

Research Report



VIA Netherlands

2014



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List of abbreviations

CD	Centrum Democraten	Centre Democrats
CP	Centrum Partij	Centre Party
CU	ChristenUnie	Christian Union
D66	Democraten 66	Democrats 66
FN (F)	Front National	National Front
GL	GroenLinks	GreenLeft
LPF	Lijst Pim Fortuyn	List Pim Fortuyn
NVU	Nederlandse Volks Unie	Dutch People's Union
NSB	Nationaal-Socialistische Beweging	National Socialist Movement
PVV	Partij Voor de Vrijheid	Freedom Party
PvdA	Partij van de Arbeid	Labourers' Party
SP	Socialistische Partij	Socialist Party
TON	Trots Op Nederland	Proud Of The Netherlands
VB (BE)	Vlaams Belang	Flemish Interest
VVD	Volkspartij voor Vrijheid en Democratie	People's Party for Freedom and Democracy

1. History and Background

In the Netherlands we don't know such a thing like 'racism'. It's just not in the Dutch nature to discriminate other people on the grounds of origin, race or ethnicityⁱ.

Rita Verdonk

Dutch denial

For a long time this has been the prevailing idea in the Netherlands, this progressive country in North-West Europe that has been internationally renowned for its tolerance, open-mindedness and multiculturalism. However, this prejudiced lack of self-criticism should be abandoned as the Netherlands are plagued by racist ideologies just as much as any other European country in its vicinity. Since colonial times and WWII, the Netherlands have had a significant share in the black pages in European history, resulting in an ambiguous dealing with the past, coloured by feelings of resentment and even denialⁱⁱ. To many a Dutch, the accusation of being a racist equals getting accused of being a Nazi. Nazism, in the way it manifested in the 1930's and 1940's, is generally considered as 'evil' and until today, with few exceptions, anti-Semitism is pretty much a tabooⁱⁱⁱ. In the decades following the end of WWII, openly aligning with (neo-) Nazism would generally lead to stigmatisation and social exclusion^{iv}. The Centre Democrats (CD) understood this and thus the extreme right got to compete with the established political parties in the 90's. CD evolved from some former NVU-members (Nederlandse Volks Unie or Dutch People's Union, an openly neo-Nazi party) choosing for a more moderate direction and was represented by Hans Janmaat. The elections of 1994 resulted in three seats in Dutch Parliament, however their success was short-lived. After the following elections in 1998, internal conflicts and scandals had led to losing all seats in parliament^v.

Creating a space for hate speech

Article 20, section 2 of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, ratified by 168 member states of the United Nations, circumscribes and prohibits hate speech:

2. Any advocacy of national, racial or religious hatred that constitutes incitement to discrimination, hostility or violence shall be prohibited by law.

As The Netherlands are party to the above-mentioned treaty, incitement to hatred (or: hate speech) has been criminalized in Dutch law. Throughout the years, however, it became more and more acceptable to make critical statements in the public sphere about immigration, multiculturalism, Islam and ethnic minorities and the boundaries between legitimate criticism and freedom of speech on the one hand and hate speech on the other hand, proved to be increasingly problematic to point out. This trend may have been initiated in the 90's by **Frits Bolkestein's** stand on immigration and asylum policy. He was one of the first liberal politicians (VVD) to set the topic on a critical agenda and to question the purpose and advantages of multiculturalism, hereby proclaiming what an extreme right voter wasn't allowed to say^{vi}. Later on, he proved to be an example for overtly admirers and PVV-members Geert Wilders and Martin Bosma^{vii}. Rene Danen, founder of the anti-racism movement Nederland Bekent Kleur [Netherlands Confess Colour] : "What Bolkestein did so well, was introducing a new type of racism; cultural racism. Until then you had a lot of economic racism in the sense that 'they steal our jobs' and 'they steal our houses' et cetera. But he came up with 'cultural racism': No, people are 'bad', because their culture is 'bad', because their religion is not good."

In 2001, the year in which **Pim Fortuyn** entered politics, the political and civil climate in The Netherlands underwent a turning point. This was made clear by Fortuyn openly portraying himself as a populist^{viii}, speaking up for the 'man in the street'. He joined Leefbaar Nederland [Liveable Netherlands] and was group chairman of Leefbaar Rotterdam [Liveable Rotterdam]. After he had stated that Article 1 of the Dutch Constitution, the equality principle, should be abolished, that Islam

is a retarded culture and that the country is 'full'^{ix}, Leefbaar Nederland demanded for his resignation in 2002 and he established Lijst Pim Fortuyn [List Pim Fortuyn]. For the elections in May 2002 he made himself noticed in the political arena by criticising the soft Dutch politics until that time, demanding for more security especially concerning drugs, making admission for refugees harder and advocating an absolute freedom of speech. Many Dutch citizens appreciated the fresh gust of wind blowing through their quenched politics. However, Fortuyn was shot to death by Volkert van der G. on May 6, 2002, only a few days prior to the elections. He was in fact the first politician to take it one big step further, by openly criticising Islam and multiculturalism without being considered a traditional right wing extremist by the mainstream voters. His controversial statements on Islam, immigration and the multicultural society were generally accepted and his preparedness to speak his mind was rather admired and rewarded by Dutch voters. This attitude demanded an overall change of mentality in Dutch society and thus it became clear that the country was from that time on balancing on a thin line between freedom of speech and incitement to hatred, which is illustrative for the following years. On the question whether Danen would consider Pim Fortuyn as extreme right, the answer was affirmative. "I always say, it's because of his rejection of article 1 of the Dutch Constitution^x. That is, in my opinion, what distinguishes the extreme right from the right." Willem Wagenaar, researcher at Anne Frank Stichting [Anne Frank House], had answered the same question in the negative.

Pim Fortuyn shared his position as 'one of Europe's high profile representatives of entitlement racism' with Frits Bolkestein, Rita Verdonk, Ayaan Hirsi Ali and eventually Geert Wilders^{xi}, all of them originating from the VVD.

Rita Verdonk established TON [Trots op Nederland/Proud of The Netherlands] after having been forced to leave the VVD in 2007. Although her standpoints on immigration were often questionable, she should not be categorised as extreme right. Danen: "She was balancing on the edge, but she was a member of VVD and that already mattered. And I never heard her rejecting article 1 of the Dutch Constitution. (...) Her merit was being the representative of the taboo on racism in The Netherlands. She literally said during her most important speech for the kick-off of her own movement, Proud of The Netherlands: 'Discrimination; we, Dutch, don't do such a thing.'"

Ayaan Hirsi Ali is of Somalian origin and responsible for putting female genital mutilation in Islam on the political agenda. Much appreciated by many feminists and fore-fighters of rights of the child, she was also an outspoken critic of Islam. Together with Theo van Gogh she produced the movie Submission, insulting large parts of Muslim society by portraying texts of the Q'uran on a naked woman's body. Ayaan Hirsi Ali was also an advocate of the freedom of speech as the right to insult.

Theo van Gogh was a Dutch filmmaker and columnist, notorious for his anti-Semitic and anti-Islam statements. He successfully positioned himself as an enfant terrible, advocating an unlimited freedom of speech. Most infamous are his qualification of Muslims as 'goatfuckers' and his verbal attack on Jewish writer Leon de Winter, saying that 'a whiff of Zyklon-B is always interesting in a country that barely lifted a finger as its Jewish inhabitants were murdered. Especially for commercial purposes.'^{xii} The list of similar provocative statements is rather extensive and eventually he was stabbed to death on November 2, 2004 by Mohammed B. in Amsterdam.

The events of subsequently 9/11 in 2001, the murder of Pim Fortuyn in 2002 and the murder of Theo Van Gogh in 2004 have each caused a tremendous shockwave in The Netherlands. The attitude of the Dutch towards immigrants and Muslims in particular underwent a dramatic change and political language became harsher and more critical with time.

In the case of Pim Fortuyn, who was shot by a left wing activist, the aggressions were aimed at the politicians and their parties who, in the perspective of the aggressors, had 'demonised' Pim Fortuyn. Their offices were vandalised and they themselves received death threats, such as envelopes containing bullets^{xiii}. Two years later, the attack against Van Gogh clearly came from the Muslim fundamentalist side and the anger was now directed at anything that had to do with Islam. It led to a wave of arson of Islamic schools and mosques and racist graffiti all over the country.

Mariem, Dutch activist of Moroccan origin: “When Theo Van Gogh got killed – I must have been 12 or 13 years old – I really felt that nobody liked me anymore, because people were looking at you as if you were all terrorists. 9/11, exactly the same.” Wagenaar: “There was a peak around 2005. Theo van Gogh just got murdered and then you could really speak of a wave of racist violence in The Netherlands. That was brutal. After that you actually saw a decrease until 2012, when we saw an increase for the first time since then.” It is not possible yet to point out the cause of this increase, as was the case with 9/11 or Theo van Gogh. Wagenaar: “So we are now waiting for the numbers [of racist attacks] of 2013, to see if the increase has set forth or how to regard it.”

