with the rise of nationalism, of which the United States are one of the prime examples, humanitarian and liberal principals were at the core of this nation, though things changed of course the way nationalism changed all over the world. At first the States were formed for the people, by the people, sticking to the ideal of popular sovereignty (Wilson, 2004). Now, the nationalism of Herder bases itself on culture and folklore, of which the States didn't have much. Hobsbawn (2008) gives ethnicity and language as two other characteristics that nationalism is based on, for the United States this left ethnicity as the only principle to base their nationalism on. Now, for this new state a nationalist principle was

vital, thus ethnicity became one of its core principles. *“As time went on, various biological and anthropological theories contributed to the “scientific” construction of racism that became an integral part of U.S. society. Americans of African ancestry came to be considered “by nature” lazier, more prone to play and amoral sexuality, and less intelligent, less civilized, and less fit for self-government than white men. (Gardell, 2003, p. 34)”* These racial stereotypes, also for different white races, are still found in American culture nowadays.

American neo-Nazism starts its development with a certain George Lincoln Rockwell, who perpetrated violent actions against Jews and idolized Hitler, even to the point of wearing similar uniforms himself and also his American Nazi party. The fervent nationalism of Rockwell sparked many followers and many splinter movements from his, opening up various paths of modern-day racist politics (Goodrick-Clarke, 2003). The new racist movements find their place in the United States, with the rather openly rampaging Klu Klux Klan. The Second World War prompted various reforms however. *“Racism, long believed to be a reflection of nature and divine order now came under serious questioning among larger segments of the American population. In the mid-twentieth century there was no contradiction between being a good citizen and being a racist. By the end of the century, however, being “good” and “racist” had become a contradiction in terms. (Gardell, 2003, p. 42)”* Gardell states the Civil Rights Movement of Martin Luther King as a big influence on this, which is also shown in the documentary *Soundtrack for a Revolution* (Barnes, Czarnecki, Guttentag, Nelson & Sturman, 2009). Not only is shown in this documentary, showing the civil rights movement and its cultural impact, how through peaceful protest reforms were forced into existence. The struggle itself gives a solid basis for the freedom of colored people as a nation in America and provides a cultural basis for its future with the expressions in music and song that still provides the Afro-American community with meaning (Barnes et al., 2009). So marching around in Nazi uniforms and worshipping Hitler does not work anymore, its ideology finds too much opposition in the United States. These changes force extreme politics to go underground and also put them in opposition to society’s conventions. This was a situation totally different for racist politics compared to the era before World War II. This opposition is soon to be embraced by the movement, due to society not seeing the right path that is to be taken by the race. Strange theories are formed in service of the racial cause and a search for identity starts that gives the movement its own basis of cultural characteristics. Also a new method of action had to be devised in an ever changing world that left the nationalists and racists behind as a relic of the past. Nonetheless, they would make themselves heard and at the end of the century re-emerge out of the darkness. They had not been idle in between.

I've started of here with the American situation, whereas we are speaking of Europe. The reason for this is that the American situation more clearly outlines the path that racist extremism is to take in the world from here on. It was just as present in Europe, but the idea of a global white revolution sprang from the United States and in much else they preceded the European movement. In Europe in the meantime, the end of the war and recognitions of the atrocities committed during it didn't halt fascist Nazi ideologists for very long and soon formed meetings and even organized a party called the National European Party in 1962, furthering the idea of a united Europe under the guidance of British fascist Sir Oswald Mosley, though this is hardly the Europe we've witnessed now (Goodrick-Clarke, 2003). The idea of this party for the forming of Europe was that a united continent under a fascist flag. This Europe would be very much the fortress of Europe, protecting its inhabitants against the migration streams from outside, very much creating the idea of different classes of people in Europe, due to different liberties admitted to them (Teshfahoney, 1998). Since the European racist movement was just as much stuck on fascist imagery with uniforms, slogans and flags, they couldn't expect that much acceptance and were just as well forced underground. The developments following that were much inspired by the American movement and its search for origins and a new disposition. Racist, nationalist politics became an underground movement, opposed to the others, non-whites and collaborators with this tide of non-whites washing over the white nation. Feeling betrayed by their government, the movement finds it no longer represents the needs of the nation, but serving a force that wishes to annihilate it, extremism starts to move to the edges of what society finds acceptable. I'll explain the change of the movement in two sections, ideology and methods.

Ideology: From the White Nation to Worldwide White Brotherhood

"American neo-Nazis regard themselves as brothers of all white men in a global movement of racial nationalism. While they remain fixated on the figure of Adolf Hitler as the lost savior of the Western world, his German nationalist horizons are superseded by their wider vision of a pan-Aryan movement led by the United States as the leading white power of the postwar world. (Goodrick-Clarke, 2003, p. 7)" The racist movement starts to diverge into different paths, but finds through the same globalization that reinforces their reinvigorated hatred towards the other. Transnational organizations such as the European Union reinforce these ideas by making a clear distinction between white Europe and the other (Teshfahoney, 1998). This has also got much to do with realizing that all white supremacist movements have the same goals, the fundamentals of their organizations might differ though. The origins of this diversity can just as well be found in the postmodern condition, the one narrative of National Socialism simply no longer applies. Different types of movements start appearing. Gardell (2003) mentions for example: the Klu Klux

clan (though this is hardly seen in Europe), white noise and skinhead culture and national socialists adhering to Hitler's ideology and embrace warrior ideals, conspiracy theories and anti-Semitism. Many people who are taking part in this scene show a tendency to move on from one organization to the other. Interestingly enough, some organizations embrace Israel and others see it as the core of evil and the other ethnicities entering their land as the armies of a Jewish oppressor which is depicted in the shape of the Z.O.G. (Zionist Occupation Government). This theory speaks of a government that even made up the holocaust to disguise itself. The theories vary as much as there are organizations, but one version describes Jewish people as alien reptile creatures wearing skin suits and trying to breed out the white people and weaken the race so earth will be for the taking (Gardell, 2003). White revolutionary thought starts to go towards a new form, one where they no longer merely represent their nation, but the white race, worldwide.

Riemen (2010) writes how fascism will take the face that is most appropriate for the context it finds itself in, in the United States for example this is a Christian, white context. There are various movements that live up to that, such as Christian Identity in which one traces the lineage to the lost tribes of Israel, basing itself on the theories of British-Isrealism. In essence, what it relates is that the Christian Identity worshippers are the lost people of Israel and the Jews are the false ones, who wish to exterminate all Christians according to their Protocols of the Elders of Zion (a piece of Czarist-invented propaganda). The complete stories are typical for how racist politics mystify its opponents and depict them as demonic, unearthly and false (Goodrick-Clarke, 2003). The fantastic nature of these stories, which in fact spring from older racist myths and propaganda attempts are unbelievable at best, but racism has a tendency to obscure history and proof in favor of whatever supports the claims of an organization. Religion plays a big part in postwar racist movements. Dobratz (2001) distinguishes three religions belief systems that are found in this movement: Christian Identity, World Church of the Creator and Odinism/Wotanism (also known as Ásatrú, though this is not necessarily wrapped up in racist/nationalist discourse (Gardell, 2003)). We can definitely replace the last for racial heathenism, since pagan beliefs of other origins have also mixed with racial politics at this point, which we can also see in the works of Varg Vikernes, who moves towards Slavic deities more and more (though tends to put these one on one with his own pantheon of Norse gods). One could also add as a fourth racist Satanism, since this movement has a lot of derived cults dealing with race and supremacy ideals just as much (Baddeley, 1999, Gardell, 2003). Satanism does however strongly relate to pagan rituals and a position similar to that, rarely upholding the LaVeyan position as described previously. Now the question is of course how extreme politics moved on to this point of creating ideologies that are very much opposed to society and often also to their roots of Nazism. This demonstrates the various forms that the romantic embrace of evil takes in opposing the rational state. It defies

reason by finding its opposite. The extremist movement is split up in a great amount of these movements, hardly possible to unite. Its basic ideas remain similar though, it just takes the shape it needs to fit in wherever it seems to be.

In Nazism one could already see these elements appearing. In Hitler's thinking, the natural life of agriculture and racial hygiene was very important, regarding every man as a 'tribesman', part of a greater cause that he would live in service of (Hitler, 1939). The ideology that Hitler forged around this image was based on random sources and invented data, pretty much applying similar obscurantist traits in forging his ideas (Holborn, 1964). The past is idealized, this is what Vikernes also does when he talks about the pure life of his Viking ancestors. Describing them as strong men, noble men that were free of the diseases that Semitic religions bring. What makes modern day movements turn away from classical national-socialism is that it is mainly a political movement with political ideals behind it. Its true ideology does not seem to have much of a firm grounding apart from the pretty much inherent racism that existed in Europe for a thousand years or more. Hitler also moves away from the institution of society and church as they are, denouncing them as untrue to their ideals and thus false, the ideals being of course the ones he forged for the nation. He sees the way the church conducts its business as an insult to God. Hitler does seek the path to this absolute embodiment of the spirit, to shape the world according to Christian principles (Hitler, 1939). The Christian offspring of Nazi movements come from here one could say, but the pagan one also has its roots in Nazism. The idea that paganism had a strong part to play in the Third Reich is more or less a modern myth, though interest in it and resurgence in the current supremacist movements did follow from it. Most paganism in the Reich can be ascribed to an anti-Christian position or merely atheism (Flowers & Moynihan, 2008)

Pagan or heathen religions are not new phenomena in Europe or the rest of the world. A lot of the modern day elements in Christianity are part of pagan tradition of course, but when we speak of contemporary paganism we can more easily speak of neo-paganism, which has a lot of variations and finds its roots at around the turn of the century. It can be considered a romantic counter position to rural life and industrialization in this time, looking for mythical and adventurous elements to balance this. Modern Wicca or witches religions were invented at the time, or reinvented depending on how one views these movements (Harvey & Hardman, 1995). Particularly in England one could find this rebirth of paganism. "*It is... a particular, and extreme, incarnation of some of the broadest and deepest cultural impulses of the nineteenth and twentieth century British world. (Harvey & Hardman, 1995, p. 13)*" One can view this as a romantic return to a mystic past, something that is outside of the industrialized processes of the world people lived in. When one mixes this with the ritual nature of secret communities in Enlightenment times that

Koselleck describes (1988), one can see how the secret, mystic cult that is later seen started to emerge. These neo-pagan religions were there in the apst and still exist today. They accuse Judeo-Christianity of destroying their cultural roots (Harvey & Hardman, 1995) and constituting a dictatorship of morality (Poewe, 2008). This rejection, according to Poewe, lies at the very core of fascism and the New Right in Europe in the shape of neo-paganism as it has been formed by the likes of Matilda Ludendorff (Figure 38) and Sigrid Hunke. Ludendorff creates a new form of faith based on racial purity and a chosen ‘Volk’. Both denounce different religions and occultism in favor of one truth for one people, trying to unite science and religion in one. Hunke put this new religion in current context with Europe at a later point (Poewe, 2008). On the other hand one can

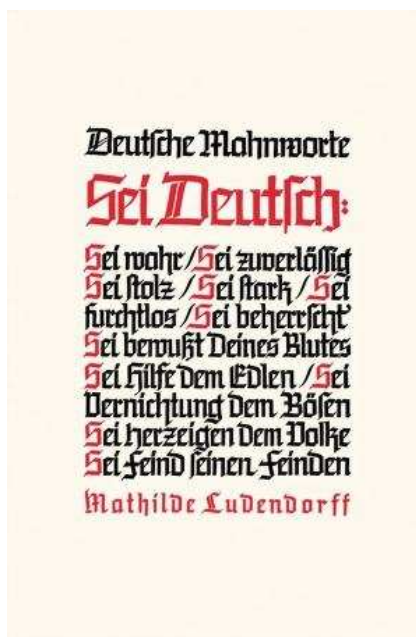


Figure 38. “Nationalist views of Mathilde Ludendorff” (2012)

find the pagan mysticism in Nazi culture, with names like Guido von List, Jörg Lanz van Liebenfels and Ruldof von Sebottendorf creating a mythology of Aryan heritage.

Though Hitler himself never felt much sympathy for these pagan movements, Himmler did have a particular ear for its ideals, going so far as trying to construct a religion for the Third Reich (Flowers & Moynihan, 2007). The two movements described here, the both show racist politics have a need for an ideology in the shape of a religion or philosophy. Both are totally different and this is exemplary for the whole movement that followed on World War II. One can hardly speak of one neo-Nazi – or racist movement, though with globalization they have become more close and in dialogue concerning their common goals. A pro-European attitude is also found, like with Varg Vikernes, considering Europe the ancestral land

that should be protected opposed to merely the nation, which may be partly due to wider knowledge on race theory and European migration (Goodrick-Clarke, 2003). Drawn from the theories and ideas that lay hidden in the Third Reich, extremism flourishes as it embraces the white race as the new nation that must be protected. Varg Vikernes is one of those, he is not against any European nation, only those who lay beyond and who threaten his.

