

THE FPÖ AND RIGHT-WING EXTREMISM

Individual cases and repeat offenders

Individual case 6

In the federal state parliament of Carinthia is the FPÖ

Individual case 41

FPÖ treasurer from Zams, Patrick Ober-

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Individual case 91

The public became aware that Jürgen-Michael Kleppich, FPÖ district councilor in Vienna-Leopoldstadt and Attaché at the Austrian Embassy in Israel, had spread on Facebook a picture of his grandfather in Nazi uniform with swastika and a picture of himself wearing a T-shirt of the extreme right-wing "identitarians". After massive protests, the Foreign Ministry ordered Kleppich back to Austria.

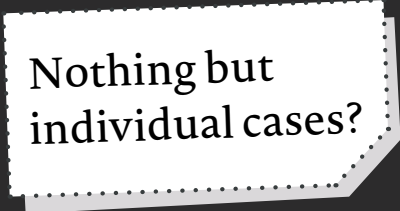


Just before the Austrian parliamentary elections in October 2017, the Mauthausen Committee Austria presented a total of 68 extreme right-wing activities of FPÖ politicians covering a period of about four and a half years. The documentation “Nothing but individual cases?” received a strong media response and led to a wide debate. Since then, the term “individual cases” has become commonplace for describing the continuous anti-democratic activities of the FPÖ. (Starting on page 15 you can reread the 68 extreme right-wing activities.)

The FPÖ leadership did not perhaps react concerned, it rather reacted in a strongly rejective way. However, their attempt to shatter the credibility of the Mauthausen committee failed embarrassingly. After the Upper Austrian FPÖ member of parliament Gerhard Deimek disparaged the documentary on Twitter as “fake and based on lies”, the Mauthausen Committee took legal action against him. Deimek was not able to even prove of a single point of the documentation to be incorrect. He had to give a cease-and-desist declaration, publish a revocation on Twitter and bear the entire legal fees of the Mauthausen Committee.

Now, the Mauthausen Committee has followed up the individual cases that occurred since the parliamentary elections. After all, the FPÖ became a governing party in December 2017. Does the party fulfill its responsibilities in this regard? Is it more moderate now? Has the number of extreme right-wing activities in its ranks declined? Has at least the party leadership taken a step away from right-wing extremism? And does it really fight anti-Semitism?

The new individual cases, presented in this documentation in a brief and concise manner, will provide a clear answer to these questions – although we could certainly not record all individual cases of the respective period.



**Nothing but
individual cases?**

November 2017

Individual case 69

The FPÖ Lower Austria wanted to delegate the Tulln district party chairman Andreas Bors to the Federal Council. The media pointed out that in November 2014, a photo has been published showing Bors and two other men making the Hitler salute (see Individual case 14). Bors therefore renounced the Federal Council mandate but spoke of an “intolerable media campaign”.

Individual case 70

The top candidate of the FPÖ Lower Austria for the provincial assembly election, Udo Landbauer, mocked the ÖVP head of the provincial government Johanna Mikl-Leitner with calling her “Muslim Mama”. Reason: According to the education plan, the state kindergartens should deal with different cultures. Landbauer perceived this as “forced Islamization”.

Individual case 71

The Linz FPÖ city council faction organized an event in the Old City Hall together with the magazine “Info-Direkt”. This magazine disseminates racist, anti-Semitic and conspiracist content. The Documentation Centre of Austrian Resistance classifies it as “extreme right-wing with neo-Nazi backgrounds”. Before the event in the Old City Hall, the responsible SPÖ city councilor had reacted to wide protests and cancelled an Info-Direkt “readers meeting”, which was planned in a municipal people’s house.

December 2017:

Individual case 72

The newspaper “Standard” reported that the FPÖ federal party chairman Heinz-Christian Strache and the Styrian FPÖ provincial party chairman Mario Kunasek had been in personal contact with Thomas Kirschner, the chairman of the neo-Nazi splinter group “Party of the People” in December 2015. Strache told Kirschner to “keep up the good work.” In May 2016, Kirschner was arrested for defiling a Graz mosque with blood from a pig and a pig’s head. Two weeks after the “Standard” report, Heinz-Christian Strache became vice-chancellor and Mario Kunasek became defense minister.

Individual case 73

Alexander Höferl became head of communications in the cabinet of the former FPÖ secretary general and new interior minister Herbert Kickl. Before that, Höferl was chief editor and co-owner of the FPÖ-close website “unzensuriert.at”. The Federal Office for the Protection of the Constitution and the Fight against Terrorism had classified “unzensuriert.at” as “partly extremely xenophobic” and had attested “anti-Semitic tendencies” to the website.

Individual case 74

The deputy FPÖ federal party chairman Johann Gudenus demanded that refugees should no longer be accommodated individually, but in mass accommodations on the outskirts of Vienna. Thus, the refugees will have to see, “that it is not as cozy in Austria, as everyone believes,” said Gudenus, who shortly after became executive FPÖ leader of the parliamentary group in the National Council.

Individual case 75

FPÖ municipal councilor Bernhard Blochberger from Krumbach sent the title page of a Nazi women’s magazine from 1943 as his Facebook Christmas greeting. Since decades, Blochberger engages himself in extreme right-wing activities. Among others, he was a member of the Lower Austrian state leadership of the “National Democratic Party”. This party was officially dissolved in 1988 because of National Socialist reactivation.

January 2018:

Individual case 76

FPÖ municipal councilor Markus Ripfl from Orth an der Donau, who is also a member of the extreme right-wing fraternity “Olympia”, “liked” a song of the neo-Nazi band “Division Germania” on Youtube on New Year’s Eve. In the past, Ripfl gained attention several times by his extreme right-wing activities (see individual cases 27 and 42). He was expelled from the FPÖ because of “imminent danger”, although he claims that an unknown person has “liked” the

neo-Nazi song with his password. Party secretary Christian Hafenecker emphasized that the FPÖ does not constantly want to get bad press.

