

The Extreme Right in West European Terrorism

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In order to place terrorism from the extreme right in a contemporary and historical context and to assess the magnitude or scope of the threat of terrorism from the extreme right, this paper will raise three questions:

1. How does terrorism from the extreme right fit into the larger historical picture of internal terrorism in Europe?
2. What is the situation in recent years according to official sources?
3. What alternative conceptualizations capture violent activities from the extreme right?

1. How does terrorism from the extreme right fit into the larger historical picture of terrorism in Europe?

After 9/11 it became fashionable to draw a distinction between large-scale terrorist attacks and the more common, but less

lethal ordinary attacks. Lists and chronologies have been drawn up and a literature has developed on the new terrorism, the large-scale one, which has replaced the old, low-scale terrorism we knew from the 1970's onwards. Appendix 1 offers a list of 33 large-scale, or high-lethality, terrorist attacks affecting Europe since the Second World War. Here, a terrorist attack is considered large-scale if it results in a death toll of 10 or more. Attacks starting or ending in the EU countries, Norway, Iceland or Switzerland have been considered, while Russia and Turkey has been excluded. The list covers both internal (domestic) and international terrorism.

On the list of high-lethality terrorist attacks affecting Europe, right-wing extremism is present with some of the deadliest attacks in European terrorism. There are five such attacks, two occurring in the 1960's, one in 1974 and two in 1980. Three of the attacks happened in Italy, with one each in France and Germany. Perpetrators of the extreme right twice attacked public transport by bombing trains, and three times detonated bombs in public places causing great loss of life. On this list, the extreme right is in company with international terrorists from outside Europe, whether secular nationalists or Jihadists, as well as with Europe's own national liberation groups, such as the various incarnations of the IRA or ETA. There should be no doubt that terrorism from the extreme right has been notably present in Europe in the past half century. But what characterizes this type of terrorism compared to other ideological or motivational sources of terrorist attacks? Has it been constantly present over time? How deadly has it been compared to other sources of terrorism in Europe?

The distinction between international and internal (domestic) terrorism is a common one on research on terrorism. Whereas international terrorism involves nationals or territory of more than one state, internal (domestic) terrorism involves attacks within one country by perpetrators originating there and attacking their own fellow nationals. Though this distinction is now less significant than before, traditionally the focus was placed on international terrorism and the understanding was that this kind of terrorism posed the more serious threat. Since more than one state was involved, this was also the kind of terrorism that was of concern to the international community, while domestic terrorism belonged to the internal affairs of one state.

Focusing first on internal or domestic terrorism in Europe, what has been the place of terrorism from the extreme right? Taking the long perspective on Western Europe in the period since 1950, and based on figures from the TWEED data set, it is clear that both right-wing and left-wing terrorism, sometimes labeled ideologically motivated terrorism, is dwarfed by terrorism from ethnic nationalist groups, that is groups that fight for the cause of their national minority group, whether the goal is to set up a separate state, to reunite the territory claimed by the national minority group with another state or, less common, the recognition of regional autonomy for the territory inhabited by the national minority group. In the TWEED data set, covering 18 West European countries from 1950 to 2004, in excess of 80 % of terrorist incidents were committed by agents belonging to this category. Left-wing terrorism constitutes 8,5 % and right-wing terrorism 6,7 % of terrorist attacks in the western part of Europe from 1950 to 2004.

Here it should be remembered that separatist terrorism is adaptive to shifting ideological tendencies in society at large and that, whereas minority nationalism adopted left-wing ideological appearances following the radicalization of the student movement in the late 1960's, in earlier decades minority nationalism might just as well be combined with conservative, reactionary or fascist outlooks (Engene 2004: 64).

Because terrorist incidents may vary greatly in scale, from the small bomb that does not hurt anyone to the big impact bombings that kills tens or hundreds, it is advisable to compare death toll rather than incident aggregates. Looking at the number of people killed as a result of terrorist activities from perpetrators with different motivations (Table 1), the overall picture remains the same: ethnic nationalism remains the dominating source of terrorist deaths in Europe. However, the situation between left-wing and right-wing terrorism is now the reverse. Whereas left-wing terrorists committed more acts of terrorism than right-wing terrorism, right-wing terrorism is responsible for a larger share of terrorist deaths than left-wing terrorism (340 compared to 222). Though not as frequent as left-wing terrorism, right-wing terrorism is more lethal.

In comparison, adding up the death toll in Nesser's (2008) chronology of jihadist terrorism in Western Europe for the period 1994 to 2007 we arrive at 256 people killed. Most of these were killed in Madrid in 2004 (191) and London in 2005 (52), with 12 killed in the spate of GIA violence in France from 1994 to 1995 and one in the Theo van Gogh assassination in 2004.

