Right Radicalism in Party and Political Systems in Present-day European States

Right Radicalism in Party and Political Systems in Present-day European States

By

Natalia Eremina and Sergei Seredenko

Right Radicalism in Party and Political Systems
in Present-day European States

By Natalia Eremina and Sergei Seredenko

This book first published 2015

Cambridge Scholars Publishing

Lady Stephenson Library, Newcastle upon Tyne, NE6 2PA, UK

TABLE OF CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION

The political system of a state is forever evolving. This evolution is distinguished by ideological and political clashes and interactions between various political actors. Political evolution is a process influenced by society, political and economic institutions that respond to all kinds of challenges in their own ways. These challenges test the ability of the state to adapt to changing conditions and correct the system of governance by putting into the forefront certain political leaders who pronounce their ideas of the future of the state and the society. In periods of social, economic and political instability, radicalism becomes the main factor of party and political changes, thus forming a political trend. At the present time, right radicalism has become such a factor in the development of political systems of European states.

Right-wing radicalism, at the same time, is a rather vague conception. References to its vagueness are common since the development of the left-right party scale, differences between the right, the extreme right and ultra-nationalist parties, the impact of ideas propagated by Nazi and Fascist parties on the contemporary right-wing radicalism in Europe constitute hotly debated issues. Genetic and historical relationship between the extreme right of the pre-war period and contemporary right-wing radical parties often constitutes for scholars an obstacle for conceptual analysis of contemporary right-wing radicalism. A huge variety of opinions, outlooks and ideological views affect this task and prevent the scholars from attempting to create a single theory of extreme right political and ideological evolution that has not reached its end yet. It is obvious that certain ideological characteristics of extreme right-wing parties of the inter-war period are gone (such as the idea of physical extermination of people, since in the contemporary society in which knowledge and emotions have become a product and a merchandise having its own value, it is more effective to manipulate people's views and ideas than to destroy them), while new features have emerged (for instance, anti-immigration ideas and anti-Islamism). Does it mean that right-wing parties of the inter-war period and contemporary radicals are totally independent of each other and are different phenomena? How can we study them, what criteria should form the basis of such an analysis?

Some authors see a great political potential of the extreme right movement; others do not regard it as part of political establishment and relate the extreme right to marginal parties beyond the bounds of traditional political party scale of contemporary European states. Some authors study the motives of extreme right parties; some emphasize their political ambitions that are rooted in the shaky grounds of hate and fears. Some authors examine the extreme right vocabulary; others distinguish the ways to withstand these parties. Yet, practically every available scholarly paper on extreme right parties is political and concentrates on political ideas of the influence that right-wing radicals have on the society and the State, disregarding the legal dimension of the extreme right activities. Neither do authors agree on the significant issue if Nazi and Fascists are related to contemporary right-wing and ultra-nationalist groupings and parties.

Yet, if we fail to see the evolution and set ourselves to examine a party as it is, without historical examples and parallels to similar parties and political groups, we are incapable of understanding and imagining right-wing radicalism as a broad ideology with its own historical experience (while historical examples may provide material for comparison thereby helping to understand many aspects that are impossible to notice without this comparative analysis). If this analysis has not been made in the historical retrospective, right-wing radicalism will be nothing but a term, the name of a certain political activity, and it will not be able to stir anxiety or be recognized as an evident characteristic of the contemporary social development. The authors of this book tried to avoid such mistakes; they examine political philosophy (ideology in evolution) of right-wing radicalism and also depict political and legal dimensions of extreme right-wing parties.

The structure of the book correlates with interdependent aspects of the development of the contemporary European state and society, which allows for a consistent study of definitions, historical and ideological grounds of right-wing radicalism, extreme right parties in the geographic dimension, international and national law on sensitive issues of racism, xenophobia, nationalism, and ultra-nationalism, for determining the markers of neo-Nazism.

The authors tried to elaborate a diagnostics conception of right-wing radicalism that not only identifies the nature of extreme right parties but also discloses the socially dangerous nature of ultranationalist parties (neo-Nazi parties). The term "socially dangerous" applied to parties derives from the legal sphere and is suggested by the authors, since the scientific and political realms do not agree on the issue of definitions of extreme

right parties (there are such well-known terms as anti-democratic, anti-establishment, anti-constitutional parties). Nevertheless, in spite of the terminological pluralism, these parties have one feature in common – they represent a threat to the development and the very existence of a society and state. So the term "socially dangerous" allows for distinguishing all risks (a crime is generally understood as a socially dangerous act) and for determining the criteria according to which these parties constitute a danger to the political system of the contemporary state. The examination of right-wing radicalism through the prism of legal and political trials allows the authors to have a better understanding of the genuine nature of right-wing parties. The legal approach to the study of social and cultural destabilization and conflicts allows for examining extreme right parties in the framework of law and beyond and for avoiding a discouraging uncertainty in the matter of what extreme right parties are and whether contemporary extreme right parties are distanced from the corresponding parties of the inter-war period or linked to them.

This book takes a fresh look at a wide spectrum of conceptions and approaches to the study of far-right parties and ultra-nationalist ideologies and examines the legal and political discourses in the framework of which they are formed. Proposing its ideas of the nature of far-right parties and their prospects, the book on the whole is a single, though complex multi-dimensional, conception of the evolution of far-right parties and their influence on the contemporary European party and political system, the society and the state.

Many issues were disregarded in various studies. Among those are the issues of legal and judicial mechanisms of influencing extreme right parties, as well as issues of practical and theoretical dimensions of extreme right activities. All these issues are closely related with one another and so must be examined in one study, but by all means in two dimensions – political and legal.

The book consistently builds up a vocabulary (legal and political); studies the interrelated nature of political, legal, cultural, social and economic processes that, taken together, elucidate the possibilities of extreme-right ideology and movement; it makes a comparative analysis of various far-right parties in Europe; it reveals intricate relations between ideas, political activity and election results; it puts forward juridical instruments that can be used to counter the extension of influence of extreme right parties.