Individual case 77

The FPÖ mayor from Wels, Andreas Rabl, was in need to explain, after it became public knowledge that the former municipal authorities’ employee Peter See has been the third on the FPÖ list for the 2014 staff representation election, and that he had been an FPÖ member from 2013 to July 2017. See was dismissed in December 2017 after a photo had appeared showing him with a swastika banner. Rabl had stated that See was never an FPÖ member and had concealed See’s candidacy and years of membership.

Individual case 78

FPÖ defense minister Mario Kunasek claimed in an interview with the “Kronenzeitung” that he did not publish an article in the magazine “Aula”, and that only one of his press releases had been printed. The human rights organization “SOS Mitmensch” proved that this claim was not true. The “Aula” disseminates extreme right-wing, racist and anti-Semitic content. It also shows sympathy for the neo-Nazi NPD party in Germany (see individual case 65).

Individual case 79

FPÖ interior minister Herbert Kickl declared his wish to keep refugees “concentrated” in mass quarters. This statement was perceived as a reference to the Nazi concentration camps and led to broad criticism.

Individual case 80

The public became aware that Udo Landbauer, the top candidate of the FPÖ Lower Austria for the provincial assembly election, had collected donations for the extreme right-wing association “Junge Patrioten” (Young Patriots) in 2010. Furthermore, the Viennese weekly newspaper “Falter” reported that the song book of the fraternity “Germania zu Wiener Neustadt” contains anti-Semitic texts, also ridiculing the Holocaust. Landbauer is chairman of this fraternity. The Federal Government initiated proceedings to dissolve the fraternity. After the provincial assembly election Landbauer resigned from his political functions and suspended his membership in the FPÖ. But he does not exclude his return to the party.

February 2018:

Individual case 81

The newspaper “Standard” reported that the Upper Austrian FPÖ provincial councilor Elmar Podgorschek belongs to the fraternity “Germania zu Ried”. In a commemorative publication in 2000, this fraternity had honored the fraternity brother and SS mass murderer Friedrich Kranebitter. In addition, Podgorschek had placed a half-page advertisement in the magazine “Info-Direkt”, paid with

tax money. “Info-Direkt” disseminates racist, anti-Semitic and conspiracist content. The Documentation Centre of the Austrian Resistance classifies it as “extreme right-wing with neo-Nazi backgrounds”.

Individual case 82

Martin Glier, press spokesman of FPÖ vice-chancellor Heinz-Christian Strache, used the Nazi term “Blutzeuge” (blood witness) on Twitter. He countered the criticism that followed with referring to the neo-Nazi online-encyclopedia “Metapedia”.

Individual case 83

Despite massive protests, Heinrich Sickl was delegated for the FPÖ into the Graz municipal council. Sickl is co-editor of the magazine “Aula”, which disseminates extreme right-wing, racist and anti-Semitic content. He also took part in demonstrations of the extreme right-wing “identitarians” and offered them rooms for rent.

Individual case 84

Miriam Rydl, board member of the FPÖ Tulln, insulted refugees who had left their families behind with calling them “Untermenschen” (subhuman beings) on Facebook. Rydl told the Media that she did not know that this was a Nazi term. On top of it, the FPÖ politician is also a member of a Facebook group, that is mocking Holocaust survivors. Rydl claimed that she also did not know anything about those contents and that she probably had been added to the group without being asked.

Individual case 85

It became public knowledge that Reinhard Rebhandl, candidate of the FPÖ Salzburg for the provincial assembly election, belongs since decades to the extreme right-wing scene. Already in 1984, he was a “young comrade” in the “National Democratic Party”, which was officially dissolved in 1988 because of National Socialist reactivation. Rebhandl is a member of the fraternity “Gothia Salzburg”, which participated in a demonstration against refugees of the extreme right-wing “identitarians”. In 2010, as chairman of the ÖTB gymnastics club Golling, Rebhandl had carried a flag with the words “racial purity” for his gymnastics club.

Individual case 86

The Viennese weekly newspaper “Falter” reported that also the songbook of the fraternity “Bruna Sudetia” contains anti-Semitic texts, which are also ridiculing the Holocaust. The chairman of this extreme right-wing fraternity, Herwig Götschober, is FPÖ district councilor in Vienna-Leopoldstadt and press officer in the cabinet of the FPÖ minister of transport Norbert Hofer. The public prosecution started an investigation against the song book and seized several boxes with unknown material in the fraternity house of the “Bruna Sudetia”. Götschober declared that he will take leave as a press reporter until the end of the investigation. However, after only three weeks, he took up again his work in the Ministry of Transport.

March 2018:

Individual case 87

The FPÖ vice mayor of Graz, Mario Eustacchio, held a speech at the extreme right-wing congress “Defenders of Europe” in Aistersheim. According to the extreme rightwing magazine “Info-Direkt”, Eustacchio criticized the human rights in his speech. Media reports about it were followed by massive protests in Graz, a city that understands itself as a city for human rights. Eustacchio claimed that he did not make the statement about human rights.

Individual case 88

The FPÖ district party chairman of Imst, Wolfgang Neururer, was pressed with charges because he had sent images of Adolf Hitler with WhatsApp to other FPÖ members. The text to one of the pictures reads “Adolf, please show up! Germany needs you!” Neururer claims that he had forwarded those pictures as a “warning”. The public prosecutor’s office Innsbruck investigates against him and against Brigitte Gröber, the executive city party chairperson of the FPÖ Imst. Both suspended their duties and their FPÖ membership.

