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# **e-*Extrem*e**

**Electronic Newsletter of the ECPR-SG on  
Extremism and Democracy**

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## Standing Group Announcements

### **e-Extreme editorship**

I am delighted to take over the editorship of this newsletter. Many thanks must go to Sarah de Lange for her stewardship of the newsletter. Sarah's editorship was of the highest quality. Sarah's assistance during the hand-over process, along with Elisabeth Carter's, has been invaluable. I look forward to receiving your comments, ideas etc, which you can send to me at [mark.pitchford@kcl.ac.uk](mailto:mark.pitchford@kcl.ac.uk).

As researchers of extremism, we live in interesting times. Conditions for right-wing extremism are propitious, especially with the chaos in the Euro zone. Lone-wolf terrorism, as occurred in Norway in July, remains a threat. Our work is important, and the avenues of research increasing.

### **Visit the website**

Please do visit our website for details of forthcoming conferences and workshops: [www.extremism-and-democracy.com](http://www.extremism-and-democracy.com).

Also, remember that the website contains a database that enables members to browse and search for other members by research interests, as well as by name. If you would like to update your own details, please just email us at [info@extremism-and-democracy.com](mailto:info@extremism-and-democracy.com). Please also do encourage colleagues and PhD students to join the Standing Group.

### **Keep us informed!**

Please keep us informed of any upcoming conferences or workshops you are organizing, and of any publication or funding opportunities that would be of interest to Standing Group members. We will post all details on our website. Similarly, if you would like to write a report on a conference or workshop that you organized for inclusion in our newsletter, please do let us know.

Please also tell us of any *recent* publications of interest to Standing Group members so that we may include them in the 'publications alert' section of our newsletter, and please get in touch if you would like to see a particular book (including your own) reviewed in e-Extreme, or if you would like to review a specific book yourself.

Finally, if you would like to get involved in the production of the newsletter, the development of our website, or any of the other activities of the Standing Group then please do contact us. We are always very keen to involve more members in the running of the Standing Group! Email us at: [info@extremism-and-democracy.com](mailto:info@extremism-and-democracy.com).

**Conference Report****Populist Racism in Britain and Europe since 1945: Northampton, 22-23 September, 2011.****A conference review by Daniel Jones and Thomas Malby**

A recent conference on 'popular racism', held on 22 and 23 September by the University of Northampton's Radicalism and New Media Research Group, could not have come at a more apt time – especially in light of the tragic killings in Norway by a 'populist racist', Anders Behring Breivik, on 22 July 2011. Gathering both academics and those who deal with radicalisation on the frontlines, the two-day conference gave attendees a well-rounded insight into not only how the new far-right agenda has come to exist and how it spreads, but what might be done to address it.

Following a fascinating keynote delivered by Hans-Georg Betz, which set up the conference by exploring the historical trajectory of the contemporary 'populist' right, the conference then separated into parallel sessions. The first of these panels examined the rise and success of the far right in entering the mainstream in Northern Europe – Daunis Auers, Simon Oja and Kristina Boreus citing various examples where the far right has seen some degree of electoral success. At the same time Rafael Pantucci, Matthew Feldman and Paul Jackson examined the connections between populist racism and right-wing lone wolf terrorism, with Paul Jackson delivering a thorough analysis of Breivik's manifesto and its dissemination to thousands of other like-minded individuals.

The panels continued these parallel themes, with Parikrama Gupta, Elina Polyakova and Andreas Umland providing a geographic exploration of the differing faces of the new right in Eastern Europe – including the question of how far it has developed within Russia and some of the former Soviet states. Alongside this panel, John Coxhead, Zbigniew Wojcik, Lukasz Gazda and Gabriela Augustynowicz-Casey offering a bottom up view of popular racism, asking not who participates in the racism and how they perpetrate it but instead taking the Roma and Sinti traveller communities as example and examining the racism they are subjected to from the victims' perspective.

The second parallel session of the afternoon raised further questions around the politicisation of 'populist far-right' views closer to home, with Brigitte Beauzamy describing how the radical right had managed to get the anti-Semitic and Islamophobic agenda onto a political footing in Western Europe. Aurelien Mondon wrapped up the session by examining how these themes played out in Nicolas Sarkozy's Legitimation of France's Front National. A parallel session posed similar questions about how migrant groups are viewed in the UK; in particular, how migrant groups perceive wider society, as well how wider society views those engaging in British far right politics. Darya Malyutina presented qualitative research she had collated from the Russian diaspora in London on their various experiences and perceptions of multiculturalism, while Trev Preston gave a thoughtful examination of how right-wing extremism has traditionally been represented in postwar Britain, emphasising the role of the online media in the present day.

