

The Extreme Right in the Netherlands and Britain

The Extreme Right in Western Europe

Review
Britain
Netherlands
Summary



Recruiting Flemish volunteers for the
Waffen-SS

Current events

Current events

- ▶ EP elections:
 - ▶ Some impressive results: Italy, France, UK, bounce-back in Belgium ...
 - ▶ But no overall “win” & some rather weak (Germany, Netherlands)
- ▶ National election in Denmark: PP 21→9, “hard line” below threshold, “New Right” 2.4
- ▶ ...

Two weeks ago

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- ▶ Germany: Long shadow of the past
 - ▶ Extreme Right stigmatised by other players
 - ▶ Extreme Right very traditional, but AfD
- ▶ Scandinavia
 - ▶ Initially too extreme and still isolated in Sweden
 - ▶ Rather successful in Denmark
 - ▶ Very successful (but not very extreme) in Norway
 - ▶ Finland: ?

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 - ▶ The party/parties?
 - ▶ The voters?
 - ▶ Other political players?
 - ▶ External circumstances (e. g. the relatively strong neo-nazi movement in Sweden?)

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 - ▶ Other political players?
 - ▶ External circumstances (e. g. the relatively strong neo-nazi movement in Sweden?)
- ▶ Testing is difficult, because n is very small

Today

- ▶ The Netherlands and Britain (UK + Ireland)
- ▶ Two fairly stable democracies (Netherlands, UK)
 - ▶ Two very different political systems, but . . .
 - ▶ Low levels of Extreme Right success during 1920s/30s
 - ▶ Low levels of Extreme/Radical Right success during 1980s/90s
- ▶ Very different trajectories from the early Naughties

(Ireland: The absence of a (relevant) Extreme/Radical Right)

- ▶ Long, unhappy history of internal colonisation by the English/Scots
- ▶ Overlapping cleavages: ethnicity, religion, class, (centre/periphery)
- ▶ Violent secession/partition in the early 20th century
- ▶ Extreme poverty and emigration
- ▶ Nationalist mainstream centre-right, very specific left-right conflict, very recent onset of immigration
- ▶ STV
- ▶ Basically, no room for a Extreme/Radical Right?

The Extreme Right in the UK: History

- ▶ In the 1920s, a well-developed liberal democracy/constitutional monarchy
- ▶ Mosley and the “British Union of Fascists” (1932-40): largely a failure
- ▶ Mass immigration from former colonies after the war



Sir Oswald
Mosley,
1896-1980

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Enoch Powell,
1912-98

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- ▶ 1982: British National Party; 1999 taken over by Nick Griffin, since then “moderate” in the British context, now irrelevant



Nick Griffin,
1959-

The Extreme Right in England: Policies

- ▶ Extreme Right Mobilisation mostly confined to England
- ▶ More specifically: East London, Midlands, Yorkshire
- ▶ Mosley: Classic Fascism
- ▶ National Front/National Democrats etc.: Unrefined racism, white supremacy, strong state, pro-welfare state, socially conservative, anti-Jewish, overlap with skinhead culture
- ▶ Very much a sect from the 1980s, focus on marching, internal political struggles completely irrelevant for voters/supporters
- ▶ British National Party
 - ▶ More moderate in its style
 - ▶ *Forced* to accept non-white members
 - ▶ Focused on immigration and welfare of “native” British (English) population, Griffin’s resignation & decline (2014)

The Extreme Right in England: Electoral Success

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 - ▶ 2001: 0.2%
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 - ▶ Particularly strong in former Labour strongholds; second party in Barking & Dagenham
 - ▶ All in the past since ≈ 2010



UKIP

- ▶ Formed in 1991/1993 as eurosceptic alternative by LSE historian Alan Sked as a reaction to Maastricht Treaty, forced to resign and leave after 1994
- ▶ Rose to prominence from 2004, Farage leader from 2006 (briefly resigned in 2009)
- ▶ A “hard eurosceptic” outfit with populist and xenophobic undercurrents
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- ▶ Wiped out b/c of Cons adopting Brexit agenda, now replaced by Brexit party
- ▶ Now marginal and old-school racist

UKIP voters (before 2017)

- ▶ Attracted at least some of the old BNP vote, but socially more acceptable
- ▶ Core demographic: Older, white working class men
- ▶ Core concerns: (hard) Anti-EU/nationalism, immigration, dissatisfaction with establishment
- ▶ “Left behind”
 - ▶ In terms of their qualifications, economic value, prestige
 - ▶ In terms of their values and lifestyle
- ▶ Winning formula: EU as a scapegoat and driver for activists + immigration concerns + some respectability

