Nazism and Neo-Nazism in Film and Media

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Questions over race and nationhood are more widely exemplified when globalization is explored. A good example of this is in India, where the Hindu nationalist Bharatiya Janata Party describes the race of ‘Aryans’ as indigenous. This then constructs those who are Muslims as aliens. The relationship between Nazism, neo-Nazism and globalization is multifaceted, with the original Nazis having to make a series of international treaties, but the far right in general is anti-internationalism. Those with neo-Nazi beliefs who may have been in isolation are now through new social media platforms part of a global network that transcends class and country. In Germany, there is a new generation of Nazis, known as *Kravatennazis*, literally translated as 'Tie Nazis'. They are well dressed and middle-class professionals, not the clichéd skinhead. Globally, neo-Nazis appear to emphasize smart clothes and education, to suggest they are part of the establishment.

Poet Michael Rosen writes in his poem ‘Fascism: I Sometimes Fear ...’ that fascism works by normalizing itself, by being your friend, protecting your job, your house, taking away 'anything you feel is unlike you'. What he fears is that, 'people think that fascism arrives in fancy dress/worn by grotesques and monsters/as played out in endless re-runs of the Nazis'. Sartorially astute neo-Nazis are no more international in scope, seeing globalization as destructive because it is working against national pride. The Immortals believe that Germany is for the Germans, and it is positively anti-globalization. This group attempts to recruit from the upper classes, seeing any concession to immigration as a weakness. A simple question for those seeking to have their homeland for a select group of people is: Can we go back to a pre-globalization period, or is this just fantasy? As Britain is learning with Brexit, any restriction of the movement of people into the UK may also restrict the movement out of the UK. German nationalists speak the same language as British nationalists. They believe they have become second-class citizens.

Across the world the beliefs, language and symbolism of neo-Nazism has seeped into numerous movements, including: Pegida in Germany; the Greek Golden Dawn movement, which has adopted a swastika-style logo and neo-Nazi forms of violence; in the Ukraine, the Azov Battalion has fought under a banner with a swastika-style logo; in Hungary, the Jobbik...
Party was ultra-nationalist. A range of countries in Asia, Africa, and Latin America are surveyed here, including Taiwan, Mongolia, Malaysia, Turkey, Namibia, Sweden, and Peru, indicating the scope of the global nature of neo-Nazism. We shall explore the world of the Nazi hunter which has taken people all over the globe, especially to Latin America. Some examples are more influential than others, both in their size locally, and also in their international influence.

The Grey Wolves (Ülkü Ocakları) in Turkey have had a wide impact, their breadth of support a good example of how neo-Nazi beliefs can take hold, leading to extreme violence across traditional borders. Their success illustrates how those right-wing groups calling for a curb on migration have actually been successful due to migration. This group is not the only one where there is a significant incongruity between the ideology and the reality. The transnational scope of Nazism and neo-Nazism, especially through the media, has been highlighted so this should not be surprising. The fact that Nazism has fed into a variety of forms via neo-Nazism in different cultures and times indicates that the tropes and beliefs are transferable, and go way beyond the cultural context of Germany. Even though Nazi iconography is globally recognizable given the reach of World War II with its devastation and aftermath, it is significant that there is an essence that is far more primitive than Nazism.

In terms of transnationalism, there are a number of examples. German white separatist organizations gained inspiration from American white separatist movements, which, in turn, were informed by early Nazism. Local variations on Nazism and neo-Nazism exist globally, the symbols and belief systems rebranded, often linked to national identities and a feeling of threat to local cultures, and in some countries this is linked to environmentalism. While it is still open to further analysis, Germans were indoctrinated into accepting that Jews were inferior, as were other ‘others’ for the Nazis. The Nazis played on economic interests, and gained support through denouncing Jews as the root cause of the problem. This emphasis exists in a variety of circumstances and has been used to denounce Muslims. Globally, it is no coincidence that an economic crisis has led to a rise in support for right-wing parties that are close to some of the Nazi beliefs, the central one concerning purity of the home population. Indigenous Latin Americans have constructed a narrative that the invasion of the Americas by the conquistadors was actually part of a Jewish plot, with a global conspiracy stemming from the fifteen and sixteenth centuries. This was the period when Jews were actually being driven out of countries in Europe, especially Spain.
Given the global nature of the phenomenon of Nazism and neo-Nazism, with beliefs disseminated and refashioned globally by the media, global organizations such as the United Nations have attempted to confront these issues. In 2012, the United Nations General Assembly adopted Resolution 67/154 on, ‘Glorification of Nazism: Inadmissibility of Certain Practices That Contribute to Fuelling Contemporary Forms of Racism, Racial Discrimination, Xenophobia and Related Intolerance’. The resolution focuses on concern about the glorification of the Nazi movement and the various members of the SS. The resolution goes on to point out the problems over erecting monuments and memorials and holding demonstrations glorifying the Nazi past, the Nazi movement and neo-Nazism. In not too condemnatory language it expresses concern at attempts to desecrate or demolish monuments erected in remembrance of those who fought against Nazism during the World War II, as unlawfully exhuming or removing the remains of such persons. It urges states to fully comply with their obligations under Article 34 of Additional Protocol 1 to the Geneva Conventions of 1949. There is also deep concern at attempts of commercial advertising aimed at exploiting the sufferings of the victims of war crimes and crimes against humanity committed during the World War II by the Nazi regime. But 22 countries of the European Union did not support the United Nations anti-Nazi resolution, and chose to abstain. Even Iran and Syria voted to support the anti-Nazi resolution, together with Israel and 120 other member states of the United Nations.