Current affairs

All the foregoing culminated in the current reluctance to speak out against the PVV and Geert Wilders. Wilders, originating from the VVD founded the PVV [Freedom party] in 2006. The PVV is characterized by its undemocratic composition (i.e. Geert Wilders *is* the PVV) and its hostile standpoints on Islam and immigration. Nederland Bekent Kleur produced an extensive overview of Islamophobic and xenophobic statements Geert Wilders has made throughout the years: www.watwilwilders.nl.

In Spring 2014 a wave of racist violence passed through Duindorp, a working-class quarter in The Hague. Foreigners who wanted to settle in this area were constantly intimidated and made clear they're not welcome by means of graffiti with racist slogans and swastika's, a pig's head nailed against a façade or the throwing in of windows^{xiv}.

In Summer 2014, several demonstrations took place in, again, The Hague. On 24th of July a pro-Palestina demonstration was held in the Schilderswijk, which turned out to be more of the like of an anti-Jews protest^{xv}, fuelling the fire of the enemies of Islam. On August 10th, Pro Patria, claiming they were a group of worried citizens of The Hague, held an anti-Muslim march through the streets of Transvaal and the Schilderswijk. Pro Patria, an organisation no one had heard of before, turned out to be a mere collection of members and representatives of every extreme right group in The Netherlands^{xvi}. Geert Wilders could not stay behind and called for a demonstration on September 20th in the same Schilderswijk, in order to reclaim the quarter as Dutch territory and to make clear it was not a 'sharia-area'^{xvii}. The demonstration was relocated by the municipalities out of fear for (repeated) public disturbance. Hence Wilders decided not to participate in person for it only would make sense if the demonstration took place in that specific area^{xviii}.

2. Definitions

Geert Wilders obviously has a problem with Islam (“but not with Muslims”) and multiculturalism^{xix}, but would that be sufficient to qualify him and/or his party as extreme right? This question has kept the discussion alive and the solution at bay for years now.

It can be defended that Geert Wilders is a **populist**^{xx}. He clearly pretends to stand up for ‘Henk and Ingrid’, which would be the equivalent of ‘Mr. and Mrs. Average’. Besides, in all speeches he is confident that he is representing the opinion of all Dutch people.

Danen: “Populism is not the right word for Wilders. It is an euphemism that is used in The Netherlands. Wilders is *also* a populist, but the SP [Socialist Party] is too. And there's nothing wrong with being a populist in itself. To speak people's language and to want to do as the people desire, there's nothing wrong with that in itself. It's the racism which is the problem with Wilders and in The Netherlands 'populism' is used as an euphemism for racism. (...) If you'd say you're a populist, there would be nothing against it and that would be an excuse to treat you in the same way as all others.” That Geert Wilders is a **fascist** can also be argued; according to Rob Riemen he and his movement should even be regarded as the prototype of modern day fascism^{xxi}. The fact that Wilders is not **anti-Semitic** – he even attended the funeral of Sharon and spoke out repeatedly against Palestine in favour of Israel – does not affect him being fascist. What matters is that fascism cannot exist without an imaginary and omnipresent ‘enemy’^{xxii}. And in Western Europe, fascism shall wear the banners of

secularism and anti-Islam^{xxiii}. Whether Geert Wilders really is this pro-Israel as he pretends to be, can be questioned as well. Wagenaar: "That is the image he created himself very convincingly and rigorously and which definitely has a certain degree of truth, but if you take a closer look you would notice a few things. First of all, that what he supports is the ultra right in Israel in particular. They are his allies. Secondly, at the very moment you can make an actual difference in The Netherlands for the Jewish community, namely with regard to the debate around ritual slaughter, the PVV chooses for a prohibition on ritual slaughter. And thirdly, if you'd really be that pro-Jewish then how can it be possible that you collaborate with people who are explicitly anti-Semitic: Le Pen in the European Parliament, the FPÖ with Strache, Vlaams Belang who has an enormous tradition on that matter."

Thus the final question: are Geert Wilders and his PVV **extreme right**? The incapability of the Dutch public discourse to agree on a clear answer on this question has allowed Geert Wilders to roam freely in Dutch politics for nearly a decade now.

Wagenaar: "A part of the confusion has to do with the ideology of the PVV not being quite clear. Often there's not a clear line being set out, apart from us, the liberal West, being at war with a threatening Islam, who slowly but steadily tries to obtain world domination through all kinds of techniques and foul tricks. But that on itself is not sufficient to qualify it as extreme right. You need more in order to do that. (...) What we thought was important, was to look at the history and background of the movement, the people behind. Where do they have their roots? Because what you saw before was, since the 1930's and onwards, actually a continuous circle of the same people with some renewal and new forces. Is there a **social genealogy**? Secondly, you often see, apart from the hostility from the 'virtuous' political parties and 'virtuous' citizens, that existing extreme right groups are observing and would say 'they belong with us'. We call it the **magnet function**. Is there some kind of attraction between existing extreme right groups? And the **ideology** itself; what do we actually see of their ideological basis. And with Fortuyn, we didn't see any of these three points. So he was not extreme right. With Wilders, we had a problem in 2008. First of all, his party was in existence for a short time then and secondly, he did not have members or followers, or at least not visibly." The Anne Frank House was able to agree on the fact that there is an **ethnic dimension**.

Wagenaar: "Without any doubt, the way in which he treats Muslims is not 'religious critique', there's an ethnic factor in that." It was also agreed upon that the PVV can be considered an **authoritarian** organisation, without memberships or democratic votes, but still it was not sufficient to speak of extreme right. Jaap van Donselaar, who was a researcher for the Anne Frank House and currently works for the University of Leiden, came up with a new division of the extreme right: classical radical right on the one hand, and new radical right on the other. The latter would be designated for parties such as PVV. To Danen, the answer to the question is quite obvious: "I think the term 'extreme right' is used most frequently in The Netherlands and in the past, was reserved for parties such as the Centre Democrats. And in my opinion the PVV would definitely fall within that same category. (...) If there is a problem in The Netherlands, then it would be that it's not qualified as such.(...) Then it's called 'freedom of speech' or 'telling the truth' or all kinds of euphemisms. But it wasn't called racism nor extreme right, although in fact it obviously is."

The extreme right is not only represented in politics, but has its supporters in society as well:

- the anti-capitalist Zwart Front (Black Front)
- the Dutch-Flemish Voorpost, who carry NSB-flags^{xxiv}, oppose the government, the European Union and development aid.
- Identitair Verzet (Identitarian Resistance), claiming that they are PVV's extra-parliamentary action-wing, since they share the same goals with the PVV (anti-Islam and anti-multiculturalism)^{xxv}
- Blood & Honour Netherlands and their subgroup Ulfhednar.

Wagenaar: "For the remainder you have a lot of activist clubs, **neo-Nazi** clubs and **identitarian** clubs. Those are actually two groups with different orientation. In short: **neo-Nazi**'s base themselves on biological racism. White people are biologically different from black people, Jews, Asians and that

brings along specific characteristics. That's why we're not only different, but even better than them as well. There's a hierarchy and based on this order you must shape society and the state. They focus on Germany, on the Third Reich and they want the Germanic white people to come first. It's in this circle where you can find the NVU and there are a few very minuscule neonazi groups, who are also fighting amongst each other by the way. (...) Then you have the **identitarian** groups who are rather saying, in line with Vlaams Belang, that the Dutch People is a cultural entity. Voorpost and Identitarian Resistance, those are groups that belong to this movement, which in The Netherlands is all very small and marginal. They say; 'We have a cultural tradition in this region, which shows through our collective values and our language in particular.' So they focus very much on language regions, including The Netherlands, Flanders, the north of France and South-Africa. Why Surinam and the Dutch Antilles have no part in this is something you can think of yourself. Anyway, they oppose cultural influences, such as the English language in The Netherlands. Coca Cola, McDonalds, they're all not welcome, but of course the same goes for immigrants and Muslims in particular. They're all small, marginal and that has to do with them fighting each other all the time and secondly, because of the lack of new forces."

3. Manifestations

Nederlandse Volks Unie/ Dutch People's Union (NVU)

The NVU has a long and controversial history in Dutch politics since its establishment in 1971. It is important to keep in mind that this party never had the pretence not to be based on national socialistic ideology. It never distanced itself from xenophobia or anti-Semitism. They are overt neo-Nazi. In 1979/1980 the Centre Party (CP) splintered off from the NVU with their leader Hans Janmaat, who in 1984 left the CP in order to continue as the leader of CD. The short success of Hans Janmaat pushed the NVU off the stage and in 1981 the NVU's founder and renowned neo-Nazi Joop Glimmerveen gave up his presidency. For some years it remained quiet around the NVU, until current leader Constant Kusters announced a restart in 1996. Anno 2014, the NVU is politically active and participates in local elections.

