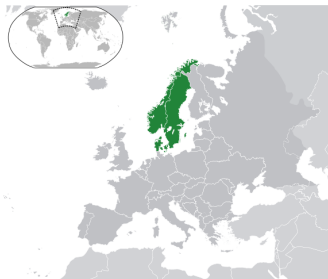# The Extreme Right in Germany and Scandinavia

The Extreme Right in Western Europe

Review
Germany
Scandinavia
Summary

Current events

- Brexit party funding
- **Austria!!!!**
- ...

Last week: Austria and Italy

- ▶ Two countries with long Extreme Right traditions
- ▶ At least three very different trajectories
    - ▶ MIS → AN → Il Popolo della Libertà
    - ▶ Lega Nord
    - ▶ FPÖ

Last week's class questions

Mudde 2007

- ▶ Minimum: Nativism
- ▶ Radical Right: Nativism + authoritarianism
- ▶ Populist Radical Right (Maximum): Radical Right + Populism

- ▶ What do the FN, VB, AN, FT, LN, FPÖ, BZÖ have in common, where are the differences?
- ▶ Are they members of an ERP family? In which of Mudde's subgroups would they fit?
- ▶ . . .

The Extreme Right in Germany: History

- ▶ Hitler, obviously
- ▶ SRP: A strong Neo-Nazi party (banned in 1952)
- ▶ Long string of smallish parties → NPD (1964)
  - ▶ Impressive dynamics during 1960s
  - ▶ Largely defunct during 1970s/80s
  - ▶ Revival after unification, some strongholds in the East
- ▶ DVU (1971/87)
  - ▶ A phantom party
  - ▶ Owned/dominated by Frey
- ▶ Republicans (1983)
  - ▶ Initially, a CSU breakaway
  - ▶ For a time, the most successful and modern of them all
  - ▶ Now largely defunct
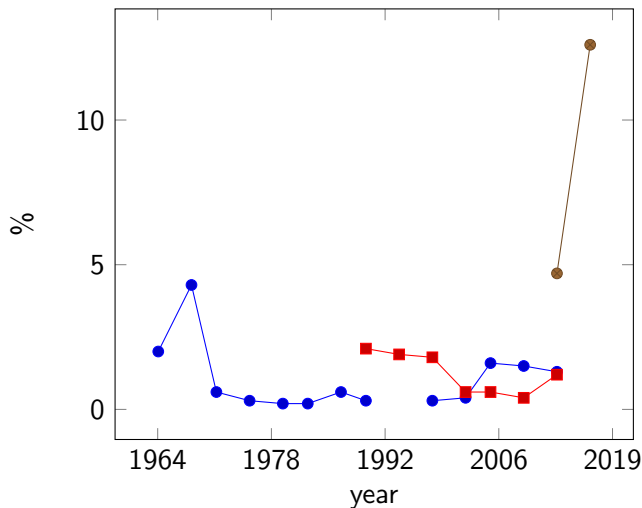- ▶ Mostly, a history of failure, but . . .

Policies

- ▶ A fixation with Nazism/Revisionism
- ▶ "German honor" etc., revision of borders . . .
- ▶ Most voters don't care much about the past
- ▶ Beneath the surface, strong preference for anti-semitism, traditional racism . . .
- ▶ From the 1980s: immigration
- ▶ Republicans the most modern and moderate
- ▶ NPD has recently rediscovered Fascist protectionism (anti-Globalisation)

Electoral results

- ▶ Quite successful in various Land/EP elections
- ▶ Long history of internal division
- ▶ "Three waves"
    - ▶ Postwar
    - ▶ Mid-1960s
    - ▶ 1980s-present
- ▶ Never successful in BT elections
- ▶ Voters: the usual suspects
- ▶ Nationally, amongst Western Europe's weakest parties
- ▶ Old-style right-wing extremism less and less attractive
  →"Rechtsstaatliche Offensive" etc.