If we look at the time line of right-wing terrorism, as laid out in Figure 1, three periods of right-wing terrorism may be

distinguished: First a period in the early 1960's connected with the struggle by the *Organisation de l'armée secrete* (OAS) and other groups to keep Algeria French. Right-wing terrorism is then very much a French phenomenon. Then we find a second and much longer period from the late 1960's until the early 1980's, peaking in 1980 with the Bologna railway station bomb and the Munich Oktoberfest bomb. This was the decade-and-a-half of European terrorism with high levels of activity from ethnic nationalists, as well as the extreme left and right. Third, there is another relatively brief period in the early 1990's following German reunification, with renewed terrorist activity from the extreme right. Towards the end of the period covered by the TWEED data set, right-wing terrorism is at a low, together, it should be added, with left-wing terrorism, though national minority terrorism is still going strong in some countries (notably Spain with the Basque Country, France with Corsica, and partly still the United Kingdom with Northern Ireland).

Compared to other categories of ideologically motivated terrorism, terrorism from the right wing seems to distinguish itself with a weaker organizational structure (Engene 2004: 73-75). Terrorist groups fighting for the cause of national minorities have a great staying power, existing for decades in face of a strong state apparatus. Even groups on the extreme left managed to exist for longer periods of time. Right-wing terrorism, on the other hand, appears to be characterized by more shifting organizational structures.

Based on the TWEED data set the strongest organizational expressions of right-wing terrorism are found in France and Italy. In the first period of right-wing terrorism mentioned above the OAS is the main organization. OAS is recorded as active from 1961 through 1964. In Italy, two groups

distinguish themselves, both in the second, longer period covering the 1970's and going into the 1980's. These are the *Ordine Nero*, recorded in TWEED as active from 1974 through 1983, and the *Nuclei Armati Rivoluzionari*, active from 1980 to 1985. The Bologna railway station attack, the deadliest domestic terrorist attack recorded in TWEED, is attributed to the NAR. In Germany, only one group is identified with activity over a number of years. This is the *Wehrsportgruppe Hoffmann*, recorded as active from 1977 to 1980. Though police investigation found the perpetrator to be acting alone in carrying out the bomb attack at the Oktoberfest in Munich in September 1980 that killed 13 people, he had been associated with this group.

Of these groups, only the OAS, registered with 227 attacks over its period of activity, conducted a sustained campaign of terrorism. The OR, NAR, and WH, were responsible for 12, 8 and 4 attacks respectively, though they all perpetrated high casualty attacks.

TWEED only runs through 2004. What is the situation in recent years according to other sources? Unfortunately, other open datasets and databases do not contain readily available data on the ideology or motivation of perpetrators of terrorist attacks.

Though containing searchable narratives for each incident and identifying the name of groups where known, the RAND Database of Worldwide Terrorism Incidents (RDWTI), which covers the period from 1972 through 2009, does not contain a variable on motivation or ideology (RAND 2011). Furthermore, this database only covers internal (domestic) terrorism from 1998 onwards. The Global Terrorism Database (GTD) also identifies perpetrator groups by names, but has no coded variable on ideology or motive (GTD 2011).

The Worldwide Incidents Tracking System (WITS) database compiled by the National Counterterrorism Center (NCTC) in the USA does code incidents according to perpetrator "Group Type" (WITS 2011ab). "Neonazi/Fascists/White Supremacists" is one group type, "Secular/Political/Anarchist" is another. One would assume that an attack by a right-wing group would always be coded in the first mentioned category and that the second is used for left-wing activities. This variable is anyway mainly used to identify incidents with perpetrators having religious, and in particular Islamic, motivations. The database, with a global coverage of 79,766 incidents running from 2004 onwards, contains a total of 9 "Neonazi/Fascists/White Supremacists" attacks, 6 in Russia along with one each in Australia, Turkey and the USA. Four of the attacks killed one person each. According to WITS data, then, right-wing terrorism is a marginal phenomenon worldwide. Is this confirmed by official figures, especially as concerns Europe?

2. What is the situation in recent years according to official sources?

Since 2007 Europol has published an annual report on terrorism in the EU member countries, called the *TE-SAT* or *EU Terrorism Situation and Trend Report*. The focus there has very much been on the Islamist threat, though the report also covers terrorism from separatist or nationalists, the extreme left and extreme right, as well as single issue activities. EU member countries, with the partial exception of the United Kingdom, report to Europol details of terrorist activities in their country, as legally defined in each country.