Individual case 89

The former FPÖ provincial party chairman of Upper Austria, Lutz Weinzinger, caused a stir: In an interview he claimed that fraternity members were “persecuted by the Nazis like the Jews at the beginning”. Weinzinger defended a Holocaust mocking song text with claiming that it was only “meant iron-

ically". His successor Manfred Haimbuchner, who Weinzinger calls a "fatherly friend", rejected a statement on Weinzinger's remarks.

Individual case 90

The public became aware that Wolfgang Preiszler, FPÖ municipal councilor in Guntramsdorf and high-ranking police officer in Vienna, had spread extreme right-wing and racist content on Facebook. The Viennese police initiated an inspection according to the employment law.

Individual case 91

The public became aware that Jürgen-Michael Kleppich, FPÖ district councilor in Vienna-Leopoldstadt and Attaché at the Austrian Embassy in Israel, had spread on Facebook a picture of his grandfather in Nazi uniform with swastika and a picture of himself wearing a T-shirt of the extreme right-wing "identitarians". After massive protests, the Foreign Ministry ordered Kleppich back to Austria.

Individual case 92

The FPÖ member of the municipal executive board Andreas Zauner and FPÖ municipal councilor Daniel Boxrucker from Suben were pressed with charges because by using WhatsApp they have sent images of Adolf Hitler along with extreme right-wing slogans. The houses of the two FPÖ politicians were searched. They resigned from the FPÖ. Three weeks later, they also resigned from their municipal duties.

April 2018:

Individual case 93

Several FPÖ politicians attacked the Viennese physician and SPÖ politician Mireille Ngosso with racist postings. Reason: Ngosso was a refugee from the Congo and became deputy district leader of the first district of Vienna. For example, Wolfgang Reinold, FPÖ leader of the parliamentary group in Vienna-Meidling, posted on Facebook pictures of monkeys under an article about the SPÖ politician. After media reports and a request from the FPÖ provincial party secretary Michael Stumpf, Reinold deleted his hate posting.

Individual case 94

Arndt Praxmarer, an employee in the cabinet of FPÖ transport minister Norbert Hofer, "liked" on Facebook a restaurant in Germany, whose host is a well-known neo-Nazi who celebrates the birthday of Adolf Hitler. At the request of the newspaper "Standard" Praxmarer claimed that he cannot remember how it happened that the "Like" button appeared.

Individual case 95

The FPÖ-close website "unzensuriert.at" reported that the singer Conchita Wurst has come out with being HIV-positive. A comment directed against HIV-infected individuals was followed by a number of anti-gay and racist hate posts on the website. The operators of "unzensuriert.at" also did not delete those hate posts when the newspaper "Standard" pointed out their legal obligation to do so.

Individual case 96

Kevin Guttman, an employee of Johann Tschürtz, the FPÖ deputy head of the provincial government of Burgenland, published a short video on Instagram. It shows dark-skinned runners of the Vienna City Marathon, with the comment “Having their day off today?” After the strong criticism that followed this racist statement, Tschürtz admonished his co-worker.

Individual case 97

The executive FPÖ leader of the parliamentary group Johann Gudenus used an anti-Semitic conspiracy theory of the Hungarian prime minister Viktor Orbán. In an interview with the newspaper “Die Presse” Gudenus explained that there are “verified rumors” that the Jewish US billionaire George Soros is involved in “supporting migratory flows to Europe”. This statement led to wide protests.

Individual case 98

FPÖ vice-chancellor Heinz-Christian Strache defended the anti-Semitic conspiracy theory, according to which the Jewish US billionaire George Soros is involved in “supporting migratory flows to Europe”. Strache claimed that these are “facts”. After the SPÖ federal party chairman Christian Kern sharply criticized this statement, the FPÖ vice-chancellor resorted to an old anti-Semitic accusation: He claimed that Kern tries to “poison the well”.

Individual case 99

The public became aware that Robert Kiesinger, consultant at the FPÖ-educational institute, had sent the cover page of a Nazi calendar from 1943 as his Facebook Easter greeting. The cover page shows the “life rune”, a forbidden Nazi symbol. Kiesinger had already attracted attention with propaganda against Muslims.

Mai 2018:

Individual case 100

FPÖ secretary general and EU parliamentarian Harald Vilimsky held a speech at the invitation of the French Front National at a meeting of several extreme right-wing parties in Nice. In 2015, the FPÖ joined forces with these parties to form the EU group “Europe of Nations and Freedom”. Vilimsky is deputy group chairman.

Individual case 101

It became public knowledge that Markus Hüttenmeyer, provincial chairman of the “Freiheitliche Jugend Salzburg” (Liberal Youth of Salzburg) and FPÖ local party chairman of Lofer, wrote in 2009 at the age of 15 on Facebook: “For us National Socialists, the declared belief in an ideology must never turn into a phrase ...” This sentence originates from Nazi author Hansjörg Männel. Hüttenmeyer resigned from his political duties.

Individual case 102

The FPÖ Upper Austria criticized two major cinema chains, because they refused to show a spot of the “Liberal Youth” about the shortage of skilled workers. The “Hollywood Megaplex” rejected the criticism: The spot gave the impression that foreign skilled workers would operate as car burglars in Austria.

Individual case 103

It became public knowledge that the FPÖ vice mayor from Linz, Detlef Wimmer, and the FPÖ city councilor from Linz, Markus Hein, have placed advertisements in the media “Info-Direkt” and “Wochenblick” with using tax-money. “Info-Direkt” disseminates racist, anti-Semitic and conspiracist content. The Documentation Centre of the Austrian Resistance classified it as “extreme right-wing with neo-Nazi backgrounds” (see also the individual cases 71 and 81). Ulrich Püschel, the office manager of the FPÖ city councilor Hein, is co-owner of “Info-Direkt”. Like Hein and Wimmer, Püschel belongs to the extreme right-wing fraternity “Arminia Czernowitz”. The Press Council had denounced the “Wochenblick” among other things because of its incitement against refugees.

