

White Power Music in Bratislava: Rock on the right side (of Danube)¹

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White Power Music in Bratislava: Rock on the right side (of Danube). This article focuses on the issue of white power music in the Slovak Republic, which we see as a very important element for mobilizing and disseminating the ideology of the extreme right. The paper focuses on the Bratislava-Petrzalka, which the white power bands often refer to. The first part presents the white power music in terms of genres that are typical of it. The second section discusses possible methodological approaches for analysis. The final part is the analysis of the bands from the Bratislava-Petrzalka from the perspective of the transformation of themes in the timeline. In this analysis, however, we also follow the transformation of perceived enemies.

Key words: far right, white power music, skinheads, Engerau, neo-Nazism, racism

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Introduction

“Music is the ideal medium to introduce national socialism to the youth better than can be achieved during political events; this way ideology can be disseminated”

Ian Stuart Donaldson (Nauman 2009: 10)

A quote by Ian Stuart Donaldson, the singer of a worldwide famous neo-Nazi band Skrewdriver, very well expresses in its essence a very banal, but often unsuspected fact that music serves not only for recreational fun, but also offers much broader mobilization and ideological options. Therefore, we have decided to treat in the following paper the

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issue of white power music in an environment of post-socialist countries, in our case namely the Slovak Republic. From this point of view, several moments will be of particular interest for us. Primarily, we will focus on the way how the thematic composition of individual recordings was being transformed over time, i.e. what issues were dominant and which were, on the contrary, suppressed. A second interesting moment for us will be the notion of an enemy, i.e. perception of an enemy by the Slovak neo-Nazis in the course of time.

1. White Power Music

A direct question of what a white power music is seems to evoke no definite and fully comprehensive answers, except for perhaps a vague and thus all-encompassing answer that it acts as a soundtrack to the white revolution. Within the extreme right, white power music performs several roles. First of all, it is a tool for spreading ideology and recruiting new activists and followers (see Futrell, Simi a Gottschalk 2006). However, the economic level is very important and crucial. Just selling records and admission from concerts is one of the main sources of finance for the far right (Dyck 2016: 1-12). However, a problem arises when we strive for a more detailed specification and conclude that white power music is a much broader concept, which often assumes a variety of shapes and is in reality characterized by its content, not its form. The movement is also popular with music that is not primarily WP music but is otherwise ideologically close. In the case of Bratislava and Slovakia, it may be a ZonA A punk band, which presents itself with conservative and xenophobic views on anti-communism, homosexuality, migration and others. Yet, there are the most frequent genres of the so-called white power music which enjoy the greatest popularity. Let us introduce them in the following lines:

1.1 Racist Oi! Or also Rock Against Communism

RAC is most likely to be the most common, or the most famous platform used in the WP music. It musically draws on the traditional skinhead music style of Oi!, which is musically close to punk. The first Oi! bands (eg. Sham 69, Cockney Rejects) formed in the seventies of the last century, but generally they were not racist or neo-Nazi oriented. The change occurred in the late seventies with the band Skrewdriver led by Ian Stuart Donaldson, who steered an originally punk band towards the far right.

In the late seventies a campaign entitled Rock against racism was held in London, the far-right skinheads responded to it by creating their own platform Rock against communism, with anti-Communism being just a pretext for neo-Nazi orientation. Due to this activity the term R.A.C. started to be used for racist Oi!.

1.2. Hatecore

It is a neo-Nazi derivative of the style known as hardcore punk, which had formed in the early '80s in the United States as a reaction to commercialization and de-politicization of punk. Musically it was harder and less melodic and primarily linked with political or any activist message. Hardcore is frequently associated with high self-control and a movement Straight Edge, whose main idea involves voluntary asceticism and refusal of addictive substances, including alcohol and cigarettes. Moreover, the original hardcore generally exhibits a strongly anti-racist orientation and, therefore, hate core as such completely reverses its original meaning. It should be noted, however, that not only music and life style were seized, but also the name of the style itself, because the hate core was originally used to refer to the part of the hardcore scene represented, for instance, by an American band Sheer Terror.

1.3. National Socialist Black Metal Music (NSBM)

Currently, it is one of the most widespread musical styles on the far right. NSBM developed in the area of Scandinavia from death and especially the original black metal from which it adopted a strong anti-religious orientation, which was rather anti-Christian in black metal, but in case of NSBM it aptly transformed into undisguised anti-Semitism also associated with Christianity and allusions to the Jewish ancestry of Jesus Christ. Nowadays, however, it is also racially oriented.

1.4. Nationalist folk

This musical style is abroad mainly characterized by thematic links to the Aryan and Nordic mythology (e.g. the singer Saga) or other nationalist motives. However, in the environment of the former Czechoslovakia this folk form in itself usually did not carry any mythological subtext, as folk music was rather perceived as a form of protest against the political regime before 1989; thus, the performers on the far right often refer to, for instance, Karel Kryl as the representative of anticommunist opposition and a subsequent critic of political situation after the so-called Velvet Revolution.

1.5. Others

Recent years have experienced an expansion of far-right ideas into previously atypical musical genres, which should be inherently shut for the far right, but due to ideological transfers from the leftist environment music transfers may occur as well. They usually seek to respond to musical styles popular among the youngsters and intend to perform a specific task of recruiting. This is, for example, white power disco or techno, or especially

hip hop on the far right, which is in its original form a music style strongly associated with African-Americans.

2. Methodological part

2.1. Current state of research

The issue of white power music has so far received only little attention in the area of Central Europe; it is practically limited to the qualification theses of university students and a few scholarly texts, primarily those dedicated to the trend of recent years - interconnection of hip-hop and the far right (Walach 2010; Hák 2014). A broader perspective will be offered in a collective monograph *Zabijem všechny! - Kill them all!* (Charvát and Bláha 2015), addressing the relationship between the far right and subcultures. Other moments then appear in the texts by Miroslav Mareš (especially Mareš 2003). In particular, *White Power Music: Scenes of Extreme-Right Cultural Resistance* (Shekhovtsov and Jackson 2012) is worth being highlighted; it contains a series of chapters devoted to Central Europe. Most recently, much more space has been attributed to an issue of subcultures. It is quite a challenge to make use of the literature from the Anglo-Saxon environment, as the specificity of each environment is very distinctive even in the relation Czech Republic - Slovakia, let alone on the level of USA - Slovakia. Historical experience is reflected in individual texts to such an extent that it is hard to detect any analogies and reconceptualization of these approaches in the Central European environment would be very difficult.

2.2. Methodological difficulties

The study of domestic and in particular foreign literature clearly proved the fact that publications treating an analysis of the far-right music scene mostly encounter methodological problems, or often completely give up any attempts to shed light on the research process and instead they resort only to the description (e.g. Shekhovtsov and Jackson 2009; Naumann 2009). In case some in particular foreign titles subsequently more intensely turn to a methodological approach, then they most frequently opt for the so-called critical discourse analysis (CDA), which views speech as a tool to maintain the unequal distribution of power in society. Therefore, it is often applied for the analysis of lyrics and speeches in an environment of the far right (see Wodak and Richardson 2013). However, such method proved to be hardly usable in our case, or unusable because it can capture how the lyrics work in the environment of the far right. The aim of the text is not to capture power relations, but to analyze the lyrics of extreme right-wing bands.

Initially, quantitative content analysis appeared useful for its focus because it is a traditional tool investigating not only the content composition, but also it is able to

capture the transformation of thematic composition over time. However, the problem arose as our sample is in reality very limited. Still, in some respect it became our basis, albeit with a series of modifications.

Firstly, it was necessary to rewrite all the lyrics to subsequently allow for open coding during the first passage of data. The following analytical categories were framed:

- Enemies³
- Mobilization
- Nacionalism
- Celebration of violence
- Betrayal and encouragement
- Celebration of movements and heroes
- Celebration of the Third Reich
- Holocaust

In the subsequent coding, individual songs and lyrics were placed in these categories. It was clear that some songs could fall into more than one category, yet we decided to include them in one category only - the most dominant one (i.e. involving more than 50% of the lyrics and generally a refrain), and we put aside other elements in this case. Subsequently, we were able to assign a category to each recorded song and quantify a composition of the recordings in terms of their content. The analysis does not use linguistic methods or modern statistical procedures using word frequencies and other parameters that are irrelevant to our problems.

It was thus possible to create pie charts illustrating a composition of individual albums and, at the same time, thanks to a simple quantification it was possible to bring the composition of recordings to a line chart⁴ that clearly showed the transformation of themes over time.

3. Selection of sample

To map and analyze the entire issue of white power music in Slovakia is a task which greatly exceeds the scope and ambition of this text; however, in order to render the following attempt for analysis meaningful, it was necessary to select such a sample which will in the first place be representative and will also be linked with a certain internal coherence. We have, therefore, chosen a specific research sample, cut through particularly

³ It should be noted here that some really classic categories did not appear in this particular case. They mostly entail subcultural and mythological themes.