These attempts are noble, but there are obvious contradictions at the heart of racism and racialized discourse, and anti-racism discourse. With globalization and the potential to transgress traditional boundaries there is simultaneously the move to re-focus these boundaries, and narrowly define racial and national identities. Donald Trump was not the first leader to state that citizens must show an unwavering allegiance to their national home culture, and this involves relinquishing other identities. In Britain tests to prove citizenship were introduced, full of absurd questions highlighting that answering questions cannot prove anything. If we attempt to move beyond racism, then we need to recognize that there will be those clinging onto all sorts of beliefs and myths, including those such as, ‘biological determinism, desire for imagined cultural and biological purity, and myths about the immutable qualities of different cultures and ethnicities’. None of this is black and white. Media discourse has enabled anti-racism to paradoxically assist racial classifications, counteracting attempts to de-racialize popular culture. Terms such as ‘mixed race’ automatically assume a form of singular purity, with people always being
classified, monitored, and defined by their relationship with a ‘pure’ white centre.

Globalization has been perceived to not have benefited everyone, especially when right-wing movements, organizations, and parties construct globalization as a form of colonization that challenges the fundamentals of a society. This either/or position plays directly into the hands of those who wish to go back to a past that never actually existed. Being anti-international is actually a key policy of fascism, especially Nazism. Taiwan, for example, has the National Socialism Association (NSA). Trump angered China over his close relationships with Taiwan, and had to back down from overtly backing their independence, for fear of retaliation from China. This NSA in Taiwan is a neo-fascist political organization, founded in Taiwan in September 2006 by a female scientist, Hsu Na-chi, believing in the ideology of Nazism. The constant political struggle between the Kuomintang (Chinese Nationalist Party) and the Democratic Progressive Party dominated Taiwanese politics, and so the NSA wanted an intervention in the two-party state. The NSA was registered as a public organization under Taiwanese law in September 2006, and so neo-Nazism has been legitimized, although global knowledge of regions in Asia only occurs via the media once Western figures like Trump are involved. Countries then become pawns in a wider global political game, giving neo-Nazi groups leverage through asserting vehement nationalism against such perceived oppression.

In the Western world, it is often highlighted how Britain and America are different in their approaches to freedom of speech. The former has stricter laws than the latter. In Taiwan, the government indicates that the establishment and existence of the NSA are protected by the constitution, which guarantees freedom of speech and organization. They view Hitler as the leader of their group, being condemned by Jewish human rights groups, aware of their reification of Nazism. In Asia, these local groups appear to be a way of defending local interests against what is perceived to be colonial oppression, such as that from China. Even superpowers have used similar rhetoric, with Donald Trump attempting to remove free trade agreements under the rhetoric that America is being swamped with cheap foreign goods. Hitler had used such rhetoric during the build up to World War II, claiming that foreign powers had enforced too much of a draconian punishment on Germany through the Treaty of Versailles after World War I. This rhetoric appealed to the German people, fuelling a level of grievance that gave a powerful source to a sense of necessary justice, and gave him significant support. The Germans believed World War I was forced upon them, and that the five year fight had been a noble one. They concluded
they had been cheated by the allies over the terms of the Armistice and ‘stabbed in the back’ by the Reichsfeinde, socialists and Jews, who had used the moment to gain power.5

Blaming foreign intervention, across time and geographies, is a popular trait of fascism, in whatever form, as is condemning internationalism. Anything that goes wrong can be blamed either on an immigrant, a foreign nation or movement. This is not a trait just of fascism, however. During the world economic crisis of 2007 to 2008, British Prime Minister Gordon Brown blamed the international system, rather than his own economic policies, such as deregulation of the City of London, which allowed banks to operate without interference. This blaming of an ethereal system was one thing, but we need to consider the impact of this recession on the wider rise of neo-Nazism. Brown admitted he did not see the scale of the crisis coming, the worst financial crisis since 1980, under Margaret Thatcher, when unemployment reached an unimaginable height. In this regard, Brown’s mismanagement of the economy played a significant role in the instability to follow, making a global impact in Asia and America. Different nations and groups have learnt from each other via the globalization of the media, in terms of controlling and using the press, to support their propaganda. Given access globally to the Internet is becoming easier, ideas connected to Nazism and neo-Nazism can flow more easily in what on the surface appear divergent cultures.

It would be wrong to state that each country and time period was the same, but Hannah Arendt’s views in The Origins of Totalitarianism (1951) are enlightening in a variety of contexts. Here she explains how often the supporters of these movements are non-political people, who are seeking some form of stability, when the real situation is far more nuanced. The key to understanding totalitarianism is the ability to understand the need for rootedness amongst populations. The difference between political movements and totalitarian movements is that that latter employ violence. Arendt showed how the terror of totalitarianism concerns the removal of the human to support an idea, whatever idea that might be, and however removed it might be from reality, such as racial superiority or the march of history. Psychologically, this range of racist beliefs is not something culturally specific, although America does seem to be extreme in one area. Arendt divides camps up into three: the refugee, labour, and concentration camp. Prisons are part of this system, as is Trump’s idea of building a wall. America, where one in six African Americans will spend some time inside prison, has racism at its core.

Totalitarianism and fascism are not unique to German Nazism. In terms of globalization, none of this wider influence should be surprising, given
the preference for parochial interests. Populist support for nationalism has Trump as a role model, globally. During a march against fascism in London on 18 March 2017, a group identified as the neo-Nazi English Defence League (EDL) shouted pro-Trump slogans. The importance is in the language and terminology utilized. Trump called what he was leading a movement, not a party, focusing on the apparent alienation of the people from government. His role globally has been to unite disparate local groups like the EDL under the banner of anti-immigration and anti-Islam rhetoric. Through the constant global attention to Trump, the media have in part enabled this unification of splintered groups, and strengthened their supporters’ sense of purpose, mission and validity, pushing their beliefs even further to the centre of public discourse, globally.