Electoral Results (Nat Parliament)

The AfD

- ▶ Created in 2013 by CDU/FDP renegades, not contaminated
- ▶ In 2014, right-wing and soft eurosceptic, but not populist/radical
- ▶ Ersatz-FDP? Free trade, (an end to currency union) + social conservatism
- ▶ Very good results for the wrong reasons → conflict surrounding Eastern Land elections
- ▶ 2015: Decline and *de facto* split
- ▶ mid-2015- : transformation, refugees, very good results in 2016/17
- ▶ Increasingly dominated most radical forces, happily violating taboos, under scrutiny etc.

The Extreme Right in Scandinavia: History

- ▶ "Scandinavia": Denmark, Sweden, Norway, Finland
- ▶ Close links between states, Danish, then Swedish domination
- ▶ Close links with Germany (Denmark, Sweden)
- ▶ Complex situation during WW II
  - ▶ Denmark occupied in 1943, but resistance
  - ▶ Sweden neutral, but in forced co-operation with Germany
  - ▶ Norway occupied in 1940, but ongoing resistance
  - ▶ Finland allied to Germany from 1941, turned against Germany in 1944

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Which Parties?

- ▶ Progress Parties in Denmark/Norway during 1970s; Danish People's Party (95-); since 2017 Stram Kurs (Hard Line) in Denmark
- ▶ (Neo-Nazi subculture)
- ▶ No links with Neo-Nazi movements/collaborators (but Sweden Democrats!), discovered immigration during 1980s
- ▶ New Democracy in Sweden (1991-2000), Sweden Democrats (1988-)
- ▶ True Finns in Finland (1995), now Finns Party (split in 2017 → "blue reform party'")

Policies

- ▶ Progress Parties: tax cuts, anti-welfare state
- ▶ *Immigration, anti-Muslim*
- ▶ Socially liberal (Progress Parties, New Democracy), socially conservative (DF, SD, TF)
- ▶ Nationalist (in a Scandinavian context)
- ▶ Sceptical of EU
- ▶ Populist, in favour of reform

The Transformation of the Sweden Democrats

- ▶ Sweden Democrats the only party with old-style right-wing extremist roots
- ▶ Embarked on moderation from mid-1990
- ▶ Ban on uniforms, began to oust extremist members in 2000s
- ▶ Cute: Change of logo

The Transformation of the Sweden Democrats

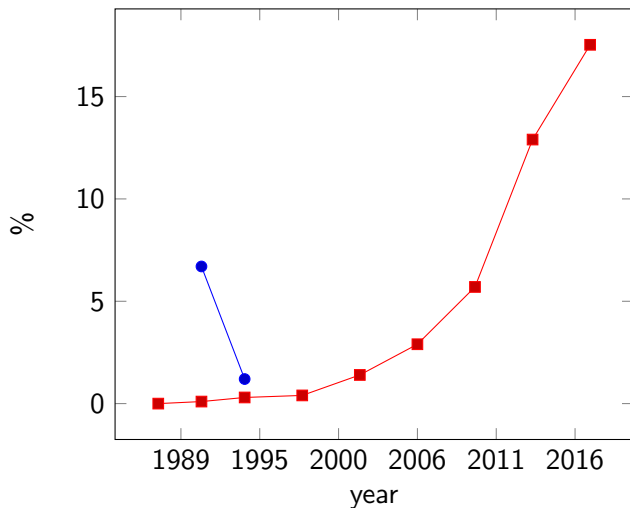"Keep Sweden Swedish" –
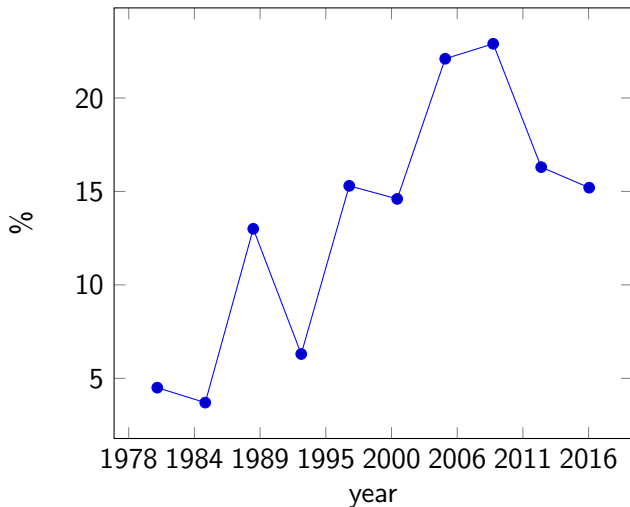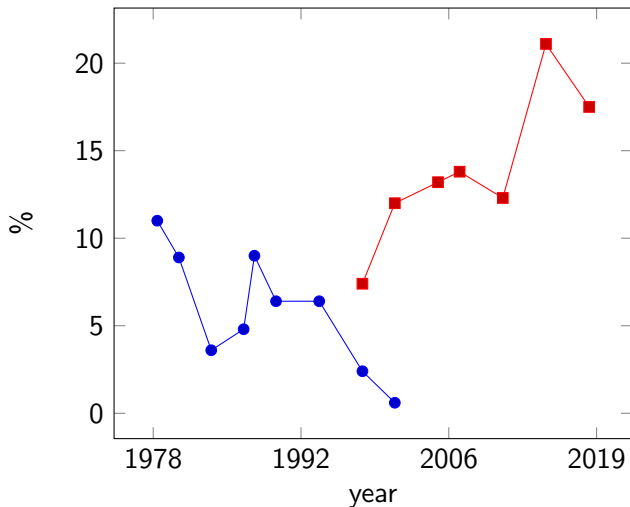inherited from BSS in 1988