Reading these reports and comparing them over time leads to some key impressions:

1. That according to figures reported to Europol right-wing terrorism is hardly present in Europe in recent years.
2. That activity of the extreme right wing is likely to be categorized as extremism rather than terrorism by authorities.
3. That the reports note the extreme right perpetrating acts of vandalism, engaging in violent clashes against political opponents, and committing "individual acts of racism and criminality".
4. That despite few incidents, the report narratives nevertheless tend to be more alarming than the statistics indicate.
5. That overall the Europol reports paint a picture of the extreme right as characterized by "lack of cohesion" and "low degree of coordination" despite increased propaganda efforts, especially in social networking and the Internet in general.

In Europol's official figures for the recent years, there is not much right-wing terrorism. According to figures presented in these annual reports, in terms of frequency separatist terrorism dominates. The extreme right is represented by a few attacks in some years.

To be precise, two successful attacks were reported, one each in 2006 and 2007, with four foiled or failed attacks reported in 2009. The report for the year 2006 has one attack in Poland, in which a skinhead stabbed an anti-fascist to death (Europol 2007). For 2007 there is one attack in Portugal (Europol 2008) involving vandalism of a Jewish cemetery by an offshoot of a US white supremacy group. The four incidents reported for 2009 all occurred in Hungary, where police foiled

three attacks and a fourth was interrupted by the perpetrator (Europol 2010). For 2008 and 2010, Europol has no right-wing terrorist incidents to report in its statistical overviews (Europol 2009, Europol 2011).

Activity from separatists, mostly in France and Spain, dominates the Europol statistics and dwarves activity from all other motivations, including Islamist activity, though the latter figure most prominently in the narratives generated in the report (this discrepancy has been noted in the press, see for instance Bernsen 2010).

This is also the situation in the report for the year 2010, as shown in Figure 2 (Europol 2011). Separatist terrorism in France and Spain dominates with 64% of the total number of attacks. Left-wing terrorism mostly in Greece and Spain makes up 18 % of activity. We note a few Islamists incidents, in Denmark and Sweden, but no terrorist incidents from the extreme right was reported in 2010.

In addition to tables presenting statistics on terrorist incidents, the Europol reports also contain chapters discussing various categories of terrorism in the EU member countries. For right-wing terrorism, this is quite brief, usually only a couple of pages long.

What can explain the low frequency of right-wing terrorism in Europe according to Europol? One explanation may simply be that there hardly has been any terrorism of that kind in recent years. Another explanation may be that there is a tendency for activities from the extreme right to be classified as extremism rather than terrorism. The Europol reports notes that some countries make a distinction between terrorism and extremism, and that police in some countries investigate activities of the extreme right as extremism

rather than terrorism (Europol 2007: 35). This situation is not unique to the extreme right; it also applies to other political motivations (Europol 2007: 35, Europol 2008: 7).

For the extreme right extremist activity is summed up with narrative references to violent clashes with political opponents in conjunction with demonstrations, marches, concerts or other manifestations, acts of vandalism, and "individual acts of racism and criminality" (Europol 2008). In 2007 Europol notes that "violent acts perpetrated by right-wing extremists and terrorists may appear sporadic and situational", at the same time warns that activities of the extreme right are "organised and transnational" (Europol 2007: 35). The 2011 report concludes that right-wing extremist activities in 2010 "raised public order concerns, but have not in any way endangered the political, constitutional, economic or social structures of any of the Member States. They can, however, present considerable challenges to policing and seriously threaten community cohesion." (Europol 2011: 29).

Though not having much to report on extreme right terrorism in terms of statistics, the TE-SAT reports do contain warnings. The Europol reports note the impact of White Power music, extreme right propaganda efforts on the internet in general and in social networking in particular.

In the 2008 report, covering the year 2007, the narrative also reports that "In the UK, a number of the arrested individuals could be classified as "lone-wolves". These individuals share an ideological or philosophical identification with an extremist group, but do not communicate with the group they identify with. While the lone wolf's actions aim to advance the group's goal, the tactics and methods are conceived and directed without any outside command or direction." (Europol 2008: 39). A similar warning in the 2010 report, again

stemming from the United Kingdom, states that "Police investigations and arrests or convictions in the UK have highlighted the fact that, at present, individuals motivated by extreme right-wing views, acting alone, pose far more of a threat than the current networks or groups." (Europol 2010: 37).

Still, there seems to be an implicit assumption that violent activities of the extreme right do not target the public at large and do not intend to cause mass casualties. The 2010 report even notes right-wing extremists in the UK being in possession of the toxin ricin as well as explosives (Europol 2010: 37), though it is not assumed in the report that there was an aim of mass killing in the same way as is often assumed in Islamist plots.