The authors draw upon various conceptions and documents to enable them to continue the debate on the contemporary relevant understanding of right-wing radicalism and far-right parties. The need for a thorough

analysis of conceptions and historical arguments relating to extreme-right ideology is beyond questioning, so the first two chapters (Chapters I and II) of the book examine the extreme-right ideology and evolution of parties in the context of conservatism, nationalism and social instability where they act as principles protecting "our own world" against the "attacks of an alien world". Here the extreme right parties resort to the anti-immigration discourse as a key to many doors (various political activities) thereby articulating the ideas of conservatism and nationalism. These phenomena take on new overtones owing to globalization processes and globalizing threats that enabled the migration discourse to determine contemporary politics and become a fetish for far-right parties.

It should be emphasized that right-wing political radicalism is a new "old" trend in the political life of many states. Political radicalization frequently testifies to maladjustment of state institutions and power, and also traditional parties to various threats. New threats that every state faces (at least a short list of topical threats) are terrorism, financial and economic crises, huge flows of immigrants and ecological problems. Jumbled together owing to globalization, they testify to the crisis of traditional administration of government.

Globalization has also changed the nature of its self-identification in the society. For everyone, the cultural background is becoming more important than citizenship in a certain state, which is gradually yielding its position. Apart from that, European integration (as a regional example of globalization) also has an impact on the European society, stimulating migration movements and intensifying regional and national movements in member-state of the European Union, while the loss of common identity causes fragmentation of society.

No wonder that the globalization in many countries is accompanied by disintegration, constitutional decentralization, destabilization of relations between national and supranational governments, and division of citizens on local, regional, national and supranational levels[1].

In the context of integration, all these problems of controlling migration movements are becoming increasingly topical since they relate to positions and ambitions of states and the communitarian level and can affect the efficiency of their activities. So immigration and ethno-national problems, as well as political and public discussions of the question of how to integrate migrants and ethnic and national (historical) minorities, who have their own ideas about the future of the state, have become part

---

[1] Downs, W. M. 2002. Regionalism in the European Union: Key concepts and project overview, *European Integration*, 24 (3), p. 171.

of the political life in Europe. The most important question now is how to control immigration and other ethnics diasporas and communities within which people retain their traditions and the way of life and do not want to give up their culture in exchange of citizenship. Now this wish has been externalized as political demands. So the governmental power in many countries responded to this problem with a number of state acts on the integration of immigrants and immigration proper. But minor political parties, especially extreme right parties, profited by this and got a political key to the door of the political arena. Moreover, minor parties are always most active and quick to respond to the current topical issues by proposing their own solutions.

So at present it is political, social and cultural problems that opened up opportunities for far-right parties. Here we cannot help but mention that differences in cultural codes of different communities are the main source of political radicalism since, if we discuss far-right parties, it is the concept of "the culture of the Caucasian" that influences their actions and propaganda. Same goes for radical Islamic groups that set out on a campaign under the flag of their cultural peculiarities against the white Christian world. Moreover, if we remember ethnic, national (periphery) nationalism and separatism, we cannot help but note that cultural differences between the centre and the ethnic periphery are the perpetual motion machine fuelling the struggle of ethnic periphery for independence. It is important to emphasize that not only Western European countries but also countries of Central and Eastern Europe face the problems of cultural differences in their communities, and in many post-Soviet states (for example, Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania) Russophobia became a significant political trend in public fragmentation. Cultural barriers (or fault lines) kept springing up everywhere in Europe these past thirty years. They are conditioned by the growing complexity and fragmentation of the European community that bears the brunt of globalization, regionalization and even the emergence of new states (for instance, in Eastern and Central Europe).

The extreme right parties declare the need for restoring the link between the state and the society, while political, economic and cultural threats contribute to the growth of political extremism aimed against immigrants and certain ethnic (national) groups of population. These parties have become the vehicles of radical nationalism and xenophobia, which distinguishes them from other parties and groups. But at the same time this allows far-right parties, which call themselves the only true defenders of the state and society, to restore the faith of the population in the need for a powerful state. Extreme right parties present themselves as a "new" political alternative to traditional parties, though in many aspects

such as anti-constitutionalism and anti-democratism they cannot help but resemble fascist and neo-fascist parties. Nevertheless, since contemporary far-right parties are institutionalized, they have a legitimate image.

Thus, contemporary Europe provides certain favourable conditions for ultra-nationalism and the development of extreme right concepts. The authors of the book do not restrict themselves to the analysis of successes attained by far-right-wing parties, they aim at explaining these successes exemplified by far-right parties in Northern Europe (Denmark, Latvia, Lithuania, Norway, the United kingdom, Finland, Sweden, Estonia), Western Europe (Belgium, Germany, the Netherlands, France), Eastern and Central Europe (Bulgaria, Hungary, Poland, Russia, Romania, Slovakia, Ukraine, Croatia) in Chapter III of the book (it should be noted that this is the official classification of regional division of Europe established by the United Nations). These examples constitute a vivid picture of general factors that have influence on right-wing radicalism and allow us to distinguish peculiarities of various far-right parties in different states.

When analyzing the political success of far-right parties, we should take into consideration that the feebleness of the national state and traditional parties indicates the ongoing transformation of political system in many European countries. Such conditions afford opportunities for minor radical parties to become the engine of political and public changes. Far-right parties, the principal proponents of the concept of unity of the state and the nation, now have a special political potential. Far-right parties were the first to voice protests against the policy of multiculturalism. They were the first to relate all social, economic and cultural problems to the growth of immigrant communities.

The European success of far-right parties is also a sign of ongoing transformation of political systems of European states. Far-right parties transform the political system and, at the same time, constitute a threat to it. Many European states, even those that do not have a massive far-right movement, have nonetheless provided conditions for the shaping and growth of right radicalism[2]. This situation demand full attention since changes in the political system encourage the emergence of far-right extremism[3].

---

[2] Eatwell, R. 2000. The Extreme right and the British exceptionalism: The primacy of politics, *The politics of the extreme right*, ed. by P. Hainsworth, London, pp.172-192.
[3] Ignazi, P. 2006. *Extreme right parties in Western Europe (comparative politics)*, Oxford.

Far-right parties have become an integral part of political establishment. No longer do they behave like marginal parties, nor do they perceive themselves as such. They win elections and gain support of the electorate at different national levels and even beyond (European Parliament elections). Their political strategies are definitely aimed at political success and winning seats in the Parliament.