So racist movements moved on from being neo-Nazi brown shirts, like the men of Rockwell, to pagan Vikings, finding in neo-paganism a new idea of identity, but limiting it to one’s own race or nationality. Love for and kinship with nature, the pagan ethic (‘Do what thou wilt, but harm none) and the concept of Goddess and God are the three principles of modern paganism. Particularly the pagan ethic does not apply to these extremist movements, who prefer the term heathen as one can

see by the name of by Vikernes' Heathen Front (Moynihan & Søderlind, 1998). So why paganism? Hobsbawm (2008) gives a few characteristics of nationalism, elements that are used to legitimize nationalist positions. Ethnicity and language are for him the main two elements though hardly the absolute conditions for a nationalist position. Religion is also mentioned. Nationalism before the Second World War was very much part of society (though against it in the case of Hitler writes (Holborn, 1964). Postwar extremism rejects all features western, meaning multiculturalism, Christianity (in the conventional shape) and universal principles. The things that would make all men equal are false and untrue, according to Ludendorff, and the only thing that currently unites all the white supremacy movements is the preservation of their race. Christianity has a transnational and multicultural impact, the inherent anti-Semitism and nationalism thus require something else, an ethnic faith (Laruelle, 2008).

So when we look to the organic nature of nationalism that Herder describes (White, 2005, Wilson, 2004), paganism fits in. It offers both a culture that is much more a lifestyle and a position that opposes the homogeneity that globalization brings. In this globalizing world they try to find a rootedness that gives identity that puts them apart from the other, the other also being the government or any institution that allows the further desecration of the land and the nation. This is the tradition we can find Varg Vikernes in, the threatening of outside influences that spoil the nation, which is allowed by a weak government and a weak European union. It allows the disease of non-national influences to weaken the nation and this must be prevented whatever the cost. . Laruelle shows how nationalist revival looks back further in history nowadays, surpassing the Christian times in the former Soviet region: "These Russian movements combine racialist conceptions from the Western far right, the quest for new harmony between man and nature inspired by the nineteenth-century romantic Naturphilosophie, and ideological left-wing references borrowed from alter-globalization (Laruelle, 2008, pp. 284)." This shows how the extremist racist movement grabs the essentials it needs from the past, creating a new identity from whatever works, denouncing that which doesn't.

We can hardly speak of a new right though, like Poewe (2008) does. Even to call Hitler's ideology a rightwing movement would be missing the point. National-socialism strongly relied on the socialist part, creating equality and a common goal, not unlike communism in a sense, just without the pretence of government in the hands of the people. In many ways the two are not unlike. Lévy (2008) speaks of the left in dark times and Gardell (2003) mentions the almost communal life forms of certain white pagan movements. On the other hand there is the Satanist elitism that Baddeley (1999) refers to. The movement is one full of conflict and dividedness, which makes it so hard to come to terms with it. Some parts are pro-Europe, some are against it

and so the fragmentation goes on, placing this very much in the postmodern context. A 'smorgasbord of the white-racist counterculture' Baddeley calls this in his book (2003) and he seems to have a very good point there. People are known to move on very easily between organizations or even starting their own. The position they have towards foreigners, other races and the establishment is what binds them and this is also the position of various people within the movement who try to unite all these splinter into one unity. *"The conflict between Christian beliefs and non-Christian ones can be seen in reactions to a statement such as "My race is my religion." Several in the movement appear willing to have religion be a personal thing and/or want it not to be part of the movement's focus. (Dobratz, 2001, p. 299)"* The problem is that the divide between them is hard to build bridges on. Paganism discards the whole Christian period of history as one were the blood was weakened and the ties with nature cut. "Only these Übermenschen could lead the world back into harmony with Nature and toward the golden age envisioned by Adolf Hitler. (Goodrick-Clarke, 2003, p. 266)" Pagans consider their outlook to be true, organic and natural, where the Christian version simply takes that away. At the same time is the pagan movement heavily influenced by eastern philosophies such as Buddhism, mainly due to the work of Savitri Devi, linking Nazism with new age, ecology and Eastern spirituality (Goodrick-Clarke, 2003). Like the neo-pagan ideals of its romantic revival around 1900, the true teachings of Buddhism and tantric wisdom are hardly what can be found in the hateful, supremacist ideas that are formed out of them. These religions that are created are not too probable to give the same liberty to others as its inspirations do, it might not even have much respect for democracy and Western values in achieving its goals (Poewe, 2008). Whether its Jesus, Odin, Wotan, Biellebog, Mother Nature or Satan these movements worship, in the words of Gardell, what they worship are gods of blood (2003).

That which was nationalism remains present, an extremist will oppose first his own government and then look at Europe nowadays. Europe's greater presence and its more recent subsuming of the nation state under its jurisdiction has got the effect of stimulating a new shift towards this greater enemy for nationalist extreme though. If Europe is the authority, the institution that is responsible for the way the world is, than Europe is the enemy. It's not the fault of those weak other races for Vikernes, that they stumble into this paradise of Europe and find hedonistic pleasures, specifically in the white women. It is the fault of the European Union that they let the stranger in and then plea for multiculturalism. In this sense Vikernes is exemplary for the extreme movement. They don't just write books and pamphlets and marches with racist slur on banners, the white revolution demands action.

Transgressive Politics and the Extreme Right: War tactics

“The national socialist phenomenon stands as a warning against dismissing the milieu of racist paganism as a lunatic fringe of hopeless dreamers: romantic men armed with guns and religious determination have throughout history been a dangerous species. (Gardell, 2003, p. 343)”

Ever since racist politics submerged after the Second World War, attempts have been made to gain a hold on the public once more. Racism is deeply rooted in Western society, and though the horrors of World War Two have changed the general attitude towards different ethnicities, one can hardly expect these racist ideologies to have disappeared. However, it has hardly resurfaced ever since. Extreme movements have continued to exist and perform their militant marches and promotion campaigns, leading to conflict and protest from opponents anywhere. For example the Klu Klux Klan marches in the United States has persisted for a period of time, partly due to unequal rights when it comes to the United States until the changes the civil rights movement brought about (Barnes et al, 2009). In the times of Rockwell, the marching and show of power still had an impact in the United States, though in Europe this was for a time gone (Goodrick-Clarke, 2003).

When racism started to go underground, the marches still took place, usually accompanied with a lot of attention from media and opposing groups. The underground took on an even uglier face though, starting to go underground with secret training camps, preparing the troops for racial war, organizing paramilitary groups and arming themselves (Harris, 1994). Examples are found in football culture, with the by now well known group called Combat 18 (Holland, 1995), Hammerskins and Blood and Honour, organizations who swear willingness to die for the race and to fight for the 14 words of white revolution terrorist David Lane, who passed away in prison in 2007. With pre-war slogans the movements appeals to unsatisfied citizens that get drawn into the movement. There are rallies and conferences being organized and slowly the movement has gained a big following, leading up to mainstream politics (Harris, 1994). Theroux shows the inner workings of neo-Nazism in the United States, which is based strongly on self reliance and populist attitudes that helps the movement grow and expand. Hate speeches and strong words on rallies where sympathizers gather and exchange ideas help to develop the ideologies further (Theroux, 2003). Also it becomes clear how the ever active movement keeps recruiting new members, though the more extreme groups warn their members about the commitment they expect to their movement. Although it seems far away, this movement has become global and is not declining. These extremist organizations are found in all of Europe, showing the same features and ideals (White, 2012).

The appeal of neo-Nazism is not much different from its Second World War precursor, it's the myth of white racial preservation and opposing the other that we find so strongly in Europe as the hostile enemy of the race. This takes on violent forms and actual violence occurs in openly nationalistic states with racial tendencies like Russia (Laruelle, 2008), where neo-Nazi groups terrorize foreigners publicly and politics embrace anti-immigrant attitudes just as strongly (Putzel, 2009). This also occurs in countries with heavy penalties for racial crimes and expression, such as Germany or England (Adler, 2012), where the new neo-Nazi movement is responsible for a lot of violence and over 180 killings in the name of their ideals. The United Kingdom has seen a big neo-Nazi movement associated with the British National Party with violent actions and threats in the name of race to intimidate anyone not fitting their vision. Interestingly enough, the internet and global trade have made it possible for the movement to grow and unite more and more. The broader the support is, the more it can step into the light. Internet serves to allow people to get into the movements ideals and discuss anonymously, which is provided by websites like Stormfront.org, which shows the slogan 'White Pride World Wide'. According to Sutton (2002), the internet has provided an even bigger platform for racism to spread.

So what we see is a big network of small organizations performing violent actions in a criminal, almost terrorist manner throughout the western world, adhering to a various set of ideals. This has become so big that one can speak of paramilitary organizations in the east of Europe that are willing to go to extremes for their goals. However, they are not entirely new phenomena. "*The extreme-right paramilitary units in Eastern Europe were inspired by a combination of many factors. Determinant factors for their genesis were national tradition, state support or state suppression. The roots of units in Eastern Europe can be found in the nationalist movements of the second half of the nineteenth century, which are regarded by present groups as their*



Figure 39. "Emblem of the Greek Golden Dawn party"

predecessors in defending national interests. (Mares, Stojar, 2012, p. 160)" A lot of it seems to be talk however and many figures in the movement seem to be more occupied with creating awareness and promoting their ideals, like American neo-Nazi Tom Metzger, who prefers to call himself a pan-aryanist (Theroux, 2003). Nationalism has been gradually replaced by the pan-Aryan ideals of international racist movements (Gardell, 2003, Goodrick-Clarke, 2003), though they seem to still be divided largely internally. The constant metaphor is that of cleaning the blood, of ridding the people of its

infection, which we also found in the writings of Vikernes. The body is in danger of disease, stench and infection of foreigners. The European Union is blamed for this, which leads to votes for anti-European parties. In the recent case of the Greek dilemma with its elections, a party emerged with the name 'Golden Dawn' and the slogan "let's rid this country of the stench". The party shows Nazi symbols openly and promotes the violence against immigrants, for which politicians from its organization have actually been arrested (Hamilos, 2012). Their logo has the swastika woven into it (Figure 39). Racism and violent politics are back on the main streets of European politics it seems, no longer skulking in the back alleys, trying to keep its affiliations under a veil, like the British National Party, having a long association with British skinhead and hooligan culture (Lowles & Silver, 1998, Holland, 1995) but also with the violent movements like Combat 18 and Blood and Honour.

Nazi Rock

One tool that has been used rather successfully is pop culture, in which racist musicians have been active for a long time. It's not only about fighting the holy race war, new recruits are wanted all the time and for this purpose popular culture has been used. This might have started with more extreme forms of music like punkrock and folk songs (on the other side of the spectrum so to say), but has gradually moving towards more acceptable forms of music, video games and so on. With an elaborate industry behind it, extreme politics have flourished financially. The fact that protest culture has been used to appeal to young people can be seen in the figure of Varg Vikernes, who also takes protest culture as his tool.

In the seventies skinhead rock managed to merge with the blossoming punk scene and skinhead culture, which easily appealed to the warrior like, working class attitude of British racism as presented by the British National Party, which is emerging in the 1970's as well (Lowles & Silver, 1998). The 'white noise' of Nazi Rock starts spreading over the continent and in the United States thanks to global distribution networks which emerge alongside it. These networks are much bigger than one would imagine, even flyer and promoting their music at schools, not just giving people material that expresses their extremist views, but also creating new extremists (Macintyre, 2009). This movement is bound up with political movements, generating income for those with its immense network, selling books, music, merchandise, memorabilia and even video-games. There is a large amount of record labels involved with the music and promotion of hatred through it (Goodrick-Clarke, 2003). The National Alliance in the United States is considered the wealthiest racist organization, which has its own compound and a huge office, all funded with the income that hate rock has generated for them.



Figure 40. “Ian Stuard Donaldson, the man who launched Nazi Rock and founded Blood and Honour” (Lowles & Silver, 1998)

The original sound of Nazi music was skinhead punk rock, which organized many concerts and the famous ‘Rock against Communism’ shows as a response to the ‘Rock Against Racism’ concerts by non-racist punk bands (Lowles & Silver, 1998). The sound is raw, basic and fueled with anger, which places it very much in the punk rock tradition of basic rock ‘n’ roll sound and do-it-yourself aesthetics. The difference is found in the lyrics and the behavior of fans at a concert. The lyrics are filled with hate and the crowd will perform the Nazi salute to the band (Macintyre, 2009). Nazi rock has started to

change however, trying to reach more mainstream audiences by making itself more listenable. An example is the folk act Prussian Blue, which features blond haired twins singing Aryan songs, which has been receiving a lot of media attention as well (Theroux, 2003, MacIntyre, 2009). The Gaede twins have been indoctrinated since childhood and have even been called upon to support politicians, giving them a softer appeal than the rough skinheads that never really fit in with mainstream audiences (Riley, 2011). In his documentary on Nazi rock, Macintyre (2009) shows

various other artists appealing to a broader audience. At the same time an even more extreme form of music embraces racist ideologies, namely that of extreme metal. Various bands start playing with fascist imagery and ideals of a northern pagan land (Goodrick-Clarke, 2003). This is the black metal movement we’ve discussed at length, with its top exponent being Varg Vikernes.