Mongolia is interesting in terms of the utilization of neo-Nazism ideology, symbolism and rhetoric. It implies that Nazi and neo-Nazi beliefs can be taken and used to fit most cultures, even one that was actually persecuted by the original Nazis, just as we find examples of neo-Nazi Israelis. This suggests that the feelings behind these beliefs are ancient, and not necessarily Nazi and neo-Nazi, the latter existing as a framework and model within which to operate. Tsagaan Khas (White Swastikas) is a Mongolian neo-Nazi organization, founded by Ariunbold Altankhuum, known as Big Brother that claims to have 3,000 members. The groups mission is to preserve their national identity and while they claim to support Adolf Hitler in his ideology they dismiss the notion that they are extremist. They do not support violence, but they are self-proclaimed Nazis who support nationalism rather than fascism. They strive to stop interracial marriage and are especially against the Chinese. The group’s members dress like Nazis, making use of the Nazi greeting, utilizing all the standard signifiers, such as Nazi colours, and the Nazi eagle, identifying the swastika as an ancient Asian symbol.

Hannah Arendt noted that those that believe in totalitarianism are not necessarily the uneducated. In Asia these groups have deliberately set out to redefine themselves as not part of an uneducated sect. The White Swastikas work closely with other ultra-nationalist groups. Despite the denial, the group has been accused of promoting violence against interracial couples. Some of their music played in clubs includes lines about shooting Chinese people. If this discourse was transferred to America this could be interpreted as resistance against oppression, just as the black community need to defend themselves against white oppression. This indicates the state has been open to the free flowing of these beliefs. Yet the group claims it welcomes law-abiding visitors of all races. There is a pattern here linking neo-Nazism globally, with a simple positioning on the other all the ills of a
society, a tradition that goes all the way back to scapegoating, placing the ‘sins’ of the culture on the animal and banning it.

These groups globally relate to a threat the male population feels to their own masculinity, with sexual and gender politics at play, especially in the first example given concerning Hindus and Muslims. The group claims it is just a law enforcement body making sure Mongolian girls are not falling into prostitution and having sex with foreigners. While the use of violence cannot be condoned, there do appear to be ulterior motives for this behaviour, linked to the stated belief in local ethnic purity, but sexual tourism is a very real phenomenon. Wealthy Western tourists as well as Chinese visitors target poor Asian countries where prostitution is prolific. With regards to Mongolia, the US state department warned travellers of increased assaults on interracial couples, including violence carried out by nationalist groups.

Donald Trump’s scepticism over the impact of human behaviour on climate change is well known. Neo-Nazi groups do have a correlation with some survivalist groups, especially in America, that have turned their backs on the city, and returned to the land. There a complex relationship between nationalism, fascism, and environmentalism, often in cultures where foreign nations are perceived as seeking to exploit them. Members of the White Swastikas moved their focus from attacks on foreign men who they believed were exploiting their women, to environmental issues, rebranding themselves as an environmentalist organization, fighting pollution by foreign-owned mines. There is a deliberate focus on attempting to acquire legitimacy tied into this environmentalist agenda, through sending Swastika-wearing members to check mining permits. In an era of global austerity, following the global economic crisis, agencies, including the police, claim to be underfunded, so organizations argue they must take things into their own hands.

Behind this rhetoric concerning environmentalism, the question is whether they are actually scapegoating and attacking the innocent. Some of their behaviour is certainly extreme, such as threatening to shave the heads of women who sleep with Chinese men. Much about this group is paradoxical. Even though they claim to not support the killings the Nazis carried out, they do embrace Nazi ideology. This is difficult to understand, given that during the war captured Soviet soldiers who appeared to be Mongolian were executed by the Nazis. In England, far-right groups have attacked Eastern European migrants, who paradoxically sometimes have far-right connections themselves. Contemporary far-right groups in Europe have attacked Mongolian migrants. Not all ultra-nationalists use
this iconography. Widespread ignorance about the Holocaust and other atrocities may help to explain why some do. They have a population of under three million, and believe they need to maintain their blood purity, hence the rejection of mixing with the Chinese.

When assessing how these ideas are transferred transnationally, it is of note that nationalist groups came to the fore in Russia after the fall of the Soviet Union. With Mongolia, often perceived as a satellite state of Russia, these ideas fed into society and combined with its unique brand of neo-Nazism, which directs hatred against the Chinese. The issue concerning China is a wider one, given China is asserting influence in the region, which could be construed as imperialistic. Globalization in general is construed as a threat to local identity, and one way of combat this is to incorporate Nazi and neo-Nazi methods in defence. This includes utilizing violence against anyone constructed as other, such as those who are transgender, or any other perceived ‘other’ who are threatening what is traditionally perceived to be normal. A resurgence of nationalism is understandable in regions like Mongolia that feel under threat, landlocked between Russia and China. These two powers have historically competed for influence and sometimes complete control of the country. There are legitimate concerns about foreign exploitation of mineral wealth that fuel nationalistic fervour.

There is an obvious link between neo-Nazi groups globally regarding their beliefs, and often this unity occurs through cultural exchanges achieved via new media, especially through music. This is not to say that these groups are uniformly identical, with all having their local variations, depending on local political issues, such as environmental challenges. Malaysia is another Asian country that has its own brand of neo-Nazism, and this is linked at promoting what they term Malay power. Their aim is to rid their country of any non-ethnic Malays and stop immigration into the country, concerned with keeping a ‘pure’ Malay community. All manner of crime is blamed on immigrants, as it tends to be globally. The influence of American and British neo-Nazi culture is noteworthy, given they listen to American and British Nazi bands like Screwdriver and Angry Aryan.