Though warning against extreme right activities in online social networking and the Internet in general, along with increased professionalism in these efforts, the TE-SAT 2011 report concludes that "the overall threat from right-wing extremism appears to be on the wane and the numbers of right-wing extremist criminal offences are relatively low", and further that "Lack of cohesion, a lower degree of overall coordination of right-wing terrorist and extremist groups, little public support, and effective law enforcement operations leading to arrests and prosecutions of prominent right-wing terrorists and extremists, went a long way towards accounting for the diminished impact of right-wing terrorism and extremism in the EU." (Europol 2011: 29).

3. What alternative conceptualizations capture violent activities from the extreme right?

As already noted in the section above, extremism is used to designate activities that are not considered terrorism. In addition, the term hate crime is especially relevant when discussing activities of the extreme right, all the more so because of arguments that hate crimes work the same way as acts of terrorism.

3.1. Extremism – the case of Germany

The annual report from Europol, then, has little extreme right terrorism to report, but notes a problem of extreme right extremism in several countries. A closer look at the reports by the Federal Office for the Protection of the Constitution in Germany may offer some indication of what kind of activities constitutes extremism from the extreme right. In the report for 2010 politically motivated crime from the right has been broken down into the various legal categories of crime (Bundesamt für Verfassungsschutz 2011: 36). A total of 83,7 % of the 762 violent criminal incidents involved "Körperverletzung", or physical offences against persons (battery, actual bodily harm, "legemsbeskadigelse"). There were some cases of resisting police authority as well as breaches of the peace, along with 29 cases of arson, but only two incidents involving causing an explosion. No incidents of manslaughter were recorded for 2010, but six cases of attempted manslaughter. We also note that the many non-violent crimes in Germany, largely involving propaganda offences, a category of crime constituted by the ban on the use of Nazi symbols, slogans, gestures, propaganda, etc., in Germany, but also property damage.

Much of the violent extreme right activities take place in confrontation with political opponents and in public

manifestations, such as the 240 right-wing extremist demonstrations reported for 2010. It should be noted that the report for the year 2010 actually records a higher level of criminal activity from the extreme left, which was noted with 944 violent crimes (57,3% actual bodily harm, 15,7% breach of the peace, 11,8% resisting authority). Seen over time, official figures from the *Bundesamt für Verfassungsschutz* show lower levels of violence in recent years compared to the years following German reunification (Figure 2).

It should be noted, however, that official figures have been criticized for underreporting the actual number of right-wing killings in Germany. The two newspapers *Der Tagesspiegel* and *Die Zeit* found that 137 people were killed by right-wing extremists from 1990 to 2010, nearly three times as many as the official figure at 47 (Jansen, Kleffner, Radke and Staud 2010). Three groups of victims figure prominently in the death toll detailed by the newspapers: Foreigners, left-wing political opponents, and homeless people. Official figures are probably lower because they are based on a legal approach and limited to what has been proved by police investigation and found in court cases as far as motives are concerned.

3.2. Hate crime and terrorism

Hate crime is another possible designation for activities by the extreme right. In recent years, this concept has been introduced legally in the United States as well as in other liberal democracies (Bleich 2011). Blazak (2011: 245) defines hate crime as "a criminal act that is motivated by a bias toward the victim or victims real or perceived identity group." Traditionally, the designation hate crime was used for acts of racism or xenophobia, including anti-Semitism, but has

been extended to cover homophobia, as well as victimization because of disability, religion, national origin or ancestry, gender and even age (Blazak 2011: 246). By introducing legal measures concerning discrimination against identified groups, crimes that were already on the book as punishable (making threats, assault, causing bodily harm, etc.) may be punished mores severely so as to "penalise opinions that are seen as especially harmful because they are a central element in the commission of a crime." (Bleich 2011: 918).

At first sight the definition of hate crime focuses on the relationship between the perpetrator and the victim, whereas in terrorism the key element is the intention to generate fear in a wider audience, influence or coerce a third party.

However, Blazak argues that hate crimes work "the exact same way" as acts of terrorism: "Targets are randomly selected to make a political, social, or religious point (workers in the World Trade Centers or black residents in a White neighborhood) and actors (who are often anonymous) violate the law in hopes of advancing some larger goal (removing US military bases from Saudi Arabia or getting black residents to move out of White neighborhoods) and send a larger message of fear to the wider community (of Americans or African-Americans). Cross burnings, gay bashings, and spray-painted swastikas are all designed to send a terroristic message."

(Blazak 2011: 248). This would seem to stretch the concept of terrorism to cover types of activities or threats not conventionally thought of as acts of terrorism.

Probably the result would be that more activities of the extreme right could be covered by the terrorism label, but the same would go for activities, actually violent or not, from other quarters. Do we want a situation where the concept of

terrorism is extended to cover speech acts, participation in demonstrations or protests?