Partij Voor de Vrijheid / Freedom Party (PVV)

In 2010 the cabinet Rutte I was formed. CDA and VVD formed the coalition, but since it was a minority cabinet, they were supported by the PVV. They withdrew the support in 2012, causing the collapse of the cabinet and calling for new elections. The reason was a dispute regarding proposed austerity measures. The collaboration with PVV has cost CDA a tremendous amount of votes and having been one of the leading political parties in The Netherlands for a long time, they fell into disgrace with their voters. Despite causing a cabinet crisis, the withdrawal did not prove to be much to PVV's disadvantage.

In the run up to the local elections on March 19th 2014 Wilders had caused some serious turmoil in the political arena by explicitly proclaiming that he wants to get rid of all the Moroccans^{xxvi}. For the first time, he wasn't referring to only criminal Moroccans. Most politicians distanced themselves from Wilders' obvious racism and publicly opened attack on him. In this period, a wave of comparisons of Geert Wilders with Hitler was unleashed on which Geert Wilders responded by threatening (or promising) to file a complaint against each and every one who dared to make these , in his words, 'disgusting' references.

When the German press agency DPA compared Wilders' anti-Moroccan speech with Goebbels' call to war in 1943, his response was that these kind of allegations were 'too disgusting for words'^{xxvii}.

A few examples of Wilders' and PVV's public actions:

- March 2008: Geert Wilders launches the short anti-Islam film 'Fitna' on the internet through LiveLeak.
- December 2008: Geert Wilders announces a grand European tour with his film 'Fitna'.

- June 2011: The Greek embassy in The Hague has refused to receive Geert Wilders, who wanted to present them with a 1,5m drachme banknote as an incentive for Greece to leave the European Union^{xxviii}.

- September 2011: PVV MP De Rooy states that 'the Islamic monkey appeared once again ['is weer eens uit de mouw gekomen']'. He resides in Ankara this time and his name is Erdogan^{xxix}.

- February 2012: The PVV launches 'Meldpunt Midden- en Oost-Europeanen'^{xxx}. This is a hotline which people can call to complain about people from Central- and Eastern European countries.

- November 2013: Geert Wilders wanted to 'shock' the Islamic world by presenting and distributing stickers showing the Saudi-Arabian flag with the text: Islam is a lie, Muhammed is a criminal, the Q'uran is poison^{xxxi}.

- May 2014: Saudi-Arabia is considering to take economic measures against The Netherlands as a response^{xxxii}.

It may be clear that Geert Wilders' attitude in foreign relations is causing The Netherlands severe damage in their economic and trade relations as well.

Prosecution

With his persistent criticism on Islam, immigration and Moroccans, Geert Wilders has been balancing on the edge of what was still legally allowed and what should be regarded as a criminal offence. In 2007 several collectives combined forces and initiated a criminal case against Geert Wilders for his insults and discrimination of Islam and Muslims. Danen was one of the initiators: "By that time we had collected around 75 statements by Wilders, so from the first 4 years that he was there. We brought them before the court, while others did the same, and eventually, after a lot of legal hustle, it resulted in a criminal case." At first instance the public prosecutor didn't want to take up the case to prosecute Wilders for violation of article 137 c (or d) of the Criminal Act, referring to hate speech. Danen: "The access to the court was far from easy. At first instance they refused to take the case in consideration.(...) Then we did an article 12-procedure, which means that you go to court to enforce a case to be taken in consideration. The judges then decided that there should come a criminal case after all." Finally the case resulted in acquittal for Wilders. His statements could not be considered as hate speech on the grounds of religion, since Wilders deliberately offends Islam and not the Muslims themselves. And in our legal society, criticism – even in harsh terms – of a religion is allowed^{xxxiii}. It must be noted here that both Jean-Marie Le Pen (Front National France) and Daniel Féret (Front National Belgique) have been convicted by their national courts for making similar statements in public^{xxxiv}. However, in 2014 in The Hague, Wilders was not referring to Muslims, but to Moroccans whilst not making any specification. Thus he was referring to *all* Moroccans, of whom we should want to have less in our country, and not just to the individuals of Moroccan origin who cause trouble with their criminal behaviour. Hence his statement was a generalisation, directly aimed at a group of certain ethnic origin. More than 6000 Dutch have subsequently filed a criminal complaint against Wilders for hate speech based on ethnic origin.

Local elections 2014:

Besides Geert Wilders' pitiful performance in The Hague, the elections were interesting in more ways. **The PVV** was participating in no more than two municipalities: The Hague and Almere. In The Hague, PVV got 14,1 % of the votes, which is less than in 2010 (16,7%). Although they are the second largest party in The Hague (after sworn enemy D66, with 15,4%), the PVV loses 1 seat in comparison with 2010 (8 to 7). In Almere, PVV triumphed with 20,6% of the votes. In 2010 they had 21,5% and so the PVV remains on 9 seats. It should be noted that, since the PVV was rather absent in the actual elections, 60% of the PVV-voters did not go to vote at all on March 19th.

The NVU was also partaking in the local elections in three places: Westland, Purmerend and Arnhem. In Arnhem, D66 and SP triumphed, while NVU got 0,72% of the votes and thus nil seats. In Westland, NVU got 406 votes out of 47418 valid votes, which is also equal to zero seats. In Purmerend, NVU has also 'won' a total of nil seats.

In Rotterdam, the party of late Pim Fortuyn, **Leefbaar Rotterdam**, currently led by Joost Eerdmans has gained a vast part of the votes: 28,2% (in 2010: 28,1%). Far behind were the former leading party PvdA (Labourers' Party) with 15,7 %, D66 with 12,4% and the SP with 10,4%.

European Elections 2014

The PVV also participated in the European elections of 2014. Their election programme focused on The Netherlands leaving the EU as well as the Eurozone, thus advocating the reintroduction of the Dutch guilder, and closing the borders for all immigrants from Islamic and Eastern European countries. The PVV obtained 13,2 % of the votes, which was less than with the elections in 2009, but resulted in the same amount of seats in the European Parliament (4)^{xxxv}. The PVV is, together with Front National, part of the European Alliance for Freedom^{xxxvi}.

Others

It would be wrong to maintain that racism is only committed by the political right.

Danen: "There is a whole series of racist bills and discriminating standpoints, also for example the standpoint of the SP [Socialist Party] with respect to the Polish, standpoints of Green Left on headscarves. You could find it in every party, in some more than in others, but all parties had begun to lean in that direction." One example is the statement made by MP Hans Spekman (PvdA) in an interview dating from October 18th, 2008, that "the Moroccans who refuse to behave should be humiliated in front of their own people"^{xxxvii}. Another example is the statement made by Diederik Samsom, party leader of PvdA, in 2011, that "Moroccans have an ethnic monopoly on street harassment"^{xxxviii}. The PVV filed a complaint against Spekman and Samsom, which the Public Prosecutor refused to take into consideration. On November 3th, 2014 Wilders announced that the PVV started an article 12-procedure in order to have them prosecuted after all^{xxxix}. Obviously, this is Wilders' way to respond on his own prosecution, by fighting his opponents with the same means.

4. Propaganda tools and communication strategies

Communication strategies are used to share message with the (wider) public. These strategies are used by everyone, everywhere at all the times. It is hard to denote some specific forms of communication as being explicitly used to get an extreme right message across. The following observations can therefore never be taken as 'always' acts/expressions of extreme right beliefs. For the observations on how extreme right groups in the Netherlands communicate with their followers, potential followers, and non-followers, the websites of most-known extreme right groups in the Netherlands are under exam (e.g. Stormfront^{xl}, Voorpost, Identitair Verzet, NVU, PVV). The first thing to notice is their preference for certain colors. Then, the language that they use has great similarities and also the narratives or heroic happenings show commonalities. Right-wing groups often portray themselves as heroes, saviors, as the strong people who protect you from evil. In this chapter, the division is made between institutions and parties, extra parliamentary groups, and individuals in civil society. Since we're trying to highlight the ongoing discussion in the Netherlands; whether the PVV is extreme right or not, this party is the only one political party or institution we're looking at. Considering extra parliamentary groups Wagenaar mentioned in the interview that most of the right-wing groups in the Netherlands are very small, often restricted in their activities by law, thus not very active. For these groups, the main way of communicating is via websites and social media.