All European far-right parties have elements of ideology and activity that unites them. For instance, we can say that nativism (nationalism and xenophobia) is the most evident element of all far-right parties. Since these parties, according to their nature and origin, are anti-system parties, such elements as authoritarianism and populism may be regarded as markers of these political groups. Political practice of far-right parties is based on their intolerance of immigrants, largely of those of Muslim origin and some ethnic (national) minorities. Their interrelations with a "non-civilized" society (for example, football fans and the so-called skinheads), acts of aggression, as well as their work in coalitional governments together with the traditional actors substantiate the idea that in the near future they will be able to further consolidate their position[4].

Since the contemporary far-right concepts are embodied in the calls to traditional common values under the umbrella of authoritarianism, populism and ultra-nationalism, of special scientific interest is a study of constitutional ways of the penetration of far-right ideology into the political and public life. This study allows for defining markers of ultra-nationalism (neo-Nazism) and methods to combat it. Unfortunately, the problem of nationalism penetrating into constitutional texts has never led to a study of the potential of far-right parties in public politics. This problem is dealt with in Chapter IV.

Chapters V, VI, VII and VIII examine the complex and controversial nature of international and national legal "Great Walls of China" put up to ward off and crush in the bud political radicalism and ultra-nationalism. These chapters devise and evaluate the techniques that will enable such counteraction and also they test the ability of the existing legal mechanics to adapt to the developing problems, threats and circumstances. In the framework of the legal study of threats far-right parties pose to contemporary national and public development, these chapters can be brought together to define the perspectives of far-right radicalism and the methods to combat it.

---

[4] Eremina, N. 2014. Radical Right Parties in Political System of State: Theoretical and Practical Aspects, *International Relations and Diplomacy*, 2(2), February, pp.102-110.

The key feature of these chapters is a deep and scrupulous analysis of the boundaries of the prohibited and the permissible for parties in international and national law, which allows the authors to see the dividing line between the "ordinary" right-wing parties and their ideas, and ultra-nationalist (neo-Nazi) parties and their ideas. This boundary line is useful as an instrument of identifying socially dangerous parties. This is nothing but an attempt to determine the true nature of such parties, which allows for solving the task of sustainable social development. The examination of legal norms and principles reveals the deeply buried roots of far-right ideology and helps us understand how and when a far-right party turns into an ultra-nationalist party that constitutes a threat to the society. Political and legal dimensions are used in this paper with a view to diagnosing and liquidating socially dangerous and banned parties.

The problems of xenophobia and racism in far-right ideology are often exemplified in numerous research papers that describe practical political activities of far-right parties, but these problems must be studied in the framework of law and legal practice. The book relies on the most important international instruments (Durban Declaration and Programme of Action, UN Declaration on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination, etc.) and national law (Constitutions) in its analysis of socially dangerous parties, parties that intend to undermine the foundations of the constitutional order. A new examination of contemporary far-right parties is made possible by studying certain aspects of their activities in the legal dimension, for example, the use of Nazi symbols and attributes; relations between party members with other extremists right-wing and neo-Nazi organizations, paramilitary and military historical organizations; party responses, responses of allied parties and party internationals; responses of law-enforcement bodies; populism and populist provocations, etc.

These aspects act as constructing elements of legal discourse to show the actual international and national practice in this sphere. The analysis made in the book demonstrates that practical methods of liquidating neo-Nazi parties (ultra-nationalist, socially dangerous parties) have not been developed at the national level. The involuntary interest the United Nation showed in constitutional norms of participating parties was caused by the deadlock in the corresponding national law and the absence of political will. Moreover, neither international nor national law provides a definition of ultra-nationalist (neo-Nazi) party and threats that it constitutes to the state and the society. Examination of racist declarations is not sufficient to understand a true radical nature of a party. We must also analyze a party's funding, its relations with allied parties and organizations and consider the

judgments passed on the party and activities of its members. Only in this case can comprehensive diagnostics of a party be performed. This is especially important now that far-right parties can form international groups which are engaged in the diffusion of power (for example, in the European Parliament, in bodies of the European Union) and the fragmentation of the society.

Thus, we realize that the far-right party is only the top of the pyramid whose base conceals an ideological layer (the so-called esoteric level)[5] from the public. But the main threat posed to the state and the society is attempts made by far-right parties (rather successful at times) to become the key actors in the contemporary political system. They provide instruments, mechanisms and political will to solve the existing problems; they try to gain power to create a new society and even new normative structures; they turn Europe into a laboratory to test new "old" forms and methods of administration of government.

The research into the declared questions is further pursued in the Annex.

Ultra-nationalism, serving as an umbrella for various far-right parties and groups, may be examined in various ways and in different contexts. The study of far-right ideology heavily relies on the interdisciplinary debate conducted by political scientists, jurists and historians. Yet, since there is a compelling need to learn to identify socially dangerous (neo-Nazi) parties and then to liquidate them, the judicial and legal dimension becomes the most important task set in this book. It should be noted that since there is no consensus of opinion about what a far-right party or a far-right extremist party is, a more important task is to solve the problem of what a socially dangerous party is, without classing it as a certain type of a far-right party. Especially when we see that the relation between leaders' statements and far-right parties proper differs from country to country in Europe.

The authors put forward a practical solution pattern. The diagnostic test for a neo-Nazi party is run on the All-Ukrainian Svoboda Union in accordance with the definition of the nature of Fascism given by P. Griffin. The party's activities, declarations and manifestations are subjected to

---

[5] Shehovtsov, A.V. 2008. Novyi pravyi radikalizm: k voprosu ob opredelenii, *in Vestnik SevNTU, Zbornik nauk*, Vyp. 91, Sevastopol', pp. 141-144. (Shekhovtsov, A.V. 2008. New right-wing radicalism: definition issue, *in Vesnik SevNTU, Collection of sciences*, Vol. 91, Sevastopol, Published by SevNTU, pp. 141-144). (in the original: Шеховцов, А.В. 2008. Новый правый радикализм: к вопросу об определении, *Вісник СевНТУ: Зб. наук. праць*, Вип. 91, Севастополь: СевНТУ, с. 141-144).

intense scrutiny by means of palingenetic markers ("golden age", national tragedy, "cleansing", rewriting of history, continuity)[6], ultra-nationalism and populism, as well as certain additional markers (Lebensraum, territorial claims, external enemies, militarism, glorification of Nazism, Nazi attributes).