1990s-2006

from 2006

Electoral results: Sweden
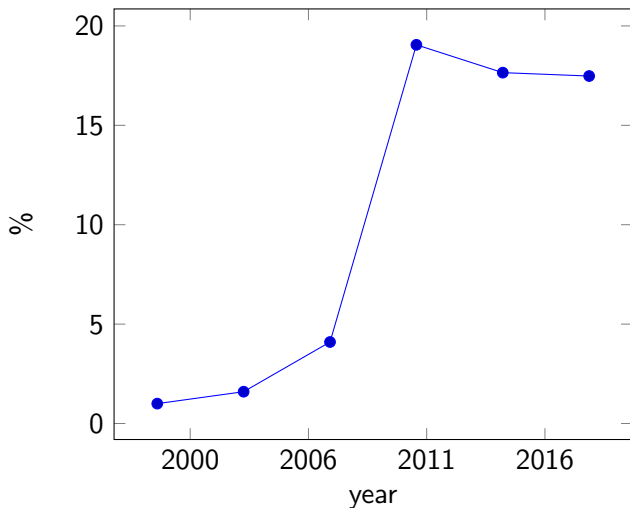
Electoral results: Norway (Nat Parliament)

Electoral results: Denmark (Nat Parliament)

Next election: June 5,

Electoral results: Finland (True Finns, Nat Parliament)

Voters

- ▶ The usual suspects
- ▶ Cross-cleavage appeal, highly stabilised in NO
- ▶ First marginalised, now more accepted in SE
- ▶ Similar situation in Denmark
- ▶ FI: ?

Government Participation

- ▶ Denmark: DPP supported centre-right governments 2001-2011, affecting immigration policies
- ▶ Norway: moderation since turn of the century, PP tolerated centre-right government 2001-2005, in coalition with Conservatives since 2013
- ▶ Sweden Democrats isolated (cordon sanitaire) – Swedish politics paralysed in 2018
- ▶ Finland: successor of "rural party", somewhat debatable whether radical right label fits, part of coalition government 2015-2019

Summary

- ▶ Extreme Right in Germany
  - ▶ Tainted, isolated, marginalised
  - ▶ Largely unsuccessful
  - ▶ AfD first national modern/moderate party
- ▶ Scandinavia: diverse
  - ▶ Norway: Extremely well established, not very extreme
  - ▶ Denmark: Very populist, stable, competition (?) from extreme right
  - ▶ Sweden: Highly unstable, marginalised but rising
  - ▶ Finland: Rising, in government

Class questions

In small groups (not more than four students), address the following questions:

► Why do you find the Radical Right's success in Scandinavia so surprising (you do)

► What is the Radical Right's problem in Germany? Could the AfD (have) overcome this problem? Have they now lost the plot?