Before it is implied that neo-Nazi belief and behaviour is somehow justified due to postcolonial oppression, the next group of neo-Nazis needs to be considered. Globalization has enabled the movement of people across borders. The Grey Wolves (Ülkü Ocakları) is one of the main neo-Nazi groups in Turkey, and has a broader geographical impact due to diaspora. This group, which distributes copies of Mein Kampf in Turkish, is part of the Nationalist Movement Party. Although the leader, Devlet Bahçeli, attempted to reform the party, its violence is still renowned. The Grey Wolves
started in 1968, led by Alparslan Türkeş until 1997 when Bahçeli took over. It is active in Turkey, Northern Cyprus, and Western European countries with significant Turkish populations, such as Belgium, the Netherlands, and Germany, plus Iraq, Syria, Tatarstan, Bashkortostan, Chuvashia, and China (Xinjiang) and is banned in Azerbaijan and Kazakhstan. This is not a bunch of skinheads absorbing the sartorial signifiers of a transgressive style to assert their identity. The group’s ideologies include: Turkish nationalism, pan-Turkism, anti-Kurdism, anti-Armenianism, Russo-phobia, and anti-communism. They strive for an ideal Turkish nation defined as Sunni-Islamic only inhabited by ‘true’ Turks and they are hostile to non-Turkish elements within Turkey.

Hannah Arendt’s observations are relevant, with the view that fascism is essentially about the homeland and rootlessness. The homeless Kurds are frequently the focus of all forms of attacks by various nations. In Germany, the Grey Wolves are monitored by the authorities as an extremist organization. Many events are alleged to have been linked to the group, including: the Taksim Square massacre in 1977; the Beyazit massacre in 1978; the Bahçelievler and Maraş massacres in 1978; the Pope John Paul II assassination attempt in 1981; the Prime Minister Turgut Ozal assassination attempt in 1988; the coup d’état attempt in Azerbaijan in 1995; and the Bangkok bombing in 2015. In 2016, the Swedish Minister of Housing, Mehmet Kaplan, sparked controversy after a photograph of him emerged having dinner with members of the Grey Wolves. Kaplan, a member of the Green Party which forms part of the coalition administration with the Social Democrats, was seen with the president of the Swedish branch of the Grey Wolves. Mehmet later compared Israel’s treatment of Palestine to that of the German Nazis’ treatment of the Jews, and resigned. In Germany, a group known as the White Wolves Terror Crew was banned in 2016. They had formed out of the fan club of the band Weisse Wolfe (WWT), with the aim to carry out violence. In January 2016, a group known as the Oldschool Society was charged with planning to bomb refugee shelters and assassinate clerics.

While we might expect neo-Nazism in Europe, an African component is more unusual. According to NamRights, a national private human rights organization in Namibia, a number of German-Namibians glorify Hitler and Nazism. This glorification is achieved through selling Nazi-related artefacts in tourist shops in the coastal town of Swakopmund and on their tourism farms. Nazi fugitives are said to have been hiding there since 1945. Article 23 of the Namibian Constitution prohibits Nazi ideology and the spreading of its propaganda, the latter point open to interpretation. The influence of the media is important, given some media outlets such as Namib argue
that these rumours are entirely false, and are spread from Norway-based Internet magazines, and are not in Namibia. There is an economic element to this. Owners of shops in Swakopmund would claim that the interest in the products does not stem from an interest in the ideology. The interest in Nazi globally memorabilia is remarkable, but it is arguable whether people interested in the artefacts are actually neo-Nazi sympathizers.

Elsewhere in Africa racist ideologies have flourished. In 1973 Eugéne Ney Terre’Blanche and six other far-right Afrikaners formed the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB) that had hoped to establish a Boer state. Initially he called for armed struggle and revolution, and was imprisoned for three years for attempted murder, and was himself murdered in 2010. Louis Theroux’s BBC documentary on the Boer leader popularized the figure, who perversely constructs white people as victims of oppression, with 3.5 million white people versus 40 million black people in South Africa. His influence should not be seen in isolation, related merely to Africa, given his beliefs have influenced other white separatists. Theroux’s style is to almost play an innocent fool normally, but in the episode of Louis Theroux’s Weird Weekends called ‘Boer Separatists’ (season 3, episode 3), he does confront the man’s racism.

Latin America is a significant zone concerning Nazi and neo-Nazi activity and its interpretation in a variety of media. Legends and myths blend with facts with stories about contemporary politicians meeting with active neo-Nazi groups merging with myths about areas internationally where neo-Nazi activity continues, constructed as part of occult behaviour. Peter Lavenda in Unholy Alliance: A History of Nazi Involvement with the Occult explicates the research he carried out in Chile and how he discovered a cult compound called Colonia Dignidad, described as housing a sect that combines Nazism and voodoo. While it might seem farfetched to assume that neo-Nazi groups globally were and actively are still engaged in the occult, a brief glimpse at the origins offers some insight. Thule Gesellschaft was a pagan anti-Semitic aristocratic society, founded by Baron Rudolf von Sebottendorff. He approached Walter Nauhaus, a veteran of World War I and the Thule Society was formed. Their focus was on racial evolution, Nordic mythology and German nationalism, and one interpretation is that this society gave birth to Nazism. They recruited among Germany’s working class, by forming a group called the German Worker’s Party, which met regularly in beer halls to discuss the threat of Jews, communists, and Freemasons. This group later became the National Socialist German Workers’ Party (the Nazi Party), and in November 1923, they made their first attempt at a national takeover, the failed Beer Hall Putsch, led by a
man who had originally been sent by the German Army to spy on them, Adolf Hitler.