Right radicalism has become the main challenge in the European political system. Yet it still remains a somewhat vague and murky phenomenon, since the far-right movement and ideology constitute a mix, a confusion of political views, ideas and instruments. So to understand the role of right radicalism in the development of state, party and political system of Europe we should first of all determine what far-right parties are. It is important to emphasize that the main aim of the book is to identify these parties (to perform diagnostic tests) and to prove their public danger (to define ideological views of far-right parties that constitute a certain risk to the society and the state).

To answer the question of what far-right parties are is possible if we cope with four interrelated tasks: to examine far-right evolution by analyzing the right end of the left-right party spectrum and ultra-nationalist ideology; to draw dividing lines between right, far-right and neo-Nazis; to adduce opportunities for the extension of influence of far-right parties on the society by analyzing legal systems of European states and gaps in international law on prevention of right radicalism; to determine markers of a socially dangerous (neo-Nazi) party.

A significant part of conceptual novelties of this book consists of several catalogues that were made up to examine far-right parties and ideology by means of specific markers.

First of all, it is a catalogue of distinguishing features of constitutional nationalism (explaining what markers can identify the potential and the extent of nationalist sentiments and internal ethnic and national conflicts, opportunities for the growth of far-right parties and the degree of ultra-nationalism in a society); second, it is a catalogue of features of the socially dangerous party, which was made up by virtue of the demarcation line drawn between right, far-right and ultra-nationalists in accordance with the boundaries of the prohibited and the permissible as defined in international and national law; third, the authors have made up a catalogue of threats posed by the far-right parties to the state and the society and showed the absence of legal instruments in international and national legal systems to prevent those threats; fourth, the book proposes a tentative

---

[6] Griffin, R. 1991. *The Nature of Fascism*, London.

algorithm (the principles and sequence of actions) for indentifying neo-Nazi parties.

The authors hope that on the whole the research will be interesting not only for scholars and students but also it will be sought after by all those who are concerned about right radicalism.

CHAPTER I

FAR-RIGHT PARTIES:
TERMINOLOGICAL AND CONCEPTUAL APPROACHES

1.1 Ideological mutations: from fascism to right-wing radicalism

Present time has recorded the existence of different approaches to the definition of what a far-right (also extreme-right or ultra-right or right-wing radical) party is and the way it is associated with right-wing parties, fascist, neo-fascist, neo-Nazi parties and the whole post-fascism era. The academic and political circles hotly debate on whether certain parties are *genealogically (historically)* fascist and how and to what extent contemporary right-wing radicals ideologically retain the historical connection with National Socialism and fascism. However in the minds of many representatives of right-wing radicalism as well as in the minds of the political establishment and even ordinary voters the idea of direct continuity of these parties with Nazism and fascism is not always expressed. These groups and movements are quite heterogeneous and their political radicalism is caused not only by a variety of current challenges but is also based on the political experience of fascist and Nazi organizations.

Thus, when analyzing extreme-right radicalism the following aspects should be taken into account.

First, none of the political ideologies is always constant and unchangeable. Any ideology is mobile and flexible by its nature and capable of mutations in a new environment.

Second, the interpretation of the contemporary far-right ideology should be based on historical retrospectives which allow to accurately evaluate the genealogy and history of ideologies, i.e. their evolution.

Third, the existence of small parties with extreme-right beliefs creates complications in the political ideology interpretation. Yet the lack of clear historical links between various parties and fascist and Nazi parties should

not confuse the researchers. First of all, it is necessary to pay attention to the extent of radicalism in their political statements and actions, as fascist and Nazi ideology demonstrates a diverse range of methods and techniques, some of which are in the arsenal of the new extreme-right groups.

The fourth aspect indicates that the most of far-right parties striving to become equal and full participants in the party political struggle reject any affiliation or ideological proximity to fascist and Nazi movements.

Fifth, it seems especially valuable to analyze the way far-right parties interact with their electorate and also review the nature of their public statements.

And, finally, for the parties offering the radical scenario of political activities it appears to be particularly crucial to take advantage of the patterns of public thinking and to form a corresponding associative symbolic set in the minds of potential voters, i.e. reliance on certain social and cultural attitudes of the population. It is also important to consider that the extreme-right ideology gains support in the traditional right-wing conservative values, so when the population voices discontent with the leading parties (usually conservative parties predominate in the party political development of the European states) the extreme-right groups seize this additional opportunity to strengthen their position.

1.1.1. The right wing of the party political development: towards the edge

The right wing of the party political spectrum is traditionally a leading sector in the development of political systems of many European countries. The leading parties which usually bear the name of Christian, national or democratic are, as a rule, conservative right-wing parties positioning themselves as the guardians of the existing state system and social stability. The dynamic development of these parties is historically justified by a complex of philosophical and ideological attitudes and values in the European society. In fact, these parties derived from so-called elitist societies and are committed to the traditional approaches in the interpretation of any events. Thus, conservatism, the significance of the state system and the preservation of the social hierarchy for maintaining order in the country provide essential support for the progressive development of the right-wing ideology.

With the passage of time a sharp division of all political ideologies into the right and left ones was critically reinterpreted as the political attitudes of both wings underwent a major transformation, though, in fact, the right

wing constantly continued to strengthen. As a result, liberalism, in the historical course of time, gradually shifted from the left to the right wing leaving a niche for new parties of social democratic orientation which, in their turn, gave way to the Communists into the extreme-left wing.