⁴ Due to the fact that individual albums contain different numbers of songs, we decided to insert percentages in a line chart and not units in order to better capture transformation in the importance of topics.

by two strong denominators. The first being Rastislav Rogel and his influence, while the second one is more local and concerns a Petržalka quarter in Bratislava (also known within the far-right scene under the German name Engerau), which forms a very specific area not only in terms of the far right. For more information about the development of the far-right Slovak we recommend the following publication (Kupka, Laryš a Smolík 2009).

3. 1. Rast'o Rogel

Rastislav Rogel is originally an actor by profession, a graduate from the Academy of Performing Arts in Bratislava, who in the early nineties replaced an original singer of the band Krátky proces (Short process). Quite wide possibilities of realization were opened for the band most likely due to his contacts on the art scene. For instance, recording the album Na prach (To dust) in the recording studio of Slovak Radio in Bratislava in 1993 (see the cassette cover). The following period, however, directs his activities mainly towards the far-right environment and he hardly ever appears in public - virtually until 2006, when he appeared in the role in the television series Súsedia (Neighbors). Much more commotion was stirred a year later, when he is cast in a small role in the series Ordinácia v ružovej záhrade (Doctor's office in pink garden) where he wore a T-shirt with the sign Eighty Eight, or 88, which is a neo-Nazi cryptogram taken with regard to the order of the letters in the alphabet, where the eighth letter is H. HH then refers to the Nazi greeting Heil Hitler.

In the summer of 2008 he once again intrigued increased attention when, along with other neo-Nazis, he twice attacked a music club Inergalaktická Obluda (Inergalactic Monster) which was profiled as strongly antifascist (Týždeň 2011). In connection with this attack Rogel found himself before the court and a heated discussion was stirred in the media why a man with his past⁵ was given space in the media and why he is still cast in television roles (Aktuálně.sk 2010; SME 2010; Plus 7 Days 2013.). In the end, however, he was not convicted and original witnesses changed their testimonies or allegedly forgot the course of events or they did not recognize Rogel. It was speculated in this context that someone influential holds a "protective hand" over Rogel, most often such speculations involved the Minister of Interior of the Slovak Republic Robert Kaliňák who did not deny his acquaintance with Rogel, but categorically denied any other speculations (Týždeň 2011).

⁵ It is interesting that despite all the undisputed Rogel's activities on neo-Nazi scene he is most frequently mentioned in the media as the former lead singer of the bands Krátky proces (Short process) and Judennmord, although these bands are without any doubt still active intermittently.

4. Research part

4. 1. Rast'o Rogel and his bands

4.1.1. Krátký proces (Short process)

This Slovak band released in total two official recordings. For the purpose of our analysis, however, we will only capture one recording "Na prach" (To dust) from 1993, while we will keep aside almost the same selective album extended only by a few songs. This album is especially important from the point of view that it is a product of the so-called formative period, when the band was the only significant Slovak representative within the Czech-Slovak scene. Its most striking feature is the emphasis on nationalism, which forms a large part of the lyrics on the recording. The dominant theme in this case is clearly the enemy, but a very interesting phenomenon is the issue of nationalism, found in none of the Czech bands at the time. A big sad novelty is the question of anti-Semitism, which in the Czech Republic appears only after transition into full illegality; the Slovak side openly operated with this theme already in 1993, even though in a less explicit form, which is clearly demonstrated by a song *Sme národ (We are a nation)* that is at first sight and hearing patriotic:

*From age to age
this piece of land
belonged to the Slovaks
and we know very well
that already Ludovít Štúr
to Hungarian parliament
he stood for our nation
and therefore we all want*

This version, of course, is not defective in any way and in fact may be labelled as patriotic. However, its sequence brings up a delimitation against neighbors:

*Make this country
without Hungarians and Poles
owned by what has
Slovakia to the Slovaks*

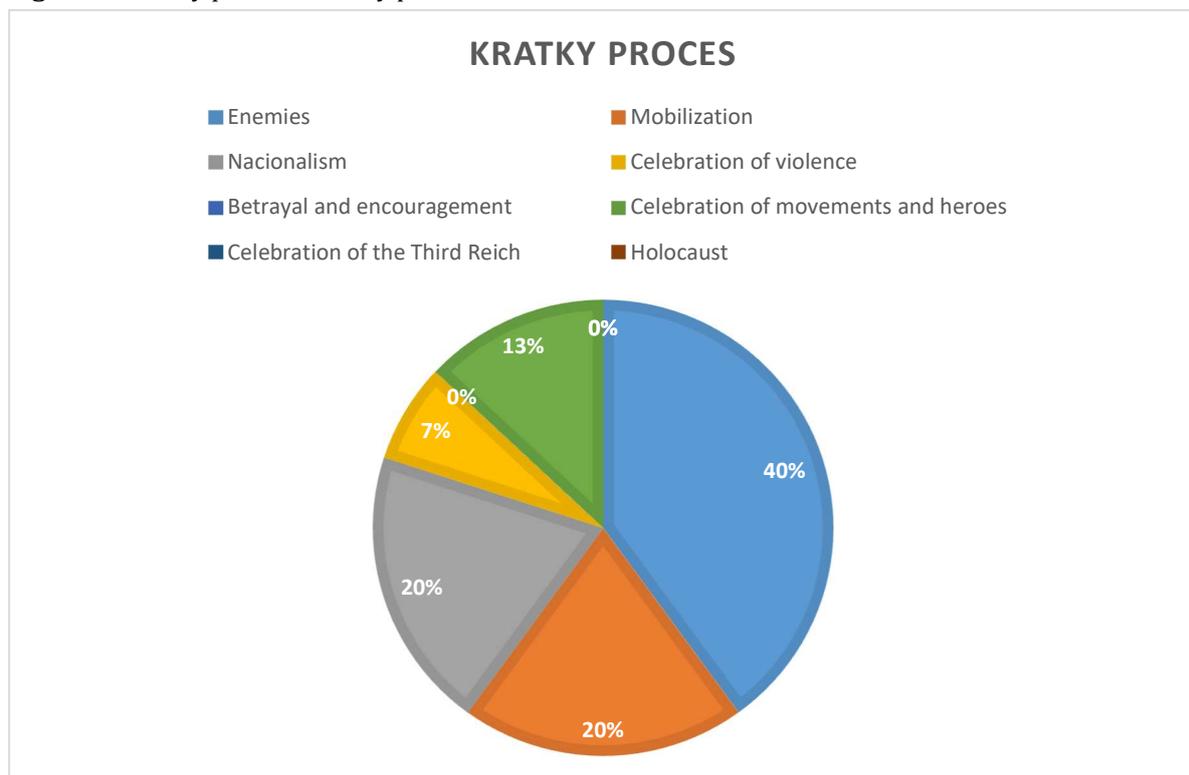
Finally, in the next refrain this stanza develops into an openly racist and anti-Semitic "*without Romas and Jews*".

Anti-Semitism does appear here, but it fully emerges in a song "Rež a rúbaj" (Cut and dig) which borrows the elements of traditional folk tunes and enriches them with historical reminiscence of the times of the Slovak State:

*A train runs from Zilina and there is Sano Mach,
all Jews are fleeing because they fear
Cut and dig into blood, it will not be the first time,
until the Slovak in the Slovakia will be master.*

We do not intend to carry out any apologetics of anti-Semitic acts, but peculiarly Krátký proces (Short process) really very systematically works with a historical context, which may at first glance disguise the message in a more acceptable form, as it appeals to the historical consciousness of the nation. This may be explained by its emergence before the breakup of the federation, why such ideas were the way they were, and why this band rather focused on the issue of nation than on the question of broader mobilization and recruitment of the new members of subculture.

Figure 1. Kratky proces – Kratky proces



Source: Own research

4.1.2. Judenmord

Rastislav Rogel later transformed Short process into a new band Judenmord, whose lyrics did not attempt to aspire to reach out to a wider audience, but instead it created a material

that was strongly ideologically loaded and quite clearly formulated opinions of Slovak neo-Nazis and not only them. Their only official recording from 1998 was named Arbeit Macht Frei and there was a photograph on the cover capturing the entrance to the concentration camp. In the total of ten songs, the theme of enemies is covered four times and the theme of mobilization three times. For the first time, however, there appears an explicit adherence to the far right and neo-Nazism, in the very first song Judenmord:

*Lift up your right, heil with us,
Call Sieg Heil evening is yours.
Whatever you do, you will have fun
famous Rock and roll star.*

Furthermore, it is enriched in the refrain by a certain dimension of self-representation, which is necessarily connected with the celebration of the cult of death, and linking of honor and revenge, being absolutely typical of the far right.