Due to investigations made popular via blogs some of the myths around this subject situated in Latin America are more easily unearthed, debunked and tracked. Generally, it is well-known that some Nazis left Germany and entered Latin American society, living anonymously in places like Chile, but what is less known is that National Socialism was established in Chile prior to World War II. Memories of this are celebrated annually even today. Each September a pilgrimage is made to a monument in Santiago's General Cemetery, which concerns paying homage to an attempted coup in 1938. This coup was by young Chileans, many with German heritage, who were then killed by government troops. Since 1938 the support in Chile has grown. In the south, a German enclave that was complicit in the torture of the Augusto Pinochet regime lost its leader following charges of child abuse. Years of living under the vicious regime of Pinochet resulted in the flourishing of neo-Nazism in Chile, a country in which young people were willing to embrace an identity formulated around the notion of militarism.

There is a vigilante element to this. Peruvians who may be from a lower economic group are targeted by the neo-Nazis, as are homosexuals, drug addicts, and anyone perceived as different. There is an even earlier history to this. At the start of the twentieth century, Nicolás Palacios published the book *Raza Chilena*, and the ideology propounded in this text is still adhered to. Palacios, a criollo (a person of full or near full Spanish descent born in Latin America), popularized the belief that Chileans were the chosen race, a group formed from a blend of Native Araucanos and Spanish blood. Stepping outside of the Chilean environment, we can witness the absurdity of neo-Nazism when we consider Peruvian neo-Nazism. The leader of Peru's far-right political group seeks to expel the country's small Jewish population, believing they control the global economy. This is a common theme of Nazism and neo-Nazism. Claiming the system is being controlled by a bunch of evil people who are Jewish has been central to anti-Semitism, and has had a global impact. Hitler’s hatred towards the Jews stemmed from this belief, and the view that Jews controlled the governments of all the countries he wanted to defeat. The iconography around Nazism and neo-Nazism and its absorption and mediation are central to its global impact.

Martín Quispe Mayta, the leader of the Andean Peru National Socialism movement, admires Adolf Hitler and his office is adorned with portraits of the Nazi dictator, as well as a copy of *Mein Kampf* and a large flag bearing a symbol that looks like a swastika.
Mayta, who drew his inspiration from Hitler's Nazi ideology as well as Henry Ford's anti-Semitic book *The International Jew*, further claims that the leader of Spain's brutal conquest of Peru, Francisco Pizarro, was a Jew. ‘The Jew Pizarro and his band of genocidal Jews killed millions of native Peruvians in their mission to possess our gold,’ he told *The Guardian*. There are only about 5,000 Jews in Peru, of a population of nearly 30 million people. In a place whose political and economic power remains largely in the hands of a white elite minority, with indigenous Peruvians at the bottom of the socioeconomic scale, it is the Jews who are, once again, blamed for the country's grievances. The Jewish Association of Peru said in a statement to *The Guardian* that it rejected Maytam's 'open expression of anti-Semitic racism', and had 'appealed to authorities to take the necessary measures to halt the incitement to racial and religious hatred'.

As a brief survey reveals, from Taiwan to Peru, the global impact of Nazism and neo-Nazism is clear, and the manner in which the media may invent and reconfigure Nazi and neo-Nazi stories tangible. As with some of the media, it would also be tempting to blame Donald Trump for every atrocity, globally, but this ignores history. Trump has been perfect for satire, despite the comedy so far not seeming to have any real impact. As the laws of transgression dictate, Trump might be mocked, but this only goes to reinforce his desire for a control on channels of information, which includes the media as a whole. Since taking office as president up until March 2017 there were over one hundred attempted bomb attacks on synagogues and Jewish-related centres in America. Globally, anti-Semitism has often been prevalent. A decade earlier, in 2007 police in Israel had thwarted a neo-Nazi ring, after an eighteen-month investigation. This was after attacks on two synagogues. The powerful significance of Israel in international politics should not be underestimated.

Since 1990 a million people from the former Soviet Union have emigrated to Israel, which has a population of 7 million. Israel's Law of Return allows anyone to claim citizenship if they have a Jewish grandparent, but a significant number of the new immigrants have no connection to Judaism, moving purely for economic reasons. Again, who is the victim is an interesting debate, with Russians believing they are discriminated against, being denied the right to marry. The police found explosives in the home of one of the suspect with plans to hold a Nazi ceremony at Yad Vashem, the Holocaust museum in Jerusalem. These events had wider ramifications. While Effi Eitam of the National Religious Party wanted a bill to restrict the rights of non-Jews emigrating to Israel, an Arab member of the Israeli Knesset, Ahmed Tibi, raised the issue of the absurdity of Israeli laws. Extensive rights
are given to Russian newcomers with tenuous Jewish connections, whereas Arabs who have lived in the region for generations are denied rights.

**International Nazi Hunters**

Media attention has inspired the drive to confront Nazis, as well as neo-Nazism now being a genre in international fiction and documentary filmmaking. One area that has received global popularly is that of Nazi hunters, a term invented by the media. Various figures are hunted down and exposed during a documentary, and often found to be living quietly and anonymously. The overall argument for the makers of these documentaries is that the hunt for Nazis draws media attention to a subject that some find unpalatable, and this has definitely enabled justice to be carried out. During the Cold War, former Nazis were utilized in the West to fight against the Soviets, and certain deals were made to protect people from prosecution if they cooperated. The Advisory Board of Clemency headed by John J. McCloy did commute the death sentences and reduce the prison terms of various Nazi war criminals. The activities of freelance Nazi hunters have become the subject of a plethora of dramas and books, especially hunters Serge and Beate Klarsfield who delivered SS officer Klaus Barbie to French courts in 1987. There was the difficult goal of having to incorporate millions of former Nazis into societies.