In his book *Inside Terrorism* Bruce Hoffman (1998: 43) defined terrorism "as the deliberate creation and exploitation of fear through violence or the threat of violence in the pursuit of political change" (Hoffman 1998: 43). He argues that terrorism is designed to have "far-reaching psychological effects beyond the immediate victim(s)" of the attack, that is, the intention is to intimidate target audiences, so as to obtain leverage through publicity (Hoffman 1998:44). Nevertheless, he started out his discussion on the definition of terrorism by noting that "Indeed, virtually any especially abhorrent act of violence that is perceived as directed against society - whether it involves the activities of anti-government dissidents or governments themselves, organized crime syndicates or common criminals, rioting mobs or persons engaged in militant protest, individual psychotics or lone extortionists - is often labelled 'terrorism'." (Hoffman 1998: 1).

The discussion on the activities of the extreme right would have to relate to this. It might be tempting to use the term terrorism because of the political and public attention devoted to this problem in recent years, and in order to have these activities recognized as a serious problem deserving political priority.

4. Conclusion

Has right-wing terrorism been on the increase recently? Judging from what data we have, probably not. Terrorism from the extreme right has especially manifested itself in Europe in three periods: a short period in the early 1960s', a long

period from the late 1960's until the 1980's, and in a short period in the early 1990's. Activity has been low since the 1990's. It appears to be characterized by groups having a shorter life span compared to the extreme left and especially minority nationalists. Nevertheless, the extreme right has sporadically been responsible for high lethality attacks: 1961, 1969, 1974, and 1980 (two attacks). Until the 22 July atrocities in Norway, the last two large- scale attacks happened 30 years ago.

That said, there is a need to disentangle the conceptual relationship between terrorism, extremism and hate crime. However, the temptation to use the designation 'terrorism' in order to have a problem recognized as a serious one deserving political priority should be avoided. The threat of political violence is a complex threat, with different expressions and varying modes of operation between the various ideological or motivational camps.

There is a need to understand under what circumstances those on the extreme right turn to terrorism, especially what kind of ideologies drive the development in this direction and whether present ideological developments in Europe has prepared the ground for higher levels of terrorist violence from the far right.

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Table 1. Death toll from internal terrorism in Western Europe 1950-2004 according to ideology or motivation of the perpetrators. Source: TWEED. N = 2823.

Motivation	Death toll	Percent

Ethnic nationalist	2200	77.9
Right-wing	340	12.0
Left-wing	220	7.9
Others	61	2.2

Total	2823	100.0

Figure 1. Annual death toll resulting from right-wing terrorism in Western Europe. Source: TWEED. N = 340.