The final parallel session of the day concentrated, in one part, upon the differing conditions within countries facilitating a rise in far-right political representation in parts of Central and Eastern Europe, while finding barren ground in others. Alina Polyakova took a broad view across the region, while Svetlana Dimitrova presented a case study of populism within the post-Cold War Bulgarian state. Opposite this, a panel of Northampton academics examined representational aspects of the EDL and the BNP, with Jane Callaghan focussing upon the psychological impact of EDL images and rhetoric. Following this, Paul Crofts used the example of a local MP's attempts to have the hijab banned in order to show how even elected politicians can try to take advantage of some of these 'populist far-right' concerns.

The long first day of the conference thus took a full tour of Europe and the ideological background of the far right and made attendees question how these 'populist far-right' groups can, through a series of seemingly small steps, come to a position of influence. Opening the second day, Northampton's Vice-Chancellor, Nick Petford, commended the work of the university's Radicalism and New Media Research Group and noted the flurry of media attention surrounding the conference – from an article in the Guardian to a visit from local MP, Michael Ellis, to the media coverage surrounding the group's recently-launched report on the English Defence League, 'The EDL: Britain's 'New Far-Right' Social Movement' (available for download at [www.radicalism-new-media.org](http://www.radicalism-new-media.org)).

Following this, Aristotle Kallis delivered his keynote speech on 'The 'contagion' dynamic of the far-right', examining in great detail the strategies the far-right has adopted since 1945 to survive, evolve and spread. After a brief coffee break, attendees reconvened to hear an insightful talk by 'practitioners' Geraint Whittaker, Laura Lake and Rocio Cifeuntes, who outlined the *Think Project*; their initiative to engage with young people in Cardiff at risk of radicalisation.

Thereafter, the first panel of the afternoon returned the focus to the British far-right, with publisher of *Searchlight*, Gerry Gable, its editor Sonia Gable and contributor Alfio Bernabel delivering presentations on the various legacies of Julius Evola on British far-right politics since 1945. on subjects ranging from Robert Fiore to Nick Griffin.. This was followed by the final academic panel of the day, with a talk on multiculturalism on British television delivered by Gavin Schaffer, another on Nouvelle Droite's impact on the British Far-Right by Professor Nigel Copsey and a final discussion of the far-right music scene in Britain by Anton Shekhovstov. This left the conference to be concluded by a round table discussion, and Q & A session, where attendees and conference participants took the opportunity to pose, and answer, further questions with Sean Silver, Laura Pidcock and the CST's Michael Whine.

In addition to these panels, the aforementioned EDL report was launched on 23 September, as was the book launch of *Far-Right.com*, the first in the newly-established booklet series 'Mapping the Far Right,' by edited Paul Jackson and Gerry Gable. It was thus a long, if fruitful two-day conference, which was a great success, attracting attendees from many different backgrounds, professions and disciplines, while covering a vast range of topics and capitalising on notable media interest.

## Breivik's Ideology

Analyzing Breivik's Ideology with Social Network Research

By [Chip Berlet](#)

Within minutes of the terror attacks in Oslo, Norway on July 22, 2011, English-language social networks such as Twitter and Facebook began carrying information about the event. Much of it was speculative, and some immediately blamed Al Qaeda. Within hours it was clear that Anders Behring Breivik, charged in the attacks, had pilfered much of his ideology from Christian Right and Islamophobic sources in the United States. This review essay tracks the early analysis of the U.S. connection, and uses a format where the content being discussed is linked in the text; and has an associated [Resource Page](#).

Among the very first to report accurately about the perpetrator in English was scholar [Zeynep Tufekci](#) who reported on Twitter that the "Suspect called himself nationalist, made anti-Islam posts." (Twitter posts are called "tweets"). Tufekci's tweets originated with Twitter friends in Norway who sent her reports culled from Norwegian radio and television. Meanwhile, CNN was still airing experts blaming Islamist terrorists. The content of [Tufekci's early tweets](#) quickly spread across the Internet and were integrated into reporting by a group of journalists with a history of writing about the Christian Right in the United States, primarily: [Bill Berkowitz](#), [Max Blumenthal](#), [Fred Clarkson](#), [Michelle Goldberg](#), [Sarah Posner](#), [Jeff Sharlet](#), [Adele Stan](#), and [me](#). We were soon joined by scholar [Mark Juergensmeyer](#). Along with others, we began to share information through social networks and private e-mails, as well as blog posts.

Breivik described himself on the website [Document.no](#) as a cultural conservative who felt that Protestantism had lost its way and that Christianity should recombine under the banner of a reconstituted and traditionalist Catholic Church. Breivik posts were translated into English using online software. I began tweeting research-related comments on the day of the attacks. The next day, on July 23<sup>rd</sup>, when it was confirmed that the "[Andrew Berwick Manifesto](#)" was actually written by Breivik, the connection to U.S. ideologues was clear. I posted "Norway suspect Anders Behring Breivik opposed Muslim immigrants and 'Cultural Marxism,'" on Twitter, with a link to a longer Facebook entry and a blog post on [Talk2action](#).