*Juden Mord is a rock 'n' roll of death
Juden Mord is a rock 'n' roll of revenge
Juden Mord is a rock 'n' roll of honor
Juden Mord is rock 'n' roll*

The novelty involves a shift in the thematization of the Holocaust, which was presented in case of Krátky proces (Short process), but essentially as a "good thing", while here we can already detect a new theme, which questions the Holocaust, and even denies it. In the song Švindlkaust (Swindlecaust), a doubting tone in the very name appears side by side with questioning the number of Holocaust victims, connected with a threat directed at an undefined enemy; however, it is quite evident from the context that this is a Jew, because it occurs in conjunction with the Jewish world domination, notwithstanding the designation "furnace" which is in the neo-Nazi discourse very clearly connected with the genocide of the Jewish population in the extermination camps of Nazi Germany.

*How many have we burned
one million or six
where it is actually true
we can not be fooled
+
The Jew ruled the world
have fear, dog
the Jew ruled the world*

you end up in the furnace today

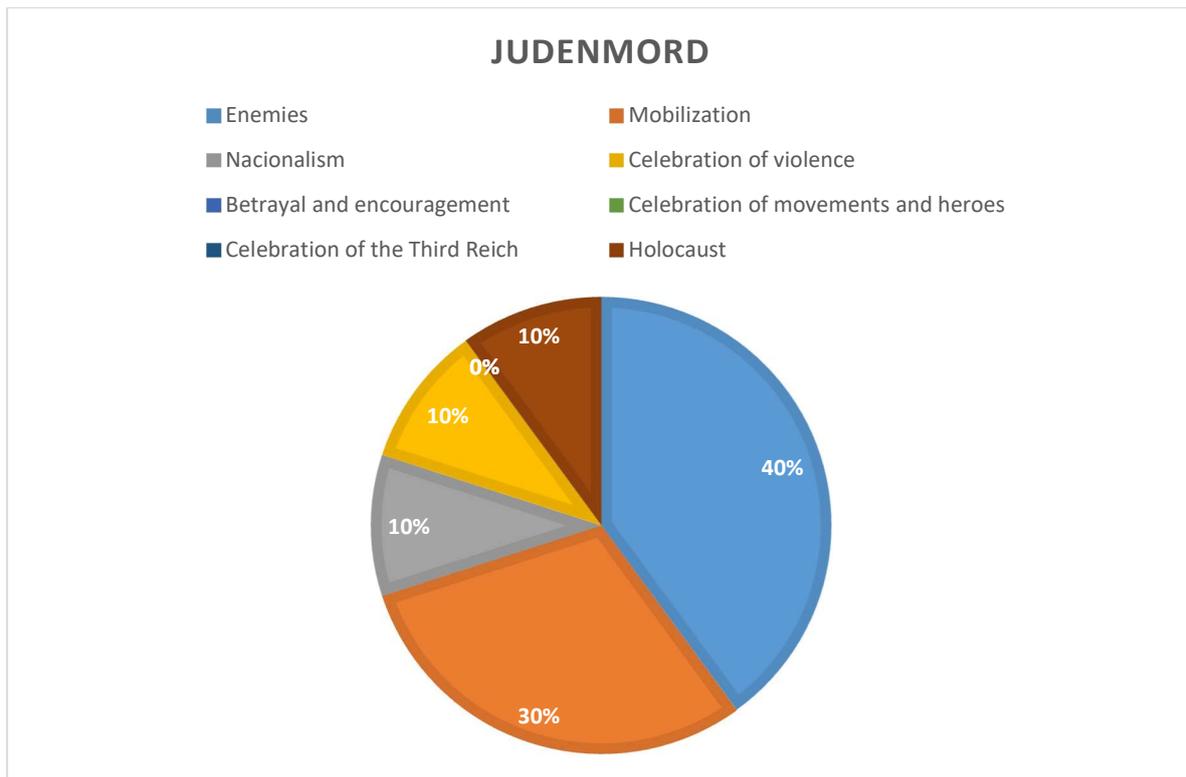
Two cover versions appeared on the recording, while in one case it is a very controversial song *Cigánský problém* (Gypsy problem) by a punk band Zone A. This song was originally created in a context which was not far-right, but it sought to criticize more intensely the social system. However, it served the purpose of the far right without any modification, as it was slightly misinterpreted, which was, however, not at all difficult considering the formulations in the lyrics.

*What we are a strange state
when we let ourselves be robbed
white man is working hard
and gypsy babies born
You'll get gross taxes
gypsy laughs and steals
lives from child allowances
there was a lot of state spending
gypsy problem
must be resolved
gypsy problem
it also applies to you*

It should be noted that this song sparked a large wave of popularity on the far right as well as with the original artist, which eventually led to it being removed from the repertoire.

We deem it important to make a comment on this recording, as when interpreting it there is a view that this album was conceived as a very specific kind of humor within the movement, because many lyrics exceed for their directness, primitiveness and radicalism beyond the border of what the racist skinheads would be willing to accept in their presentation. At least for the reason that a call for the Holocaust would hardly attract new adherents, which is one of the integral tasks of music within social movements. However, the recording remained virtually unnoticed by due authorities, because it was rare at that time for the police to undertake any interventions in similar cases.

Figure 2. Judenmord – Arbeit macht frei



Source: Own research

4.2. Bands from Engerau

4.2.1. Ancestors

A group called Ancestors was another one from Bratislava's neo-Nazi bands; it appeared on the scene with the turn of the millennium. It is hard to speculate whether its name should symbolize arrival of a new order or it possesses an entirely different meaning. Nevertheless, their debut album from the year of 2001 was called "Nastal čas" (The time has come) and it brought a variety of new topics, until then unreflected.

An approaching accession of Slovakia to the European Union prompted a defense of the nation state and independent Slovakia, which had previously been found only in the form of celebrating a Slovak fascist state.

*I do not want to go anywhere,
I like my currency,
these political lies
they lead us to extinction.
But open your eyes now.
we must defend ourselves,
against this calculated dirt*

continue to protect yourself!

However, concerns about the existing situation also assumed another form, particularly in the case of post-communist Slovakia, which was perceived as a betrayal of the heritage of the Slovaks who had fought for an independent state.

*It was the only country in the world,
which the great-grandfather always remembered with love
and when he left for work overseas
shouted to Slovakia be proud!*

However, in addition to its displays of nationalism, the band greatly inclines to the celebration of the Third Reich and the Holocaust in its lyrics. Therefore, upon the Western neo-Nazi model, Rudolf Hess is being explicitly celebrated for the first time. Due to his attempt to negotiate by himself peace with Great Britain, he is seen by neo-Nazis as a hero, who sought to unite the white nations in their fight against communism.

*The Aryan spirit will not die,
and the white man will never forget.
To the hero of Spandau,
the hero named Rudolf Hess*

However, such a direct celebration of one of the bigwigs of Nazi Germany is a novelty in case of Slovakia.

In 2005 the band released its second album, named "Final Storm". It came out at the time when - at least in the Czech Republic - security authorities started to act against the far right, which also affected the band itself when its members were arrested at a concert in Pilsen, due to their celebration of Rudolf Hess. This was logically reflected in the album itself. The situation was additionally intensified by the fact that at the time of its creation the court in Martin delivered an unconditional sentence of imprisonment amounting up to three years.

Following the year 2005, the far right found itself rather in breakdown and the recording tries to mobilize a disintegrating far right in its five songs. Conversely, on the other hand the emphasis on enemies is fading and instead the German soldiers fighting on the Eastern Front are being adulated. However, the category of enemies newly introduces a phenomenon of homosexuality, and in order to protest it the band borrowed a hit from the German singer Nena - 99 Luftballons and added its own lyrics.