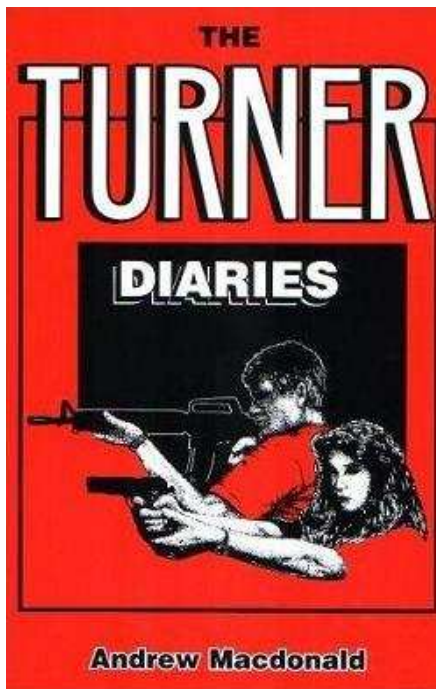


Figure 41. “The Turner Diaries Cover” (MacDonald, 1978)

Racial politics have thus been on the fringes of society, slowly trying to gain a hold on it once more, slowly changing their fascist aesthetics, the way they can be seen in skinhead culture demonstrating militarism and the look of a mass movement thanks to similar looks, to a softer, mainstream appeal. In it we see the romantic tendencies of the warrior ideal, the perfection of race and the protection of one’s own. The nation becomes

gradually replaced by race as the romantic nationalism for white supremacists. The question however, that Gardell (2003) poses, is if all these exploits have created any further unity within the movement or only furthered its fragmentation. It seems to be the latter.

Hunter & The Turner Diaries

The mass movement of Nazism, which was in line with the aesthetics of totalitarian regimes and continued to be part of nationalist politics for years, did not have much success anymore and was associated with too many negative experiences. The slow populist movement seems to be getting a hold on people again and slowly gains more support for its cause. Nonetheless, the danger that is seen by the racist movement is hardly shared by the common public, which is more concerned with the contents of its wallet usually. Race awareness is needed to get the racial war going it seems and William Luther Pierce put this thought into his novels '*Hunter*' and '*The Turner Diaries*', both works being extremely inspirational to the actions that were performed in the name of the white race in the last century. A series of terrorists have followed the principles of lone wolf terrorism laid down in these books. Pierce himself had been the leader of the National Alliance and inspired many with his books that read like novels, but offered a blue print for action. Pierce was a visionary in the movement, bringing the far spread elements together and using the white noise music movement as well to increase membership (Gardell, 2003) Pierce wrote under the pseudonym Andrew MacDonald, hence I will refer to the book by that.

“But it was in the year 1999, according to the chronology of the Old Era-just 110 years after the birth of the Great One – that the dream of a White world finally became a certainty. And it was

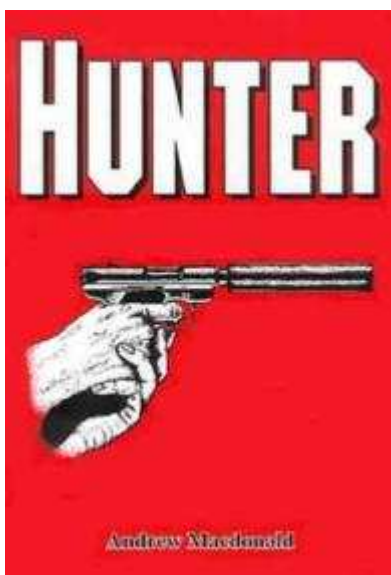


Figure 42. “Hunter book cover” (MacDonald, 1989)

the sacrifice of the lives of uncounted thousands of brave men and women of the Organization during the preceding years which had kept that dream alive until its realization could no longer be denied. (MacDonald, 1978)” Both books deal with the same dilemma of a society poisoned by racial impurity and the proud, warrior willing to act to save his people from decay. The setting of the Turner Diaries is a world of oppression where the people are not allowed to have firearms anymore and white activists gather in what is called the order and start taking back control over their nation. In violent acts many innocents die, but Turner, the protagonist, realizes that to destroy this system that oppresses the white race, innocents will

die. The organization, known as The Order, than continues to fight this holy war, ultimately cleansing the whole world from different races and destroying government as it is, as paradise is created (MacDonald, 1978). This book shows the fourth characteristics of totalitarian thought that Lévy (2008) gives, the ultimate good is within reach, but sacrifices must be made for this greater good. The white race is here the people that are destined to overcome their trials and reach their ultimate price of liberty from other races and oppression. The cover of the book shows two people with guns, aiming them. These are warriors of the white nation, defenders of the race who bravely sacrifice their lives, side by side and without regret (Figure 41). The book describes a white revolution and ethnic cleansing, hinting at Second World War events. Pierce describes a movement of guerilla tactics and a global war of apocalyptic scale. “*Pierce’s projection of anti-Semitic and racist Nazi fantasies into millenarian vision of universal Nazi rule is unique. His paranoid view of liberal, democratic society assumes strong religious overtones in its fervor and apocalyptic release.* (Goodrick-Clarke, 2003, p. 24)”

In *Hunter* the introduction page has a question for the reader. “How should an honorable man confront evil? Should he ignore it, with the excuse that it is not his responsibility? Should he ally *himself with the evil, because that’s where the smart money is? Or should he take up arms against it and fight it with all his strength and without regard for the personal consequences, even though he must fight alone?* (MacDonald, 1989, p. 2)” This question doesn’t seem so strange, it is a matter of principle, of standing for your beliefs and of yourself. To take full responsibility and not wait for someone else to solve the mess the world is in, a question Vikernes answered with his actions. Its appeal immediately becomes clear, what answer would anyone give when confronted with it? A brave man would fight. The answer to this question is given in this novel by Pierce, where a former military man, now an employee for the Defense department, takes up arms to confront the evil that he sees enveloping his nation. The name of this protagonist is Yeager, which sounds like *jäger*, meaning hunter. The cover depicts a gun with a silencer on it, making it a silent hunter, an executioner. A man willing to do the dirty job that needs to be done (Figure 42). Yeager can choose between the government and order or chaos and white supremacists. He chooses to fight for the white cause, which makes the media turn onto his organization of supremacists (the media is Jewish controlled) so they have to go underground to fight this war. The protagonist thus starts a one-man war against all for the preservation of the race. It’s the brave notion of a warrior without regard for himself. “*Hunter suggests that isolated, small-scale and untraceable acts of violence can raise public racial awareness and effectively demoralize and destabilize multiracial society.* (Goodrick-Clarke, 2003, p. 26)” This gave rise to the idea of lone-wolf terrorism. The works of both Gardell and Goodrick-Clarke have lists of examples of solo actions for the greater good of the race, to prevent an enemy to take hold of their race any further. The latest version of

this story is Anders Breivik. The works of Pierce have been thoroughly influential on the movement, helping it accept its place as underground movement and slowly biding its time, preparing for the ultimate race war that is going to come. Lone wolf terrorism is virtually impossible to prevent and to classify since its occurrence arises from all sorts of extreme ideological narratives. The lone wolf terrorist can activate itself at any time and is always embedded in society, making it even more unpredictable (Bakker & De Graaf, 2011). The lone wolf terrorist is the most dangerous pawn in the extremist movement.

Nationalist violence at the turn of the century

“Warrior ideals are ever-present in the revolutionary Aryan counterculture. Paramilitary modes of organization and war fantasies manifest in leaderless resistance, the Order and its copycats, lone-wolf assassins, skinhead gangs, paramilitary training camps, Asatrú/Odinist warrior guilds,



Figure 43. “David Lane gave the movement a new purpose and slogan with his 14 words” (2012)

hatecore music, and race-war novels such as best-sellers Turner Diaries and Hunter, both by William Pierce (pseudo. Andrew Macdonald), or the Odinist Hear the Cradle Song. (Gardell, 2003, p. 91)” In essence what can be seen in the violent form of racism that the white supremacist movement predicts are the same transgressive values that have been ascribed to black metal. It stands outside of what society allows and what it doesn’t. It embraces warrior ideals, the fight for ones race and goals, an embrace of evil to rise better than before. The race war they see coming reminds us of the war against Christianity, it must be done and will be violent but lead to a better world. It transgresses its boundaries and develops with and against society; it keeps finding a place opposite the rational, against the state of democracy and

equality. It changes shape every time again, just like Varg Vikernes does in his writing. A metamorphosis of evil keeps transpiring. Masculinity, warrior ideals, historical obscurantism and supremacist feelings led to transgressions, transgressions that put white revolutionary men behind bars as martyrs like David Lane and his 14 words (Gardell, 2003). Transgressive acts keep following though, like those of Anders Behring Breivik. Transgression here means the notion I’ve derived from Bataille (1986) and Foucault (1977). This movement does not wish to change society as it is, but break down the borders that it has set for itself. The democratic values and the consensus politics stand in the way of the white revolution, which needs strong unity of the white

race under the totalitarian rule that Lévy (2008) describes. This, opposed to the European Union that tries to give everyone a voice in a democratic way, paving the path for a new kind of unity that is based on willingness to work together instead of subjugating to one holy idea that overrules all sorts of rights and principles. The case of Anders Breivik brought these transgressive values to the middle of Europe, to a Norwegian Island, where he tried to make people aware of the threat to their lives and the mistakes that the government made in its soft policy.

I have tried to show the currents that flow underneath our society (and where they've sprung from) which desires peace, unity and a multicultural Europe. All the rationalist values of the Enlightenment that it embodies are opposed by this white revolutionary movement that seems to have become more and more extreme, finding itself cornered between society, government and their goals. In general the populist politicians of Europe, though adhering to similar ideologies, avoid contact with the extremist scene. It is too far removed from our society as we know it. We only get to see it when figures like Varg Vikernes or Anders Breivik emerge and shock our society to the core. Is it merely a small countermovement? Goodrick-Clarke does not think so: "*However, the rise of skinhead racist gangs, white power music, and the transformation of neo-Nazi racism into new folkish religions of white identity clearly mirror the rising levels of immigration into Western countries and the ensuing pressures toward multiculturalism. It is these latter trends that prompt my comparison with völkish German nationalist groups in multinational Austria before the First World War... We cannot know what the future holds for Western multicultural societies, but the experiment did not fare well in Austria-Hungary, the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia. The multiracial challenges in liberal Western states are much greater, and it is evident that affirmative action and multiculturalism are even leading to a more diffuse hostility towards liberalism. (2003, p. 306)*" As Lévy writes, for these ideologies, nothing is incurable and this is exactly what happened with Nazi-Germany and the Soviet Union, both allowing mass graves and total war to erupt for their ideals that would be reached through fire and blood.

Anders Behring Breivik

“It is against this background that the case of Anders Behring Breivik should be considered. A political activist since his late teens who was considered unfit for military service, he hung around Norway’s far right without ever engaging organizationally with it, although he was a member of the anti-immigration Progress Party for some years. He likewise created online links with the English Defence League and a Swedish far-right forum. But his drift toward violence led to others distancing themselves from him, and his terrorism plans appear to have been developed, and carried out, alone. (Whine, 2012, p. 329)”

Norwegian Wolves

The case of Anders Breivik clearly shows the danger a lone wolf poses to our society. Breivik is more than just the violent, insane person that he is described to be, which brings us to the question why treating this topic here is so important. Breivik is not insane, but one expression of the extreme undercurrent of revolutionary racism. This I consider to be in the same vein of extremism as the nationalism that plunged Europe into war, it’s a romantic notion of race and nation that Breivik expresses in a bloody manner and declaring him insane would be an enormous fault. Mulder (2012) answers these questions head on. Declaring Breivik insane would be a comforting thought, he writes, but then we’d be sticking our heads in the ground, ignoring the issue Breivik represents. “Als je het kwaad wil bestrijden, moet je het recht in de ogen kijken, zoals je doet met een valse hond. (If you wish to fight evil, one has to look into its eyes, as with a mean dog) (Mulder, 2012, p. 13)” Breivik has spurred more thinking about the phenomena of lone wolf terrorists, a phenomenon known throughout the world as a means of Islamic terrorists, expressing the willingness to die for a holy cause such as race, religion or nation. Pantucci (2011a) has tried to categorize lone wolves, underlining the importance of understanding these movements so further violence might be prevented. The lack of data on the topic and thus ways of preventing it makes it a serious threat, due to what he calls “borderless loyalty” to the goals of their ideology.