Institutions and Parties

The PVV

The PVV is a very active political party, but are they openly extreme right, extreme left, populist, all of that at the same time, or something different. Because this is an ongoing discussion, this group,

led by Geert Wilders, deserves a closer look and some more attention. As far as communication tools can be as human beings, Geert Wilders definitely is the most important means of communication for the PVV. As founder, spokesman, leader of the party, the PVV and Wilders are in a true symbiotic relationship. Often the PVV and Geert Wilders are used interchangeably. What tools does he use to communicate? What is the message that he tries to get across? Whether or not someone considers the PVV extreme right, for this chapter let's take a closer look at the similarities to the more silent extreme right groups.

Immediately it becomes apparent that Geert Wilders uses a lot of different tools to communicate his thoughts. The following examination of the communication tools shows that there are some right-wing commonalities.

Media

Let's start with the most important communication tool of the PVV, the Media; specifically TV, but he also appears on radio shows. At times of important political events—local or national elections—or releases of his film or book, Geert Wilders often chooses the Media to bring across his message. In TV interviews he seems to be well prepared. He knows the critical questions that will be asked and his answers are carefully composed. It is a game of words, full of repetition rather than a well-founded argument. Discussions are not much appreciated by Wilders. He usually ends difficult conversations by repeating sentences that he used before. Important to note is that in the course of several years, Wilders became less careful. Previous he would carefully speak about Islam, and not about Muslims (for example while speaking about his film *Fitna* in 2009 on the American show “The O'Reilly factor”^{xlii}), he now speaks about less Moroccans without taking the opportunity for rectification in news items on television (2014)^{xlii}. Where he, in previous years, often repeated his point of view to news-journalists, they now don't get the chance to ask Wilders about certain topics. He mostly says that he has no comments and walks away.

Website

Looking at the website of the PVV, we see that it contains a lot of film clips of Geert Wilders when he appears in the Media. This suggests that Media is strategically used for communication. Besides these clips, there are some written news items, for which the titles are chosen with care. Words such as 'friends', 'liberate the Netherlands' is appealing to everyone and when something happens because of other parties; something that Dutch people are 'victims' of, such as the extra taxes to be paid, the reaction on the website of the PVV calls this a 'serious disgrace'. By choosing this particular language, Wilders creates an image of the PVV as a creature who is your friend, who strives for a better place and who protects you from the mean people that do the evil things you are victim of. The word *Vrijheid* (translates into Freedom) in the name of the party on top of the webpage is made bold, to catch the immediate attention. Moreover, referring to the symbiotic relationship between the party and Geert Wilders, in nearly all the pictures on the homepage—except one—Geert Wilders is prominently on the forefront, or in the center. He is clearly the person on the front lines, whilst others are behind him.

Then we look at the color scheme. The colors that are used are the colors of the Dutch national flag; red, white and blue. Out of these three colors, it is a clever choice to use blue as background color. It dominates the page and can be symbolically misleading. Purposely chosen or not, blue is known for its complex symbolic meaning. The contradictions of the meaning of the different shades of blue range from peace and serenity (light blue, that forms the border of the inner square) and trust, dignity, intelligence and authority (dark blue where this light color is merging into)^{xliii}. At a glance the website thus evokes a feeling of reliability, of something good.

Short Film

In 2008 there was a lot of commotion when Geert Wilders introduced and produced a short anti-Islam film called *Fitna*. Because he is a political figure, the film is used to convey a political message. The questionable purpose of the movie led to commotion, and the commotion provided Wilders a lot

of (negative) attention. It gave him the opportunity to travel around the world, promoting his movie and to tell his story about the dangers of Islam. He claimed to be allowed to pursue his political goals in the name of freedom of speech. The fact that Wilders was not allowed to enter the UK, increased the debate on the freedom of speech, not really on the content of the movie^{xliv}. Eight months later Wilders wins the appeal against the ban and travels to the UK to promote his political views^{xlv}. The film is based on symbolic communication. By using images, music, meta-narrative and metaphors, Wilders overcharges the content which basically prevents people from thinking clearly. The most important symbolic meaning is that the entire movie can be seen as a metaphor for war. "The language in the film, in written text, audio material and images, consists of the grammar of war. Take for example Wilders' political message towards the end of the film: "Stop Islamisation, Defend our Freedom" and "Islamic ideology must be defeated" (emphasis added). Likewise throughout the film, male Arabic speakers use the language of war apparent in words such as victory, kill and take-over. The visual material of explosions and corpses are similar indicators to the war metaphor."^{xlvi} Geert Wilders clearly portrays Muslim men as if they actively practice warfare. With that, he activates the viewers' defense mechanism which reinforces an ideological 'common sense' of defending ourselves.

Demonstrations

Every now and then the PVV organizes or participates in demonstrations. In 2013, soon after Wilders started collaborations with extreme-right parties Vlaams Belang, Front National and Swedish Democrats, he called for a mass demonstration on Malieveld in The Hague against the Government policy^{xlvii}. These new collaborations suggest a firm radicalization of the party. This is one of the reasons that the demonstration on the 21st of September 2013, was attended by all radical and extreme right parties in the Netherlands. The most recent events regarding demonstrations is that Wilders announces in August that he wants thousands of people to support the demonstration of Pro Patria^{xlviii} on the 20th of September 2014 against the Islamic State^{xlix}. Their plan was to demonstrate in a specific area (Schilderswijk) in The Hague. When the mayor of The Hague announced that the demonstration is not allowed in that specific area, Wilders pulls out. He says that the whole demonstration does not make sense outside of that area. It is one of the statements they wanted to make: that specific area is for Dutch people, and that is what they wanted to show^l.

Extra-parliamentary

Besides the PVV, there are a couple of small extreme right wing groups in the Netherlands. According to Willem Wagenaar, they do not bundle their forces, but often they disagree with each other. As mentioned in the last paragraph, sometimes these groups take their chances to join demonstrations when the PVV allows them. Despite the PVV's radicalizing path, these small groups will not identify themselves with the Geert Wilders' party.

In this part we take a closer look at how these groups communicate. There is one main communication tool, which is the Internet. Besides their websites, there is also an option to follow Identitair Verzet, Voorpost and NVU on Facebook. The NVU also has a magazine, but that can only be purchased online (via a registration process). There is no insight in how many magazines are in circulation.

Colors, and logo's

As discussed before, also on the website of the extra parliamentary groups the colors schemes match the colors of the national flags. Stormfront and NVU use, like the PVV does, red-white-blue. Stormfront originates in the UK, but the Union Jack has the same colors as the Dutch flag. The NVU has an additional color, which is orange; the color that Dutch sports players wear. Orange symbolically refers to the Dutch Royal Family. Identitair Verzet uses the colors yellow and black, which is the greatest contrast in colors that you can have. In nature, this color scheme indicates

warning sign, for example the colors of wasps. Voorpost, which is a bit of Flanders in the Netherlands, has more colors on the website. They use different shades of blue, even a bit of gray and preferring yellow-black in their logo. Because their identity is based on two countries, it is difficult to just follow one color scheme.

The logo's that are used are linked to nationalism and resistance. Stormfront uses the celtic cross with their mission statement 'white pride world wide'. The cross indicates their Christian roots. Identitair Verzet uses the Omega as a signature, which is a symbol of resistance. The NVU's main logo on their site contains the Dutch flag. In addition they use various symbols such as the celtic cross, the tree of life and the symbol 'blood and soil' which are similar symbols as the other groups use. All these symbols are shown in demonstrations, on their clothing as well as on the banners. The use of symbols that derive from religions and ancient beliefs, create a feeling of recognition, trustworthiness and suggests their thoughts are long standing and reliable.

Language and narratives

Reading stories on the websites, and on the Facebook pages, it becomes clear that they put a lot of emphasis on the construction of 'us' and 'them'. To create this feeling, they highlight important historical events such as the attacks on the twin towers on 9/11 and the killings of Pim Fortuyn and Theo van Gogh in the Netherlands. They narrate these events in such a way that they create fear for what 'the others' did. This subsequently strengthens the feeling of 'we', 'us' and 'ours', to join forces in combating the evil other. In other words, by linking these shocking events to the identity of 'the others' it creates a common sense of 'we' and 'us' to fight against it.

There are more ways of playing with language that also contribute to the imaging of 'us' and 'others'. All sites show some sort of anger in their messages about situations that you can not combat on your own. For instance Identitair Verzet writes about the failure of multiculturalism, NVU focuses on the fight against Europe and for freedom of speech. The messages create a sense of victimization, that consequently strengthens the 'us' against 'the others'. Stormfront even puts this victimization prominently on their homepage; "Yet we are demonized as 'racists'". The issues raised on their websites are important for everyone, and they portray these issues as 'nothing has been done about it' by using phrases as 'it is enough', 'it's been going on for too long now', 'things need to change'. They try to make people feel that there is no other option than to join forces for real changes. Together, with them.