The Breivik manifesto states that "Political Correctness" should be called "Cultural Marxism" and is the reason for European political leaders allowing mass Muslim migration into European nations. These views are almost identical to the views of the late [Paul Weyrich](#), founder of the Christian Right epicenter in the United States, the [Free Congress Foundation](#). Weyrich and his colleague [William S. Lind](#) developed an aggressive theory of Cultural Conservatism as a way to save Western Culture. See Lind's "[What is Cultural Marxism?](#)"

Within cultural conservatism are a confluence of traditionalist claims from Europe and the United States. Major US groups send representatives to Europe, and there is a general meet up at the conferences of the [World Congress of Families](#). See background here: "[Exporting 'Traditional Values': The World Congress of Families.](#)" This vein of cultural conservatism warns of a "[Demographic Winter](#)" a term which is a coded racist warning that Muslims are outbreeding "white people" in Europe and the United States.

On July 23<sup>rd</sup>, the [Institute for Research & Education on Human Rights](#) reported that the terror suspect was being described as a far-right nationalist Islamophobe. Years ago Devin Burghart of IREHR had shared a byline on racist organizing in Europe with author [Steig Larson](#) in the British [Searchlight Magazine](#). Burghart and his colleague Leonard Zeskind are recognized experts on organized racist groups. That same day Max Blumenthal posted a

lengthy essay on the connections of Breivik to right-wing Islamophobes in the U.S., "[Anders Behring Breivik, a perfect product of the Axis of Islamophobia.](#)"

On Buzzflash, journalist Bill Berkowitz wrote of the "[Nightmare in Norway and the Threat of Fundamentalist Christian, Blonde, Blue-eyed Terrorists in Our Midst.](#)" Berkowitz had written about the right-wing Cultural Marxism conspiracy theory for the [Southern Poverty Law Center's Intelligence Report](#) in a summer 2003 article that talked about the antisemitic nature of references to the Frankfurt School: [Reframing the Enemy.](#)" In "[Confessions of a Cultural Marxist,](#)" independent researcher [Tom Walker](#) of [Ecological Headstand](#) exposed on July 24<sup>th</sup> that major sections of the Manifesto by Breivik were plagiarized from Lind's published work. Scholar [Martin Jay](#) sent out a message that the Frankfurt School has long been a scapegoat for right-wing conspiracy theorists complaining about "political correctness" and provided a cite to his journal article, "[Dialectic of Counter-Enlightenment: The Frankfurt School as Scapegoat of the Lunatic Fringe,](#)" which appeared in late 2010 in *Salmagundi*.

Sharlet, Juergensmeyer, and I read and commented on the 1500 page Manifesto. Sharlet tweeted as he read. By July 23<sup>rd</sup> Blumenthal and others were tweeting and blogging about the anti-Islamist network in the U.S and Europe. Blumenthal traced the posts of "Fjordman", an Islamophobe praised by Breivik, onto the [anti-Islamic website run by Pam Geller](#), "who initially blamed the gov of Norway (and Muslims)" wrote Blumenthal.

On July 24th Juergensmeyer released his conclusions on the website Religion Dispatches: [Is Norway's Suspected Murderer Anders Breivik a Christian Terrorist?](#) Juergensmeyer answered his title with a " yes." Scholar Julie Ingersoll followed on Religion Dispatches with three articles: [Breivik's Christianity About Culture Not Piety](#) (July 25); [What's Actually in Breivik's "Declaration of Independence"](#) (July 26); and [Breivik's Emasculation Paranoia Fueled Vision for Patriarchal "Reforms"](#) (July 29).

Especially hard-hitting was an op-ed by Roger Cohen in the *New York Times*, "[Breivik and His Enablers,](#)" (July 25). The *New York Times* also assembled a July 27 [essay collection](#) by writers from the U.S. and Europe. That day Scholar Cas Mudde, wrote a thoughtful forward-looking essay, "[Norway's catastrophe: democracy beyond fear,](#)" for the London-based openDemocracy.

The use of social networks by serious researchers created an ad hoc information-sharing environment that assisted the speed, quality, and depth of early online reports.