In Norway, the country of the pagan revivalist and church burner Varg Vikernes, the acts of lone wolf terrorists Anders Behring Breivik demonstrate just how serious the threat of extremism is and not merely from the Islamist side of the spectrum, the outside of Europe (Pantucci, 2011a). Europe’s biggest threat comes from within its own borders and people. Walking among us as an invisible threat, like the sleeping cells from the American cold war thriller fiction, at any time and from anywhere this lone wolf terrorism can occur (Bakker & De Graaf, 2011). This very much underlines the manicheistic worldview that Buruma & Margalit express, one of rationality and one

of passionate romantic tendencies, offering everything for the greater good, the greater goal or the godlike entity (2005). Anders Breivik is just the latest in a long line of warriors that are willing to lay down their life for what they believe in.

Biography of Breivik

Anders Breivik was born in Oslo on 13 February 1979 (though many sources say he was born in London: Pantucci, 2011b, 'Profile: Anders Behring Breivik', 2012), but soon his family moved to London. His father was a diplomat and his mother a nurse. His parents divorced when he was one year old, but this doesn't seem to have been of major impact and contact remained until the teen age years of Breivik. According to his own manifesto, which is written under the pseudonym of Andrew Berwick, there has been a long running case for custody though (Berwick, 2011).

Breivik is described as a quiet, friendly and ordinary guy by friends, which he had plenty in his younger years apparently. He himself describes himself on his facebook page as Christian with interests in body building and freemasonry ('Profile: Anders Behring Breivik', 2012). What we can see here is the fascination for the physical that seems to be part of the extremist movement, the idea of everything being curable as forwarded by Lévy (2008), no matter what. The acts later performed, show a more obvious link to curability in a similar way as Himmler expressed in Poznan (2004). The freemasonry may explain his ideas of conspiracy theory as Gardell (2003) describes them.

The break that followed between Breivik and his father is described by him as caused by his activities as a young man, where he was deeply involved in the local hip hop scene, getting in trouble with the authorities. According to Breivik this was the cause for the split. He was not really in touch with the skinhead community at the time. "Being so called neo-Nazi, skinhead or right wing in general meant that you were into Metal rock. I hated Metal rock and I hate it even today. I knew a few guys from my age group growing up, Edward, Nils and 5 others. They attended the same school as us and a couple of them were uniformed skinheads at this time. (Berwick, 2011, p. 1390)" This shows the variety of the movement again, Vikernes was part of this metal movement that embraced racism, but Breivik was never really part of that musical scene. He did become friends with people within the Nazi rock scene at a later point. During his hiphop and graffiti years, he actually had foreign friends. He speaks highly of a friend from Pakistan named Arsalan in his manifesto and there is mention of a work-out buddy from the Middle East ('Profile: Anders Behring Breivik', 2012). Breivik describes how this friend Arsalan betrayed him and various other assaults from foreign gangs that he witnessed, leading to his changing attitude. A few other mentions of Muslim crimes follow, which he fits in with his 'coming to insight' in how he describes his path up to his actions years later (Berwick, 2011). A

former friend of Breivik, Ulav Andersson, also mentions how he would get upset when girls wouldn't like him more than foreign guys. "*He has an ego, especially in relation to girls. He has a picture of himself which was rather inflated, and sometimes it would cause friction if, for example, the fairer sex would prefer other guys working with us, who would be, for example, Pakistani.* ('Norwegian mass murder suspect has big ego – friend', 2011)." Andersson also mentions that various racist religious groups have found a breeding ground in Oslo, who all tried to get young people into their movement. He suspects that Breivik has gotten in with one of those. Apparently, at the age of 15, Breivik was baptized and confirmed in the Norwegian State Church (Pantucci, 2011b).

This mention of physical attraction brings up the physical element again. Breivik was known to take meticulous care of his physical appearance and does look like the ultimate Aryan posterboy. "*I have a more or less perfect body at the moment and I'm as happy as I have ever been.* (Berwick, 2011, p. 1423)" The physical is very important to him, to the point of getting plastic surgery to get proper Aryan looks at the age of 20. Psychiatrists said that Breivik shows particular sensibility about his looks and appearance. "*The old masculine attitude toward personal appearance is disappearing. If memory serves, our fathers' acts of personal upkeep were mostly limited to shaving and putting on a tie... Indeed the feminisation of European culture is nearly completed. And the last bastion of male domination, the police force and the military, is under assault.* (Berwick, 2011, p. 36-37)" Breivik's concern with the physical seems to be tied up strongly with his conservative views. He doesn't seem to enjoy any of the changes occurring in society, in this respect he resembles Vikernes very strongly. Multiculturalism, feminism and all the modern movements that occur in Europe he sees as part of what he calls Cultural Marxism. He likes to describe himself as a self made man, relying on himself and his own strengths, very much presenting himself as a sole figure confronting the world. "However, if I wanted to I could have more or less everything I set my mind on. I consider myself to be very resourceful, economically privileged, well educated (although I would probably have to formalise my education if I ever wanted to work for someone else), fit and very happy with my physical appearance. (Berwick, 2011, p. 1405)" He is the self made man who decides to make himself the best he could and make sure his body would be healthy and strong and his mind sharp and ready. The parallel with his predecessor is becoming very clear though the roots of the two are very different.

When he was 16 years old, Anders Breivik broke away from the hiphop movement and joined the right wing Progress Party's youth movement in Norway, according to his own writings, in an attempt to change and contribute to the system. "Anyway, at this time I was 16 years old. I had been somewhat political aware for 2-3 years already and I had grown to be a passive "anti-

racist” but against non-Western immigration. However, the fact that I opposed non-Western immigration automatically meant that I had become a “racist” according to the definitions of the “politically correct elites” and the leftists. I therefore kept this to myself. (Berwick, 2011, p. 1391)” He claims to have chased financial goals at first, trying to gain riches and liberty, but his paranoia seems to have started to grow in his late twenties, where he also became an adult



Figure 44. “Anders Breivik and family in better times”
(The Telegraph, 2011)

member of the Progress Party in Norway (‘Profile: Anders Behring Breivik, 2012). Notable is his fixation on a paternal society, constantly referring to the ‘Fatherland’, opposed to ‘Motherland’ in most totalitarian regimes, in his manifesto. One could deduce his dislike for feminism from this position. In 2006 he moved back in with his mother to save money, apparently

paying her rent. His dislike for his mother is clearly described in his manifesto, where he speaks about her getting an STD at the age of 48 from her new partner, who according to Breivik had more than 500 sexual partners. He shuns her for becoming sick and losing her good health, but also for the money the state had to pay to try to heal her. A same opinion he expresses about his sister, who also got a similar affliction due to having sex with multiple partners (of which he specifies 15 Chippendales’ strippers, known carriers of diseases according to Breivik). “Both my sister and my mother have not only shamed me but they have shamed themselves and our family. A family that was broken in the first place due to secondary effects of the feministic/sexual revolution. I can only imagine how many people are suffering from STDs as a result of the current lack of sexual moral. (Berwick, 2011, p. 1173)” Again, this displays strongly the views of Anders Breivik as a specific appraisal of the body and of the masculine, two themes that are always strongly present in the fascistic attire of nationalistic politics. There is also a fear and hate for women. Ironically, the closest ties Breivik had to a family member were with his mother (Figure 44). When Breivik spends time living at his mother’s house, he starts working on his ideology in his 1500 page manifest that surfaced after his acts.

There are some more noteworthy things about Breivik. Even though he clearly worships the military, as seen in the quote about feminism earlier, he never went into military service. According to his biographical data in his manifesto, he didn’t feel sympathy towards any party in

charge and therefore avoided service. Like Vikernes, Breivik also enjoys the fantasy of role playing games, which he did when not working on his plans. He describes at length how he looks forward to the new expansion for the online role-playing game World of Warcraft (Berwick, 2011). Pantucci (2011b, p. 29) describes Breivik “a typical Norwegian boy who veered of the path”, who was at first perfectly able to function in society but felt betrayed by the system. There was nothing about Breivik that made him extraordinary, still that is what he became.

The Manifesto of Anders Breivik

According to his own words, Breivik spent around nine years on the large compendium he calls his manifesto. He uses elaborate space to give information on how to use it and even on how to get one a personal copy through legal channels in print. Breivik clearly sees his work as essential to the world, stating that most of the information he has included in it is being withheld from the general public. Breivik, like Vikernes, has stumbled upon the truth and is willing to give it to its audience. He recommends secrecy due to its controversial nature. Also he admits having made enormous sacrifices to get his book finished, putting an enormous amount of work into it and also a sum of €317.000 in expenses (Berwick, 2011). Now, one thing is important when we look at this manifesto and that is authorship. Breivik did ‘publish’ this as his manifesto and we can assume he stands by it as it is and the opinions expressed in it are his. The writings though, are not and much of it has been scavenged from various other sources and thinkers (Mulder, 2012). Not only does this imply that an ideology like the one of Breivik is not developed by one man alone, it also tells us something about opinions circling around in the underground of extremist thought.

The manifesto is part compendium of various theories, gathered from other others, part handbook and part diary. Much of the work used is by blogger and writer Fjordman who expresses many far-right and anti-Islamic ideas. Interesting enough, Fjordman later denounced Breivik after his actions (Mulder, 2012). Breivik mentions much literature that he likes and has read, of which a lot deals with Enlightenment philosophy and later philosophy. From Locke, John Stuart Mill and Adam Smith to Fjordman, Darwin and Burke, Breivik did not make up his theories on his own and doesn’t hesitate to mention his sources. Contrary to Vikernes, he is very precise in mentioning those (Berwick, 2011). He also lists several of the cultural Marxists that he opposes, like Georg Lukacs, Antonio Gramsci, Wilhelm Reich, Erich Fromm, Herbert Marcuse and Theodor Adorno. He blames them for creating this cultural Marxism of political correctness, feminism, capitalism and multiculturalism, attempting to create the new Soviet man. To this purpose the whole education system has been reformed, to disintegrate western civilization. He later also adds Derrida and his deconstruction to this process of destruction that takes place. “Who will rise to challenge Political Correctness? The fate of European civilisation depends on European men

steadfastly resisting Politically Correct feminism. Even more, they must resourcefully oppose the wider grip of Political Correctness, the cultural Marxism for which radical feminism is only one avenue of attack. (Berwick, 2011, p. 39)” Breivik witnesses an institutionalised destruction of his world, his values and nation as it is. The problem at the core comes from the outside, for him this is a communist plot even that must be foiled.

There is something very peculiar going on here, also in the work of Varg Vikernes. Adolf Hitler speaks of sexual liberty as a curse and suggests that women should only serve for the continuation of the race. The loose morals are a problem and sex is associated with diseases. There is a fear of women present in the theories of all three. It seems strange, since they all give women a place in their worldviews, this is however a submissive position. Feminism is one of the worst things for Anders Breivik and both he and Vikernes call loose women whores for their indiscretions and indirectly crimes against the race. Theweleit (1987) studied this phenomenon in the German Freikorpses. Femininity is associated with the colours white and red in his study, white as the nurse, the one that takes care like the mother or sister, who is sexless. The red woman is the whore, the communist, the sexuality that overwhelms and tries to engulf the man. They wished to kill these women. Allowing these women to roam free is what liberal society does. “The Freikorpsmen hate women, specifically women’s bodies and sexuality. It would not be going too far to say that their perpetual war was undertaken to escape women; even the motherly battlefield nurse is a threatening intrusion in the unisexual world of war. This hatred – or dread- of women cannot be explained with Freud’s all purpose Oedipal triangulation (Theweleit, 1989, p. Xiii)” This appears to be at the very core of their ideologies, women are the pits that get spoiled, where a man can fall into. The disease that society faces is one that comes through women, the weak, liberated women are the ones that carry this and open themselves up to it for Vikernes and Breivik both.