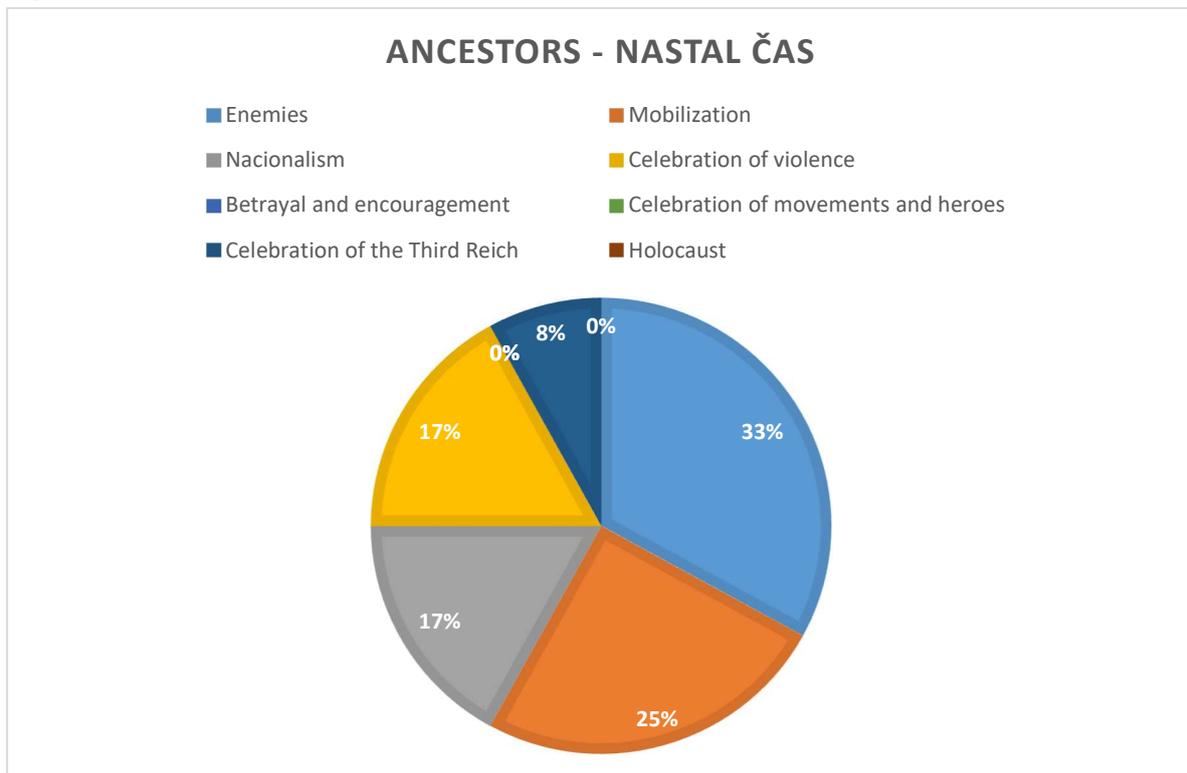
I hate your face,

*looking at me kindly,
I will not take your argument,
That you have the right to your life.
expect understanding
from the society you live in,
Gay – NO! I have a better title,
fag deviant!*

However, the most interesting phenomenon in this case remains a celebration of the Velvet Revolution and changes in the regime, which is quite atypical for the bands oriented this way, mostly because November's transition to democracy is perceived as a Jewish conspiracy (Charvát 2007: 142); once again, a cover version was used, this time from the US punk band Ramones.

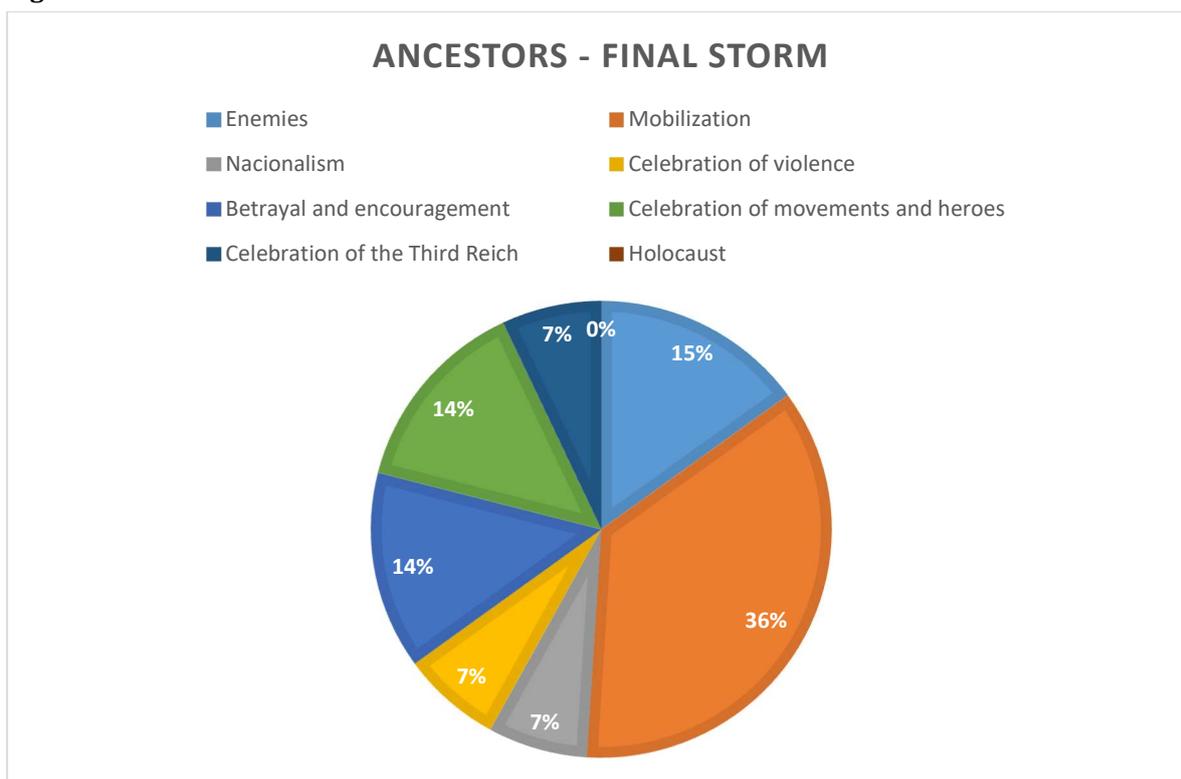
*But the day came and our dream finally became true
It was the freedom of our nation, November 89 was exceptional.*

Figure 3. Ancestors – Nastal čas



Source: Own research

Figure 4. Ancestors – Final Storm



Source: Own research

4.2.2 White Resistance Engerau

Virtually an identical personal base gave rise to a band, whose name clearly declared all the essential - White Resistance Engerau. It released a single record called "Cítím zmenu" (I feel a change). It emerged at a time of increased repression by the state, and accordingly it affected its character. None of the songs addressed potential enemies; instead, there were only calls for change, for a certain renaissance of the movement.

*Become roses, clean and beautiful.
So be that roses, proud and erect!
Priorities in the heart have, not a nation cheating
and you do not go head bowed.*

At the same time, nostalgia appears for the hopelessness of all the actions that absolutely does not correspond to the nature of previous production of the analyzed bands. Their members are usually presented as brave warriors who would rather die than give up their values.

*I ask the gods, I do not know what's going on,
why suddenly everything is against us.*

*Where our freedom has been lost,
why my nation bleeds.*

In this struggle for the restoration of values, however, they do not remain alone and they are united even in a hopeless situation and fight for the same goal.

*You are not alone, there is more of us,
who fight for the same thing as you.
You know you're right and you will not give up,
because this fight does not end.*

A fight is a logical way out of this situation; it must be conducted mainly in the streets and in conflict with the call for honor, when they are also willing to use unfair means in order to achieve victory over the opponent.

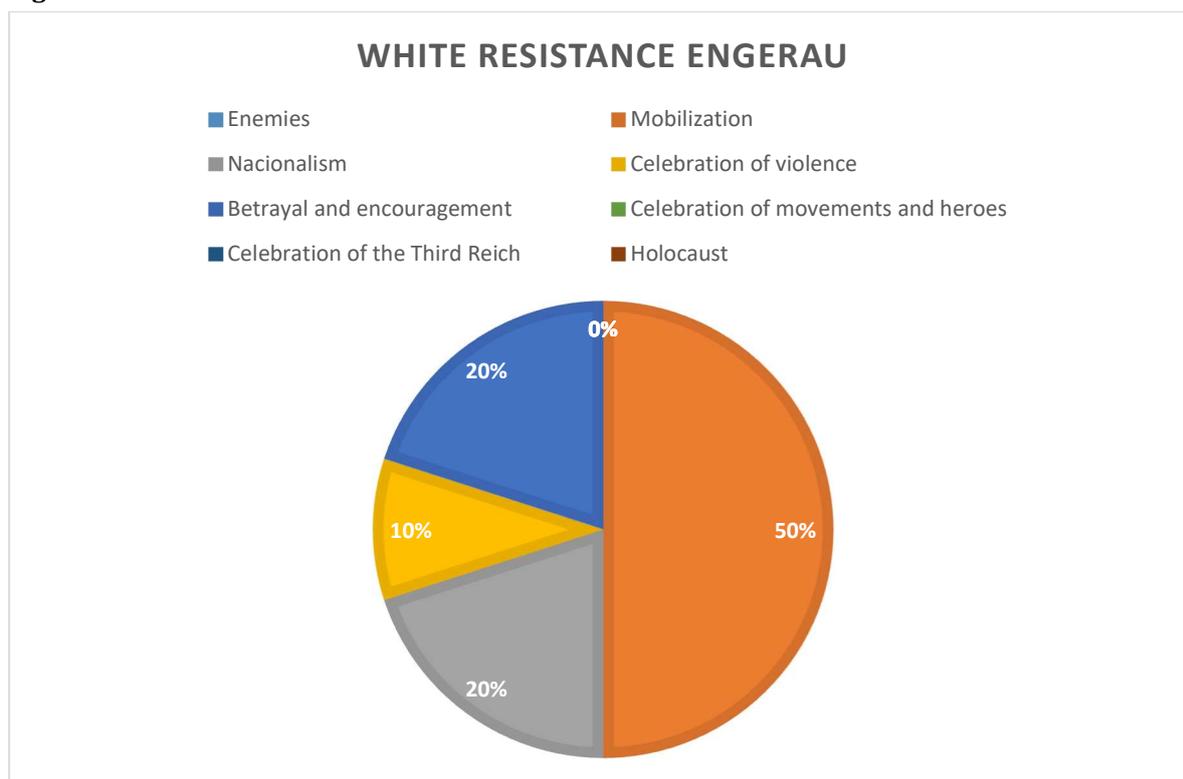
*That is the street
Use a stick on your opponent
when you're in tight do not hesitate
Do not fight fair*

Thus, this takes us from an originally melancholic expression to the call for violence and to its primitive adoration, which is acquiring more absurd dimensions.