**Book Reviews****Counterterror Offensives for the Ghost War World: The Rudiments of Counterterrorism Policy**

By Richard J. Chasdi (Plymouth: Lexington Books 2010), 877 p., ISBN 978-0-7391-0794-2

Reviewed by Oldrich Bures  
*Metropolitan University Prague*

Almost 900 pages long, Richard J. Chasdi's book *Counterterror Offensives for the Ghost War World: The Rudiments of Counterterrorism Policy* may well be the thickest volume devoted to the analysis of counterterrorism ever. It is therefore impossible to either summarize or critique its contents in a standard size book review. The potential reader simply has to find the time to read this monumental volume him/her-self in order to appreciate all of its findings regarding the effectiveness of counterterrorism practices, many of which challenge the conventional wisdom presented in the available literature, often without sufficient empirical evidence.

In stark contrast, Chasdi's book is literally filled with data-based analysis of the counterterrorism practices four "western liberal style democracies" (US, UK, France and Israel), two "authoritarian democracies" (Russia and Turkey) and one "authoritarian regime" (Peru). The key goal is to assess the effectiveness of national counterterrorism policies, defined as the absence of retaliatory terrorist assaults in the short-term (up to three months after the implementation of the counterterrorism measure) and the medium-term (within 3-24 months). In addition, the book also offers interesting insights as to whether "political regime type" and states' "power ranking" in the international political system can be considered independent variables influencing counterterrorism effectiveness. In fact, one of the most interesting theoretical implications of Chasdi's qualitative analysis stems from the empirical finding that the less democratic a country is, the less likely it is to engage in international collaborative counterterrorism cooperation. As such, "overall cooperation with 'western style liberal democracies' on non-forceful counterterror efforts ... may essentially serve as a vehicle for structural political change" (p. 759) in non-democratic countries.

If I should handpick the three most pertinent policy recommendations, what clearly stands out is the empirical evidence for: 1) the lack of effectiveness of simplistic cookie-cutter strategies and the importance of contextual factors in all examined countries, implying the need for a nationally tailored counterterrorism mix; 2) the relative underutilization of non-forceful "cooptation" counterterrorism policies (e.g. judicial measures, economic incentives etc.) in all examined countries, implying the need for their far more frequent use; and 3) the relative effectiveness of counterterrorism measures defined by Chasdi as "preemption" (e.g. measures more removed from the proximate time of a terrorist attack) and "disruption" (e.g. measures that aim to make terrorist attacks more episodic and inconsistent) in all countries, implying that they should be the cornerstones of counterterrorism policies round the world.

There are, nonetheless, two factors that limit the reliability of all Chasdi's findings. Firstly, there is the time factor. The data on which all of the quantitative analysis is based covers only the period of two years between 1994 and 1996, with the exception of the US, where the data comes from the 2001-2003 period. As a consequence, the results are indicative of relatively short periods within decades-long national counterterrorism campaigns. Since both governments as senders and terrorist groups as targets of counterterrorism practices adopt to the changing contextual factors, both domestic and international, Chasdi's work cannot offer a long-term and holistic assessment of national

counterterrorism practices. It is clear that not only past (e.g. pre-1994) successes and failures of both the senders and targets impacted the data for the 1994-1996 period under investigation, but the inclusion of data on the developments since 1996 would also most likely fundamentally alter the results for at least some of the national case studies. For example, in the case of Russian Federation, the current counterterrorism strategy in Chechnya frequently includes the use various economic incentives, thus directly contradicting one the main findings for the Russian federation concerning the lack of use of non-forceful "cooptation" strategies.

Secondly, there is yet again the time factor, which also matters when it comes to the qualitative part of Chasdi's analysis. In particular, with the exception of the US, the Chasdi's finding may not be as relevant in the post-9/11 world, where much of the focus of all countries now lies with what many have called "new" Islamist terrorism. While many may dispute the extent of alleged differences between the nature of Al-Qeada-type terrorism and the so-called "old" terrorism of the IRA/ETA type, 9/11 has undoubtedly changed the most important variables in the fight against terrorism – the perception of both the nature and seriousness of the terrorist threat, which has in turn impacted both the range and acceptability of countermeasures. This shortcoming could have been at least partly addressed by the inclusion of the now prolific literature on so-called root causes of terrorism and radicalization in the first chapters (where most of the reviewed literature pre-dates 2001), and by selecting more case studies from the post 9/11 era.

Overall, nonetheless, Chasdi's work deserves praise and it is up to others to offer similarly detailed data-based accounts of post-9/11 counterterrorism practices. It is indeed striking that one decade since 9/11, this is still one of the first genuine empirical attempts to figure what "works" in the fight against terrorism. While there have already been numerous accounts of national, regional and international counterterrorism efforts, most tend to focus on efficiency (e.g. on the adoption of agreed principles and best practices and their subsequent implementation) rather than on effectiveness (e.g. their real impact on the capability of terrorists to perpetrate new terrorist attacks). Despite its limitations, Chasdi's work should therefore be carefully read by academic experts as well as counterterrorism practitioners.