A large part of his manifesto consists of a view on history and the decline of western civilisation. Breivik insists on accusing authorities of obscuring the truth from its people and starts to reconstruct history from his own perspectives. The European Union is the main cause of all the problems, by opening its gates to these foreign enemies. His work does show an impressive study of Islam history, though his conclusions may be odd at times. Much of the information he has to offer about this is derived from other sources and he heavily relies on the writings of Fjordman and others for his conclusions. “Judging from information such as the extremely high number of Germans hostile to Islam, I still believe, or at least hope, that Europe can be saved. But this hope hinges on the complete and utter destruction of the European Union. The European Union must die, or Europe will die. It’s that simple. (Fjordman, 2006)” These lines are published on the blog

‘Gates of Vienna’, a name that refers to the year 1683, when Islam seemed to overrun Europe. According to the writers on blogs like this, the situation seems to be equally dire. “The EU is deliberately destroying the cultural traditions of member states by flooding them with immigrants and eradicating native traditions. This is a gross violation of the rights of the indigenous peoples across an entire continent. Europe has some of the richest cultural traditions on the planet. To replace this with Sharia barbarism is a crime against humanity. The European Union is currently the principal (though not the only) motor behind the Islamisation of Europe, perhaps the greatest *betrayal in this civilisation’s history*. (Berwick, 2011, p. 321)” When one reads expressions like this and looks at Europe and its ideals, it becomes clear how far away from these ideals Breivik and Fjordman have removed themselves. The utopian ideals of the European Union are discarded in favour of the nation. Fjordman (and Breivik) simply discard the utopianism of nationalistic fascism that has stood at the grave of old Europe as the threat that the European Union tries to neutralise. How could he, accepting the wrongness of those regimes like fascism, communism and Nazism, because discrediting the nation-state is what he wishes to avoid. The utopian nationalism is needed to restore order, and a couple of deeds should not pose a problem if we wish to overcome the threat of Islam (Mulder, 2012).

Breivik is also very concerned about race and even though he can sympathise with the Jewish cause in Israel, he does prefer them to be ‘over there’ (Mulder, 2012). He does describe the national socialist movement and their ideas of the Zionist Occupation government, but denounces this quickly. He does however write about eugenics and race, but states that Nazi-Germany made the topic politically incorrect to discuss due to their failed project. Something must be done, but the degeneration has already set in. “One solution will be by introducing negative eugenics programs combined with ethnic segregation somewhat similar to some policies of the Third Reich. Segregating Nordics and non-Nordic genotypes at this point would be almost impossible even if you had military and political carte blanche. (Berwick, 2011, p. 1194)”

Breivik does not seem to consider the race issue his primary goal, but it would be important in a later phase. “How obvious does it have to be for them to realise that this is hard evidence, clear proof of the folly of pursuing equality between the races? Because if we were all equal wouldn't other races be upholding, promoting and living by these universally moral Multicultural standards of equality and be keen to see them applied to their own racists and criminals? But as we know, facts don't matter, only the fantasy of equality for all does. (Berwick, 2011, p. 403)” Borders seem to form an important role for Breivik, he keeps denouncing movements that are in any way similar to his ideas, turning almost anyone into ‘the other’. National socialists don’t fit in with his views, which is clear from his Jewish sympathies that he mentions. This seems to rely



Figure 45. “Manifesto promo
Photo: Breivik in uniform”
(Berwick, 2011)

material (Figure 45).

Far away from any form of reason, he works out a charge against individuals guilty of the cultural Marxism, the betrayers of Europe so to say. He categorises and numbers them and in essence all that awaits them is death. This terrible classification reminds us clearly of the worldview the likes of Hitler (1939) expressed for his destructive goals. Breivik considers himself a righteous judge from his corner of the extremist universe, which he fulfilled on 22 July. Breivik does not let anyone in and distrusts everything, even Muslims that have left their faith are suspect to him and collaboration with those is impossible (Mulder, 2012). For Breivik, almost anyone becomes an enemy. Hate and mistrust make a deadly cocktail in this already paranoid Norwegian.

Another idea that he incorporates and is at the core of his cultural Marxism is the concept of Eurabia. This idea is a political neologism that was coined as title for a newsletter of the Euro-Arab friendship committee. Breivik heavily relies on Fjordman again on this idea and the theory of dhimmitude, appeasing and surrendering to Muslims, as proposed by Ye’Or (2005). The idea here is that Europe is in a state of fear for the threat of jihad. “*In history – and in Europe Today – dhimmis do not fight. Dhimmitude is based on peaceful surrender, subjection, tribute and praise.* (Ye’Or, 2005, p. 200)” For Fjordman this means that Europe has totally and utterly surrendered to

heavily on the idea that the Jewish state fights Muslims. According to Mulder (2012), Breivik also has little sympathy for pagan nationals, who he considers silly with their beliefs of Thor coming to save them. Breivik manages by excluding ever more to go further and further from any sort of mainstream, ending up far away from anyone else, alone. This is shown in his verdict about what he considers to be traitors: “European political elites implement the agendas of our enemies and ignore the interests of their own people. They are thus collaborators and traitors and should be treated accordingly. (Berwick, 2011, p. 609)” For Breivik the situation we are faced with is one of war, where every traitor is a war criminal that must be judged and, according to him, be found guilty. He regards himself as a military man, the leader of this fight. In his manifesto already pictures are prepared for his ascendancy as great leader, in that sense he uses similar militant imagery as Vikernes tends to do in his promo

the Muslim threat and given over its citizens to jihad rule. He blames Europe for this betrayal and thinks that the people will be the victims of this process, not the guilty ones. “Some people claim *that Europe isn’t worth fighting for and that many people here deserve what’s coming. Some of them probably do, yes.* The catch is that the people who deserve most to be punished for the current mess are the ones who are least likely to pay the price. The creators of Eurabia will be the first to flee the continent when the going gets tough, leaving those who have never heard of Eurabia and never approved of its creation to fight. (Fjordman, 2008)” Breivik implements the texts of Fjordman into his and proceeds to point out the guilty people for the betrayal of Europe. From here on he starts categorizing the traitors and comes up with punishment for those. He proceeds to give a whole list of why to destroy the European Union. We must become aware of the threat under our noses that we can hardly see, we need to be awakened to see the threat of Islamification and multiculturalism. “*When we know nothing of Islam, we lose. When we say that all cultures are equivalent and we can no longer identify good and evil, right and wrong, we lose. Ignorance of Islam is not acceptable; it is a moral and ethical failure. (Berwick, 2011, p. 409)*” Something must be done.

We’ve seen the importance of a religious backbone for these ideologies of extreme thought and violence. Breivik has a troubled relation to religion and it seem as if he is or a devout Christian, or merely takes from religion what suits his ideas. Christianity and Judaism are problematic for Breivik, since their ideals clash with his warrior ethics. The solution seems simple, one can simply say that Christianity is sick as well (Mulder, 2012). Breivik dedicates large parts of his work to Christianity and its problems. The church as it is, does not work for the Christian people who are diminishing due to the Islam threat. Interesting enough, most of these passages are from other authors. Breivik ends up denouncing Christianity as well as democracy as not being able to withstand the Muslim advance. However, Breivik attempts to align himself with western values: “Logic and rationalist thought (a certain degree of national Darwinism) should be the fundament of our societies. I support the propagation of collective rational thought but not necessarily on a personal level. (Berwick, 2011, p. 1385)” And also: “Nevertheless, people who are very short sighted will consider these policies quite cynical or darwinistic. However, long term, it is the most humanistic and responsible approach. (Berwick, 2011, p. 1233)” He associates himself with a more rational and darwinistic position, to which he does not clearly subscribe any ideas of his own and mostly uses others words. However, we may assume that the ideas he took and put in his manifest are ones he agrees with. He hardly theorizes views with texts of his own. In this he is different from Vikernes, who is most concerned with forming his own ideology and presenting this well. Standing alone against the tide, where Breivik never fails to mention his sources. Both embrace the warrior spirit, the strong hand as means of getting things in order again though.

Breivik also appears to suffer from the same nihilistic disposition that Vikernes struggled with. He claims to be Christian, yet his actions and ideas don't fit in with his ideology. Like Hitler, he will have to claim that Christianity as it is weak (1939). Faith is something both have struggled with.

Breivik doesn't feel strongly about paganism, though he does have a certain degree of respect for it. "I have studied Norse Mythology and have a lot of respect for the Odinist traditions. I consider myself to be a Christian, but Odinism is still and will always be an important part of my culture



Figure 46. "Breivik promo photo: Commando" (Berwick, 2011)

and identity. (Berwick, 2011, p. 1360)" He does believe that Odinists however can fight at his side though, because they also oppose the cultural Marxism and multiculturalism. Breivik believes that the white, Aryan movements would fight under the same banner when it comes to this common threat as a stronger, military unity. He for Breivik the war has already begun, we have just failed to mobilize troops yet, but Breivik starts the resistance to the enemies he perceives as a strong merciless warrior (Figure 46)." As far as Breivik is concerned, he engaged in a war that had to be started. He views it as a necessity (Becker et al., 2011)". Though not a pagan believer, he does feel very proud of his Norse heritage, which he never fails to point out. He also calls his main weapon 'Mjöllnir' in his manifesto, the hammer of Thor.

To escape the dilemma Christianity puts him in, he looks in the past for something to associate himself with and ends up calling himself a Knight Templar (Berwick, 2011). He does realise, however contradicting himself here and there, that this is a hypothetical, fictional group. Still, he considers himself a warrior of the light. "Breivik sees himself as a crusader warrior fighting for *Christendom*. " *He claims to be a member of a secret society that was "re-founded" in April 2002 in London under the name Pauperes Commilitones Christi Templique Solomonici (the poor fellow-soldiers of Christ and the Temple of Solomon, PCCTS) or more succinctly the Knights Templar or, as he continuously refers to himself, a "Justiciar Knight."* In this medieval light, *Breivik's concerns are focused around the growing Islamicisation of Europe and the 'cultural Marxism' that is allowing Europe to let itself get taken over by Islam.* (Pantucci, 2011b, p. 30)" Interesting enough, Breivik seeks opposition her to the weak church that dominates Europe, he

looks to the past and finds in the knights templar the combination of warrior ideals, comradeship and Christianity, like Vikernes finds this brotherhood, pagan-national religion and warrior ethics in the Viking culture of yore. A reference to Theweleit's analysis of the German Freikorpses and their views of women seems to apply to both men as well (1987). Breivik in particular fits the descriptions of Theweleit very neatly. "In his view, women are saints or sinners, while feminism, which he sees as a significant precursor to "cultural Marxism," is a massive threat. He yearns for the return of corporal punishment and the patriarchy. (Becker et al. 2011)" Breivik sees the world turn into one hedonistic mess, one cesspit of immoral behavior and failing humanity. Vikernes sees the same with the coming of capitalism and heavy metal becoming a hedonistic expression of 'fun'. Women are much the cause for this, the sexual liberties that become more present in society which offers the transgression that Bataille mentions is not what they seek. They want purity, masculinity and natural relations to their surroundings. They are the peak of postmodern confusion, lost in the world nowadays. They are not hiding from it though; they've decided to fight it.

Breivik has thus done nothing new, but create his own idea and role in the coming grand war that he perceives. He sees a threat that cannot be underestimated and finds himself forced to act and declares himself a knight for the European people. Anders Breivik shows great skill at creating his ideology and has been very actively using the internet for this, which Sutton (2002) described as a new weapon for extremism. Fjordman also found a place there to express his ideas and impress the likes of Breivik, being an important figure with strong words on the internet. According to Pantucci (2011b) Breivik demonstrate a high level of internet savvy, but didn't succeed in finding assistance on the internet, even though he tried on many places. His ideology is based on the works of many others and his actions are not based on wrong interpretations of those, but follow the call of the likes of Fjordman for a violent response. We must realise that Breivik is not saying things in his manifesto that are new, they are not even his own words most of the time. There are too many overlaps between Breivik and the ultranationalist Freikorps militiamen, neo-Nazis, and white power groups to enumerate here. Indeed, online reactions to the massacre from the latter suggest the lone gunman's ideas gained traction. One ideological difference is the absence in Breivik's universe of a strong leader. (Bachman et al, 2012, p. 201)" However even about that he speculates, when his order of Knights Templar will take on the task of liberating Europe.

The Lone Wolf Strikes

"Breivik sees himself as inaugurating a guerrilla war against Islam and its European allies which will last seventy years. In 2083 Europe will be clean again. Breivik links sexual promiscuity and sexually transmitted disease to Marxism. (Bachman et al, 2012, p. 201)" The manifesto is not

merely theory, it deals with a lot of tactics that can be used to fight in this wars and many other practical advises. For example, Breivik warns those who wish to use the book in print and such and expresses distrust to any information that comes through the regular channels: “Unfortunately for us, more than 95% of today’s Journalists, editors, publishers are pro-Eurabians (support European multiculturalism). The same goes for 85% of Western European politicians and more than 90% of EU parliamentarians. (Berwick, 2011, p. 49)” Breivik has thus not just penned down an ideology, but a total working guide for those who wish to follow in his footsteps. It’s a battle plan or even history as it will unfold according to Breivik. When his plan is followed, in 2083 the continent will be Islam free. Yes, sacrifices will have to be made but that will just have to be the way it is. He even explains to his followers that they will have to realise this and accept it and also accept that the world will view them as insane. “*War isn’t pretty. It never has been. It is essential to know that approximately 60-70% of all cultural Marxists or suicidal humanist are female and up to 20% of police officers and military personnel (system protectors). Being a Justiciar Knight will involve killing our targets, or any system protector trying to stop us, indiscriminately. You will face women in battle and they will not hesitate to kill you. To them, you are just another armed criminal nut case as they will not know your true political agenda until after you have been slain or are apprehended. (Berwick, 2011, p. 940)*” The idea that no one will understand is similar with Vikernes, both feel like the truth is not known and they have to bring it to the people who are unfamiliar with it. They are truth bringers, warriors for the righteous cause and in later times they will be heralded as saviors.