*Hello, hello
I will rip your heart out,
a foot in the kidneys
let me have some fun.*

After this recording, there was no other one directly connected with Rastislav Rogel. He continues to devote himself to his band Judenmord, keeps performing with the band and disseminates ideas amidst supporters of the far right. In addition, he occasionally returns to his original acting profession (Antifa 2010) and has undertaken entrepreneurial activities when he founded the clothing brand Eighty-Eight, with 88 being a well-known cryptogram used by neo-Nazis, where number eight states the order of the alphabet. The eighth letter is the letter H and double H stands for Heil Hitler. Despite all these well-known facts Rastislav Rogel has never been sentenced for his activities and any prosecutions have always failed. However, in terms of music production, nobody from his circle of colleagues has presented any recordings for more than seven years, which can also be an interesting indicator of the situation.

Figure 5. W.R.E. – Cítím zmenu



Source: Own research

4.2.3 Vandal's wing

4.2.3.1. Projekt Vandal

Musicians from the White Resistance Engerau and Ancestors only sporadically appear on stages alongside Rastislav Rogel under the heading of Judenmord and even less frequently as Krátky proces (Short process) because their main activities are mainly linked with football hooligans of Slovan Bratislava, for whom they perform with a specific repertoire called Cobweb. At the time of their gradual retreat from WP scene, a new wave of activist enthusiasm primarily presented by a band Project Vandal begins to take over the reins. This band represents an entirely new wave with its personal composition and the fact that it is no longer strongly tied to Rast'o Rogel. This band released six albums in five years and one split album with the Czech band Adler.

Since its very onset, the band presented itself under the label R.A.C. or Anti-Sharp and from the very beginning strongly territorially and patriotically defined itself within an area of Bratislava's Petržalka, already traditionally appearing under the name Engerau, which is accompanied by a shout Víťazstvu zdar (Hail to victory) equivalent to the Nazi Sieg Heil.

*Oh proud Engerau,
freely free, does not hide his face,
By Panels decorated,
proud of our beauty is made for us.
Hail to the victory!*

Of course, it is necessary to make it clear that in this area on the right bank of the Danube there is no place for enemies who, however, at this stage are not usually portrayed as ethnic, but instead as political, be it anti-fascists, policemen, journalists, or SHARP skinheads, which may also be linked to an unsolved murder of a student Daniel Tupý, who in 2005 died of injuries incurred in Petržalka.

*When the gang stood up in every fight,
kicks, punches, so are their gifts,
antifa, antifa here ends your journey,
dirty scum excavated from each city.*

At the same time, other topics are paid attention to, such as betrayal of ideals and friendships that passed from a pure form to a pure hatred. A traitor is frequently portrayed as being included among drug addicts and, obviously, facing impending revenge.

*As brothers once for life and death, only that you betrayed us.
Now you're proud of burning bridges. You are a betrayal and your time has come.
I will never understand why you just came out in the light.
Shame the shame of the slave of this time, prepare for trouble!*

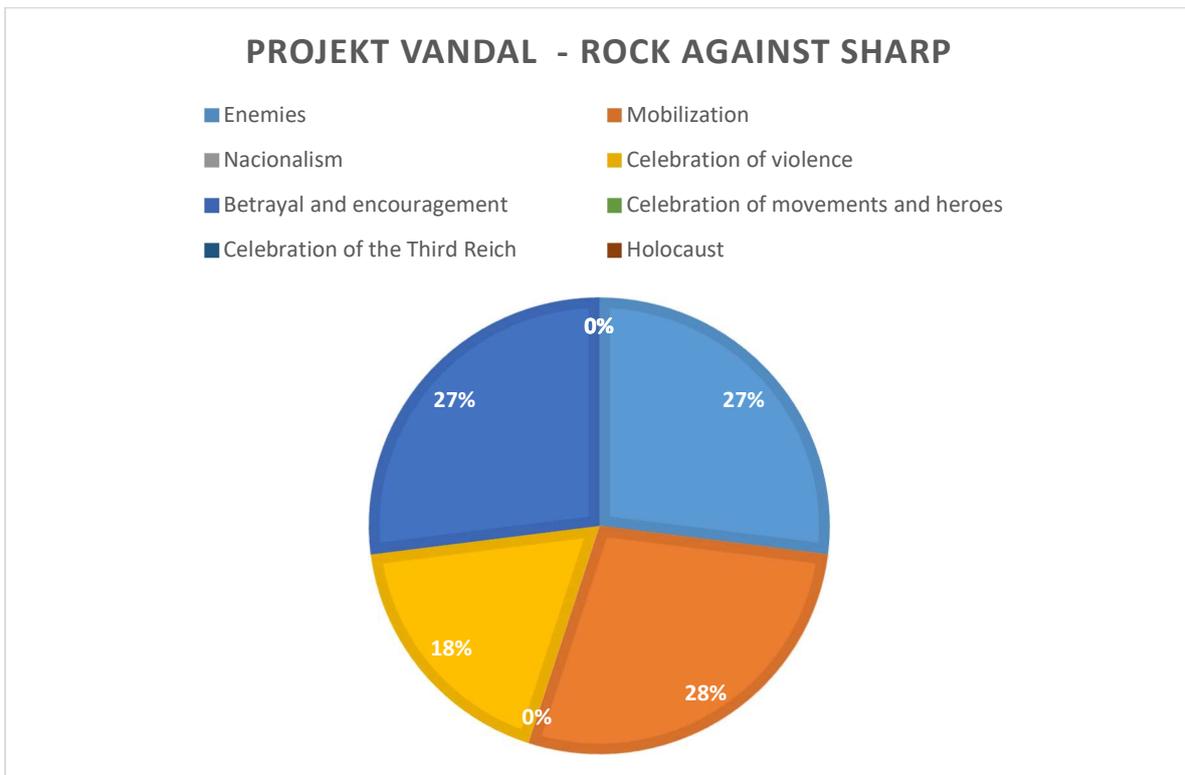
In the end, neither Project Vandal avoided celebrating Nazi Germany, but especially its troops. This whole topic, however, is wrapped in a poetical style, which does not explicitly talk about the German troops, but it is quite clear from the lyrics that the song *Taženie do pekla* (Crusade to hell) is dedicated to the soldiers fighting at Stalingrad and on the Eastern Front in general, but this is presented as a struggle against communism.

*An unpleasant order that everyone was waiting for,
campaign to hell, the last link
Steel tanks roll with morning dew,
from the mud mainly destroy the hammer with the scythe*

The song Sniper displays more open signs that it is indeed a Nazi Germany, or the Third Reich, because its lyrics mention the Reich as well as the Iron Cross as a high German decoration of honor.