**Beating the Fascists: The Untold Story of Anti-Fascist Action**

By Sean Birchall (London: Freedom Press, 2010), 413 p., ISBN 978 -1-904491-12-15

Reviewed by Nigel Copsey  
*Teesside University*

This book, the 'official' history of Anti-Fascist Action (AFA), chronicles the experience of militant anti-fascism in Britain from the late 1970s through to mid-1990s. Running to over 400 pages, the text is broken down into a series of sections and sub-sections that revisit, in graphic detail, a succession of violent encounters between anti-fascist militants and their opponents. Written from an activist's perspective, it straddles, if rather awkwardly, both generalist and scholarly audiences. From time to time the author does offer us some interesting analytical reflections but scholars will no doubt tire of a style that remains too close to the genre of football hooligan ('hoolie') literature for comfort.

As one of the few academics to have subjected *Anti-Fascist Action* to any serious study, I have to confess that I do appear in the text intermittently (I recall approaching the organisation in the 1990s when writing a book on anti-fascism in Britain with a request for interviews only to be told that I would have to pay for the privilege). In the book's introduction, for instance, I am taken to task for rejecting (in the late 1990s) AFA's 'militant prognosis' that forecast the 'inevitable' electoral breakthrough of the British National Party (BNP). According to Birchall, this breakthrough was bound to happen once the BNP had tapped into the reservoir of racism that remains a lasting (and depressing) feature of British society. But there was, of course, nothing that was inevitable about the BNP's later electoral emergence (and my more optimistic prognosis needs to be read in the context of a stagnating party still under the control of a hardened and all too inflexible neo-Nazi, John Tyndall). In fact, elsewhere I have contended that by forcing the BNP to abandon its 'march and grow' tactic, anti-fascist militants had the effect of encouraging the BNP's turn toward community-based electioneering (which has proved a far more effective strategy for the BNP).

To his credit Birchall does at least ask the right question: '[...] in forcing the Far Right to abandon violence, did the militants also force the Far Right to find a "better way"?' Unfortunately (although unsurprisingly) his answer is ambivalent: 'Well, yes and no' (p.25). Deflecting criticism away from militant anti-fascists, Birchall proposes that the electoral emergence of the BNP was a consequence of factors 'way beyond the capacity of party activists alone' (p. 25). This is undoubtedly true but to suggest that the BNP would have broken through regardless of any change in party strategy is less than convincing. Indeed one need only pause for a moment and reflect on the current tribulations of the BNP to acknowledge the importance of internal party dynamics.

With his perspective somewhat skewed by his own 'historical inevitability' thesis, the significance of AFA, for Birchall, was that it performed a subterranean 'holding operation' that postponed the 'inevitable' breakthrough of the British far right for some fifteen years. Whilst Birchall admits that trying to objectively quantify the impact of anti-fascism is difficult because 'it is attempting to prove a negative' (p. 23), he makes the more valid point that only after the 'militant foot' was removed from the BNP's 'fascist neck' did 'the latter bloom(s) politically' (p. 23). 'That is to say, the authority previously exerted by militant anti-fascism on events becomes that much clearer by what happens after it is no longer the foremost influence' (p. 23).

In the first section of the book, Birchall chronicles the roots of AFA in the anti-fascist squads of the 1970s Anti-Nazi League. The story moves on in the second section to AFA's 1985 launch before (interspersed with colourful descriptions of low-level clashes with fascist opponents) it recounts internal organisational squabbles between moderate and militant

anti-fascists. In the end, the militant wing won out. In 1989 AFA re-launched as a militant anti-fascist organisation that specifically targeted the white working class, a constituency that AFA believed formed the recruiting ground for Britain's far right. For sure, as recent studies have revealed, it has been this constituency that has largely comprised the social bases of BNP electoral support. AFA's objective was now essentially twofold: to defeat or contain fascist activity in white working-class neighbourhoods through physical confrontation; and to convince this constituency that its interests could not be satisfied through organisations like the BNP. The third and final section covers the period between 1990 and the mid-1990s when the BNP finally decided (coming under sustained pressure from AFA) to abandon the streets, which then forced AFA to overhaul its anti-fascist strategy (precipitating AFA's own demise). At the end of the book Birchall seems to bemoan the absence of militant opposition to the BNP, 'Sooner rather later', he declares, 'a progressive left will have to declare outright war on conservative anti-fascism too' (p. 397). But what Birchall advocates is not necessarily a return to physical force anti-fascism. Instead he calls on the wider left to ditch the sterile politics of mainstream anti-extremism, offer a real (socialist) alternative, and finally bring the 'marginalised working class in from the cold' (p. 403).