The Extreme Right in the Netherlands: History

- ▶ Netherlands largely stable Parliamentary Monarchy during 1920s/30s
- ▶ “Nationaal-Socialistische Beweging”
 - ▶ 8 per cent in a provincial election (1935)
 - ▶ 4.2 per cent nationwide (1937)
- ▶ Under German occupation from 1940; oppression, atrocities & collaboration
- ▶ Post-colonial and other non-European mass immigration after World War II
- ▶ Mid 1990s: VVD (Frits Bolkestein) critical of immigration, huge success for party

The Extreme Right in the Netherlands: History

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- ▶ PVV (2006-)



The Extreme Right in the Netherlands: Policies

- ▶ Centrepatries: Connected to Nazism, racist, anti-Jewish, anti-Immigrant (Turks, *Moroccans*)
- ▶ LPF
 - ▶ Roots in the “Leefbaar” movement: local reformist (populist) parties
 - ▶ Fortuyn: Leefbaar, then formed his own list
 - ▶ Populist style/approach: Reform and efficiency savings
 - ▶ Libertarian on drugs, same-sex marriages, euthanasia
 - ▶ Against “political correctness” and *further* immigration
 - ▶ Highly critical of Islam, defending “Dutch Freedoms” (i.e. freedom of speech of freedom of religion)
- ▶ LPF very successful after assassination in 2002 but collapsed within months

The Extreme Right in the Netherlands: Policies II

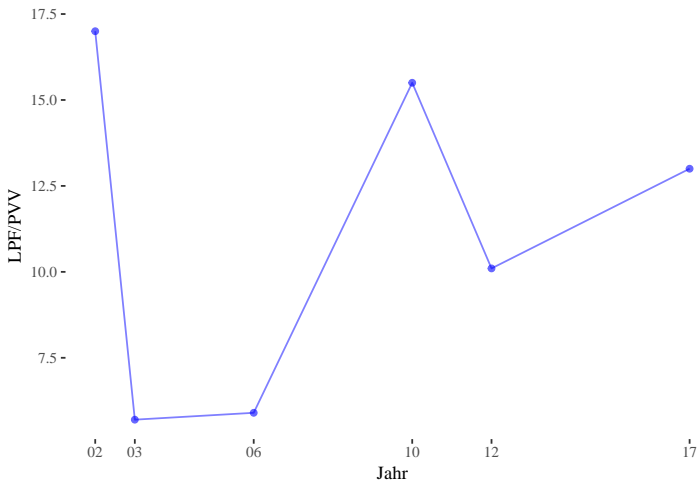
Wilders, (Verdonk)

- ▶ Not a party but Wilders' machine
- ▶ Wilders: A lapsed Catholic and VVD member who left the party in 2004 (Turkey's accession to the EU)
- ▶ Assistant to Bolkenstein for eight years, detailed knowledge of the Middle East
- ▶ “Judeo-Christian values” against Islam; a staunch supporter of Israel
- ▶ Populism & reform, recently a move away from capitalist/anti-welfare policies
- ▶ *Still* in favour of lower taxes
- ▶ Obsessed with immigration from Non-Western countries

Electoral Success (national)

- ▶ Centrepatries: basically none (1-2 per cent)
- ▶ LPF: 17 per cent (2nd) in 2002, 5.7 per cent (5th) in 2003, gone in 2006
- ▶ PVV:
 - ▶ National parliament: 5.9 per cent (5th) in 2006, 15.5 in 2010 (3rd), 10.1 in 2012 (3rd), 13.0 in 2017 (2nd)
 - ▶ EP: 17 in 2009, 13.4 in 2014, 3.5 in 2019 (no seat) → “Forum for Democracy” 11
- ▶ PVV tolerated centre-right minority government from 2010-2012

Electoral Success (national)



Summary

- ▶ Britain: Despair for the traditional Extreme Right, “Rebellion on the Right” led by UKIP/Farage
- ▶ Netherlands: Once a pariah, now a sizable force

Class questions

- ▶ Britain + NL as political systems: where are the commonalities, and how do they differ?
- ▶ Where are the differences between UKIP/Brexit-Party and the PVV?
- ▶ Which other European parties do they resemble most?

(work in teams of 2-4 students)