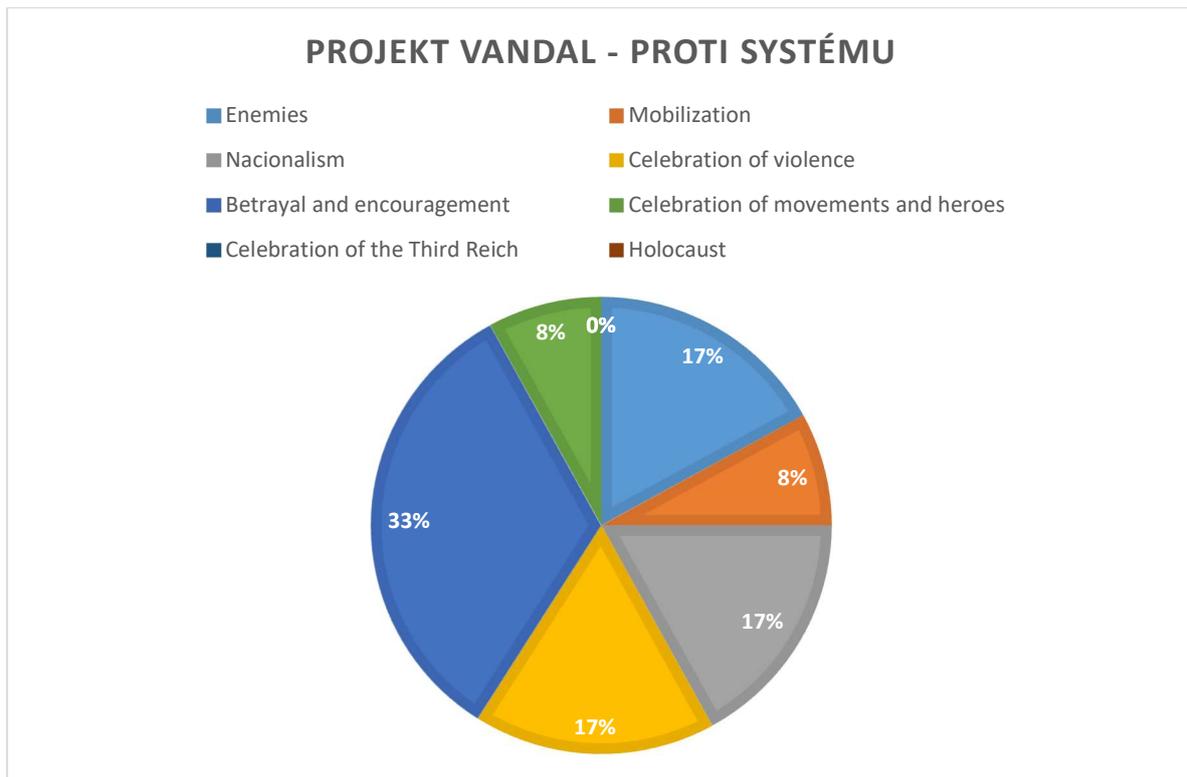
*The iron cross on the throat flashes,
let the red bastard drown in blood!
Target is in sight, shot behind the shot.
Behind the reign of the nation, the death of the enemy!*

Figure 6. Projekt Vandal – Rock Against SHARP



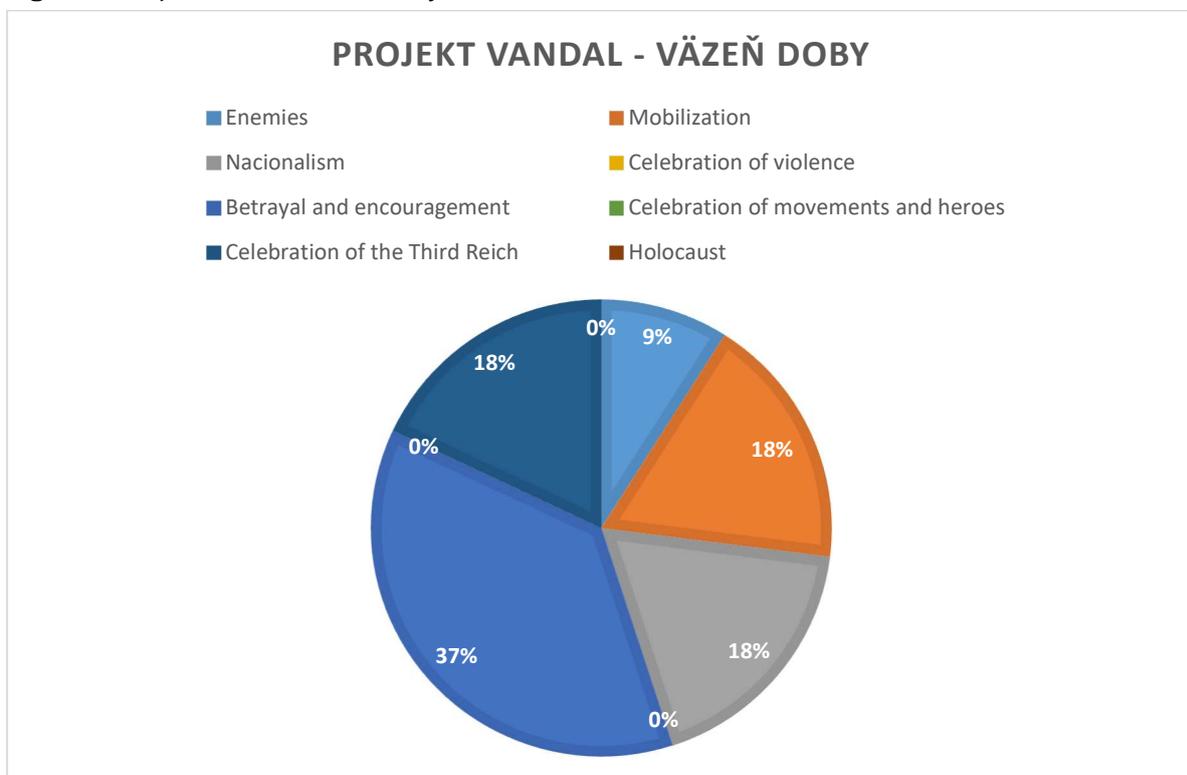
Source: Own research

Figure 7. Projekt Vandal – Proti systému



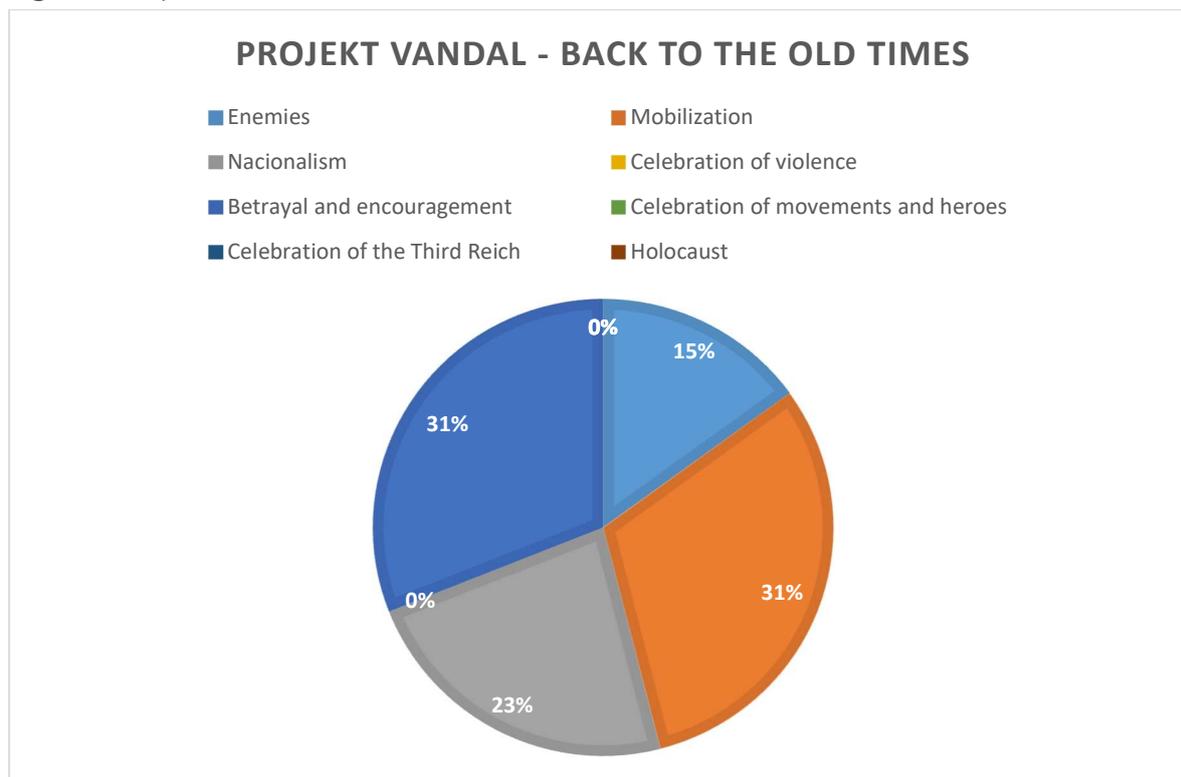
Source: Own research

Figure 8. Projekt Vandal - Vážeň doby



Source: Own research

Figure 9. Projekt Vandal – Back to the Old Times



Source: Own research

4.2.3.2. Posol Vlasti (Messenger of homeland)

After the last album sung in English the band released the information that it was preparing a new album with Slovak lyrics, but its realization under the heading of Project Vandal never materialized. Instead, a new band appeared named Posol vlasti (Messenger of homeland), which already with its initials pointed to a connection with Project Vandal. The transition of the singer to this band was clear as well as discontinuation of the activities of the original band. It was obvious from the name of the band that it will strongly emphasize the nationalist-oriented topics.