Individuals in Civil society

According to Willem Wagenaar the number of individuals that have sympathy for extreme right thoughts are limited. People who openly show sympathy for an extreme right wing group are often treated disadvantageously in society. Especially now the internet has become such a great database for, for example, potential employers to search for information about possible employees. Mostly, when someone is openly affiliated with an extreme right wing group, they don't stand a chance of getting a job.

The Internet, however, provides a back door for people that 'openly' want to support extreme right wing groups. In the comment sections on various websites there is the option to express their thoughts and emotions anonymously. Because the majority of the comments are made anonymously, there are no consequences for them in their private lives. On one of the websites where Geert Wilders' book is sold, most of the comments praise Wilders for his honesty and clear political expression. A few mention that they lost faith in him, after the release of the film Fitna and his behavior related to this release.

It is accepted in society is to support the PVV, although some followers (and party members) are shocked by his radicalizing statements such as wishing for less Moroccans in the Netherlands. However, this does not seem to have consequences for the number of votes in the Netherlands¹¹.

5. Good Practices

5.1.Organisation

Combined forces obviously increase efficiency and effect, hence a few examples of successful political and/or social organisation:

NIDA

This 'political party with Rotterdam DNA and an Islamic inspiration'^{lii} sure was a surprising newcomer with the local elections in Rotterdam in 2014. For their first participation they did remarkably well by obtaining 4,7% of the votes and thus 2 seats. When the VVD had managed to stir up emotions in Rotterdam through their campaign slogan "In Rotterdam we speak Dutch", NIDA responded with posters, stating: "In Rotterdam we speak more than 100 languages."

Landelijk Beraad Marokkanen [National Meeting Moroccans]

Founded in 2010 as a reaction to Geert Wilders' film Fitna. President is Mohammed Rabbae, former party member of GL, and has frequently spoken out against Wilders. He refers to Geert Wilders and Rita Verdonk as populists and muslim racists^{liii}.

Together with Nederland Bekent Kleur, LBM initiated the first trial against Wilders.

Dutch Moroccan Entrepreneurs (Nederlands Marokkaanse Ondernemers).

Resulting from the campaign 'Mocro's be like born here' with the aim of organising frequent network gatherings. Mariem: "They come together, after everything that went on politically, from the notion that as Dutch Moroccan entrepreneurs, they can mean something for young people and for each other. It started with a Facebook-page for finding companies, internships and jobs and it has now been developed into a network gathering."

We Are Here

When Mouthena was told his request for asylum in The Netherlands was denied, he got in touch with people who were in the same situation and together they founded We Are Here.

Mouthena: "I'm now leader of an action group, We Are Here, and they are my family. We do everything together. We sleep together, we eat together and we share everything. I lost my mother and I lost my life, but a group like We Are Here has a lot to give me."

5.2.Political participation

Apart from abstaining from voting on extreme right parties, there are more ways for citizens to draw attention to situations of human rights violation. Mouthena: "All we want from Dutch society is for them to be together to change this slavery system and to tell their political parties, whether it's PvdA, ChristenUnie, GroenLinks, D66 or whatever, that it has to stop.(...) Everyone has a different political party, that is another issue, but I want from them [Dutch population] to explain to them our situation is a problem and that it must be on the agenda for every political party." We Are Here also addresses political parties directly. Mouthena: "I work with some friends to organise open debates with 2 people from Vluchthaven [Refugee harbor], 2 people from Vluchtgarage [Refugee garage] and 1 from Vluchtmarkt [Refugee market]^{liv}, to sit together. And we invite some political parties, on national, local and district level to talk about our situation and what we can do. We can even invite VVD, to sit here and to talk and to hear what they want to say."

5.3.Demonstration

On March 22nd, only a few days after Geert Wilders' inciting speech in The Hague, the National Committee 21st of March had organised a large demonstration against racism at the Museum Square in Amsterdam. Although the demonstration has been planned long before Geert Wilders' infamous speech, the timing could not have been better. Approximately 9000 people took up their banners and came to the Dutch capital to speak up against not only racism in general, but also against Geert Wilders in particular. The research team was present at this demonstration as well and took the



**In
Rotterdam
spreken
we
meer dan
100 talen**



opportunity to distribute some questionnaires regarding the effectiveness of demonstrations as a good practice. A total of 54 completed questionnaires were handed back in. The questionnaires as well as the results can be found in Appendix II resp. Appendix III. The results of the questionnaires show us that a vast majority of the respondents consider demonstrations a highly suitable means for raising awareness within society. In order to influence policy, on the other hand, expectations are less high. A significant number of respondents has also answered that their initial intention, when taking part in demonstrations, is to deliver an active contribution to society. Therefore, it should be concluded that demonstrations, either in the form of organising them as in attending them, are indeed a good practice.



Rene Danen has been organising demonstrations against racism already since the establishment of the organisation Nederland Bekent Kleur in the late 1990s: “You should not live in the illusion that racism disappears, not by demonstrating either. I think you should be willing to demonstrate against racism for eternity. If you don’t, it will only grow bigger. In this case the effect will be that extreme right gets free range and is no longer contradicted and that would be the greatest danger that could happen with extreme right. That the others remain silent (...) It’s always and-and. You need to take action, not only by demonstrating, it can also be a different way of taking action.”

The demonstration of 22nd of March was the biggest demonstration against racism in 20 years.

“People also need to have the idea that it is useful at that moment. And also because of the filing of complaints, because of the combination, people were thinking; ‘Now there is an opportunity for us to do something. It’s useful that I come.’”

Unfortunately, despite 9000 people being present, the media coverage has been deemed unsatisfactory by the supporters. Mariem: “Not a single medium, RTL News, NOS News, nobody had broadcasted it. 9000 people in 1 city and they all stand for the same: against racism. Nothing at all and I think the media has an enormous impact there. A few brats are robbing a jeweller and that takes huge proportions. 9000 people, on the other hand, who stand united against one thing. Whether you are Moroccan, Turkish, there were even Jews and it really didn’t matter. They were standing there for one cause and no attention was given to it.”

However, the demonstration has had a great effect. “Not for the media, but the effect that there still exist people who have a certain heart, a human heart. That’s how I see it. So there are still people opposing the fact that people think that way. We feel supported by people, by other cultures and by people who sympathise anyway. Those people exist!”

We Are Here also organises demonstrations to draw attention for their cause. Mouthena: “You know, we demonstrate to make our problem visible for the Dutch society. To show them why we are here, why we don’t go back or why we won’t go to another country.”

5.4. Direct action

It can happen that a situation is that urgent, that a permission to demonstrate cannot be awaited.

Mouthena: “If we have a place to stay, we don’t do direct actions. We only do it when we don’t have any choice. When the government says they want to kick us out. Like last time in the Vluchtflat [Refugee flat] the government told us to get out. So we did an action and the government tells us; ‘sorry, we didn’t know about this. We will get you security and we will contact some organisations to help you’. That’s why we must do direct actions, without being radical.”

5.5. Legal action

Despite the first case against Wilders being with little consequence, filing a complaint still is an appropriate way to take action. Danen: “There is not much you can do. File a complaint. I think it works very well if you do it collectively.”

Following Geert Wilders’ hate speech in The Hague, many members of society have collectively filed complaints against Geert Wilders for incitement to hatred. In The Netherlands, this would be articles 137c and d of the Criminal Act. The filings were usually organised and in some places also enlisted by

demonstrations (e.g. Nijmegen). On April 3rd, the Public Prosecutor has made public that more than 5000 people have filed a complaint against Wilders. Besides, 15.000 complaints were registered on the website of the police^{lv}. On October 9th 2014, the Public Prosecutor announced that Geert Wilders is considered 'suspect' and shall be heard on the assumption of incitement to racial discrimination^{lvi}.

5.6. Online Activism

What is said online affects life offline and hate speech can be easily and anonymously spread amongst an unlimited audience nowadays. Extreme right movements were fast in finding their way on the internet and build up social networks with like-minded people to discuss and diffuse their ideologies. Stormfront, for example, already came into existence in the early 1990s as an online discussion platform almost immediately after the internet was launched and made accessible to a larger pool of consumers. On the other hand, the world wide web provides activists, with the aim to combat these types of hate speech, an effective platform as well.

5.6.1. Campaigns

It is not our intention to give a complete overview here of all the campaigns that are currently running on the internet, but we do want to mention a few that stood out in 2014:

No Hate Speech Movement



The NHSM is initiated by the Council of Europe and runs in its member states via national campaigns. Their aim is to raise awareness on hate speech and to provide activists with tools to address the matter. Among their online campaign tools are an online platform, a blog and Hate Speech Watch, which is a database of real life examples of hate speech on which activists can contribute by adding or discussing.