Whilst one may have some reservations about the book's theoretical and intellectual contribution, in telling the (untold) story of AFA from the inside, Birchall has nonetheless performed a valuable service. What Birchall's insider account reveals is that militant anti-fascism unquestionably had an impact on the BNP's organisational and strategic development - a point that activists from existing anti-fascist organisations, such as Unite Against Fascism (and indeed some academics), are reluctant to concede.

**The Extreme Right in Western Europe**

By Paul Hainsworth (London and New York: Routledge, 2008), 164 p., ISBN 978-0-415-17097-4

Reviewed by Matthew Goodwin  
*University of Nottingham*

When I was studying toward my undergraduate degree, the edited volume – *The Politics of the Extreme Right: From the Margins to the Mainstream* (2000, Pinter) – served as an important reference point. The editor, Paul Hainsworth, brought together a collection of articles that mapped the performance of extreme right-wing parties, and the social and attitudinal profile of their voters. Alongside Mudde's *The Ideology of the Extreme Right* and Eatwell's article on the 'rebirth of the extreme right in Western Europe' (both of which were published in the same year), the volume fuelled my interest in this electorally resurgent party family.

Since the publication of *Margins to the Mainstream*, the academic study of radical and extreme right-wing parties has both grown and diversified. It has become increasingly methodologically sophisticated and, in the process, has made some important contributions to the wider study of electoral behaviour, comparative politics and party politics. As a convenor of a popular course on this topic for third-year undergraduates, I am also keenly aware of the enduring interest (and passion) that this area of research generates among our students.

*The Extreme Right in Western Europe* is Hainsworth's latest contribution to the literature. It is a short and concise book, which provides an overview of the core trends, debates and findings. Some scholars will argue that there is little here that pushes the literature forward. They may say that its discussion of right-wing extremism and fascism is a well-trodden path, and is weakened by the author's inability to incorporate more recent works on the 'populist radical right'. Others might suggest that the descriptive overviews of the rise of parties like the French FN or the experience of the Austrian FPÖ in public office contribute to what is an already saturated market, or that the sections on Finland, Norway and Sweden already seem dated given recent events. But then, this book was never intended to advance the research agenda, or shed light on future avenues.

The most frequent and significant complaint that my undergraduate students have about the literature on right-wing extremism is that the books and articles are often too complex and esoteric. While graduate students are more willing to engage, my experience has been that undergraduates want the 'big picture' and for the research to be made accessible. The problem for the convenor, however, is that only a few texts occupy that territory between primary research articles and what are often lazy and sensationalist journalistic accounts.

Where Hainsworth's book succeeds is that it addresses this gap by doing what it says on the tin: providing readers with a concise introduction to the topic, the academic study of these parties and their key findings. Academic jargon and statistical data are downplayed, in favour of a clear and efficient overview of the core pillars that underpin this literature: definitions; cross-national variations; ideology; and electoral sociology. It draws on a range of cases across Western Europe to elucidate its key points, and offers useful summaries along the way. For those of us who convene an undergraduate course on the extreme right, this book could (and should) be assigned as a reading that will provide students with a solid introduction to members of this party family, and their supporters.

**Varieties of Anti-Fascism: Britain in the Inter-War Period**

By Nigel Copsey and Andrzej Olechnowicz (eds.) (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2011), 256 p., ISBN: 978-0-230-00648-5

Reviewed by Paul Jackson  
*University of Northampton*

In his essay 'Writers and Leviathan', one of Britain's most noted anti-fascist writer's, George Orwell, succinctly presented the interwar period as one where politics became an inevitable aspect of all cultural life. In a time of heightened ideologies, either passively or actively, people's thoughts and behavior were becoming defined the polarised politics of the day. In this new set of essays on the theme of anti-fascism, collected by Nigel Copsey and Andrzej Olechnowicz, we are offered a ranging set of discussions on the nature of this intrusion of ideology into many aspects of life. In particular, the nebulous and understudied concept of anti-fascism is usefully defined at the outset by Copsey in an embracing manner. Their eclectic approach allows for those doing the opposing to be allowed to formulate his, or her, own understanding of what fascism was, and develop appropriate responses. (Meanwhile, in contrast to Copsey and Olechnowicz, a narrower approach to defining anti-fascism has been developed in the wider historiography by Dave Renton, who work on this topic really sees the goal of anti-fascism as mobilizing street-level opposition.) Here, though, anti-fascism is deemed flexible enough to move well beyond our existing impression of the radical left opposing BUF marches, and into a wider realms of mass media, party politics, the labour movement more generally, feminism, Christianity and even partial fellow travellers, such as G. K. Chesterton.