*Still, the lip is still standing, with the root holding
At dawn, it blossoms when the Slovaks are born
Above the Danube ash drifts dry shores
I will bring new times from the Slovak fire.*

Moreover, in connection with new trends on the far right it addresses the questions of anti-Americanism and the issue of global governance (while traditionally a global government entails Jews, but this is not even hinted here), perceived as destroying a national identity.

Politicians of all countries

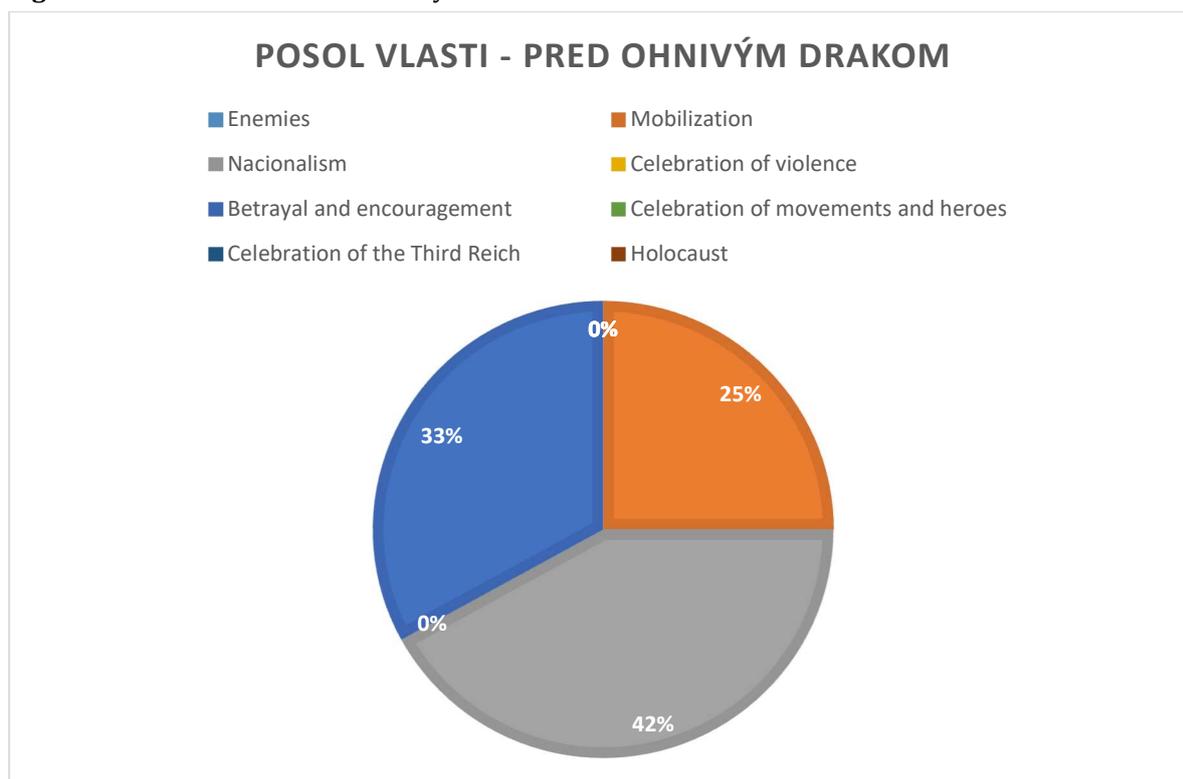
*Sold us a pair of global governments for the crown
Caught in webs as insects
hungry spider look into the face.
Only two options are yes or no
So what is right?
Who does not fit the idea of equality and democracy
Get caught the USA bombs.*

Neither a betrayal by politicians nor the US threat are strong enough to break the Slovak spirit, because the mobilization is very obvious from a wide range of lyrics, which applaud perseverance and resilience of the Slovak nation, which is not afraid of any predominant force.

*Nobody will break us anymore
nor any threat to the adversary
we have power in ourselves
how to spend a cold black night
we will not be the ones
who are always in a limb
neither the fear nor the oppressor will break us.*

Posol vlasti (Messenger of homeland) is thus an undisputed successor to Project Vandal; however, the same motive appears again – the last recording gave up a clear-cut designation of enemies and incitement to confrontation and rather deals with nationalist issues.

Figure 10. Posol vlasti – Pred odhnivým drakom



Source: Own research

5. Image of Enemy

A very interesting idea on the issue of enemies was raised by Hannah Arendt in her book *The Origins of Totalitarianism* (1951); she claims that most totalitarian regimes do not need any real definite enemy, but rather the so-called objective enemy, who we do not have to thematize on the basis of some real deeds and acts that would make it possible to perceive him in this way, but instead as Hannah Arendt notes, he is constructed ideologically on the basis of needs of the regime and circumstances. Therefore, one may find it very interesting to look at how this concept has been transformed over time in Engerau Boys.

Krátky proces (Short process) as a performer of the first major recording of Slovak WP music plunged into thematization of enemies on its "pink tape" (*Na prach/To dust*) in the very first song, titled *Zničme Shalom* (Let us destroy Shalom), which most likely hints on then a popular band Shalom led by Peter Muk⁶, who significantly thematized his Jewish origin, and thus could be regarded with his whole band as a significant promoter of Judaism in the public space.

⁶ The band XIII. Century voiced its criticism in their song "Zánik Izraele" (Extinction of Israel); however, according to the allusions in the lyrics, it rather criticised Muk's presented Jewishness, which should serve marketing purposes, rather than to present the band as anti-Semitic.

*What you really want and who's behind you
your activity here is very disgusting
do not pretend children, protect yours
because very soon you taste our wrath
Destroying Shalom was enough
their star must not shine above us*

The band tackled the issue of Jewish enemies not quite explicitly, but in the song “Pod’me na to spolu” (Let's do it together), where it sings:

*Let's do it together
and do not be afraid of it
we will heat the furnace
and only smoke remains*

The term furnace can be understood as crematories in extermination camps. The racial issue also strongly resonates in the song Apartheid which deals with the situation in South Africa.

*They are without claims and without entry
Where are whites there are no blacks.
It seems to me from a distance everything is alright
better strength than gold has only for white.*

And the question of neighboring states, or nations was already mentioned in the initial analysis of the KP, while a vague formulation of the enemy appears in the song Zběrači cien (Collectors of prizes), a passage in the lyrics refers to politicians, but the text itself is not clear on what the prizes are.

*For the merits of the people, the collectors of prizes
the words have honey and the heart of the mucus.
Blind justice is a right for a right
and rush into the breast,
that as we live.*

Judenmord was more radical with its open directness and contents, while besides anti-Semitism and anti-Romaism there are basically no other topics delimiting themselves against the enemies. The band Ancestors, in some aspects drawing on Judenmord, moves

to a completely different level with its concept of the enemy when on one hand it performs unconcealed hailing and when in the song Očista (Cleansing) we find in its lyrics a passage "V našich rukách je spravodlivosť – Sieg Heil" (There is justice in our hands - Sieg Heil", but except for a few allusions to the Black and Roma population an enemy already loses a concrete form in this song; he is, for example, accused of excessive humanism as in the song "Proti nám" (Against us) or of the loss of love for his own nation.

Ancestors launched two new forms of enemies on their second album, when in the song Slub klamstva (Promise of delusion) criticism of communism is first heard in the context of Bratislava WP music, or of the political establishment prior to 1989, which in the lyrics of the band meant lack of freedom and subversion of nations, and only the Velvet Revolution could set people free and bring a change towards the better. Likewise, a criticism of homosexuality is new; it is seen as amoral deviation and people with a homosexual orientation deserve to die. Finally, a question of betrayal and individuals who have left the movement manifests itself more intensely. White Resistance Engerau, formed on the basis of Ancestors, then does not allude to any specific enemy; enemies are always those indefinite ones.

A more detailed specification of the enemy thus returns with the band Project Vandal, which arises in the same environment, but there is no direct link to the person of Rastislav Rogel, and therefore we regard it as a new wave of Engerau Boys. SHARP skinheads and media became enemies in their lyrics, or journalists who insult activists in the media and instigate against the nation. Equally interesting is a phenomenon of delimitation against murderers and rapists, even though death threats and physical violence belong to a normal repertoire of these bands. In the next album, especially the police become an enemy, which is likely to be attributed to an increased interest of the repressive organs in the band; the theme passes on to another album, where the court that makes the activists "prisoners of the period" becomes a new enemy in addition to the police. Perhaps the following can serve as a humorous insert - in the last recording of PV the most visible enemy are ex-girlfriends, referred to as "bitches". A successional Posol vlasti (Messenger of homeland) does not address the topic of enemies either.