While the scale and international reach was incomparable, this whole area of pursuing state criminals was not just a problem Germany and related countries faced with the Nazis. We only have to consider a handful of Latin American countries to see the parallels. Ariel Dorfman covers this in his internationally successful play *Death and the Maiden*. The play premiered at London's Royal Court in 1991, and since then has been performed all over the globe and turned into an opera in 2008. The ubiquitous nature of the play, set in an unnamed Latin American country, means it has had an appeal in a variety of contexts. The play was adapted for a film directed by Roman Polanski in 1994, starring Sigourney Weaver and Ben Kingsley, leading to worldwide acclaim and media attention. In the play a woman encounters a man who she believes was once her torturer under a dictatorship, but there are questions over truth and memory.

There is the subtext concerning gender, power, and collusion. In one interpretation, the play seems to ask: are we ready to confront the past, individually and as a nation, even if we are confronted with it? Rather than have figures hunting down a man, who may have tortured them in the past,
here he appears by what seems like a random accident, following a problem with his car. This almost implies that life is actually far more random than we think, but we are always haunted by the past, whether we choose to confront it or not. Fundamentally, once you have been tortured, do you have the right to torture your torturer, or does this make us just like them? This question brings us back to the question about whether every one has the potential to be a Nazi. If this is the case, does this partially explain the ongoing fascination with neo-Nazism and related movements?

Sometimes the media collude with investigators who are outside the framework of the state, and by doing so can often achieve better results. Looked at cynically, we can assume this will create better drama through transgressing normal paradigms and structures. Rules are broken to attain a result, perhaps, or some form of accepted boundary transgressed. As with all forms of investigation, often the end justifies the means. But when people take justice into their own hands we should be concerned. This is even if they are partly justified, as in *Death and the Maiden*, where there is still ambiguity. There is a wealth of literature and research on the way private activists have made it their objective to bring Nazis to court, and the suspected crimes of these people go beyond anti-Semitism. As with the neo-Nazi film, the Nazi hunter documentary is a genre in and of itself.

These activists and hunters are arguably bringing about a greater sense of humanity, given those who have acted against humanity are being held to account, but sometimes they use methods that are inhuman. This is an international phenomenon, with the victims and perpetrators part of a diaspora that occurred during and after World War II. With documentaries about wars, and particularly about the Nazis, dominating channels, one with a live thread concerning a hunt was bound to create far more tension, having now become part of the zeitgeist. A subtext is this is a part of a new politically correct world, seeking transparency, by flushing out old evils. But there is an obvious parallel here with fascism. There is an alignment here paradoxically with racist ideology, which wants to cleanse the state, with the hunters wanting to remove evil from the world, to restore ‘true’ humanity. Justice needs to be done, but the close link to how this is documented and mediated via a variety of sources is of significance.

The media began referring to some of these seekers after justice as ‘Nazi hunters’, but pursuing Nazis was but only one part of range of activities. From the position of the influence of the media, there was a demonization that frequently removed culpability. Through some documentaries, people began to question the efficacy of using these methods. On the one hand, it was important for documentary teams to track down Nazis who had
blended back into society. On the positive side, these individual agents also insisted that the courts and police live up to their duties. They co-operated with these agencies on various levels, during the investigation of the crimes in question. Actively coordinating media campaigns to educate the public to their cause, while fully explaining what they were doing and the historical framework, this indicated the real benefits of the media in this context.

Creating media programmes with this kind of content has become standard, from hunting Nazis, to paedophiles, to cheating partners. The ‘money shot’ here is the moment the person knows they are caught and cannot escape, like a caged animal after the hunt. The problematic nature of the Nazi hunters is the time it takes for this to go through the courts, given the people involved are elderly. Nazi hunting in some respects can be framed as a professional business, but still the legal process serves a function here, making sure all the evidence is weighed up. Often debates in the wider narratives come down to whether someone was aware of the deaths happening around them, or was just a functionary, or if there was an ulterior purpose if they helped some Jews escape. All of these stories make good material for documentaries or fictional films, as they involve unearthing a secret or solving a mystery.

We have seen how the film Inglorious Basterds plays on this theme in a historical context, loosely juxtaposing an initial hunt for Jews with a later hunt for Nazis. Either way, it needs to be noted that framing this activity as a hunt constructs humans as animals, and positions those doing the hunting as predators. This in itself might be a true reflection of reality, with the acceptable view that humans are just animals, and the hunt functioning as a trope for the capitalist system. Nazi hunters may have helped prompt changes in the political and juridical handling of the Nazi criminal legacy and also influenced the public perception of it. But a very real question remains over people taking justice into their own hands, and the status of the vigilante within the law. Their involvement facilitated the investigation of Holocaust crimes and served as a corrective throughout and the publicity the private activists generated instigated a wider discussion about Nazi crimes.9

Media forms may have helped make the boundaries and taboos surrounding the Nazi past more visible, shifting or overcoming taboos, but there were issues with crimes being distorted. As individuals gain the ability to create media products themselves, via personal documentaries made with handheld technology, we should not underestimate the value of individuals taking control of the processes of creating media. At the same time, often what appears in some contexts is beyond the hands of
the maker and consumer of the product. For example, large companies advertising on Google have complained about the positioning of their adverts, sometimes these appearing against neo-Nazi websites and YouTube channels. Concurrently, outside the law any manner of uncontrolled events can occur, including uncontrolled violence against suspected Nazis, who actually may not be Nazis at all. This violence was frequently the case with regards to the battles between neo-Nazis and the Anti-Nazi League in the 1970s and 1980s. The hardcore dedication of Nazi hunters globally has tended to highlight its value, especially the input from the media. While the rest of the population, along with governments, may have wished they could move on from the past without addressing it, these activities help societies to confront their past authentically.