After two opening discussions from Copsey and Olechnowicz setting out these parameters, the book is divided into four parts: 'Political Parties'; 'Civil Society and State'; 'Intellectual Responses'; and 'Final Perspectives'. The opening discussion allows for Communist, Labour and Conservative party attitudes to be discussed. Thomas Linehan's essay on Communist responses develops, in particular, the sense of Popular Front era anti-fascism evoking both an English radical tradition, and a 'new moral community' of mass opposition. This was given added weight by issues such as the Spanish Civil War, providing further, emotive resonance to the cause. The reformist left is then explored by Copsey, who critically assesses the political strategy of the Labour Party, and its distance from the Communist approach to anti-fascism. Then, with the more familiar topic of left-wing anti-fascism well covered, Phillip Williamson provides a corrective to some of the more casual elisions between the views of a handful of hardline Conservatives, and a more general support for fascism within the political right, in the interwar years. Though opposition to the British variant of fascism, the BUF, was not always apparent in Conservative discourses, central figures such as Baldwin developed a wider defence of liberal values: subsuming a discussion against fascism into one juxtaposing British democracy with the new dictatorships more generally. Moreover, management of the economy by Conservative politicians helped remove the political space for the radical solutions of the BUF. This legacy, for Williamson, provides a further corrective to historians such as Martin Pugh, who would style the Conservatives at this time as much more supportive of aspects of fascism.

Having assessed the major political movements, Julie Gottlieb opens the following section by highlighting the limited feminist responses to fascism. She stresses that the interwar years were not really a high point for feminist activists in general; rather that this was a period of backlash against Edwardian radicalism. Her discussion focuses on two feminist organisations, the Six Point Group, which opposed fascism primarily because of its attitudes to women; and the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, whose pacifist attitude offered a less successful form of anti-fascism, according to Gottlieb. Tom

Lawson examines another neglected theme: Christian opposition to fascism in Britain and elsewhere. He shows how anti-fascism could become confused and blurred within a language of anti-Communism in Christian cultures, while also rightly stressing that a single attitude cannot be discovered within either the Catholic Church or the Church of England. Janet Dack's analysis of the media responses to the BUF is again critical of Martin Pugh's *Hurrah for the Blackshirts*, while also highlighting some previously neglected aspects of the media coverage of the BUF. For example, we learn that the *Daily Mirror* was a relative latecomer to developing a clearly anti-fascist line. Meanwhile, Richard Thurlow offers some detailed analysis of changing state responses to anti-fascism. The Secret Intelligence Service's attitudes were often on other matters, especially the issue of developing surveillance of Communist threats. State anti-fascism was thus underprepared for war when it came.

In part three, intellectual responses become the focus. Dan Stone shows how émigré intellectuals such as Franz Borkenau offered a substantive contribution to the thinking that surrounded inter-war anti-fascism. Meanwhile, Olechnowicz shows that A. D. Lindsay and Harold Laski developed important intellectual responses too. Finally, Julia Stapleton shows the flexibility, and also arguably the outer limits, of Copey and Olechnowicz's approach to mapping anti-fascism. She develops a discussion on two figures that manifested highly ambivalent attitudes to fascism, rather than clear opposition to it, G. K. Chesterton and Arthur Bryant. Finally, Richard Griffiths offers a singular essay on the postwar period. This closing essay tries to develop a lot of material. Rather than focusing on, say, the later 1940s, Griffiths also tries to bring the discussion up to date too. Though this essay arguably attempts to cover too much ground, perhaps this actually points to the expansive nature of the topic and the potential for further examination of many of these themes, especially during the postwar peaks of far right support. Indeed, the BNP is far more successful electorally than the BUF ever was, and is currently joined by the significant English Defence League. Anti-fascism is not merely a historical phenomenon. Finally, it is important to stress that anti-fascism, as expansively developed by Copey and Olechnowicz's approach, lends itself to more than mere nationally focused case studies, and international comparisons could further develop the field of study.