The NHSM organises events as well and focuses on European Action Days, such as the European Action Day for a Safer Internet on the 11th of February 2014. From 2nd until 9th of February, the NHSM organised, in collaboration with SCI's No More War-Team, a study session themed 'reACTING to extreme right hate speech online' in Budapest. 30 participants from across Europe have gathered in the European Youth Centre to discuss, highlight and produce ways to react against hate speech online in a non- violent way. Many good practices were shared:

- Although the internet may be considered a sanctuary for the anonymous, there are ways to find out IP-addresses and identities of people, companies and websites. This may be useful when considering taking legal steps for example:
 - whois.domaintools.com/facebook
 - www.pipl.com
- Facebook also offers the possibility of reporting hate speech. It may not have proven all too efficient, but at times it works. Usually they will reply with an automated answer, so it can be questioned whether they really review the content that has been complained about. However, it is still worth the try, especially if more people are reporting the page or content at stake.
- You can also report any hateful content or websites on the website of Hate Speech Watch, an online database developed by the No Hate Speech Movement.
- Action can be taken on Twitter as well, for example by Tweetjacking. You can make a hashtag with the same initials as the one containing hate speech in order to draw attention away from it. Something as #English Defence League could be bent into #English Disco Lovers.
- Thunderclaps can also be an effective means to draw attention to a certain issue at a certain moment. It can be compared with flash mobs, however these thunderclaps take place online. Participants agree to let Thunderclap post a status on their behalf on Facebook at an agreed time.

Mocro's be like...born here

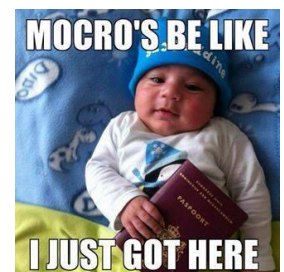
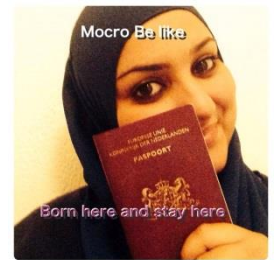
The anti-Moroccan speech of Geert Wilders has unleashed a variety of actions. One of the most remarkable, which also made international news, is the overwhelming response of the Moroccan society in The Netherlands: Pictures, or 'selfies' were made holding their Dutch passport and with the subscript 'Mocro be like...born here'. Nasrdin Dchar, a Dutch prize-winning actor, started the campaign on Twitter and his example was followed by a massive response. Mariem has set up the page 'Mocro's be like...born here' on Facebook: "It was Nasrdin who came up first with the photo and the passport. That's what really started it." At first the pictures were posted through Twitter and Mariem decided to create a follow-up on Facebook. A few times the page was removed, but then Mariem would start it over again. "Whether it was because of the owner, the government or Facebook itself, we will never know." It took her several attempts: "This is the third time we had to do it over again. In one week time we already had more than 10.000 comments on the first page. The number was growing and then, all of a sudden it was all gone. So I started the page over. I thought 'no way', because otherwise, at a certain moment you just give up."

If people want to contribute to the page, they can send a message through Facebook with the photo, a short story or description and the request to post it on the page. It is not possible to post a status by yourself. Mariem: "Then I would also receive a lot of odd comments and that's something I'd rather not have." Insulting comments are deleted and the people who post them will be blocked. Mariem: "If you'd really start insulting people and are after a fight, than you will be deleted. Simple as that. You can express your opinion, but be respectful." It is not an uncommon thing in The Netherlands that the internet is used as a means where people can freely threaten and insult others anonymously. Danen: "In fact there is an internet fight club of PVV-supporters (...) They are a couple of 100 or 1000 people who are bored and have nothing else to do all day besides spoiling the discussion fora with their racism and threats. And that's something The Netherlands are unique in." Apart from deleting the comments, blocking the use of certain curse words and blocking the people behind them, Mariem also deliberately made sure that her personal profile is not linked to the page. "Or people will start to approach me. Whether they are racist people or people who are convinced that they know me, I don't want that. (...) So I don't want everybody to address me personally on who I am. If you don't like me, you can address me through the profile of 'Mocro's be like...born here'." Eventually the online harassment remained limited and the campaign proved to be a great success. Mariem: "It feels good because all these people chose to respond in a normal way. So they actually made a photo for this, they really took the time for it and really thought it through to make a photo. (...) Every photo they send in, sometimes accompanied by a little story. They were aware of what they were doing and they chose to do that. They also could've chosen to keep their mouths shut, to leave it in them, to remain annoyed and angry. However, they chose to all combine forces and proceed in the right way. And I think that's wonderful."

The campaign also got noticed by the media and got some serious exposure in RTL Late Night.

Mariem: "If you see that RTL Late Night, which has thousands of viewers each night, gave it so much attention, then I can really say that the campaign has reached its goal, in a positive way."

Mariem also gives an example of another action by Dutch Moroccans; the Facebook-page 'Ik ben Marokkaans en ik ben...[I'm a Moroccan and I am...]'. Here Dutch citizens of Moroccan origin post their photo with a description of their profession or studies. Mariem: "I got goosebumps when I read it, because Wilders can say that they don't have jobs, but look! Of course these people exist, but there are also people who do a bloody good job."



I file a complaint against Wilders (Ik doe aangifte tegen Wilders)

This Facebook- page was a direct consequence of Geert Wilders' speech in The Hague. In a matter of days, the page was liked by an exponentially growing number of supporters. On April 5th, 3 weeks later, the page has already collected an astonishing total of 99,000+ likes. The number of people who actually filed a complaint and not only left it at liking the page is obviously a lot smaller, but at least it gives a good idea of the amount of people that support a legal case being brought against Geert Wilders.

5.6.2 Blogs, open letters, columns and articles

Openly speaking up against racism is gaining in popularity, often through publication of open letters, columns, articles and blogs on the internet. As a reaction to Wilders' speech, politician Tofik Dibi (GL) and Pieter Klein^{lvii}, the adjunct head-editor of RTL, one of the Netherlands' leading media broadcast companies, have both published open letters online addressed to PVV-voters resp. Geert Wilders. Dutch actress Georgina Verbaan got her column published in one of the country's leading newspapers (The Telegraph) where she repeatedly refers to 'those people' (Moroccans) as the people who look after her children, clean her house, bake her bread, etc. Mariem: "Only nice and positive things. I really thought it was wonderful how she appeared in The Telegraph, just like that!" It is obvious that the effectiveness of these methods are very much dependent on the authority of the person in question. However, in an era where individuals succeed in building up large online networks, with over hundreds of 'friends' or 'followers', the profits of this method should not be underestimated.

5.7. Art

Art can provide a powerful means to draw attention to social matters in a non-violent and emotive way. An example of how art can focus on social matters is the way in which two photographers from the Netherlands, Dirk-Jan Visser and Jan-Joseph Stok, transformed their concerns about the rise of populism in the Netherlands into pictures. Although populism not necessarily has a connection with right wing extremism, this specific exposition, "The Rise of Populism in Europe" was interesting because they collaborated with international photographers who documented issues such as the Burka ban in Belgium, manifestations of the English Defence League, but also survivors of the extremist attack by Anders Breivik. Showing these images in a public space in the Netherlands provides a broad audience with the opportunity to form their own opinion about these happenings. In a non-violent way confronting images were displayed, such as men affiliated with the English Defense League proudly showing tattoos with logo's. Or images through which becomes clear that people in Europe suffer a great level of neglect, due to their roots.

The non-violent way makes a photo documentary a good practice. This particular photo documentary was accessible to everyone with interest in the subject and was organised in 2014 as a part of the international conference called "The Future Is Not What Its Used To Be". Before this exposition, the photos of "The Rise of Populism" were shown in Utrecht in 2012 and the photos of "The Rise of Populism in Europe" were shown in Utrecht in 2013^{lviii}.



Wendy Marijnissen

5.8. Cinema

For the Peace Week, organized within the Citizens Beyond Walls-project and which took place in Utrecht in July 2014, Stichting VIA organized a film festival, titled 'Raising Awareness'.

Among the movies and documentaries that were shown are; 'Fascism' by Infowar, 'This is not a prison' by Marlijn Franken and 'Refugees; who needs them' and 'Special Flight' by Movies That Matter.

'Raising Awareness' Film Festival

The Peace Week awarded European Union, is facing a growth of Parliamentarian, Extra-Parliamentarian and civil society groups, hindering the process of inclusion for 'new citizens' (e.g. immigrants) and marginalized groups (e.g. LGBT-Rom). Such groups have been able to influence media narratives about the ability to affect national policies, thus endangering the presence of peace and growth of the European Union and the European 'ideal'. Such exclusionary activities are a threat for peace in Europe, where peace is not only absence of conflict, but the condition where citizens are equally endowed with rights.

Past practice and current research, have identified Art as a powerful and peaceful 'medium', able to raise/spread awareness of social and political issues; whilst promoting egalitarian ideas and fostering peace.