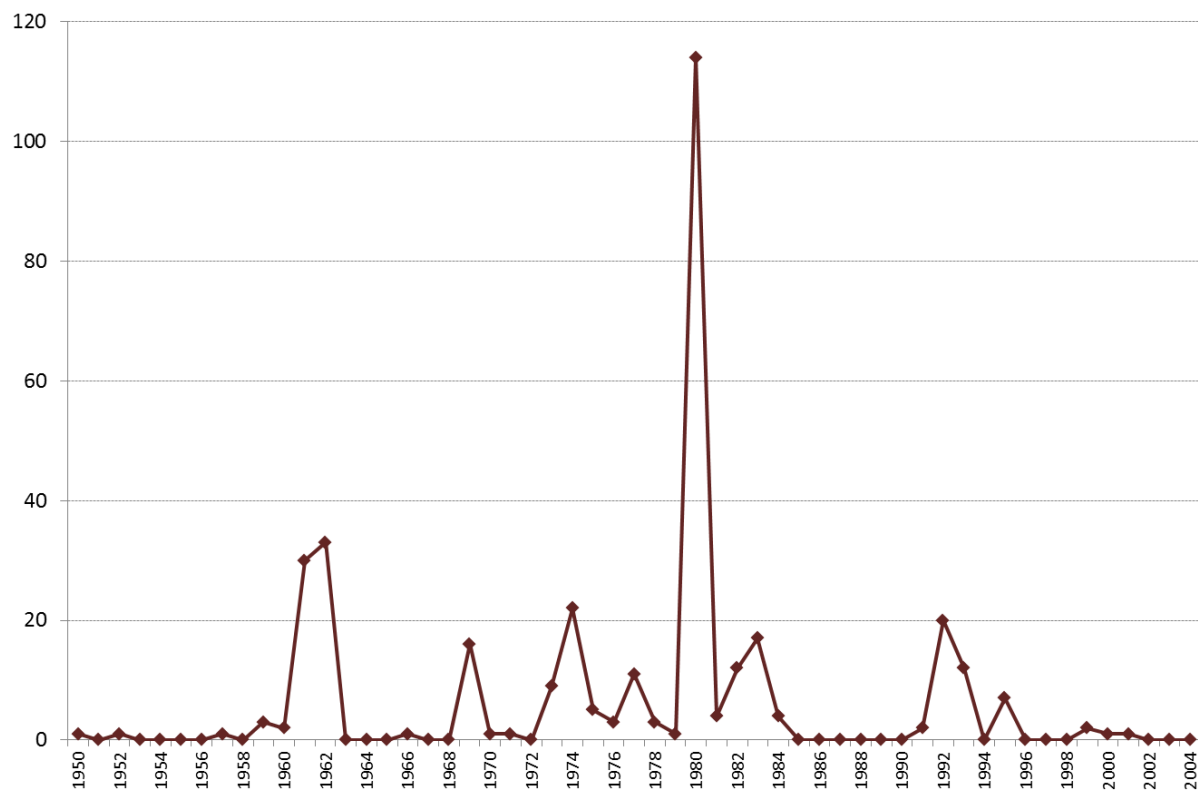


Figure 2. Terrorism in Europe in 2010 according to Europol's TE-SAT 2011 report (Europol 2011: 36).

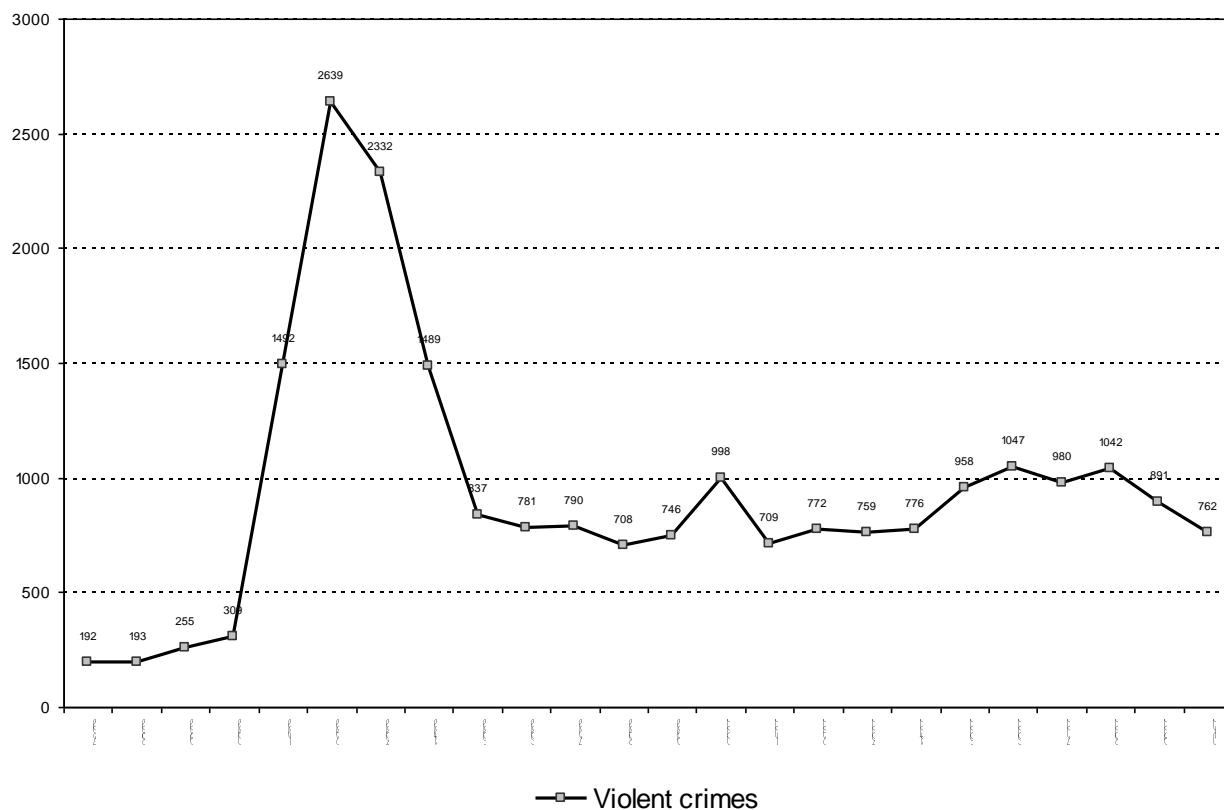
ANNEX 2: FAILED, FOILED AND COMPLETED ATTACKS IN 2010, PER MEMBER STATE AND PER AFFILIATION

Member State	Islamist	Separatist	Left-wing	Right-wing	Single-issue	Not specified	Total 2010
Austria	0	1	1	0	0	0	2
Czech Republic	0	0	1	0	0	0	1
Denmark	2	0	0	0	0	0	2
France	0	84	0	0	0	0	84
Greece	0	0	20	0	1	0	21
Italy	0	1	7	0	0	0	8
Spain	0	74	16	0	0	0	90
Sweden	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
United Kingdom	-	-	-	-	-	40	40
Total	3	160	45	0	1	40	249

Table 3. Right-wing politically motivated crime in Germany, 2010. Source: Bundesamt für Verfassungsschutz 2011: 36.