Table 11. Images of Enemies

| Year of release | Performer of the recording | Name of the recording | Enemy |
|-----------------|----------------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------------------------------|
| 1993 | Krátky proces | Na prach! | Jews, Roma, Hungarians, Poles, Afro-Americans |
| 1998 | Judenmord | Arbeit Macht Frei | Jews, Roma |
| 2001 | Ancestors | Nastal čas | Afro-Americans, Roma |
| 2005 | Ancestors | Final Storm | Homosexuals, communists, traitors |
| 2006 | White resistance Engerau | Cítím zmenu | not explained |

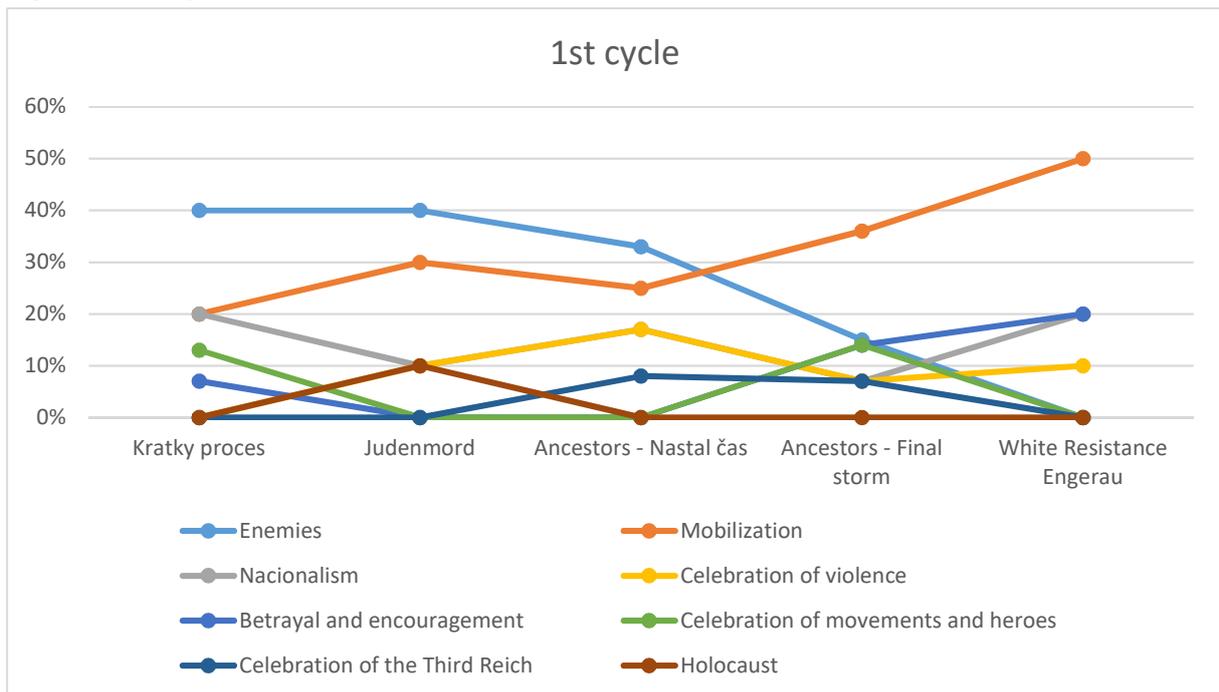
| | | | |
|------|----------------|-----------------------|-----------------------------------|
| 2006 | Projekt Vandal | Rock Against SHARP | SHARP skinheads, violators, media |
| 2007 | Projekt Vandal | Proti systému | Paedophiles, police |
| 2009 | Projekt Vandal | Vázeň doby | Police, courts |
| 2011 | Projekt Vandal | Back to the old times | Ex-girlfriends |
| 2013 | Posol Vlasti | Před ohnivým drakom | not explained |

Source: Own research

6. Conclusion

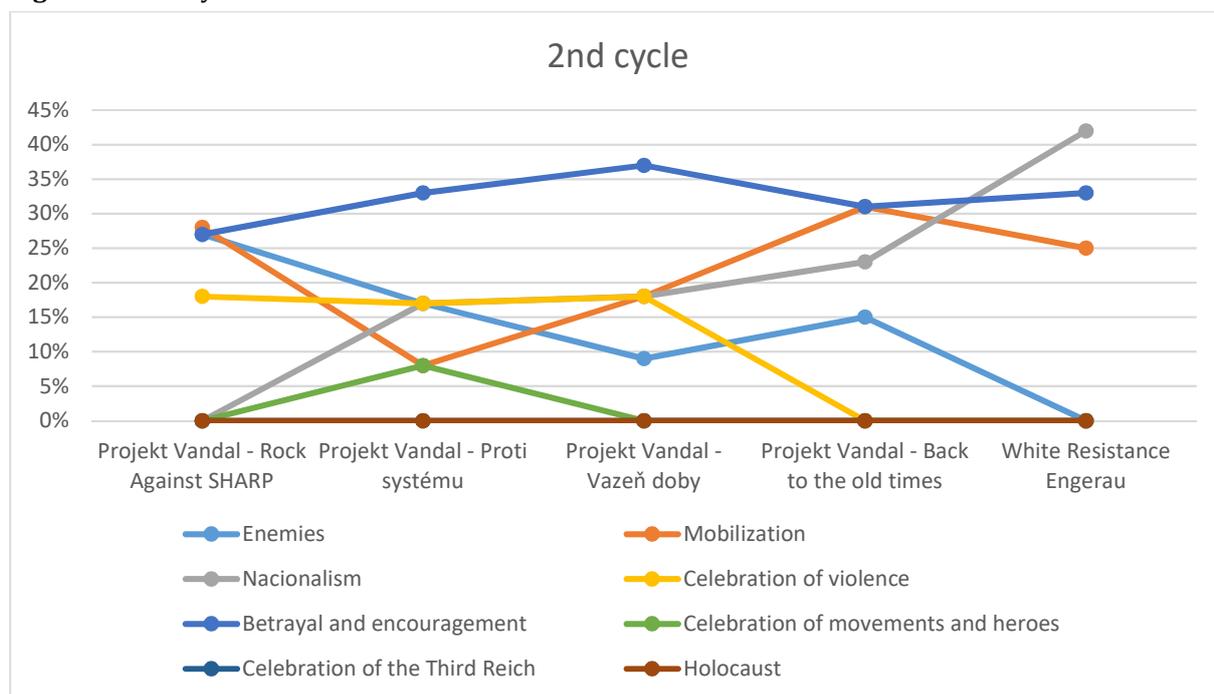
When looking back at the thematic structure of recordings and their transformation in the timeline, a few interesting moments clearly stand out. Undoubtedly the most interesting one of them is that (if we accept to perceive of individual components as independent activist cycles) the end of each phase displays a totally subdued thematization of enemies as the dominant theme.

Figure 12. 1st cycle of WPM in Bratislava



Source: Own research

Figure 13. 2nd cycle of WPM in Bratislava



Source: Own research

This is interesting given that for totalitarian ideologies (to which Nazis certainly direct their activities) enemy is a key concept and if we acknowledge the idea framed by a significant legal theorist Carl Schmitt, then a relationship between a friend and enemy is the foundation of all that is political (Schmitt 2007).

A possible explanation can be found in that when a new activist generation arises, it feels the need to clearly delimit itself against enemies, while the activist generation retreating from the scene recedes because of some exhaustion and probably repressions and, therefore, it tends to mobilize the next successor to fight for its ideas rather than to call for annihilation of enemies.

What is also interesting is the fact that in the context of Bratislava's neo-Nazi scene mythology and mythological themes are practically irrelevant⁷, because the only references to the themes typical of the white power bands from Norse mythology appear only in connection with Rudolf Hess, whom Valkyries carry away to Valhalla, or with fallen soldiers at Stalingrad.

The previous analysis did in no case fully exhaust the possibilities afforded by even such a limited sample we have worked with, but it offers opportunities for a further discussion and further reflection on the issue. Interesting findings could be the

⁷ For a more general context of the relationship between mythology and WP music see Goodrich-Clarke (2006).

comparison between the Czech Republic and Slovakia or between Bratislava and smaller Slovak towns.

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Analyzed recordings

Ancestors – Final storm (2005)
Ancestors – Nastal čas (2001)
Judenmord – Arbeit Macht Frei (1998)
Krátky proces – Na prach (1993)
Posol Vlasti - Před ohnivým drakom (2013)
Projekt Vandal - Back to the Old Times (2011)
Projekt Vandal - Proti systému (2007)
Projekt Vandal - Rock against SHARP (2006)
Projekt Vandal - Vázeň doby (2009)
White Resistance Engerau – Cítím změnu (2006)