Simultaneously, these hunts have conjured up myths and legends around where Nazi groups are living now. Helicopter shots of swimming pools in Latin America supposedly containing swastikas is just one such non-verifiable source, that generates this idea that in certain zones criminals linked to the evils of the past are being kept. There is also the implication that state investigations are not doing their job, and that only private individuals can get to the truth, which is not accurate. Transnationally, to position this evil always elsewhere serves a purpose of removing the evil from a known locality, making it always one step removed, and never containable. The most well-known example of the capturing of a Nazi by international state activities was that of Otto Adolf Eichmann captured in Argentina by Mossad, the Israeli intelligence service, in 1960. Eichmann was a major figure, given he had been responsible for the strategy concerning the deportation of Jews to concentration camps. Eichmann denied nothing, but claimed he was just following orders, and was executed in Israel in 1962. What the trial did was bring attention to the debates concerning culpability, with some historians arguing that not even Hitler called for the extermination of the Jews.

Other famous cases have been part of a series Nazi Hunters broadcast 2010 to 2011, and reveal the international scope of this exercise of hunting Nazis. Episodes include: the work of Serge and Beate Klarsfeld, who tracked down Klaus Barbie, known as the ‘Butcher of Lyon’, and had him extradited from Bolivia to stand trial in France; finding the Gestapo officer Erich Priebke, who was tracked down by American journalists in Argentina; the case of Josef Mengele, tracked for 30 years by Mossad, and who ended up moving from Paraguay and then to Brazil, where he died; hunting Paris Gestapo chief Kurt Lishka, who was living freely in Germany and then was arrested in Cologne, after being tracked down, again by Serge and Beate Klarsfeld; the
complex case of Paul Touvier, who murdered Jews and resistance fighters in France; the hunt for Franz Stangl in Brazil by Simon Wiesenthal, which then lead to the arrest of the deputy commander of the Sobibor extermination camp, Gustav Wagner. These stories are packaged as real-life detective stories, and moulded within that genre.

Along with these real stories with tangible and intangible outcomes, there is a range of other media and cultural forms, such as the film Weresquito: Nazi Hunter (Christopher R. Mihm, 2016), which concerns the aftermath of a World War II experiment in the context of hunting. The film, like so many others, reveals how using Nazi themes becomes a simple way to develop a backstory in the context of ‘absolute’ evil. Soldiers are left transforming into blood-sucking killer insects at the sight of blood. The path to salvation is finding the culprits who committed the experiment and bringing them to justice. With an estimated budget of $10,000 the tagline is ‘The most controversial movie EVER made!’ What this film and others media products suggest is that internationally, far from global cultures denying the Nazis, from fashion in Japan and Peru, to the transnational style and flirtation with fascism engaged with by David Bowie and his transnational followers and emulators, elements of Nazism and neo-Nazism have become ubiquitous.

Nazis and neo-Nazis hunting their enemies, and vice versa, is a subject of numerous films, globally. In Australia, it was Russell Crowe’s break-through role as the lead in the film Romper Stomper that marked him out as a formidable screen actor. As with Tom Cruise and Daniel Day Lewis playing people with disabilities, it seemed the more realistically you could embody a neo-Nazi the more your credibility would grow. Similarly, in the German/UK film I.D., previously mentioned, when Reece Dimsdale played a neo-Nazi (John), he was arguably at the height of his career, the film gaining a cult status, with spin-offs and remakes, being distributed on various new platforms. In ID2: Shadwell Army (Joel Novoa, 2016), for example, the international scope of what was originally a seemingly very English film is made clear. Now a young British Asian policeman goes undercover, with Shadwell FC, owned by a Russian oligarch. What he finds is a battle between the EDL and BNP, political and football violence combined.

**Video Games and Conclusions**

Video gaming is also a significant area where Nazi and neo-Nazi tropes are reimagined. Regardless of the actual ownership of games, due to their interactivity, there is often a wider influence of video games regarding
their impact with a global reach. A whole culture has built up since the 1980s around the use of video games, which is a highly competitive field with its own rules. Concerning influences, it is also important to stress that various studies on the influence of video games need to be understood holistically. Video games frequently place the player in the position of a first-person narrator, or from the player’s point of view. Some are still quite traditional in structure, drawing on forms such as the book, having chapters and characters.

When considering influence we need to be careful. No one single area of entertainment can be said to have constructed someone’s identity and belief systems, or influenced their behaviour, despite moral panics about the use of video games amongst the young. Moral panics normally originate among those who have not engaged with the thing of concern. In this case, these games often offer a strict moral framework and are hardly transgressive. The relevance of a brief mention of video games here concerns their strong global appeal. Gaming is an international phenomenon and often transcultural. Arguably, unlike some literature or films that may alter in their translation, video games can cross these national and cultural boundaries easily, and are made with this intention in mind.

Stereotypically, video games concern the elimination of enemies in a variety of environments. But there are interesting low spec games that play on moral decision making that reflects preconceptions regarding race and nation. *Papers, Please* created by Lucas Pope and released in 2013, is an example that functions philosophically on a number of levels, set in a border zone that reinforces national boundaries. Here the player is an immigration officer in the fictional country Arstotzka, working in an airport, who gains points depending on their efficiency, but moral conundrums arise. If one of your clients tells you the next person in the queue is a terrorist, for example, do you take this as a diversionary tactic to obscure their own guilt, or act on this, but lower your efficiency rate overall?