Individual case 104

The leader of the FPÖ parliamentary group Walter Rosenkranz claimed in the ORF feature “Im Zentrum”, that his party distanced itself from the magazine “Aula”. The human rights organization “SOS Mitmensch” proved that the FPÖ is still closely connected with the “Aula”. The magazine belongs to several Liberal Academic Associations with FPÖ politicians in leading positions. Among them the members of parliament Axel Kassegger and Wendelin Mölzer. The “Aula” disseminates extreme right-wing, racist and anti-Semitic content. It also shows sympathy for the neo-Nazi party NPD in Germany (see individual case 65).

Individual case 105

FPÖ municipal councilor Kerstin Witzmann-Köhler from Bad Vöslau expressly praised her deceased father-in-law Rudolf Witzmann for his role as mayor of the city from 1940 to 1942. The appraisal included banners at the Witzmann-Köhler hotel in the center of the spa town. Rudolf Witzmann was - according to historian Dominik Zgierski - “very active” in the NSDAP local group and district leadership. At a minimum he supported the expropriation and expulsion of the Jewish population of Bad Vöslau.

Individual case 106

The liberal third president of the provincial assembly of Styria, Gerhard Kurzmann, wrote in the “Aula” about the “linguistic disloyalty of the German elites”. Also an FPÖ advertisement with vice chancellor and federal party

chairman Heinz-Christian Strache appeared in the journal. The same issue included racist insults against Austria's participant in the Eurovision Song Contest, César Sampson, by calling him a "quota darky". As this became public knowledge, followed by strong criticism, Strache wanted to apologize to Sampson. According to the FPÖ leadership, the name "Aula" should disappear. The Liberal Academics Associations shall give up their ownership of the "Aula". But the Liberal Academics Associations Styria refused to do so. Norbert Hofer, FPÖ

transport minister and deputy federal party chairman, threatened Kurzmann and other "Aula" writers with the loss of their political positions. Shortly after that, Heinz-Christian Strache revoked this threat. The "Aula" disseminates extreme right-wing, racist and anti-Semitic content. It also shows sympathy for the neo-Nazi NPD party in Germany (see individual case 65).

Finally the publication of „Aula“ was stopped after the „June“ edition, however it will be replaced by a new tabloid.

Which conclusions can we draw from these facts?

- » **The number of extreme right-wing activities of FPÖ politicians did increase markedly.** The Mauthausen committee was able to properly document a total of 68 individual cases in the period of about four and a half years before the parliamentary elections. In the half year since then there were 38. So, we can by no means say that the FPÖ as governing party became more moderate - on the contrary.
- » **The new individual cases also occur at all levels of the FPÖ.** Eight out of 38 can be assigned to members of the party leadership or members of the federal government. Four other cases can be assigned to close co-workers of FPÖ ministers.
- » **Anti-Semitism in the FPÖ emerges much more publicly again.** 14 new individual cases have connections to anti-Semitism, among others the song book scandals, the acceptance of the conspiracy theory against George Soros by Johann Gudenus and Heinz-Christian Strache as well as the support for media bringing anti-Semitic content.

- » **The FPÖ continues to show a close proximity to Nazi ideology.** 15 new individual cases demonstrate a National Socialist or neo-Nazi connection.
- » **The FPÖ continues to incite against refugees and minorities.** 19 new individual cases demonstrate the relevant connections.
- » **The FPÖ continues to work closely with right-wing extremists in Austria and abroad.** Many FPÖ politicians, especially from the leadership, are members of extreme right-wing fraternities. They are also in very good relation to the “identitarians”, whose leaders were charged in May 2018 for the formation of a criminal organization, for incitement and other crimes. At EU level, the FPÖ has joined forces with parties such as the Front National to form the “Europe of Nations and Freedom” group. There is no indication that the governing FPÖ would like to terminate the close connections to the right-wing extremists in Austria and abroad.
- » **The anti-democratic activities in the FPÖ only have consequences if they become publicly known and if the party leadership is afraid of disadvantages.** In that case – as the example of the “Aula” magazine shows, which has been supported for decades by the FPÖ – also conflicts within the party may be the result. However, they prefer to deny or downplay the situations if possible.

» **Repeated affirmations of the FPÖ leaders, that they do not tolerate neo-Nazism or anti-Semitism, are completely unbelievable in view of the steady individual cases.** It is very much likely that vice chancellor Heinz-Christian Strache would like to entirely replace the highly stressed concept of the enemy "Jew" with using "refugee" or "Muslim", which would be better communicable. But on the one hand, the transformation of concepts of the enemy does not change the underlying misanthropic attitude. And on the other hand, the anti-Semitic thinking patterns, which are close to the Nazi ideology and deeply rooted in the FPÖ and in the fraternities, prevent exactly this kind of change.

The democratic powers in Austria and Europe should face the truth. The truth as it was declared by the FPÖ secretary general and EU parliamentarian Harald Vilimsky in January 2018:

"Also in the government we will remain the same party, unwilling to step away from our positions."

The 68 individual cases before the parliamentary elections

(from the documentation
“Nothing but individual cases?”)

February 2013:

Individual case 1

FPÖ municipal councillor Fabian Wetter from Franking is posting a photo on Facebook, which shows the German Federal Chancellor Angela Merkel with the Star of David and the insulting remark “traitor to the country”. As soon as this is known to the public, he resigns from the FPÖ.