This process provided the ideological interchange, especially, among Conservatives, Liberals and Social Democrats which allowed them to become the leading political force in many European countries while the liberal ideology, in essence, was shared between Conservatives and Social Democrats. After Liberals lost their distinctive features they factually dropped out of the political competition, although it affected only party organizations whereas the liberal ideology maintained its position and now fully belongs to the right party political sector in terms of left-right party division. Disputes and solutions to emerging problems, including those of global nature, stimulated the appearance of new ideological resources and tools. Moreover, those issues, which the centre-right and the centre-left did not dare to address, were eagerly proposed for debates by various radical groups acting at the both ends of the left-right party political scale. At the same time, extreme-right parties showed the most substantial growth of political influence. Focusing on the existing traditional and conservative values and partly recognizing market liberalism, right-wing extremists increasingly draw attention to themselves and begin to act as a serious political participant and rival recognized by the whole political establishment.

The right-wing ideological platform can serve as a reliable basis for the formation of new parties and political attitudes where the right-wing radicalism is one of its branches. New social problems require new policy prescriptions mostly associated with an iron will and a firm hand which are believed to restore order in the society and state. In particular, the disagreement in perception of the proper socio-political state structure has separated various right-wing parties from each other while the most radical views in Europe today belong to the far-right wingers. Over time they have largely succeeded in their political goals and got the opportunity to influence the formation of the political agenda which should motivate to take a thorough look at these parties as at the major contributors to the party political system development and decision-making process at the highest state level.

1.1.2. The far-right: scientific disputes

Gradually, far-right parties gained new features through expanding and advancing their policy tools.

There exist multiple approaches and definitions of far-right movements and groups: far-right extremism, far-right radicalism, far-right populism, populist radicalism, new right-wing radicalism, ultra-nationalism and other. Debates about overcoming the cultural crisis and creating new opportunities for a modern state caused a number of new terms associated with fascism and Nazism to appear: ethno-fascism, monarcho-fascism, glamour fascism, global fascism and other. But these terms, regardless of any names these or those far-right parties bear, share one and the same semantic set with such concepts as: xenophobia, Nazism, anti-Semitism, anti-Islam and radicalism. It is also obvious that such labels as the far-right, the extreme-right, right-wing radicals can be used as synonymous with each other.

However, it is necessary to consider that the terms meaning far-right parties and movements cannot apply for absolute support and are a product of scholars as far-right parties often do not refer themselves to right-wing radicals and what is more do not identify their parties with neo-fascist or neo-Nazi which creates difficulties in the interpretation of these movements. Therefore in the majority of studies their authors reveal intrinsic ideological views of the ultra-right which distinctly mark them out among all other parties of the right wing. It is obvious that all researchers emphasize that the ideology of the extreme-right, by its definition, is aimed against the existing state and social system, i.e. it is factually anti-constitutional as it opposes "undesirable" or "unwanted" elements in this system. These "unwanted elements" are presented by different ethnic groups which mainly practice Islam.

So, Elisabeth Carter reveals features of the extreme-right ideology through the negative characteristics common for the far-right ideological views: anti-democracy and anti-constitutionalism[1]. Cas Mudde suggests that far-right parties should be defined as the parties proclaiming the unity of the nation-state as the highest ideological value, where groups of other ethnic origin are deemed to be a potential threat and where nativism, authoritarianism and populism are the key components[2]. According to Roger Griffin, ethnocentrism also represents the central link in the interpretation of the extreme-right ideology[3].

However, while studying the distinctive features of right-wing radicalism it is essential to determine how these characteristics correspond to fascism and Nazism.

---

[1] Carter, E.L. 2005. *The Extreme Right in Western Europe: Success or Failure?* Manchester.
[2] Mudde, C. 2007. *Populist Radical Right Parties in Europe*, Cambridge.
[3] Griffin, R. 1991. *The Nature of Fascism*, London.

For example, the Russian researcher Nikolay Myazin does not observe neo-fascism as a true successor to fascism and Nazism as neo-fascists are focused on racial questions, but not economic, and the integral elements of neo-fascist ideology, according to N. Myazin, are neo-paganism, irrationalism and the Third Reich idealization. It also separates neo-fascists from ultra-right parties. The ultra-right ideology, from his point of view, represents the nationalist ideology supporting traditional values and rejecting Hitler's Germany legacy. The new ultra-right, as N. Myazin writes, advocate western but not Christian values and the core element of their ideology is anti-jihadism[4].

Paul Jackson, on the contrary, states a certain common reason for all similar movements and political organizations and proposes to divide all ultra-right parties into three categories: neo-fascists, i.e. far-right extremists who try to achieve their objectives in the violent way; the more moderate far-right which, though having the same purposes, employ political methods; and "the new far-right" which instead of biological racism operate with the concept of cultural racism[5].

It is evident that the author emphasizes similar purposes, revealing only a difference in tool approaches. But it still remains unclear to what extent all these far-right movements are successors to the fascist ideology. Also, it should be noted that researches quite often avoid linking ultra-right radicalism with inter-war fascism and Nazism and so break the ideological links between the ultra-right of the inter-war and post-war periods.

Most likely, these fears can be dictated by the recognition that certain parties are genetically and historically linked to fascism and Nazism (though many of them openly celebrate A. Hitler's birthday) which motivates to call these parties socially dangerous and consequently involves lawsuits and their expulsion from the political life.

---

[4] Myazin, N.A. 2014. *Islamskoe soobschestvo I islamizm v Anglii v XX – XXI kak factory transformatsii britanskikh pravyh dvizheniy ot neofashizma k antidjihadizmy*, Kaluga. (Myazin, N.A. 2014. *Islamic community and Islamism in England at the end of XX – the beginning of the XXI centuries as transformation factors of the British right-wing movements from neo-fascism to anti-jihadism*. The abstract of dissertation for the first level of postgraduate degree, Kaluga) (in the original: Мязин, Н.А. 2014. *Исламское сообщество и исламизм в Англии в конце XX – начале XXI вв. как факторы трансформации британских правых движений от неофашизма к антиджихадизму*. Автореферат диссертации на соискание ученой степени кандидата наук, Калуга).
[5] Jackson, Paul. 2011. *The EDL Britain`s «New Far Right» Social Movement*, Northampton: The University of Northampton, Radicalism and New Media Research Group.