Straftaten mit extremistischem Hintergrund aus dem Bereich „Politisch motivierte Kriminalität – rechts“ *		
Gewalttaten	2009	2010
Tötungsdelikte	1	0
Versuchte Tötungsdelikte	5	6
Körperverletzungen	738	638
Brandstiftungen	18	29
Herbeiführen einer Sprengstoffexplosion	0	2
Landfriedensbruch	44	25
Gefährliche Eingriffe in den Bahn-, Luft-, Schiffs- und Straßenverkehr	4	4
Freiheitsberaubung	3	0
Raub	16	7
Erpressung	5	3
Widerstandsdelikte	57	48
Sexualdelikte	0	0
gesamt	891	762
Sonstige Straftaten		
Sachbeschädigungen	1.453	1.335
Nötigung/Bedrohung	146	127
Propagandadelikte	13.280	11.384
Störung der Totenruhe	24	18
Andere Straftaten, insbesondere Volksverhetzung	2.956	2.279
gesamt	17.859	15.143
Straftaten insgesamt	18.750	15.905

Figure 2. Violent crime from the extreme right in Germany, 1997-2010. Source: Verfassungsschutzbericht, annual reports.



Appendix 1. List of high lethality terrorist attacks involving Europe.

This list is composed of large- scale terror attacks with a death toll of 10 or more happening, starting or ending in Europe. Dead perpetrators have not been included in the death toll. Europe is understood as the current (2011) members of the European Union, plus Iceland, Norway and Switzerland (in other words, neither Russia nor Turkey is included). The list, with a total of 33 attacks, is chronological and covers the period since 1945. Right-wing attacks marked in bold.

Date	Place	Country	Description	Death toll
1961 18. juni	Vitry-le-François	Frankrike	Ekspresstoget fra Strasbourg-Paris rammes av en bombe og sporer av. Aksjonen knyttes til den høyreekstreme gruppen Organisation Armée Secrète (OAS).	28
1967 12. oktober	Middelhavet	Hellas	En bombe eksploderer om bord på Cyprus Airways flight 284 på veg fra Aten til Nicosia. Flyet styrter i Middelhavet ved Rhodos og alle om bord blir drept. Gjerningsmennene er ikke kjent.	66
1969 12. desember	Milano	Italia	En bombe eksploderer i en bank på Piazza Fontana. Den ble opprinnelig tilskrevet anarkister, senere nyfascister. Samme ettermiddag eksploderte også tre bomber i Roma og Milano, uten å ta liv, mens en fjerde bombe ikke gikk av.	17
1970 21. februar	Zürich	Sveits	En bombe eksploderer om bord på Swissair Flight 330 på veg fra Zürich til Tel Aviv og flyet styrter ved Luzern. Alle 47 om bord blir drept. Gjerningsmennene er ikke kjent.	47
1971 4. desember	Belfast	Storbritannia	En bombe eksploderer i McGurk's Bar. Den unionistiske gruppen Ulster Volunteer Force var ansvarlig.	15
1972 26. januar	Stockholm	Sverige	En bombe eksploderer om bord på JAT Flight 367 på ruten Stockholm-Beograd idet flyet er over Tsjekkoslovakia. Kroatiske gjerningsmenn fra Ustasja tar dagen etter på seg ansvaret.	27
1972 5. september	München	Tyskland	Deltagerlandsbyen med israelske olympiadeltagere angripes av den palestinske gruppen Svart September.	12
1973 17. desember	Roma	Italia	Flyplassen i Roma blir angrepet av væpnede palestinere. Folk på bakken og i et Pan Am-fly blir drept. Et Lufthansa-fly blir kapret med ytterligere tap av menneskeliv.	30
1974 4. februar	West Riding, Yorkshire	Storbritannia	En bombe eksploderer på en buss med britisk militærpersonell og deres familiemedlemmer. Provisional Irish Republican Army (PIRA) var ansvarlig.	12
1974 17. mai	Dublin	Irland	Tre bilbomber blir detonert i sentrum av Dublin og en bilbombe i Monaghan. Den unionistiske nord-irske gruppen Ulster Volunteer Force var ansvarlig.	33
1974 4. august	San Benedetto Val di Sambro	Italia	Italicus-ekspressen mellom Roma og München rammes av en bombe plassert av den høyreekstreme gruppen Ordine Nuovo.	12
1974 13. september	Madrid	Spania	Kaféen "Rolando" rammes av en bombe plassert av den baskiske gruppen Euskadi Ta Askatasuna (ETA).	13
1974 21. november	Birmingham	Storbritannia	En pub rammes av en tidsinnstilt bombe plassert av den nordirske gruppen Provisional Irish Republican Army (PIRA).	21
1976	Kingsmill	Storbritannia	Væpnede menn fra den nordirske gruppen South Armagh Republican Action Force angriper en minibuss med	10