## Publications Alert

- Aleksiu, N. (2011) Christian Corpses for Christians! Dissecting the Anti-Semitism behind the Cadaver Affair of the Second Polish Republic. *East European Politics and Societies*, 25, 393-409.
- Cary, N. D. (2011) Offenders or Victims? German Jews and the Causes of Modern Catholic Antisemitism. *Catholic Historical Review*, 97, 559-561.
- Clark, A. (2011a) The New Extremism in 21(st) Century Britain. *Local Government Studies*, 37, 243-245.
- de Lange, S. L. and Art, D. (2011), 'Fortuyn versus Wilders: An Agency-Based Approach to Radical Right Party Building', *West European Politics*, 34(6): 1229-49.
- Dow, J. K. (2011a) Party-System Extremism in Majoritarian and Proportional Electoral Systems. *British Journal of Political Science*, 41, 341-361.
- Falk, A., Kuhn, A. & Zweimuller, J. (2011a) Unemployment and Right-wing Extremist Crime. *Scandinavian Journal of Economics*, 113, 260-285.
- Ginges, J., Atran, S., Sachdeva, S. & Medin, D. (2011a) Psychology Out of the Laboratory The Challenge of Violent Extremism. *American Psychologist*, 66, 507-519.
- Gruenewald, J. (2011a) A Comparative Examination of Homicides Perpetrated by Far-Right Extremists. *Homicide Studies*, 15, 177-203.
- Heidt, T. (2011) Jewish Dimensions in Modern Visual Culture: Antisemitism, Assimilation, Affirmation. *German Studies Review*, 34, 240-241.
- Jackson, P. (ed) (2011) *The EDL: Britain's 'New Far Right' Social Movement*, RNM Publications, [www.radicalism-new-media-org](http://www.radicalism-new-media-org).
- Judaken, J. (2011) Rethinking Antisemitism in Nineteenth-Century France. *American Historical Review*, 116, 520-521.
- Larys, M. & Mares, M. (2011) Right-Wing Extremist Violence in the Russian Federation. *Europe-Asia Studies*, 63, 129-154.
- Mammone, A. (2011a) The British National Party and neofascist ideology in contemporary Europe. *Studi Storici*, 52, 393-421.
- Mammone, A. (2011b) Revitalizing and de-territorializing Fascism in the 1950s: The Extreme Right in France and Italy, and the pan-national ('European') Imaginary, *Patterns of Prejudice*, 45(4), 279-302.
- Maxfield, E. (2011) The New Right in the New Europe - Czech transformation and right-wing politics 1989-2006. *Party Politics*, 17, 267-269.
- Mick, C. (2011) Incompatible Experiences: Poles, Ukrainians and Jews in Lviv under Soviet and German Occupation, 1939-44. *Journal of Contemporary History*, 46, 336-363.
- Muller, J. W. (2011a) European Intellectual History as Contemporary History. *Journal of Contemporary History*, 46, 574-590.
- Murphy, A. R. (ed.) (2011) *The Blackwell Companion to Religion and Violence*, Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell.
- Neyazi, T. A. (2011a) The Politics of Extremism in South Asia. *Political Studies Review*, 9, 439-439.
- Nichols, J. (2011) ALEC Exposed A trove of documents reveals the vast procorporate strategy of this powerful right-wing group. *Nation*, 293, 16-17.
- Olson, J. (2011) The Politics of Protestant Violence: Abolitionists and Anti-Abortionists, in A. R. Murphy (ed.), *The Blackwell Companion to Religion and Violence*, 485-97.
- Otjes, S. (2011) The Fortuyn Effect revisited: How did the LPF affect the Dutch parliamentary party system? *Acta Politica*, 46, 400-424.
- Pardos-Prado, S. (2011) Framing Attitudes Towards Immigrants in Europe: When Competition Does Not Matter. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 37, 999-1015.

- Pauley, B. F. (2011) Antisemitism: A History. *English Historical Review*, 126, 904-905.
- Qin, J. L., Zhou, Y. L. & Chen, H. C. (2011a) A multi-region empirical study on the internet presence of global extremist organizations. *Information Systems Frontiers*, 13, 75-88.
- Riggan, J. (2011a) Blood and Culture: Youth, Right-Wing Extremism, and National Belonging in Contemporary Germany. *American Ethnologist*, 38, 609-610.
- Rooduijn, M. and Pauwels, T. (2011) Measuring Populism: Comparing Two Methods of Content Analysis, *West European Politics*, 34(6): 1272-83.
- Rubinstein, W. D. (2011) Offenders or Victims? German Jews and the Causes of Modern Catholic Antisemitism. *Journal of Jewish Studies*, 62, 187-188.
- Rydgren, J. & Ruth, P. (2011) Voting for the Radical Right in Swedish Municipalities: Social Marginality and Ethnic Competition? *Scandinavian Political Studies*, 34, 202-225.
- Swindal, M. G. (2011) Ideology and Social Position in Poland: The Determinants of Voting for the Right, 1991-2005. *Social Science Quarterly*, 92, 185-205.
- van Spanje, J. (2011) Keeping the Rascals in: Anti-Political-Establishment Parties and their cost of governing in established Democracies, *European Journal of Political Research*, 50, 609-35.
- Veugelers, J. W. P. (2011) Dissenting Families and Social Movement Abeyance: The Transmission of Neo-fascist Frames in Post-war Italy, *British Journal of Sociology*, 62(2), 241-61.
- Woodhead, L. (2011a) Postsecularism: The Hidden Challenge to Extremism. *Cultural Sociology*, 5, 179-181.
- Zubok, I. A. & Chuprov, V. I. (2011a) Self-Organization in the Manifestations of Youth Extremism. *Russian Education and Society*, 53, 26-48.

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