Anton Shekhovtsov puts forward other solutions to handle the difficulties with defining the new extreme-right activists who, unlike the extreme-right parties of the inter-war period (it is clear that fascists and Nazis were on the extreme-right wing of the party political scale), are not able to openly and publicly express their true ideological ambitions and therefore hide them. A. Shekhovtsov highlights two levels of the new far-right ideology: "exoteric" (official party programs) and "esoteric" (the true purposes and ideology known to a limited number of party members). Also, he offers his own definition to this phenomenon describing it as the ideology which is based on the idea of preservation, realization and reproduction of the ethnically and culturally homogeneous type of the society within the liberal-democratic system[6].

It is obvious that the changing circumstances, which these parties pass through, profoundly influence the perception of the ideological continuity issue. Changes of the statehood concepts and principles of the national sovereignty and also failures in the decision-making system provoke a search for new solutions including the right-wing political spectrum. Since the beginning of the XX century far-right parties have adopted the leading position in the debate concerning the state role viewing their own state as the main actor in the formation of a new picture of the world.

It cannot be expected that after the Nuremberg trials and condemnation of fascism and Nazism, these movements definitively and irrevocably disappeared. Any ideology is subject to changes (mutations) allowing it to survive and remain relevant. In the era of post-fascism these forces chose two strategies for survival. The first strategy is a partial transformation of "historical fascism". The movements which follow this strategy have no ample opportunities for recovery and development. The second strategy is based on preserving party appeal to the voter by decreasing spirit of revolutionary demolition of the existing statehood and adjusting the party rhetoric within liberal democracy[7].

Thus, anyway, it is clear that the far-right demonstrate certain continuity with "historical fascism" which should be closely monitored in

---

[6] Shehovtsov, A.V. 2008. Novyi pravyi radikalizm: k voprosu ob opredelenii, *in Vestnik SevNTU, Zbornik nauk*, Vyp. 91, Sevastopol', p 143. (Shekhovtsov, A.V. 2008. New right-wing radicalism: definition issue*, in Vesnik SevNTU, Collection of sciences*, Vol. 91, Sevastopol, Published by SevNTU, p. 143). (in the original: Шеховцов, А.В. 2008. Новый правый радикализм: к вопросу об определении, *Вісник СевНТУ: Зб. наук. граць*, Вип. 91, Севастополь: СевНТУ, с. 143.)

[7] Shehovtsov, A.V. 2008. Novyi pravyi radikalizm: k voprosu ob opredelenii, in *Vestnik SevNTU, Zbornik nauk*, Vyp. 91, Sevastopol', p. 300.

each separate case and their programs and actions are to be subjected to the careful analysis in accordance with concrete life conditions.

Such authors as Alexander Galkin, Alexander Yefremov, Boris Lopukhov speak about similar circumstances which, emerging in different configurations in different periods, create optimum conditions for the activity of the far-right[8]. Some of these conditions include parliamentary democracy crisis, economic and social complications and pre-election rhetoric of the leading parties which is now deemed to be common. These factors inevitably generate the desire of citizens to return the strong state possessing political will and resources for taking tough and even unpopular decisions.

In Herbert Kitshelt's monograph the extreme-right show political force in specific conditions: advanced post-industrial society and political rapprochement of the right and left wings. In addition, far-right wingers offer to unite the liberal views on the economy development and the ideas about political authoritarianism[9].

Thus A. Galkin specifies that, despite the "true opposition" status, the extreme right indicate that they are ready to cooperate with conservative forces[10].

Also, E. Carter presents an interesting idea which proves that electoral progress of far-right parties depends on how moderate the political positions held by mainstream conservative right-wing parties are: the more moderate views they adhere to, the more potential the extreme-right possess[11].

It is important to notice that now far-right wingers really reflect the need for the cooperation and loyalty of mainstream conservative parties as they propose to establish a public order, to return to traditional religious values, to support a family and culture and to counteract threats received from the immigrant expansion.

---

[8] Galkin, A.A. 1971. *Sociologia neofashizma*, Moskva. (Galkin, A.A. 1971. *Neo-fascist Sociology*, Moscow) (in the original: Галкин, А.А. 1971. *Социология неофашизма*, М.); Yefremov, A.E. 1970. *Korichnevaya ugroza*, Moskva. (Yefremov, A.Y. 1970. *The Brown PlagueThreat*, Moscow). (in the original: Ефремов, А.Е. 1970. *Коричневая угроза*, М.); Lopukhov, B.R. 1985. *Neo-fashizm: opastnost' dlya mira*, Moskva. (Lopukhov, B.R. 1985. *Neo-fascism: the World Threat*, Moscow). (in the original: Лопухов, Б.Р. 1985. *Неофашизм: опасность для мира*, М.).
[9] Kitschelt, H. and McGann, Anthony J. 1997. *The Radical Right in Western Europe: a comparative analysis*, Michigan.
[10] Galkin, A.A. 1971. *Sociologia neofashizma*, Moskva.
[11] Carter, E.L. 2005. *The Extreme Right in Western Europe: Success or Failure?* Manchester.

B. Lopukhov is of the opinion that the reliance on these (traditional) values helps extreme-right parties to strengthen their position. However, their ideology, anyway, goes beyond the existing liberal-democratic system and actually rejects it. Therefore, neo-fascists and modern right-wing radicals, as B. Lopukhov states, are often terminologically interchangeable labels though are not absolutely homogeneous[12].

It must be noted that the word "traditional" is quite frequently used in the researches of this kind whereas Piero Ignazi's research comes up with totally contrary ideas.

P. Ignazi points out that after 1980s far-right parties have no relation to neo-fascist parties any more. They operate in the new environment and provide new (auth.: nonconventional?) solutions to the emerging problems, and in doing so they do not aim at implementing the idea of a great nation-state. Thus, according to P. Ignazi, neo-fascism was eventually transformed into new post-industrial right-wing extremism. P. Ignazi also believes that the progress far-right parties have achieved lies in the field of polarization of political systems and derives from a general crisis of political system legitimacy[13].

At the same time, denying any connection with fascism and neo-fascism the far-right cause perplexity, though, certainly, not all extreme-right parties can be probably correlated with neo-fascism. Nevertheless, it is perfectly clear that the extreme-right ideology in the form of fascism and Nazism, which arose during the inter-war period, made up an extensive bank of ideas, methods and techniques, while the fascist and Nazi ideology itself encouraged a tendency for development and mutations so far. As a result, it shows to be true that fascism, Nazism and the modern extreme-right are closely interlinked.