5. januar			håndvåpen.	
1978 17. februar	Belfast	Storbritannia	En bombe plassert av Provisional Irish Republican Army (PIRA) rammer en hotel/restaurant.	12
1979 27. august	Warrenpoint	Storbritannia	To bomber plassert av Provisional Irish Republican Army (PIRA) dreper 18 britiske soldater i Nord-Irland, same dag som PIRA tok livet av Lord Mountbatten og tre andre over grensen i Irland.	18
1980 2. august	Bologna	Italia	Jernbanestasjonen i Bologna rammes av en bombe plassert av den høyreekstreme gruppen Nuclei Armati Rivoluzionari (NAR).	85
1980 26. september	München	Tyskland	En rørbombe detoneres ved inngangen til Oktoberfest-området. Høyreekstemisten Gundolf Köhler, som var tilknyttet den forbudte Wehrsportgruppe Hoffman, anses å ha vært alene om ugjerningen. Han døde selv i attentatet.	13
1982 20. juli	London	Storbritannia	Provisional Irish Republican Army (PIRA) setter av to bomber under militærseremonier i Hyde Park og Regent's Park.	11
1982 6. desember	Ballykelly	Storbritannia	En tidsinnstilt bombe plassert av den republikanske gruppen Irish National Liberation Army (INLA) rammer et diskotek.	17
1984 23. desember	Firenze	Italia	En bombe går av på ekspresstoget mellom Napoli og Milano. Ugjerningen knyttes til mafiaen.	17
1985 12. april	Madrid	Spania	En bombe rammer restauranten El Descanso. Den libanesiske gruppen Organisation du Jihad Islamique (OJI) knyttes til attentatet.	18
1985 23. juni	Atlanterhavet		Air India flight 182 på veg fra Montreal til London rammes av en bombe og styrter i havet sør for Irland. Sikhorganisasjonen Babbar Khalsa er utpekt som ansvarlig.	329
1985 23. november	Athen/Malta	Hellas/Malta	EgyptAir Flight 648 blir kapret av Abu Nidal Organization like etter avgang fra Athen. En egyptisk kommandogruppe stormer flyet. 54 personer blir drept, i tillegg til fire av kaprerne.	54
1985 27. desember	Roma Wien	Italia Østerrike	Væpnede men fra Abu Nidal Organization angriper flyplassen i Roma og dreper 16 mennesker. Samtidig ble flyplassen i Wien angrepet og ytterligere tre personer drept.	19
1986 14. juli	Madrid	Spania	En bombe plassert av den baskiske gruppen Euskadi Ta Askatasuna (ETA) rammer den spanske sivilgarden.	12
1987 19. juni	Barcelona	Spania	En bilbombe plassert av den baskiske gruppen Euskadi Ta Askatasuna (ETA) rammet et supermarked.	21
1987 8. november	Enniskillen	Storbritannia	En tidsinnstilt bombe rammet en minneseremoni for de falne i 1. verdenskrig. Bomben var plassert av Provisional Irish Republican Army (PIRA).	12
1987 11. desember	Zaragoza	Spania	Forlegningen til sivilgarden rammes av en bilbombe plassert av Euskadi Ta Askatasuna (ETA).	11
1988 21. desember	Lockerbie	Storbritannia	Pan Am flight 103 på veg fra London til New York rammes av en bombe og styrter over Skottland. Libyske agenter holdes ansvarlig.	270
1998 15. august	Omagh	Storbritannia	En bilbombe rammer en sentrumsgate. Real IRA var ansvarlig.	29
2004 11. mars	Madrid	Spania	Et titalls bomber rammer forstadstog fire ulike steder i Madrid. En gruppe tilhørende al-Qaeda var ansvarlig.	191

2005 7. juli	London	Storbritannia	Islamistiske selvmordsbombere angrep tre undergrunnstog og en buss. I tillegg de 52 ofrene som ble drept døde også de fire selvmordsbomberne.	52
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