The most frightening part of his work are pages 848 to 1114, which describes in a detailed manner all facets of the war that Breivik and anyone who feels like joining him will have to deal with. This goes from forms of attacks until the point of finding the right attorney. It contains lists of parties or political movements that are targets, categories of traitors and the punishments they deserve and priority states. For example: France, Germany, United Kingdom, Netherlands, Belgium and Sweden are high priority targets due to their high percentages of Muslims (Berwick, 2011). He describes possible alliances and how to acquire weapons and explosives, travel and lodging advice and all details of an operation to an extreme extent. It is not without reason that Bachman et al (2012) call this document his first act of terrorism. This could well further radicalisation and push other possible lone wolf terrorists across that thin line that separates extremist thought from extremist action. Any terrorist who did not figure out yet how to transport his weapons, get a hold of them or how to act in case of arrest has now found a document that expresses every element of the process at length. It even describes the post war status and the importance of good marketing and giving a face to their movement so it may be established that

they are the true heroes of the white revolution that Breivik wants to start with his acts. The romantic notion really surfaces when he talks about how a knight templar serves even in death, as martyrs they rise above the rabble: “Do not mourn us but celebrate us instead; and celebrate all European patriotic martyrs who HAS fought and ARE still fighting for you and for your family. Because after all; we are fighting for the freedom of all Europeans. We must fight on behalf of our brothers and sisters because the great majority of our women, the ignorant, the weak, the impaired, the cowardly and the selfish are either unable or unwilling to fight. (Berwick, 2011, p. 947)” It reminds us of Vikernes who would kill 10.000 foreigners to protect Norwegians from them. Everything towards the greater goal, blood must be spilled since it is not as worthy as the blood of the own nation.

Like in the Turner Diaries (MacDonald, 1978), Breivik describes attack plans that are supposed to wake up the world. He speaks of various strategies, namely: shock attacks, sabotage operations and manipulative proxy attacks. For a shock attack, Breivik recommends annual gatherings of



Figure 47. “Manifesto promo Photo: Breivik making bombs in knights templar icon adorned suit” (Berwick, 2011)

large political parties, festivals and conferences, which are easily accessible than the well protected “*arch traitors*”. Any place where a large group of Marxists gather makes up for a good target due to a high impact and many victims according to Breivik. “*It is much more rational and pragmatism to focus on the easier unprotected targets instead of sacrificing good men on an impossible target.* (Berwick, 2011, p. 948)” He even describes the value of having survivors and what weapons to use for maximum impact, like flame throwers and grenades. “A severely burned category A or B traitor will in reality become a living symbol of what awaits individuals guilty of trying to sell their own people into Islamic slavery. (Berwick, 2011, p. 948)” He continues with ways to obtain

the means for such an attack and even the format for an anthrax letter to be send. When it comes to sabotage tactics, Breivik describes the best targets for this to reach maximum damage and thus impact on society. The countries with the highest priority are the most likely and best targets for these operations. It includes a full description of how to make your own explosives and what

materials one would need, but also how to safely work on this, avoiding attention from the authorities. Targets are capital cities, energy plants and particularly interesting are nuclear plants. An explosion of the magnitude of Chernobyl is most effective according to Breivik, which he calls "Operation Regime Ender". The impact of sabotaging a nuclear power plant would be of such magnitude, that it would end the existing regime. This is the operation that will take place when the cultural-Marxist regime ignores the demands of Breivik's movement. Then a team of Justicar Knights will have to undertake a mission in which they most likely will perish for the greater good and destroy the regime. What Breivik intends with the manipulative proxy attacks is an empty chapter. He merely mentions: "Involves all devastating attacks against Muslim groups with the purpose of provoking a collective response or manipulate individual Muslims to choose the path of Jihad. (Berwick, 2011, p. 1069)" The compendium thus provides all followers with all the information they need. They are holy warriors and must be willing to die for the cause. If the operation fails utterly, he has a last line of advice for his fellow knights. "If completely surrounded, take a hostage. If you are badly hurt and unable to make a last push, then use your cyanide capsule. (Berwick, 2011, p. 928)"

Breivik sees himself as the one who will sound the horn for the start of his holy war. He therefore instructs his followers well. He warns them that they will be labelled as mad, lost figures instead of resistance fighters that they are. Good marketing is a key ingredient to success he writes and also describes how to do a good photo shoot (something that is considered very important in black metal culture as well). Even in death, the right protocols must be observed to honour and establish fallen brothers as martyrs for their cause. The designs of the tombstones are even described in detail. When the Justicar Knight will have to appear in court, Breivik has also prepared his statements for him. Everything is prepared, thus anyone who finds the cause of Breivik appealing can join. Breivik himself will go first onto the breach. A large section of his manifest describes the days leading up to the 22nd of July 2011, the day when words became action. On the last pages he even jokes about his project where mostly he writes in a cold, businesslike way. He added sections up to the 22nd, when he e-mailed his document to over a thousand addresses. His last words in his manifest are: "The old saying; "if you want something done, then do it yourself" is as relevant now as it was then. More than one "chef" does not mean that you will do tasks twice as fast. In many cases; you could do it all yourself, it will just take a little more time. AND, without taking unacceptable risks. The conclusion is undeniable. I believe this will be my last entry. It is now Fri July 22nd, 12.51. (Berwick, 2011, p. 1472)"

At 15.26 in Oslo a bomb explodes, that killed 8 people. The man who placed the van on this location quickly fled the scene. Oslo turned out to be merely a diversion.

At 16.57 Anders Behring Breivik takes the Ferry to Utøya.

At 17.26 there are shots reported on the island. A shooting spree of an hour ensues; quickly a SWAT team is dispatched.

At 18.27 Breivik surrenders to the police. In total he had killed 69 people and wounded several more.

(‘Timeline: How Norway’s terror attacks unfolded ,2012)

During the acts, Breivik apparently listened to music on his iPod. “Snortheimsmoen (leader of the delta squad that arrested Breivik) says that after the arrest the police found an iPod music player on Breivik. Just as he predicted in his manifesto, he had apparently listened to music while shooting his victims (Becker et al., 2011)”. It’s not clear what Breivik had been listening to during the brutal murders on Utøya. It might be ‘Lux Aeterna’, by Clint Mansell. A song he likes so much that he suggests it as the song that should be the anthem for his armed forces to fight the traitors of Europe and Islam. “I can’t possibly imagine how my state of mind will be during the time of the operation, though. It will be during a steroid cycle and on top of that; during an ephedrine rush, which will increase my aggressiveness, physical performance and mental focus with at least 50-60% but possibly up to 100%. In addition, I will put my iPod on max volume as a tool to suppress fear if needed. I might just put Lux Aeterna by Clint Mansell on repeat as it is an incredibly powerful song. (Berwick, 2011, p. 1344)” The song, ironically, is one of the key songs from the movie “Lord of the Rings”, based on the work of Tolkien (2005). Peculiar, since this is also the great inspiration for Varg Vikernes in his acts and ideology. The world view of Tolkien’s fantasy world also finds it place in the ideas of Breivik.

Conclusion: The Aftermath

"Here I stand. I can do no other"

Often these words have been ascribed to Martin Luther. Although unclear if this is true, this very much captures the spirit in which Anders Breivik committed his atrocious acts. He himself has called the acts “*atrocious, but necessary*” (‘Profile: Anders Behring Breivik’, 2012). What we have here is a man that saw only one path ahead of himself, who took up the sword to fight for the nation and race, make the sacrifice for a higher goal. This fits him right in with the Occidentalism of Margalit & Buruma (2005). He sees the west as it is, as a weak unity, devoid of values and ideals that he claims to have as a Justicar Knight. Breivik is a nationalist in the same line as the ones that plunged Europe into war, like Gavrilo Princip in 1914. By pulling the trigger, he

launched an era of war that the world had not seen before (Hobsbawn, 1996). Breivik did not do this because he wanted to. He did, because he felt he had to. “Breivik's violent acts were intended as a wake-up call to Europe, as an attempt to ignite a European civil war. This civil war is directed not (just) at Europe's visible minorities. (Bachman et al, 2012, p. 192)” In court Breivik made clear he wished to be declared sane and would accept the judgment of the court. He remains calm when his acts are described and refuses to apologize for the deaths on the island, since it was the summer camp of a political movement that furthers the Marxist plan according to him. “Breivik said the compilers of the report had no experience in dealing with political extremists and, because they had spoken to him so soon after the attacks, they themselves were still in shock.

(‘Anders Behring Breivik trial: Day by day’, 2012)”



Figure 48. “Breivik makes an extremist salute in court. There are no regrets on his face” (The Week, 2011)

“Breivik’s case shows the danger of the virulent anti-Muslim rhetoric that sometimes pollutes the political discourse in the West. Written in self-justifying terms that distance it from racism and Islamophobia and portrayed as a defense of a European identity that is being subsumed by waves of Muslim immigrants, it nevertheless is clearly open to different interpretations if they are sought. (Pantucci, 2011b, p. 40)”

Breivik only shows any sign of emotion when he can deliver his statements, which turn into political speeches according to the description of these. He claims to not be guilty of any criminal acts, but merely acting in self defense. He has told the court that only two results can come from this case. He should be acquitted for his acts, or be given the death penalty. “Breivik showed no emotion as harrowing details of how he killed and injured his victims were read out, but later wiped away tears as the court was shown a video he made about multiculturalism prior to the attacks. (‘Anders Behring Breivik trial: Day by day’, 2012)” Breivik lives out his own plans and shows thereby others the impact they could make. They can hardly stop, only by censorship and limiting the freedom of speech they can be prevented to make such an impact as Anders Breivik has done. “While stamping out such ideas and thoughts is going to be impossible, currently in some European countries, such ideas have been allowed to slowly move into the mainstream with little confrontation from established political entities. More effort could be expended to confront such ideas and prevent them being mainstreamed. The result otherwise is likely to be more Lone

Wolf attacks in the future with a few managing to get through with results as spectacular and tragic as *Anders Behring Breivik's*. (Pantucci, 2011b, p. 40)”

“I prayed for the first time in a very long time today. I explained to God that unless he wanted the Marxist-Islamic alliance and the certain Islamic takeover of Europe to completely annihilate European Christendom within the next hundred years he must ensure that the warriors fighting for the preservation of European Christendom prevail. He must ensure that I succeed with my mission and as such; contribute to inspire thousands of other revolutionary conservatives/nationalists; anti-Communists and anti-Islamists throughout the European world.” (Berwick, 2011, p. 1458)” Breivik fits the description of Lévy and is convinced that he can better the world through his actions, he feels he therefore must do it. He can't stand by and watch while the world burns down further and all good things wither. Breivik is nothing new; he's just the latest in the long struggle that Europe has experienced between rational and romantic, which has lasted since the Enlightenment. With works like his 2083 - A European Declaration of Independence the ideas of Breivik and the likes become very real. It may be yet his primary terrorist act to share this work with the dark underground of racist politics, giving them the means to fight their holy war. It remains to be seen how big its impact may be (Bachman et al, 2012).

Conclusion

“Peace between man and God is the well-ordered obedience of faith to eternal law. Peace between man and man is well-ordered concord. Domestic peace is well-ordered concord between those of the family who rule and those who obey. Civil peace is a similar concord among the citizens. (Augustine, 2009, p. 515)”

Saint Augustine writes about the City of God and the City of Men in the fifth century A.D., a work that became one of the pillars of western society. Life on earth is just temporary, where life in heaven is eternal and this is the life we should aim for. Life on Earth thus becomes life under the rule of God, the City of God is more important than the City of Man and with this the absolute is established as giving mankind its own playfield with an unattainable good and evil and the threat of damnation. Koselleck (1988) writes how absolutism, which is based on the rule of the divine, brought about peace in its final phase. There was relative peace in Europe, harmony under the rule of God. The Enlightenment however did away with God; it renounced God and his divine servants on earth and replaced it with the rule of man. Mankind was now free to find its destiny, their own path towards whatever reign they would see fit and righteous. It seems mankind was never ready for what it saw when looking at the world in this way. The overwhelming power of nature and the lack of comfort from a God have made mankind seek new protectors, of which one is nationalism.