For instance, Michael Minkenberg proves the continuity of right-wing radicalism with fascism by analyzing fascism, nationalism and conservatism concepts[14].

As a matter of fact, Adolf Hitler and Benito Mussolini did not leave any definitions of "fascism" and "Nazism". They are known to favour all political technologies (both of left-wing and right-wing political spectrum) that could considerably strengthen their position in the political arena. For this reason, there are dozens of interpretations of these phenomena within the academic dispute, ranging from their psychological characteristics

[12] Lopukhov, B.R. 1985. *Neo-fashizm: opastnost' dlya mira*, Moskva.
[13] Ignazi, P. 2003. *Extreme Right Parties in Western Europe*, Oxford.
[14] Minkenberg, M. 1998. *Die neue radikale Rechte im Vergleich*, USA, Frankreich, Deutschland, Opladen.

(Erich Fromm[15]) to the analysis of their historical basis (Wolfgang Wippermann[16]). Apart from that, Professor R. Griffin introduced an original approach to this phenomenon labeling it as "revolutionary palingenetic ultra-nationalism" where the revival of the nation-state is emphasized and fascism is presented not only as a political but also as a cultural phenomenon[17].

Factually, fascism can change with the time and assume various forms in social and political life of the state still preserving certain fundamental principles related to the concept of the state, nation and race[18].

Besides, it should be stressed that in general ultra-right parties are tolerantly treated in former authoritarian states and also in those states where radical parties have achieved success before[19].

Nevertheless, far-right parties are sometimes associated with fascism and Nazism, for example, in mass media and in journalistic circles. In this case this evaluation impedes their political activities as in modern society people hardly ever feel nostalgic about the inter-war fascist experience, i.e. about ultra-right parties which exhibit opened or veiled intolerance towards foreigners or immigrants, express mistrust of parliamentary institutes and a multi-party system, uphold the principle of cultural and national identity of the indigenous population. Furthermore, in the modern European society these ideological schemes are mainly given a shape of a legal not extremist protest[20] and far-right parties started to display more enthusiasm for declaring their views. Thus, possessing more moderate attitudes, the right-wing UK Independence Party (UKIP) was more

---

[15] Fromm, E. 1994. *Escape from Freedom*, Henry Holt and Company LLC.

[16] Wippermann, W. 1983. *Europäischer Faschismus in Vergleich 1992-1982*, Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp.

[17] Griffin, R. 2002. The Primacy of Culture: the Current Growth (or Manufacture) of Consensus within Fascist Studies, *Journal of Contemporary History*, Vol.37, N1 January, p.42.

[18] Paxton, O.R. 1998. Five Stages of Fascism, *Journal of Modern History*, Vol.70, N1 March, p. 3.

[19] Duck, R.M., Gibson, J.L. 1992. "Putting up with" Fascism in Western Europe: a Comparative, Cross-Level Analysis of Political Tolerance, *The Western Political Quarterly*, Vol.45, N1 March, p.267.

[20] Veugelers, J.W.P. 1999. A Challenge for Political Sociology: the Rise of Far-Right Parties in Contemporary Western Europe, *Current Sociology*, Vol.47, N4 October, p.80-81.

successful than the British National Party (BNP) in the elections to the European Parliament[21].

So, the emergence and development of extreme-right parties require appropriate circumstances which are embodied in a certain set of the social, economic, political and cultural problems faced by the society and state.

Currently, the far-right ideology, being a part of the global world, is living through certain permutations. And if previously one of the main indicators of the political status of the extreme-right was their attitude to a socio-economic policy[22], nowadays their general ideological statements include protection of their own ethnic (national) identity on the one hand and posing obstacles for all those elements which can contribute to their destruction and loss on the other. As a rule, these threats, in the eyes of the extreme-right movement, are connected with a massive immigrant flood.

For example, in the monograph "Varieties of Right-Wing Extremism in Europe", published in 2013 by the Routledge publishing house, it was claimed that anti-Islam became a key appeal of right-wing radicals and accelerated the growth of those extreme-right wingers who preach religious extremism. So, it is clear that discussions about immigration and religious and cultural (national) identity turned to be sufficient for the extreme-right to noticeably improve their position in the political arena. Because of this, in those countries where Muslims are very hard to integrate into the host community, the far-right movements occupy stronger positions. Among those countries, first of all, are Austria, France and the United Kingdom. The authors of the monograph specify that these extreme-right ideas, having gained a foothold in the countries mentioned above, can easily enter other countries also due to the common European area. Moreover, the extreme-right influence is constantly stimulated not only by mass media, but also by the Internet and even by music and literature. All the authors point to the rise of populism, and even racism in the statements of extreme-right political leaders which inevitably revitalizes the ideas of fascism. In particular, one of the authors of the monograph, Jim Wolfreys, traces the revival of fascism in the Front National's (FN, a far-right party in France) growing political impact. Fascism, being a flexible doctrine, has notably mutated since the inter-war

---

[21] Voss, K. 2007. Support for the Far Right: the Desire for Cultural Preservation in an Increasingly Globalized and Multicultural Europe, Spring, p.4. Available at: http//www.icpsr.umich/edu/ICPSR/prize/winners.html

[22] McClosky, H., Chong, D. 1985. Similarities and Differences between Left-wing and Right-wing Radicals, *British Journal of Political Science*, Vol.15, N3 July, p.342.

period. Thanks to the alliance between the extreme-right and right-wing conservatives such movements and groups were also subjected to certain mutations which, undoubtedly, prevented them from calling themselves fascist any more or leaving their political program unchanged[23].

According to C. Mudde, the intensive integration process between Western and Eastern European countries can be defined as the crucial factor in the new far-right's evolution. The researcher considers a modern extreme-right trend, first of all, as the revival of nativism and insists on its centrist orientation in the economic policy provoked by the political flexibility[24].