Individual case 2

In 2002, FPÖ municipal executive board member Michael Gruber from Auroldmünster had insulted the director of the Documentation Centre of Austrian Resistance (DÖW) with using the word “Judenschwein” (Jewpig) and threatened to kill him. For this reason, Gruber has been sentenced because of National Socialist reactivation and dangerous threat to a conditional prison term of 18 months. When this gets known to the public, he resigns from the FPÖ.

April 2013:

Individual case 3

The FPÖ parliamentary group chairman from Linz, Sebastian Ortner, had to resign, because several extreme right-wing activities became public knowledge: in the past, he had among others practiced the assassination of political opponents at “paramilitary sports” with the neo-Nazi Gottfried Küssel.

January 2014:

Individual case 4

The previously convicted Michael Gruber from Auroldmünster who had been sentenced because of National Socialist reactivation and dangerous threat, and who resigned from the FPÖ a year ago, is part of the list of candidates of Freedom Party employees for the Chamber of Labour elections in Upper Austria. The regional chairman of the Freedom Party employees, Manfred Pühringer, calls this an “error”.

Individual case 5

The regional chairman of the Freedom Party employees in Upper Austria, Manfred Pühringer, is posting an insult on Facebook directed to a municipal councillor of the SPÖ with Bosnian Serb roots (who had shortly before been a victim of an assassination), by calling him “hand granates Yugo”.

February 2014:

Individual case 6

In the federal state parliament, the FPÖ Carinthia is the only party that rejects the erection of a memorial for the victims of the Nazis at the former Gestapo headquarters in Klagenfurt.

Individual case 7

The weekly paper “Zur Zeit”, which is edited by the right-wing populist EU member of parliament Andreas Mölzer and redacted by the Freedom Party member of the national parliament Wendelin Mölzer, is mocking the social democratic

resistance fighter Richard Bernaschek, who had been murdered by the SS, with stating that he had been “overtaken by the grim reaper” in Mauthausen.

March 2014:

Individual case 8

The German daily newspaper “Süddeutsche Zeitung” reveals that during a panel discussion right-wing populist EU member of parliament Andreas Mölzer compared the European Union with the “Third Reich” and called it a “Negro conglomerate”.

April 2014:

Individual case 9

When it gets known to the public that the right-wing populist EU member of parliament Andreas Mölzer also attacked the Austrian national soccer team member David Alaba with racist statements, he is forced to resign.

June 2014:

Individual case 10

The FPÖ municipal councillor and local party chairman for Groß-Enzersdorf, Rudolf Fischer, disseminates racist propaganda on Facebook. He is posting: “Human beings are like bananas ... nobody wants the black!”

Individual case 11

The provincial party secretary of the FPÖ Lower Austria and member of the national parliament Christian Hafenecker dismisses those who criticise racist propaganda as being “moralizers”.

September 2014:

Individual case 12

The deputy federal party chairman Johann Gudenus expresses in a meeting of right-wing conservative and extreme right-wing politicians in Moscow a warning against a “lobby of homosexuals”, which may be extremely powerful with having its own newspapers and TV stations. The goal of this lobby would be to reach the equality of homosexuals. “It is hard to imagine where this all is going lead,” says Gudenus.

November 2014:

Individual case 13

FPÖ member of parliament Christian Höbart insulted refugees on Facebook by calling them “soil- and cavemen.”

Individual case 14

The “Bezirksblätter Niederösterreich” (regional newspapers Lower Austria) published a photo showing Andreas Bors, FPÖ district chairman from Tulln, and two other men making the Hitler salute. After Bors claimed that it was in connection with “fan chants for Rapid”, the soccer club reacted with outrage: “No such gestures are used when cheering on the players.”

Individual case 15

FPÖ municipal councilor Kurt Lindlgruber from Steyr incited in Nazi manner, claiming that those governing are “parasites and spongers” supported by the “leftist pen pushers of the regime”. He openly threatened opponents with forced labor on the “potato field.” The FPÖ parliamentary group chairman Helmut Zörtl distanced himself, however, there was no word of consequences for Lindlgruber.

January 2015:

Individual case 16

The local FPÖ party chairman of Bad Aussee, Hans Wunner, has to resign when it gets known to the public that he is also actively working for the neo-Nazi “European Action” of Holocaust denier Bernhard Schaub.

Individual case 17

The FPÖ regional party chairman for Vorarlberg, Dieter Egger, created an uproar with an anti-Semitic statement: It should be clear to the director of the Jewish Museum in Hohenems, Hanno Loewy, “that decisions are made in the town hall and not in the Jewish quarter”.

Individual case 18

During its city council elections, the FPÖ Heidenreichstein is agitating against asylum seekers, claiming that they had “abused a prostitute” so that she had to be “brought to the hospital”. According to the county police commander, this claim is “simply wrong”.

March 2015:

Individual case 19

FPÖ Member of the national parliament Barbara Rosenkranz is listed among the speakers of the extreme right German magazine “Zuerst!”. Among the speakers, there is also the Russian right-wing extremist Alexander Dugin, as well as the German revisionist of history Walter Post, who denies the war guilt of Hitler’s Germany.

Individual case 20

The deputy federal party chairman of the FPÖ Johann Gudenus denies of having agreed to take part at a European neo Nazi meeting in St. Petersburg. Only when the APA publishes his own letter as a proof, he claims of having had “memory gaps” and says that shortly after his acceptance he had cancelled the commitment.

April 2015:

Individual case 21

The FPÖ city party chairman of Eisenstadt, Géza Molnár, is insulting the ÖVP because of a Public Viewing for the Eurovisions Song Contest by stating that the party would have a “degenerate soul“, because it is making “a penetrating parade of queers to a major event in the city of Haydn“.

May 2015:

Individual case 22

The FPÖ municipal councilor Gerald Hraball from Gloggnitz insulted refugees on Facebook by calling them “human material”, which would be “completely useless and problematic for Europe”. The provincial party secretary of the FPÖ Lower Austria, Christian Hafenecker, first did not want to see this as a Nazi phrase. But shortly after that Hraball left the party.