We have seen how the Enlightenment brought forward a new philosophy. Thinkers of this time and age believed the world knowable through rationalism and criticism. The rational mind brought forward ideas of universalism, of a world united. This is a new outlook and the idea of a perpetual peace is forged by Immanuel Kant (1917). A peace between the nations established on universal values, values that all could adhere to. There is nothing magical or divine about this, it's based on the idea that the natural state of warfare is not healthy for mankind. Based on principles unity can be established. The other idea that is born is of a more romantic origin that of nationalism grounded in the theoretical work of Herder. Nationalism has not drawn much philosophical backup in its time and relies on a more localized form of unities. It speaks of a union based on the natural cohesion of nations, peoples that are bound together by similar traits in the form of language, culture or ethnicity (Hobsbawn, 2008). It distinguishes man from each other and creates a dichotomy between a conceptual 'us and them'. Herder suggested that every nation should be free to live as it pleased according to its own customs and morals. The base of this idea is that there is a difference between men. Many thinkers have tried to forge unity out of the

nation-state and fit it in with a certain unity of nations, with the purpose of creating peace. This is what Kant (1917) does, but also other thinkers like Mazzini (2009). Even writer T.S. Eliot (1948) saw possibilities that the nation state would offer on the level of equality and unity.

The reality is, however, that the nation-state and its romantic form of nationalistic thought have plunged Europe into war. Perpetual war not peace became the fate of post-Enlightenment Europe. The liberty that mankind suddenly gained was too much and has put man between chaos and order as the one in charge. In the name of order, much evil has been committed throughout history according to Safranski to tame the Evil that liberty brings. Without God as a guiding principle, there is Evil around us that must be caged (Safranski, 1998). This struggle between reason and romanticism with the liberty of mankind has demonstrated itself in war. The absolute peak of this was the Second World War, where the holocaust was the ultimate attempt at finding order, of purifying and healing the German nation from the diseases it faced. Both movements of rationalism and romanticism are in the end looking for peace, but for one this is universal, for the other only for the self, the us, the nation. The nation is placed above all. Adolf Hitler didn't fight his war for sake of war, but for peace. "Only he who has experienced in his own inner life what it means to be German and yet to be denied the right of belonging to his fatherland can appreciate the profound nostalgia which that enforced exile causes. It is a perpetual heartache, and there is no place for joy and contentment until the doors of paternal home are thrown open and all those through whose veins kindred blood is flowing will find peace and rest in their common Reich. (Hitler, 1939, p. 107)" There is no peace for the nation. As long as there is the other, the nation will not have its peace and pure blood. This lies at the very core of the problem we face in Europe.

What does black metal tell us about the resurgence of nationalist politics and racial violence that emerges under pressure of the European Union and what is the underlying cause of these sentiments?

This is the question I started out with, down two paths all the way up to Varg Vikernes and Anders Behring Breivik, committing violent actions in the name of the nation. I will here sum up the paths I've gone down and what I found at the end of them.

The Enlightenment

Even though the Enlightenment didn't bring about the universal peace, it did bring about the nation which was governed by rational principles of democracy, equality and liberty in one way or another. However, the nationalism at its core has always remained struggling with the rational principles and leading to great and bloody war. After the Second World War, the wish for peace was stronger than ever and gave way to the European Union shaping up. This is a totally new

form of unity, replacing the nation-state with a unity based on principles instead of the vague notions that nationalism embraces. Language, religion, culture and ethnicity are rarely binding within the nation. Examples are plentiful in Europe, such as Belgium with two languages (even three if one adds the German speaking minority). Hobsbawm mentions Albania, with various religions (2008). Ethnicities are plentiful in Europe and they sometimes fall under different states, sometimes they are a minority within a state and sometimes even they don't have a nation-state that they are part of at all. In Latvia one can find a small ethnicity of Livs, who speak a different language, are of a different ethnicity and have a totally different culture (Ģērmanis, 2007). Nationalism has showed us how the nation deals with this, with what becomes an anomaly within its 'imagined community' (Anderson, 2006). It is simply imagined, because it doesn't form a coherent unity, it has been generated from an idea, a wish to create unity. The European Union fulfills the promise of the Enlightenment in that sense that it works without this limitation of the romantic fantasy of the nation, which has and still is deeply embedded in European thought.

“Justice being taken away, then, what are kingdoms but great robberies? For what are robberies themselves but little kingdoms? (Augustine, 2009, p. 88)”

Where the nation was intended to replace the void that was left by the absolute ruler, who gave meaning and unity by divine right, it has only become a bigger problem and caused merely more and more strife between the people of Europe giving way to totalitarianism and violent acts against humanity in the name of these greater goals. However, the rational boundaries by which Europe's nations created order within their own state borders has always been limiting, it always stopped excesses from taking place and kept society in check. Already during the time of the Enlightenment, romantic thought found its way out, struggling against these borders, in the form of transgressive art, of which De Sade (1990) probably is the most famous example. The more rationalism, the greater the need for transgression it seems, as an expression of that romantic sentiment. Ever since the European Union started taking shape, art has taken up more transgressive paths, tugging and moving the limits society puts on us by the years and stretching the acceptable to its limits. Here we come to the modern time, to heavy metal music, which starts using transgression as an element in its art form, a sign of protest which according to theorists remains affirmative of society. I've looked at the writings of Bataille (1986), Bakhtin (1984) and Foucault (1977) on this subject. I must add Kristeva (1982) for this as well, for she shows how important the abject is for transgression. Something that is heavily present in the black metal music scene. Romanticism is transgressive, because it denies rational thought, it embraces the passion, the violent, and that which is outside of the sphere of Europe. It wishes to be stronger, to be more and to use whatever means for its purposes. Where rationalist universalism tells us to act

in an always valid way, to find a path that serves all, like the European Union does, the romantic view does not regard the other as equal or part of the process, it only regards the importance of the self. The limits that are set are hindrances for it achieving greatness, it must protect itself and transgressing those boundaries is a necessary act. It must be done for the greater good of the nation. Europe only made the need for acts, for the expression of the romantic violence and nationalism, more urgent. Equality brings about chaos, the chaos of democracy, which muddles with the order of the nation and even though through rationalist eyes, this is universal peace, for the romantic view it is chaos that must be brought back to order. There are no limits to hold them from fulfilling this purpose.

Black metal

Black metal is an exponent of these romantic views. Art is always involved in society and that which it is struggling with. Metal is always at those limits, always transgressing them to give way to rebellious, romantic feelings. It incorporates the forbidden fruits of nihilism, Satanism and nationalism as elements of protest at first. Metal forms itself as a genre that becomes typically more than just music, it is a scene, a communal feeling based on aesthetics that are shared and inherent values and codes of conduct. It plays with the mystical and mythical, with feelings of empowerment and creating identity for oneself. From its early days on metal incorporates those romantic elements in its themes and lyrics. Nihilism represents the loss of faith in society that only really surfaces when identity becomes something vague in Europe, it's the loss of something to hold on to, very much part of the postmodern condition that the whole white racial movement suffers from. There is a loss of identity that is hard to overcome, so a search starts in the past, in religion, in ethnicity, culture and all those things that make up the nationalistic identity. Satanism as an ideology expresses an idea of inequality, the idea that some people are stronger and better than others. Some people are born to be slaves, some to be king is in essence what it boils down to. This is very strongly present in black metal ideology, where an identity surfaces of dark lords that oppose the weak society of rational Europe. Nationalism is simply the identity giver of this opposition.

Black metal deduces all these elements from the genres development, where the scene-based characteristics of the closed metal community provide the identity weaving pattern inherent to how this scene shapes itself. Metal itself has that strong empowerment in it, it is powerful, heavy music that quickly and easily incorporates the satanic message in it. Satan is merely a representation of the opposing concept, we do not have to take it as a literal entity, the opposition that offers that us and them dichotomy I've already mentioned as a typical romantic feature. Nationalism is merely that which gives shape to the identity, it makes it concrete. In the broader

extremist movement we see all sorts of identities that all seem to boil down to white supremacy (though Gardell points out that the black supremacy movement incorporate similar identities (2003)). All forms of extremist ideology embrace the opposing ideals of that which forms society. This ranges from the pagan past to radical Christianity and even Hitler's national-socialism (which hardly finds any public support). These ideals don't adhere to the limits reason sets in society. They believe that violence is necessary to retain the pureness, the nobleness of a chosen people.

Heavy metal has incorporated transgression in its art form. It goes to extremes in stage performance, sonic dimensions and discursive elements, crossing over the lines that society sets, usually to confirm their existence. When metal splits into a mainstream form and an underground form, transgression takes form. This is similar in the extremist movement that is forced underground partly, the other side taking on a political path within mainstream politics; eventually leading up to the populism that takes shape at the turn of the millennium. Extreme underground metal displays the carnivalesque of Bakhtin (1984), the other worldliness, the strange and obscene. The excessive and the violence that Bataille (1986) writes about is also very much part of its culture. It crosses over the limits into the domain of the scary and frightening, the shocking and the extreme. Particularly in death metal, the abject is revered. Kristeva mentions the abject as a transgressive form (1977). Violence, gore and death are part of the discourse in death metal. Black metal makes itself into the abject, the dead and rotting, the outer worldly. Transgression is nowhere as extreme as in this genre. The extreme movement is also transgressing the boundaries of society with terrorist acts and lone wolf actions, it seeks its identity outside of the rational world, in an obscure past. Like the nation, it shapes its identity based on an obscurantist notion of history, picking whatever fits and works and turning this into truth. Black metal culture takes a similar turn. It uses the characteristics of the music scene to turn it into a tight unity with own views and ideals. The people involved become a dark group of people that is labeled the Black Circle. Violent, transgressive acts are being committed against what they consider the enemy: Christianity. Churches burn down, shocking graffiti messages appear and grave sites are disturbed. Then murders take place. This takes place in Norway, the country where we have witnessed both paths ending up in Europe in the extreme ideologies and acts of Anders Behring Breivik and Varg Vikernes.

The Manicheistic World of Vikernes and Breivik

Where Vikernes is the most extreme figure in the black metal movement, Breivik currently scores very high in the general extremist movement. Vikernes was incarcerated almost 20 years before though, but his ideology and that of Breivik show many similarities. The answer to the question

can be found in this comparison, though the development towards this point first had to be described to see the origin of these ideas and even though they have their differences, it helps to understand why they are still very similar and how this perennial struggle between reason and romance has put them on edge. In a Europe that lays down the rationalistic unity without those things that we have considered as part of our identity for so long, they feel like what they lose in this is very precious. They have to act in order to prevent it from occurring.

At the core of the ideology of both figures is that loss of identity, for which they both blame multiculturalism, allowed by the weak democracy and the European Union that wants to merge everything together. The organic, natural view of nationalism is shared by both and this natural whole is tainted by the streams of immigrants and strangers that appear in Europe and also in their already quite nationalistic, isolated country of Norway. Himmler (2004) spoke words that ring through in those of Breivik and Vikernes. "I will never see it happen, that even one bit of putrefaction comes in contact with us, or takes root in us. On the contrary, where it might try to take root, we will burn it out together. But altogether we can say: We have carried out this most difficult task for the love of our people. And we have taken on no defect within us, in our soul, or in our character." The idea of Herder that every nation should have its own space is strongly present in the ideologies of both. They value this purity of the nation higher than anything else. To protect the nation they are both willing to perform violent acts, violence that transgresses the limits of society and the way problems are dealt with, but for them this society is weak and lacks the legitimacy of governing the nation. The principles of equality, democracy and liberty do not apply when they endanger the nation. There are however differences in how they define the nation.

Both show a strong dislike to any form of internationalism. They oppose the institutions that form the pillars of global movements like the European Union, NATO and in general every multinational that represents capitalism. For Vikernes capitalism is something that takes away local identity and tries to poison us with its virus. He particularly mentions his hatred for McDonalds as something invasive that must be opposed. Again we can see the body metaphor here, where the food is the poison that enters the body. Breivik sees it more in consumerism and sexual liberty, in immigration to benefit the capitalist companies that only value greed and not the nation. He regards capitalism as a driving force in the breakdown of Western societies. This is something they both believe in. Equality for all people is not something both believe in at all. They are firm believers in differences between races. Breivik opposes Islam based on religion, for Vikernes it is entirely racial. Religion is the point they differ on, but they see 'the other', then non-Aryan races as threatening to their own. They believe firmly that their race is noble and better

and should be protected. The other is lesser in physical development, in morality, in intelligence and in individuality.

For Vikernes the difference is religion. He considers Christianity a weak outlet of a slave mentality. Christianity is open to all and has eaten away all European individual cultures and is one of those institutions of globalization that he fights. He traces the nation all the way to the Viking age through a view of historic obscurantism. Breivik has trouble letting go of his Christianity and though having great appreciation for the pagan past, refers to himself as Christian. He distances himself from the weak church institution and invents a Christian warrior order for this purpose. Both embrace a warrior mentality here, a mentality of one that rises above others. They denounce history as we know it as a falsification in order to enforce this multicultural, Marxist Europe that weakens the nation and infests the noble man with its disease.