The Nazis, of course, are almost like a global ‘brand’, recognized in most cultures. Having a Nazi thread to a game’s background narrative appears natural, as then they are understood, with the tropes and signifiers already existing to draw on. Critics may conclude, as they do with some filmmaking and literature, that this overreliance on Nazi signifiers is uncreative, always returning to a set view of the past, but it would be difficult to cast this allegation at the work of influential authors such as Philip K. Dick. Video games, similarly, have often taken the same route, and used the Nazi era as just a stepping-stone for something much wider, metaphysically. The game then is actually a form of mirror to some of the pressing issues confronting
the world during the contemporary period within which it was produced. This then informs the debates around neo-Nazism.

Even with the advent of postmodernism, critical discourse on video gaming is not as well regarded as it is on other forms of media and culture. Concurrently, the use of video games has always been considered as being slightly transgressive, part of an uncontainable youth activity that stands juxtaposed to the adult world, with its defined rules and regulations. As explained, video games do have their own rules, however, not only within the basic algorithms of their own software, but in the individual and social behaviour surrounding their use. We have the moral elements placed into video games, as in some versions of Call of Duty, where the user is being asked to survey what they have done, and reflect on their choices. This confronting the player with their choices does make a real impact. Call of Duty began in 2003 and had thirteen different versions by 2016 with its third incarnation having the allies fighting against the Nazis.

Caveats need to be added before a claim is made on the absolute international relevance of these games. The absolute need to win and beat the game is part of an adrenalin-fuelled experience that functions to create a personal sense of achievement, which may have more relevance in some cultures than in others. This is then self-perpetuating, and marketing of the same brand of games fulfils this function. There is an appeal that comes from placing the player within a visceral immersive first-person perspective, which goes beyond the passive consumption of the culture that the older generation can be accused of. Given the significance of Nazism in history, it would be strange if a number of video games did not have this theme as their backstory.

Whether it is fighting Nazis or demons, these games operate in a post-civilization world, which reflects on a position promoted in cultural theory from the 1980s concerning ‘the end of history’. The title of Slavoj Žižek’s 2011 work Living in the End Times sums this up. Life as we know it in reality is not functioning anymore. This whole ‘beyond civilization’ scenario is actually akin to much of the Nazi doctrine, which wanted to bring about the end of one era, and the instigation of another. Beyond the rhetoric was a belief in the march of history, and that this was part of destiny. Similarly, it is neo-Nazi ideology that maintains civilization is being damaged by the acceptance of immigrants, for example, and it is time to ‘refresh’ the world. The Turner Diaries makes this clear.

Section 86a of the Criminal Code of Germany prohibits the use or depiction of unconstitutional organizations, and the video game Wolfenstein has been included in this ban. In its post-World War II scenario, the Nazis have
won the war via robots, and variations on these games involves hunting down and killings Nazis. Having an enemy has virulent as the Nazis makes any game more enjoyable, and so criticism that such games lack imagination is disingenuous. Hundreds of games involve traversing a difficult terrain, being chased or chasing, in some ways hunting bounty. Again, we might return to Freud’s notion expounded in his explanation of his grandson’s fort/da game, where the interpretation is the ‘player’ is dealing with their relationship with their mother. Freud’s grandson throws a cotton reel, pretends it is gone, and then retrieves it, the game working as a form of psychodrama, reassuring him about his mother. The same can be said for video games.

Wolfenstein: The New Order, according to www.vgchartz.com, sold 1.56 million units by 18 February 2017. Breaking this down internationally this is split 30.7 per cent in North America, 51.6 per cent in Europe, 2.1 per cent in Japan, and 15.7 per cent in the rest of the world. Set in the 1960s, the series involves the protagonist B.J. Blazkowicz, who launches a counter-offensive against the Nazis, who have taken over the world. This game was the seventh in the series, originally released in 2009. The game received numerous awards, globally, indicating how its transnational themes, including the aesthetics, were appealing. As early as 1981 Apple II offered Castle Wolfenstein, which had the player search for secret war plans, but it later switched to first-person shooting. By 1993 the successful Wolfenstein 3D was causing controversy. Opening with the Nazi Party anthem ‘Horst Wessel Lied’, the game involved the player making their way through swastika-smothered bunkers, killing Nazis in an attempt to find Hitler. Banned by the German government, attacked by the American Anti-Defamation League, the game led to evolution in the field, influencing a new generation of games.10 Through documentaries the media created the term ‘Nazi hunter’, and this then inspired the creation of video games, films, and galvanized further interest in Nazism, internationally. Stating anything is universal is contentious, given it may offer collusion with a certain violence of colonialism, where the European truth or value is defined as the universal one. This chapter has briefly explored certain regions in the world where neo-Nazism proliferates, and stressed how certain attempts to address racism can be in itself be termed as re-inscribing the notions of race and purity. The paradoxes concerning immigration and diaspora, especially in a Turkish context, are significant and reveal how a group with neo-Nazi similarities has thrived on violence. A number of groups within certain countries that feel threatened by global powers that then turn to neo-Nazism have been surveyed. The importance of Donald Trump’s dominance through the media has been
shown to indicate a unification of disparate fascist support around the globe. The obsession with purity and origin is then disseminated through various media platforms. This is then tied into neo-Nazi ideology, leading sometimes to violence, offering believers a sense of power. In Latin America, for example, this related belief system in a different form existed prior to Hitler's physical expansion of Germany. Overall, this suggests these beliefs are transnational in appeal and scope and have longevity, through hardcore believers claiming to adapt their beliefs to become more mainstream, and followers functioning as local enforcers of tradition.