June 2015:

Individual case 23

The FPÖ deputy district leader of Vienna-Ottakring, Christian Hein, is thanking the violent neo Nazi gang “Unsterblich” on Facebook for having supported his soccer team.

Individual case 24

The FPÖ federal party chairman Heinz-Christian Strache uses the amok drive in Graz of a mentally ill person for agitation: “The perpetrator is from Bosnia. A religiously motivated attack cannot be excluded.” This attempt to use a person’s afflictions to score political points sparked several outraged reactions.

Individual case 25

The Ring of Freedom Youth (the youth wing of the FPÖ) Burgenland is organising an event together with the extreme right “Identitarians” in Eisenstadt. The federal state chairman of the Freedom Youth, Werner Wassicek, emphasises that he is looking forward to invite “the ‘Identitarians’ to a red-blue Burgenland”.

July 2015:

Individual case 26

The FPÖ delegate to the county parliament of Tyrol, Hildegard Schwaiger, is forced to resign when it gets known to the public that she is the administrator of the racist Facebook-Group “Stop the asylum flood - also in Tyrol”.

August 2015:

Individual case 27

The FPÖ municipal councillor, Markus Ripfl, from Orth an der Donau is insulting the SPÖ, ÖVP and the Green Party on Facebook as being a “trio of betrayers of the nation”. In the Nazi era, the term „betrayers of the nation“ (Volksverräter) was used for enemies of the regime. Ripfl had already attracted attention by using right-wing extremist symbols, such as the Kühnen salute (a variation of the Hitler salute) and the Celtic cross.

Individual case 28

Secretary General of the FPÖ, Herbert Kickl, criticised the European Convention on Human Rights, and stated that it would create a “gateway for illegal mass immigration” and should be changed or replaced for that reason. Minister of Justice, Wolfgang Brandstetter, replied that whoever questions the European Convention on Human Rights is acting outside the constitutional arch and would be a “gravedigger of the Western World”.

September 2015:

Individual case 29

The FPÖ local party chairman from Lambach, Johann Gibitz, explained that he is about to boycott the products of an Upper Austrian food producer, because the wife of the manager is giving free German lectures to refugees.

October 2015:

Individual case 32

The chairwoman of the FPÖ parliamentary group Sabina Kracher is writing on Facebook about refugees: "To many parasites are actually killing the host!" Even though city party chairman of the FPÖ, Wolfgang Mayer, has no problems with this comparison, Kracher resigns a few days later.

Individual case 30

FPÖ municipal councillor candidate Ralph Schäfer from Wels gets known to the public as the founder of a "vigilant group". With this self-declared "vigilant group", he would like to combat "burglar gangs from abroad". It also gets known to the public that Schäfer glorified Hitler's deputy Rudolf Heß as "martyr" and thus had to stand trial because of National Socialist reactivation. The process ended in an alternative measure.

Individual case 33

FPÖ member of the national parliament Susanne Winter likes an anti-Semitic posting on Facebook, which is directed against „rich Zionist Jews“. With public criticism getting stronger and stronger, the FPÖ excludes Winter from its party. Nevertheless, she remains in the National Council.

Individual case 31

On the FPÖ affiliated website „unzensuriert.at“, an anonymous neo Nazi is insulting the director of the Jewish Museum Vienna, Danielle Spera, and the historian Oliver Rathkolb with the Nazi term "Volksschädlinge" (parasites to the nation). The website operators do not even remove this posting after the Austrian daily newspaper "Kurier" reported about it.

November 2015:

Individual case 34

The FPÖ substitution municipal councilor Michael Grünwald from Feldkirchen an der Donau wrote on Facebook: "Fat wedding of Turks in Au an der Donau! Who will bring a little car bomb?" The FPÖ substitution municipal councilor Martin Hartl likes the posting. After public criticism by the SPÖ mayor, Grünwald and Hartl resign.

Individual case 35

The FPÖ local party chairman from Taxenbach, Bernd Buchner, insulted the constitutional state on Facebook, because it is preventing a mentally ill amok driver from killing himself. "So, give him the desired string..." When this became public knowledge, the FPÖ provincial party chairman Andreas Schöppl defended his friend from the party for his "unfortunate wording".

Individual case 36

The FPÖ city party chairman from Graz, Mario Eustacchio, participated at a demonstration against refugees from the extreme right-wing "identitarians" in Spielfeld. Also, neo-Nazis known to the authorities were among the protesters.

January 2016:

Individual case 37

FPÖ member of parliament Gerhard Deimek disseminated racist incitement propaganda together with his approving comment on the internet, including the insult of calling Muslim immigrants "permanently horny barbarians."

Individual case 38

The liberal third president of the provincial assembly of Styria, Gerhard Kurzmann, participated at an anti-refugees demonstration of the extreme right-wing "identitarians" in Graz. Immediately after the demonstration "identitarians" attacked counter-demonstrators.

Individual case 39

The FPÖ municipal councilor from Linz, Susanne Walcher, accused young Muslims on Facebook of having a tendency to child abuse, and her group colleague Markus Krazl accused them of having a tendency to sex with animals. The parties SPÖ, ÖVP and Grüne condemned the incitement propaganda. After a few days, Krazl resigned "for professional and familiar reasons". Walcher remained in the municipal council.

February 2016:

Individual case 40

FPÖ member of the national parliament Wolfgang Zanger is one of the speakers at a demonstration against refugees of the extreme right-wing "Identitarians" in Judenburg.