Democracy is a ruling principle based on equality and therefore it does not do justice to the nation. The warrior ideal combined with the firm political direction radically opposes the system of the European Union. This Union where all voices are heard, where limits are set and all have equal rights. For these figures this is not something that works. People who adhere to this system are for Breivik traitors and his violent attacks were not on the perceived Muslim enemy, but on youths that embrace the democratic principles. Vikernes had similar plans to attack socialists and the Norwegian government. They believe in a strong leadership, in action and violence for that greater goal. Anything must be done to prevent the taint. Those who believe in the democracy and the rational multiculturalism are already lost to the cause. An opinion that is not unfamiliar or even characteristic for totalitarian rule. “With their erosion and the collapse of state communist regimes, the floodgates against right-wing extremism (never entirely closed during the often violent decolonizations and ideological polarizations of the 1940s & 1970s) came crashing open. (Bachman et al, 2012, p.192)” The move of Breivik and Vikernes to action is prompted by the idea that they have to act for this greater goal. The nation is more important than the individual and his desires.

Lévy (2008) shows in his work the pillars of totalitarianism. At its core lies the idea of a dialectic history that is leading up to the point where the nation rises to glory, the belief that it is predetermined for the nation to become the glorious peak of humanity. In the European Union and the democratic states of Europe, the limits of society are defined by its own constitution; it limits itself to keep itself in order. For totalitarian rule, limits no longer apply. The absolute good is within reach and the striving goal for the nation. If absolute good is present, than there is also absolute good, but in totalitarianism nothing is incurable. This is the idea that shines through in

the ideas of Vikernes and Breivik. In a democratic society, murder would not be the solution to a problem. In totalitarianism it is, so Vikernes believes that every Norwegian is worth the life of many foreigners. If killing a thousand for the life of one would help, he admits he will. Breivik sees no problem in killing dozens of traitors to the nation. The limits of democracy do not apply, so they seek to transgress these, though they believe their transgressions are righteous. Liberty as a final principle is also a false value. If liberty means the liberty to do what one pleases, to fulfill ones hedonistic pleasures, than this is false because the race, the nation always has to come first. The ideas of Vikernes and Breivik are also rather conservative. They believe in a patriarchal society, where the woman should be obedient and remain pure. They both have a great dislike towards feminism and sexual liberties. This brought me to the work of Theweleit (1987) and the fear of women that the militant Freikorpses in the interbellum expressed. The female almost becomes the metaphor of Europe, spreading her legs and letting anyone in, letting the disease into the body in a physical sense. This becomes very literal when Breivik describes the sexual diseases his family members are victim of. It is the feminine weakness that makes them whores that let the other in, like Europe is a whore to the Islam hordes. Also this is no new idea, as is clear from Theweleits views. Adolf Hitler expressed the same sentiments as well. Liberty is not a value that can be considered part of the views. Limiting liberties is no problem in favor of the greater goal.

So Breivik commits acts that transgress the limits of society in pursuit of his ideals. What part does black metal have to play in those transgressions? In black metal transgression takes place on a permanent basis. It's the ultimate form of transgressive arts, but instead of crossing over the boundary to cross it over again returning to it, it stands on the other side refusing to step back. It denounces society and will not affirm it. The art becomes life and not merely an excess to fulfill hedonistic needs, it becomes an expression of a way of life that is essential. The romantic ideology takes over.

But nothing more remained. because black metal died.

Gone the days of pure underground. of spirit, pain and fire.

So listen to your heart, what black metal means to you.

You're weak destroy yourself. you're from old days remember his corpse.

So I summon the old warriors. that we shall begin.

To kill the false and hate one to satisfy our hate.

- Possessed By Black Fucking Metal, (Nargaroth, 2001)

In these lyrics the band Nargaroth expresses a nostalgic and romantic view of the black metal scene itself. It glorifies the dark days in the early nineties like so many other bands do. Black metal no longer wants to be part of what is our established world, it wants a new order.

Transgression becomes the notion Foucault (1977) gives to it as a biblical form, where one crosses over the boundary. Traditionally, this would be to return, and reaffirm society as it is (Bakhtin, 1884, Bataille, 1986), but transgression is letting go of these borders, it wants these borders gone so whatever must be done can be done. Originally metal was society-affirming and hedonistic, but its development triggered a movement so far out and close to the borders of that society, that escape seems a reality. Black metal glorifies war, death, purity and in the end the past. The lyrics are filled with references to seeking truth, finding keys and unlocking gates. Escaping this society that is deemed weak and not fulfilling the sense musicians have.

So in their own way, both Vikernes and Breivik oppose society as it is. They are expressions of the romantic side of our human thought that has been part of the struggle for mankind for finding its place in the world since the Enlightenment. Vikernes mainly expressed these feelings in his art. We can see his church burnings as an extension of the discours he adheres to, since there was never a direct physical assault on a person, merely the symbolic statement of the church burning. He has written much songs and texts on his ideals. The murder of fellow band member Euronymous is not necessarily directly to be linked to this discours, though it does show that the limits of rational society mean very little to him. He feels it was a righteous act out of self defense, in a society where the strongest survive. Breivik has relied much on texts of other extremists, extremists who were already known to not hesitate to transgress the rational limits in pursuit of their purposes. His acts are nothing new and are not those of an insane man, but one with values radically opposed to those we uphold in Europe.

The political awareness of Varg Vikernes starts with his interpretation of *The Lord of the Rings* (2005) by J.R.R. Tolkien. A world of light and dark, of good and evil, of east and west, like in the work of Buruma and Margalit (2004). The theme keeps recurring in his writings and the book seems to have had a really deep impact on the young Vikernes. For him the nation is good and the other is evil. It tries to corrupt, to break and bend the pure to its will. He has to fight this evil, we all have to fight this to retain our former glory as the supreme Aryan race. For this purpose he reshapes history to his own image, he becomes that totalitarian aiming for the absolute. His worldview is purely manicheistic, like that of Breivik. Anders Behring Breivik listened to the music that accompanied the film of *The Lord of the Rings*. He played online role playing games, like Vikernes did in his time, that display the same worlds of good and evil. He also upholds the view of the righteous, the good versus the evil and corrupt. This is where they greatly differ and

oppose Europe, which hears a plurality of voices and opinions, not one great narrative. It tries to find common ground and a path that applies the best to all wishes. It's the rational opposed to the romantic view on the world. This is also why Europe will not shut them up in the sense they would shut the ones up that disagree with their views. Europe is the sum of its components, even those that oppose it. It will try to unite all views, where the likes of Vikernes and Breivik would rather annihilate all opposition.

Crisis

What we see is that Vikernes and Breivik are similar in their transgressive, nationalist politics, even though their outlook differs. This is also evident from what we've gathered in the white supremacist movement, which consists of countless splinter groups (Gardell, 2003, Goodrick-Clarke, 2003). Their belief is in a greater goal and a greater good, in racial separation and pure blood. Vikernes has expressed that he does not support the acts of Breivik, killing members of the nation. He believes that first the battle must be won and then the traitors can be executed. Even though he distances himself from Breivik he agrees with the act and calls the victims cowards. They are not the warriors of old Norse myth. They are the weak product of a weak union and infected by the other. This view of new nationalism has re-emerged in all of Europe. Nationalism is not ashamed to use the old symbols again and take up arms. As soon as the European Union pushes forward and becomes more present, nationalism will strike back. So to answer the question, what can we learn about this crisis from black metal?

Black metal is a product of a cultural expression that has always been pushed further and further away from the mainstream, trying to set itself apart from that which was outside the metal scene. When metal becomes mainstream, like the rationalist union, black metal became more extreme and more underground. Still, big companies have tried to make money of the scene; in fact black metal is nowadays Norway's biggest cultural export product (Dunn, 2005). So at some point the limits of society are stretched to the point where they might snap. There is no further to go, so the limit is crossed and one finds out where this is as Foucault (1977) describes. Transgression shows the limits of society and how to cross them. Now, transgression in extreme metal crosses this line and back to reaffirm society but also confirming the unity of the scene itself, shaping it, giving it opposition to the society. Metal culture is part of society, but has always set itself apart in an attempt to give expression to its own ideals of opposition. When it can no longer do that, it has continuously moved on to more extreme forms. What becomes clear however is that the limit is merely perceived. Like the community that is imagined, the community imagines its limits one could say. When realized that the limits don't really matter, they are there by convention. When enough disagree with those conventions, they start pushing the boundaries until they cross over

and this is what black metal did. Its commercial success shows us that capitalism and globalization can pretty much master anything, so Varg Vikernes pushes on further than that. Black metal shows us something valuable. It shows us the importance of identity that is taken away by the rational universal ideals that are expressed by globalization and the European Union. Mankind needs identity to hold on to, something to give meaning and purpose. Nationalism is the only concrete form that we have known since the Enlightenment. Metal is also part of an identity, when this becomes mainstream, it loses its value, it becomes empty. The same happens to the Norwegian identity under pressure of multiculturalism. Vikernes tries to take back that identity with his music, which he calls Scaldic metal, referring to the old Viking scalds. If Europe wants to find peace within its borders, it has to find a way to combine the rational and the romantic. It appears to be a part of the soul of Europe. If pressured hard and long enough, it strikes back, like Breivik did on an island in Norway. Not because he wants to or because he is a madman, but because he feels he has to. Vikernes and Breivik, like Adolf Hitler in his time, are men who feel they stand with their backs against the wall. They feel that they can do no other.

The ideologies of nationalism and white racism are tainted by a belief in a past that has never existed. They construct with the elements of history that fit a community, a union that feels strong to them. Based on features that put them apart from others they form nations or the racial unity of white revolutionaries. Language, ethnicity and culture make up for the nationalism that Herder described, though they seem flawed demarcation principles (Hobsbawn, 2008). There are so many errors in this view. Nonetheless, the community is imagined anyway as historically defined. It is invented in the absence of a guiding principle for the state after the Revolution (Koselleck, 1988). However likely the nation may seem, it remains an imagined community (Anderson, 2006). Its base on language, ethnicity and culture rarely is free of other influences and hardly defines it as 'other' towards different nations. The border that is drawn up between nations is imagined, it does not define anything that is real in the world. Europe is passing this by, it is becoming a new form of union that is based on an ideology that is shaped by all participants and its borders are where it's ideals and law stops. Europe will have to find a way to synthesize the opposing views that exist within its boundaries instead of merely push on from its rationalistic ideals. There is a side to us that needs that romantic gesture, the sense of empowerment that we find in art. Black metal shows us how terribly important this expression can be and the despair that comes when this loses its value.

Anders Behring Breivik, Varg Vikernes and their predecessors are not insane. They are merely those who hold on to a view opposed to that of the rational European Union. This does not make them irrational. They act in accordance with a different ground assumption of the nation as a

coherent, natural unity. They defy the universal principles, because they firmly believe that the self and the other differ. The views of equality, democracy and liberty seem false when one believes in the values of nationalism. It defies the generalizing principles of universalism, like black metal defies mainstream pop music. It defies the society we live in and radically opposes that which to their mind opposes them. They live in a world that is different than ours, a world of black and white, of forces of good that are threatened by forces of evil. Their ideals are formed to bring order to the post-Enlightenment chaos that the universe unleashed upon mankind.

Varg Vikernes steps further away from rationality in his writings, his art and his words. He opposes society and seeks for the key to a gate that opens to outside, outside the boundaries that society sets for him and his ideals that he wishes to see fulfilled. Anders Breivik steps over those limits, he acts as judge, jury and executioner and coldly kills the people he has considered traitors. They are however, no unique and strange figures. To them the ones who fight for the values of Europe are as insane as they appear to us. A manicheistic view of 'us' and the 'other' guides their hands. It's a view that the 'we' is good and the other is bad or even 'evil'. Nietzsche translated this as resentment, the other is bad because we are good (1998). The noble man would not suffer from this resentment, this poison that the other puts into our veins. The likes of Vikernes and Breivik believe this, they aim to become the noble man, the glorious superman that dominates others and has rid himself of the outside influence of the other. Who rises above and becomes superior and thus noble, no longer repressed and poisoned by the other, cured. If subjugation is not possible, than the disease must be cut out.

The worldview that Vikernes and the black metal scene displays, the view that Breivik acts to, is that of a manicheistic world where good fights evil, because evil wishes to take away that which belongs to the good. Vikernes and Breivik live in a world that is like that of Tolkien (2005). A world where good is pressed to its absolute limit and must strike against evil or perish under its weight. It is not the view of a rational world, where all voices have value, it's the view that the other can never be equal to the self and must be purged. If evil must be done, if Vikernes must be the lord Sauron of darkness instead to gain this tranquil world of order and white superiority, free of resentment, then so be it. Black metal shows us that this idea still persists and is deeply embedded in society; it shows us merely the tip of deeply lying roots. Anders Behring Breivik is made the world see what was ignored. He didn't show us the perceived threat of Islam and its collaborators; he showed us that the romantic nationalism has a place in the body of Europe. The perennial struggle between ratio and romanticism persists.

End.

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