Monday 7th 21.00
'Fascism' by Infowar
Presenting to you unknown short stories from the past, the present and the future of fascism and its relation to the economic interests of each era. We will travel from Mussolini's Italy to Greece under the Nazi occupation, the civil war and the dictatorship, and from Hitler's Germany to the modern European and Greek fascists.

Tuesday 8th 20.30 (Movies that Matter)
'Refugees; who needs them'
As the debate on immigration rages across the Netherlands and Europe, the Dutch government invites some refugees in. Five of these invited refugees wonder if the condition that reluctantly accepted them is actually intended in creating the conditions that made them flee in the first place.

'Special Flight'
Documentary from the country that has the strictest immigration laws in Europe. The air in the Frankfurt administrative detention centre near Geneva is fraught with tensions. Asylum-seekers who have exhausted all their options wait for deportation, side by side with illegal immigrants. Without any due process, they sit in indefinite detention, sometimes for as long as two years. Their dossier has a name: special flight.

Thursday 10th 20.00 onwards
Public Letters of the Amsterdamers self-organized movement 'We Are Here'
The Movement's goal is to promote Normal Life & Human rights for Refugees and Immigrants.
'This is not a Prison' movie by Marlijn Franken
Short Films / Documentaries
'Open Doors' by Service Civil International
'Open Doors' was a project carried out by SCI Italy, SCI Catalunya, SCI Hellas, Utopia - SCI Ungary, Cyprus Youth Council, L'Unità and Ambasciata dei diritti Marche, focused on european policies about asylum seekers and refugees.
'Life Unexpected' by ARS
Showing the current Refugee situation in Greece
'Salem' by Jolanda Film
Short Movie depicting the situation in the Dutch Refugee Centers

5.9. Language

Using or even not using language can also make a difference that should not be underestimated. Rene Danen encourages to always speak out, not to remain silent, but contradict instead. "It begins already by not tolerating racism against or about minorities to take place at work and at birthday parties. So, just by saying something of it. 'That's not funny, stop it'."

And when speaking out, one should also mind their word choice. Mariem: "When I hear someone saying 'fucking Moroccans' and things like that, I try to bend it. Just like; 'it's *some* Moroccans, mind your language'. It's *some* Dutch who are racist, it's not *all* Moroccans. If you keep repeating that, you will start to automatically think like that. You will think in a more positive way, which makes you treat people in a more positive way."

5.10. Support De-radicalisation

It can happen that a person in your direct surroundings has been active in extreme right movement(s) and is questioning his or her commitment to these groups and/or ideologies.

Wagenaar: "There are two certain moments, namely the moment that people radicalise and the moment that people are prepared to de-radicalise, where it is not hard, for those around them, to give them a hand. (...) You ought to know, but there are plenty of people who notice, because you don't feel comfortable with yourself anymore. These young people usually remain with this kind of groups, not because of their sentiments or their ideologies, but because they don't have an alternative. (...) And when there are people around them, at that moment, who say 'come, you're welcome', then you can see that these young people can take the step very easily."

5.11. Dialogue

We Are Here got noticed by extreme right movements, such as Identitarian Resistance and Voorpost, as well as supporters of the PVV. When these individuals or groups show up, the people from We Are Here will try to initiate a dialogue with them. Mouthena: "We meet at the Vluchtkerk [Refugee church] and we invite them in and offer them tea or coffee. We talk with them, even if they say 'fuck you, you must go to your fucking country'. These people have the right to say that, because it's their country. They have the right to say what they want and we respect them. If they come and tell me I don't have a right to stay here, then I will respect that. I will thank them for being honest and open with me. And then we will drink coffee and I talk about the reasons why we don't go back. (...) Once there was this woman who came up to us, telling us that we had to go, that the park was meant for children. And then one guy went over to talk to her and explained our situation. After that, this woman came to me, crying, and gave me 200 euros. She said; 'this is for food. I'm sorry. Our party never... I never knew about this'. I think she was from the VVD or PVV. She said she was so sorry and that she was ashamed of her country. I told her that she should be ashamed of the government instead. The Dutch population is nice."

Appendix I: Interviews



Rene Danen

Nederland Bekent Kleur/Platform Stop Racisme
(*Netherlands Confess Colour/Platform Stop Racism*)

Willem Wagenaar
Anne Frank Stichting
(*Anne Frank House*)



Mouthena
We Are Here

Mariem Ihattaren
Mocro's be like...born here



Appendix II: Questionnaires



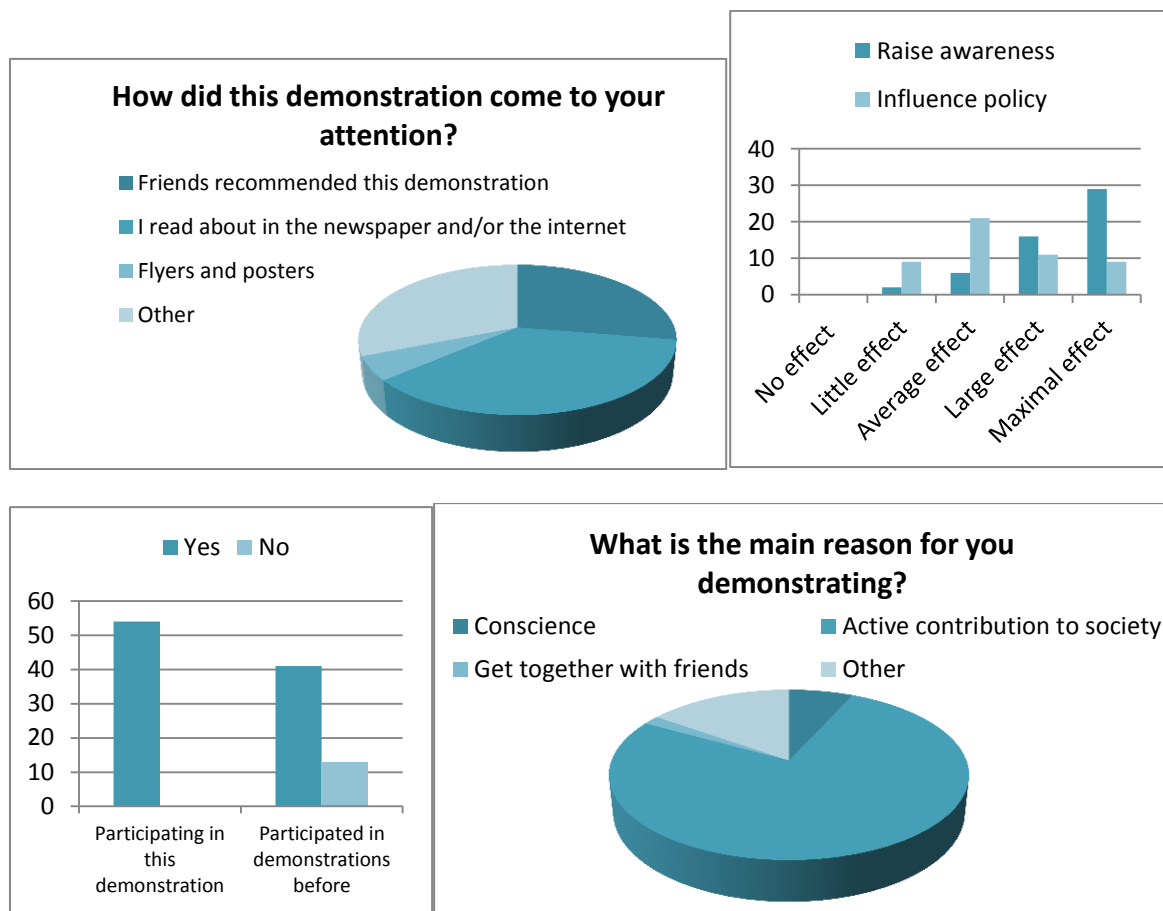
LEEFTIJD/AGE:

WOONPLAATS/HOMETOWN:



1. Hoe heb je van deze demo gehoord?/How did this demonstration come to your attention?
 - ☐ Ik kwam toevallig langslopen/ I happened to be around when the demonstration started.
 - ☐ Ik ben hier op aanraden van vrienden/Friends recommended this demonstration.
 - ☐ Ik heb erover gelezen in een krant en/of internet/I read about it in a newspaper and/or the internet.
 - ☐ Flyers en posters/Flyers and posters.
 - ☐ Anders/Other.
2. Op een schaal van 1 tot 5 (1= niets, 5=uitstekend), in welk opzicht denk je dat demonstraties als deze effectief zijn?/ On a scale from 1 to 5 (1=nothing, 5=excellent), in what regard do you think demonstrations such as these are effective?
 - ☐ Maatschappelijke kwesties onder de aandacht brengen/To raise awareness:
1 2 3 4 5
 - ☐ Beleidsbeïnvloeding/To influence policies:
1 2 3 4 5
3. Neem je deel aan deze demonstratie?/Are you a participant to this demonstration?
JA/YES NEE/NO
4. Heb je vaker deelgenomen aan demonstraties?/Have you participated in demonstrations before?
JA/YES NEE/NO
5. Indien ja, wat is voor jou de voornaamste reden om te demonstreren?/If so, what is the main reason for you demonstrating?
 - ☐ Geweten/Conscience.
 - ☐ Actief bijdragen aan maatschappelijke verandering/Active contribution to society.
 - ☐ Samen zijn met vrienden/ Get together with friends.
 - ☐ Anders/Other.