Individual case 41

FPÖ treasurer from Zams, Patrick Oberprantacher, is attaching a quote to a picture of his federal party chairman Heinz-Christian Strache, which was used by the Nazi propaganda minister Joseph Goebbels: "Now, people rise up, and let the storm break loose!"

April 2016:

Individual case 42

The FPÖ municipal councillor Markus Ripfl from Orth an der Donau, who is also the chairman of the FPÖ student ring at the University of Vienna and Member of the extreme right student fraternity “Olympia”, is the person responsible for the invitation of Hungarian neo Nazis. The event of the “Olympia” is called “Revolution in Hungary – a role model for Austria?”

existence of the EP parliamentary group “Europe of Nations and Freedom” (of which the FPÖ is a part, together with the other parties) as an occasion.

Individual case 43

The Viennese FPÖ city councillor Anton Mahdalik equates the followers of his party to the persecuted and victims of the Nazi regime.

August 2016:

Individual case 46

FPÖ municipal councilor Wolfgang Zistler from Schwechat wrote on Facebook that for him it is “an honor to be also called Nazi.” With this he referred to an accusation against the FPÖ presidential candidate Norbert Hofer. In addition, Zistler demanded that a judge who decided against Hofer shall “immediately be removed from her position.”

June 2016:

Individual case 44

The FPÖ Vienna refuses to name a school after the Nazi victim Friedrich Zawrel. As a child, Zawrel had survived the killing machinery of the Nazis in the euthanasia institution “Am Spiegelgrund”. Municipal councillor Dietrich Kops and FPÖ municipal councillor Werner Grebner are insulting the deceased by calling him a “criminal”.

September 2016:

Individual case 47

Elmar Podgorschek, FPÖ member of the Upper Austrian country council, agitates on Facebook against refugees. Among others, he claims that the country’s crime rate is exploding. The police disagrees: the number of crimes had declined. Podgorschek does not want to accept this fact and states that in his view “civil war is pre-programmed”.

Individual case 45

With the motto “Patriotic Spring”, the FPÖ invites representatives of several extreme right-wing parties from other countries of the EU – among them Marine Le Pen from the French Front National – into the FPÖ’s parliamentary club, taking the 1st anniversary of the

October 2016:

Individual case 48

At a folk festival, municipal councillor Andreas Lehner from Kremsmünster, insults the owner of a kebab stand in a racist way and smashes a window of the booth. Afterwards, he hurts an intervening police officer. When this gets known to the public, Lehner resigns and makes his FPÖ membership dormant. Later, he was sentenced to a conditional imprisonment of six months.

Individual case 49

FPÖ Secretary General Herbert Kickl speaks at the extreme right-wing congress “Defenders of Europe” in Linz, which is target of broad international protests. Organisers of the congress are the extreme right-wing fraternity “Arminia Czernowitz”, whose most prominent members are the deputy major of Linz from the FPÖ party, and Detlef Wimmer, the FPÖ party leader of the city.

November 2016:

Individual case 50

Manfred Haimbuchner, the FPÖ deputy federal state chairman of Upper Austria, honours the NSDAP politician and SS brigade leader Anton Reinthaller in a speech. In 1950, Reinthaller was sentenced to three years imprisonment for hightreason, and in 1956, he became the first federal party chairman of the FPÖ.

December 2016:

Individual case 51

An FPÖ delegation travels to Moscow to conclude a “working agreement” with the party of Russian President Vladimir Putin. The delegation includes among others FPÖ federal party chairman Heinz-Christian Strache, the third president of the National Council Norbert Hofer, the deputy federal party chairman of the FPÖ Johann Gudenus and Stefan Magnet. In the past, Magnet was an activist of the extreme right-wing “Bund Freier Jugend” (Association of Freedomite Youth).

January 2017:

Individual case 52

FPÖ municipal councillor Andreas Freis from Aschach an der Steyr is insulting on Facebook the new Federal President Alexander Van der Bellen and his wife in an extremely aggressive manner. With regards to the Green Party, Freis writes that he would have loved to “strangle those idiots”. He suggests that a female journalist should be raped. When this gets known to the public, Freis resigns and makes his FPÖ membership dormant.

March 2017:

Individual case 53

FPÖ member of the national parliament Roman Haider enforces the termination of a lecture given by the extremism expert Thomas Rammerstorfer at a secondary school in Linz, of which also Haider’s son is a student. Rammerstorfer had mentioned the FPÖ in the context of right-wing fraternities. The director of the school re-

ports of massive threats by the liberal politician. Later on, the Province School Board comes to the conclusion that the termination was actually not admissible.

Individual case 54

The FPÖ Upper Austria has set up a “reporting office” on its website: It calls upon students to denounce teachers who express themselves critically about the FPÖ.

April 2017:

Individual case 55

Franz Schardinger, member of the FPÖ district party leadership of Imst, congratulates Adolf Hitler on his birthday: “Happy Birthday, Adolf!” After the Green Member of the national parliament, Harald Walser, informed the public about it, the FPÖ excluded Schardinger. How the people inside the party are really thinking about this matter, has been revealed by Anneliese K. on Facebook: “Franz we accept and we love you, FPÖ Imst...” Franz Schardinger has already attracted attention by posting torture and murder fantasies.

Individual case 56

The FPÖ city councillor of Linz, Markus Hein, announced a new edition of the extreme right-wing congress “Defenders of Europe” at the end of September in the Redoutensäle in Linz. Like his city party chairman Detlef Wimmer, Hein is also a member of the extreme right-wing fraternity “Arminia Czernowitz”. Later, the Congress will be postponed to March 2018, probably due to the National Elections in October.

May 2017:

Individual case 57

The FPÖ Lower Austria accused the ÖVP in a mailing of “blood disgrace”. In the time of the Nazis, the term “blood disgrace” was also used with the same meaning as “race disgrace”. As a protest, the SPÖ moved out of the provincial assembly, and the Grüne party also protested.