Some scholars appeal to the fact that the extreme-right movements which rose in the 1990s in Europe were also encouraged by the collapse of the Soviet Union. Particularly, this refers to the political life in Russia, Ukraine and Belarus portrayed in the book "The Revival of Right Wing Extremism in the Nineties"[25].

Now fascism and Nazism represent general categories which form a certain ideological framework for new far-right parties, including those parties which openly deny their association with the ideology of fascism or Nazism (though, judging by the activities and statements of the leaders of the British National Party, the German People's Union, the National Democratic Party, they do not deny the genetic linkage with fascism). Not only political tools but also radical rhetoric and judgments about their nation's role in the world can serve as a determiner of the far-right's pro-fascist background.

The unity of the nation and strengthening state capacity are vitally necessary to implement the extreme-right ideas which correspondingly involve confrontation with other political movements and the far-right separation from any other groups. Currently, however, it would be futile to seek for an external enemy in order to unite the nation and the major threat, in the opinion of the far-right, comes from big ethnic communities and cultures of other origin. So, the belief in the rule of law and order becomes basic and the only one capable of maintaining the unity of the nation-state[26].

The progress of extreme-right parties derives not only from specific current circumstances but it is also rooted in the emotional coincidence of

---

[23] *Varieties of Right-Wing Extremism in Europe*. 2013, ed. by Andrea Mammone, Emmanuel Godin, Brian Jenkins, London.
[24] Mudde, C. 2007. *Populist Radical Right Parties in Europe*, Cambridge
[25] *The Revival of Right Wing Extremism in the Nineties*. 2013, ed. by Peter H. Merkl, Leonard Weinberg, London.
[26] Mudde, C. 2003. *The Ideology of the Extreme Right*, Manchester, p. 173.

voters' requirements and party's statements. Since the end of the 20th century extreme-right parties have represented a powerful political force. They won seats in parliaments, regional and local governments, and even could establish their own group in the European Parliament. The essence of fascism in the modern world, its interpretation by far-right parties are becoming the key aspect for an ordinary voter.

In this regard it is important to explore how seriously far-right parties threaten the whole political system or if they are becoming or even have already become its integral component?

Most of the researchers, studying this issue, have unambiguously shifted far-right parties from the marginalized to the so-called mainstream politics.

Thus, Pippa Norris claims that recently these parties have moved from the margins to the mainstream[27] and also Herbert Kitshelt and Anthony J. McGann interpret right-wing radicalism as the core feature of the modern political process where ethnocentric, authoritarian and racist statements of the far-right are employed as a quite convincing strategy[28]. C. Mudde views the extreme-right as a well-established political force and even points to their links, in this way or another, with the parties of the political mainstream[29]. The authors of the monograph "Mapping the Extreme-Right in Contemporary Europe: from Local to Transnational" also proved that far-right parties are no longer marginal political activists and over the past few decades have adapted to the existing requirements and rules of the party political fight. Despite the rhetoric of national or racial superiority, far-right parties share common political vision. Extreme-right radical groups actively cooperate with each other and possess similar views about the future of Europe, insisting on a homogeneous state concept. What is more, as the researchers see it, extreme-right radicals are united by a number of distinctive features: the spread of the rhetoric of threats, disdain for egalitarianism, "ancient" culture defence, rehabilitation of war criminals. For this reason the extreme-right, as the researchers show, are able to influence not only politics, but also culture and education, using massive propaganda of other patterns and ideals as well[30].

[27] Norris, P. 2005. *Radical Right: Voters and Parties in the Electoral Market*, Cambridge.
[28] Kitschelt, H. and McGann, Anthony J. 1997. *The Radical Right in Western Europe: a comparative analysis*, Michigan.
[29] Mudde, C. 2007. *Populist Radical Right Parties in Europe*, Cambridge.
[30] *Mapping the Extreme Right in contemporary Europe. From local to transnational*. 2012, ed. by Andrea Mammone, Emmanuel Godin, Brian Jenkins, London.

Politically, these parties are already integrated into the existing party political system as favouring traditional conservative values they have eventually obtained steady voters' support. Although, it is still quite difficult to provide a single portrait of a far-right proponent, as nowadays alongside the debates about citizens' discontent with social and economic situation there are also the debates about the pursuit of national superiority and state power manifestation. These ideas demonstrate immense potential to bring together representatives of different social groups. Therefore, in some cases, the label "far-right charismatic parties" can be justified as extreme-right parties use striking statements to appeal to the voter[31].

Robert Ford and Matthew J. Goodwin made an attempt to analyze the social basis of the extreme-right movement taking the UK Independence Party as an example. The researchers specify that gradually there has appeared a sector of population which has no access to new opportunities, unlike the prosperous middle class which enormously benefits from the liberalized and globalized economy. For this reason, the electorate of right-wing radicals shares three aspects: opposition to the European Union, anti-immigration issue and mistrust of the political establishment[32].

Terri Givens however stresses out that right-wing extremists will inevitably face and are facing difficulties increasing voters' loyalty and their success and achievements in certain countries only indicate crisis tendencies and the way the crisis is handled by local population and political actors. In this regard, according to T. Givens, an electoral system, traditional voting and electoral positions of the population remain prevailing factors in the political choice of the voter[33].

On another point, neo-fascist and neo-Nazi projects which emerged after World War II are deemed, in a way, to be thirst for order and combat against the communist ideology and realization of Western European elite's idea seeking to regain the lost positions. Specifically, in the monograph edited by Roger Eatwell and Cas Mudde, it seems quite persuasive that far-right parties have made a dramatic, though inhomogeneous, impact on political systems of the Western European countries. In such countries as Italy, Austria and the Netherlands these parties have entered the government, however, always relying on criticism of current politicians and taking advantage of public protests. Additionally, the political establishment, in one sense, can welcome far-

---

[31] Pedahzur, A., Brichta, A. 2002. The institutionalization of extreme right-wing charismatic parties: a paradox?, *Party Politics,* Vol.8, N 1, p.31.
[32] Ford, R. and Goodwin, Matthew J. 2014. *Revolt on the Right: Explaining Support for the Radical Right in Britain (Extremism and Democracy)*, London.
[33] Givens, Terri E. 2005. *Voting Radical Right in Western Europe*, Cambridge.