Appendix III: Questionnaire Results



ⁱ E.g. Rita Verdonk - http://vorige.nrc.nl/international/opinion/article2268138.ece/Call_Wil

ⁱⁱ Philomena Essed & Isabel Hoving, "Innocence, Smug Ignorance, Resentment: An Introduction to Dutch Racism", in: Dutch Racism, Editions Rodopi B.V. Amsterdam – New York, 2014, p. 10

ⁱⁱⁱ Essed & Hoving, "Innocence, Smug Ignorance, Resentment: An Introduction to Dutch Racism" p. 21

^{iv} Bert Klandermans, *Extreme Right Activists in Europe: Through the Magnifying Glass*, (London & New York: Routledge 2013), p. 215

^v Klandermans, p. 51

^{vi} Klandermans, p. 69-70

^{vii} Elsbeth Etty, *Bolkestein effende pad voor de PVV*, (Column NRC.nl), November 16, 2010

^{viii} Klandermans, p. 52-53

^{ix} <http://www.pimfortuyn.com/pim-fortuyn/uitspraken-pim-fortuyn>

^x This was stated by Pim Fortuyn in an interview published in the Volkskrant on February 9th, 2002: <http://www.volkskrant.nl/binnenland/pim-fortuyn-op-herhaling-de-islam-is-een-achterlijke-cultuur~a611698/>

^{xi} Essed & Hoving, "Innocence, Smug Ignorance, Resentment: An Introduction to Dutch Racism", p. 16

^{xii} Evelien Gans, " 'They Have Forgotten To Gas You': Post-1945 Antisemitism in The Netherlands", in: Dutch Racism, Editions Rodopi B.V. Amsterdam – New York, 2014, p. 85

^{xiii} Miriyam Aouragh, "Refusing to be Silenced: Resisting Islamophobia", in: Dutch Racism 2014, p. 357

^{xiv} <http://www.binnenlandsbestuur.nl/bestuur-en-organisatie/nieuws/racisme-en-intimidatie-in-haagse-wijk-duindorp.9284121.lynkx>

^{xv} <http://politiek.thepostonline.nl/2014/09/04/pieter-grinwis-cu-antisemitisme-is-een-groot-probleem-in-den-haag/>

^{xvi} <https://www.indymedia.nl/node/24274>

^{xvii} <http://www.ad.nl/ad/nl/1040/Den-Haag/article/detail/3717653/2014/08/13/Wilders-wil-duizenden-bij-demo-Schilderswijk.dhtml>

^{xviii} http://www.telegraaf.nl/binnenland/23070269/_Wilders_alleen_naar_Schilderswijk_.html

- ^{xix} <http://www.watwilwilders.nl/>
- ^{xx} Karel De Gucht, "Pluche; over de banalisering van extreemrechts", (Houtekiet Antwerpen/Amsterdam 2007), p. 146
- ^{xxi} Rob Riemen, *De eeuwige terugkeer van het fascisme*, (Amsterdam, Antwerpen: Uitgeverij Atlas, 2010), 59
- ^{xxii} Riemen, *De eeuwige terugkeer van het fascisme*, 43
- ^{xxiii} Riemen, *De eeuwige terugkeer van het fascisme*, 57
- ^{xxiv} NSB is the acronym for Nationaal Socialistische Beweging (National Socialist Movement), a political party active from 1931-1945 that collaborated with Nazi-Germany.
- ^{xxv} Jaco Alberts, "De nieuwe extreem-rechtse vrienden van Wilders", Vrij Nederland, 11 november 2013 <http://www.vn.nl/Archief/Samenleving/Artikel-Samenleving/De-nieuwe-extreemrechtse-vrienden-van-Wilders-1.htm>
- ^{xxvi} http://www.washingtonpost.com/world/europe/dutch-politician-wilders-leads-anti-moroccan-chant/2014/03/19/acff1522-afb9-11e3-b8b3-44b1d1cd4c1f_story.html
- ^{xxvii} http://www.telegraaf.nl/binnenland/22408826/___Vergelijking_Wilders_-_Goebbels_.html
- ^{xxviii} <http://www.volkskrant.nl/vk/nl/2788/Geert-Wilders/article/detail/2444104/2011/06/10/Griekse-ambassade-wil-Wilders-niet-ontvangen.dhtml>
- ^{xxix} <http://nos.nl/video/275089-wat-zei-pvver-de-roon-over-erdogan.html>
- ^{xxx} <http://www.nrc.nl/nieuws/2012/02/08/pvv-komt-opnieuw-met-meldpunt-nu-tegen-overlast-euro-immigranten/>
- ^{xxxi} <http://www.nieuws.nl/algemeen/20131124/Wilders-kalkt-anti-islamtekst-op-Saudische-vlag>
- ^{xxxii} <http://www.nrc.nl/nieuws/2014/05/27/timmermans-naar-saoedi-arabie-voor-oplossing-conflict-rond-wilders/>
- ^{xxxiii} Rb Amsterdam, June 23rd 2011, LJN:BQ9001, 13/425046-09
- ^{xxxiv} Decision by the European Court of Human Rights (Fifth Section), case of Jean-Marie Le Pen v. France, No. 18788/09 of 20 April 2010 and Arrêt de la Cour européenne des droits de l'homme (deuxième section), affaire Féret c. Belgique , requête n°15615/07 du 16 juillet 2009
- ^{xxxv} http://www.europa-nu.nl/id/vjfbkafpgvzu/pvv_en_verkiezingen_europees_parlement#p3
- ^{xxxvi} <http://www.washingtonpost.com/blogs/monkey-cage/wp/2014/02/11/the-le-pen-wilders-alliance-and-the-european-parliament-plus-ca-change-plus-cest-la-meme/>
- ^{xxxvii} <http://www.vn.nl/Archief/Politiek/Artikel-Politiek/Hans-Spekman-laat-zich-niet-in-het-pak-naaien-1.htm>
- ^{xxxviii} <http://www.nrc.nl/nieuws/2011/09/15/pvda-kamerlid-samsom-ontzet-over-overlast-strattuig/>
- ^{xxxix} <http://nos.nl/artikel/717399-pvv-samsom-alsnog-vervolgen.html>
- ^{xl} Stormfront is a website/internetforum rather than a group or movement. The people active on this website are usually members of an extreme right wing group.
- ^{xli} For a clip of the O'Reilly factor show, 23/2/2009: <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=l8LJ-dyqDR0>
- ^{xlii} <http://www.nu.nl/politiek/3733109/geert-wilders-neemt-woorden-niet-terug.html>
- ^{xliii} <http://www.colormatters.com/blue>
- ^{xliv} <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/7882953.stm>
- ^{xlvi} <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2009/oct/13/geert-wilders-wins-appeal-ban-uk>
- ^{xlvi} Letschert (2010), In what ways does Geert Wilders practice politics through his movie 'Fitna', a practical piece of discourse analysis. To be distributed on request.
- ^{xlvi} <http://kafka.antenna.nl/wilders-maakt-nieuwe-vrienden/>
- ^{xlvi} <https://www.facebook.com/ProPatriaNederland>
- ^{xlvi} <http://www.volkskrant.nl/binnenland/wilders-wil-duizenden-mensen-bij-demonstratie-schilderswijk~a3717653/>
- ^l <http://www.omroepwest.nl/nieuws/11-09-2014/geert-wilders-niet-bij-demonstratie-tegen-buiten-schilderswijk>
- ^{li} <https://www.noties.nl/peil.nl/>
- ^{lii} <http://www.nidarotterdam.nl/>
- ^{liii} http://vorige.nrc.nl/binnenland/article1874239.ece/Rabbae_wil_in_discussie_met_PVV-stemmers
- ^{liv} These are places squatted by undocumented asylum seekers or those whose procedures got exhausted.
- ^{lv} <http://www.hartvannederland.nl/top-nieuws/2014/ruim-5000-aangiften-tegen-wilders/>
- ^{lvi} <https://www.om.nl/actueel/nieuwsberichten/@86736/wilders-verdacht/>
- ^{lvii} <http://www.rtlnieuws.nl/nieuws/column/pieter-klein/geert-ga-je-schamen>
- ^{lviii} <http://www.fotodok.org/tentoonstelling/the-rise-of-populism-1-1>