June 2017:

Individual case 58

FPÖ federal party chief Heinz-Christian Strache calls for a restriction of human rights in order to combat terror effectively. Strache refers to a statement by conservative British Prime Minister Theresa May.

July 2017:

Individual case 59

It gets known to the public that FPÖ member of the national parliament Johannes Hübner gave a speech at the 2016 annual convention of the extreme right-wing “Gesellschaft für Freie Publizistik” (Society for Open Journalism). Hübner, who is also the foreign policy spokesman of his party, said about the creator of the Austrian constitution: “Hans Kelsen - actually Hans Kohn, but he called himself Kelsen.” This anti-Semitic reference goes back to the leading Nazi legal practitioner Carl Schmitt. After massive protests, Hübner declined another candidature.

August 2017:

Individual case 60

The media is reporting all over Austria that in 2016, FPÖ municipal councillor candidate Manfred Sedovnik from St. Andrä am Zicksee had been sentenced to pay a fine of 4500 Euro because of National Socialist reactivation. He had demanded on Facebook to reopen the concentration camp Mauthausen and to send the then Federal President Heinz Fischer there. Sedovnik also became conspicuous by posting murder fantasies.

Individual case 61

The Ring of Freedom Youth (the youth wing of the FPÖ) Carinthia is protesting against the newly elected “Mister Carinthia”, explicitly because of his origin and appearance. The background of the racist attack: Parsa Djawadiraad is an Austrian citizen and completely integrated, but comes originally from Iran.

Individual case 62

It becomes publicly known that FPÖ municipal councillor candidate Walter Wolfgang from Bruckneudorf has also been active in the neo-Nazi splinter group “People’s Party”. On Facebook, he had called for the “unification” of Austria with Germany and disseminated an image of an SS soldier together with the saying “Our grandfathers were no criminals!”. The FPÖ deputy federal state chairman of Burgenland, Johann Tschürtz, commented these activities of the FPÖ politician: “As long as he does not have a criminal conviction, I don’t care.”

September 2017:

Individual case 63

On Facebook, the FPÖ Vomp publishes a list of elementary school children with foreign-sounding names. After outraged reactions, the Tyrolean FPÖ regional party chairman Markus Abwerzger explains that the posting had been cancelled. However, Abwerzger uses the word “scandal” with reference to the high proportion of migrants in some school classes, and not to the fact that his party is pillorying children.

Individual case 64

Federal party chairman of the FPÖ, Heinz-Christian Strache, is disseminating a video on Facebook that shows several children from a migrant background together with their parents in front of an elementary school, without pixelated faces. He is commenting it with “Typical!”. Thus, he is also stirring up public opinion against children because of their origin.

Individual case 65

The human rights organisation “SOS Mitmensch” criticises that the FPÖ continuously supports the FPÖ affiliated magazine “Aula” with large advertisements. Among others, they placed advertisements with federal party chairman Heinz-Christian Strache and the regional party chairman for Upper Austria, Manfred Haimbuchner. At the same time, the “Aula” repeatedly contains extreme right-wing, racist and antisemitic articles. The FPÖ affiliated magazine insulted for example survivors of the Mauthausen

concentration camp as “menace” and “criminals” – which it had to revoke after a court ruling in April 2017. The “Aula” also expresses sympathy for the German neo-Nazi party NPD. The NPD politician Karl Richter was even allowed to write for the “Aula” an article with the insinuation: what the Jews want is “surreptitiously obtaining sovereignty”.

Individual case 66

It becomes publicly known that FPÖ municipal councillor candidate Friedrich Ugrinovits from Draßburg is since decades engaging in extreme right-wing and antisemitic activities. Among others, he insulted researchers who wanted to visit the Jewish Museum Eisenstadt with the term “Saujuden” (pig-Jews). Two times he was found guilty of incitement, most recently in 2013 with a conditional detention order for ten months. In the FPÖ, everybody claims to not have had any knowledge of these long-standing activities of the municipal councillor candidate – among them the local section chairman from Draßburg, René Tschögl.

Individual case 67

The third president of the National Council Norbert Hofer from the FPÖ claims that the European Convention on Human Rights allows the implementation of the death penalty. Thus, it would need to be evaluated and, if necessary, to be replaced by an “Austrian Convention

on Human Rights”. However, his attempt to discredit the European Convention on Human Rights is failing quickly: all surveyed experts on international law point out that the Convention is clearly banning the death penalty in its additional protocols.

Individual case 68

Martin Hochstätger, member of the FPÖ Tyrolean Party Committee, has put up a plaque in a room behind his pharmacy, which commemorates the “Return of the Ostmark into the Reich”. Moreover, in a showcase he exhibited an SS skull and other National Socialist devotional objects. After this becomes publicly known, Hochstätger steps down from his position in the Party Committee. The Public Attorney’s Office Innsbruck is investigating the matter. Hochstätger gets expelled from the FPÖ.

Nothing but individual cases?

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Just before the Austrian parliamentary elections in October 2017, the Mauthausen Committee Austria presented a total of 68 extreme right-wing activities of FPÖ politicians covering a period of about four and a half years. The documentation "Nothing but individual cases?" received a strong media response and led to a wide debate. Since then, the term "individual cases" has become commonplace for describing the continuous anti-democratic activities of the FPÖ.

Now, the Mauthausen Committee has followed up the individual cases that occurred since the parliamentary elections. After all, the FPÖ became a governing party in December 2017. Does the party fulfill its responsibilities in this regard? Is it more moderate now? Has the number of extreme right-wing activities in its ranks declined? Has at least the party leadership taken a step away from right-wing extremism? And does it really fight anti-Semitism?

The new individual cases provide a clear answer to these questions.