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Boekbespreking van: **The extreme right in Europe and the USA**

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more interesting if more time and space would have been devoted to the theoretical notions behind the analyses, to the expected relations between the different parts of the opportunity structure, and, especially, to the theoretical implications of the results.

M. Nas

Paul Hainsworth (ed.), *The Extreme Right in Europe and the USA*, Pinter Publishers, Londen, 1992.

The emergence of anti-immigrant parties in Western Europe has induced a series of edited volumes in which this new family of parties are described and compared under the heading of 'extreme right'. These edited books tend to suffer from two weaknesses. First, although they describe and analyse a number of extreme right parties in different countries, they are not really comparative. This is due to the way in which these books are produced. Normally, a specialist in the field who is also a good networker asks a number of colleagues for a contribution on a particular country. Hence the books consist of a number of highly interesting monographic articles which describe and analyse the origin and strategy of the extreme right parties in a specific country. Secondly, and related to the first weakness, it is never quite clear on what ground the parties are selected. This is so because the term extreme right is nowhere defined, even though there seems to be no doubt in the minds of the contributors. Klaus von Beyme stated in a special issue of *West European Politics*, which subsequently has been published as a book: 'Though formal definitions or derivations based on the history of ideas largely failed to provide a convincing concept for 'right-wing extremism', research work on political parties of the right has not had serious problems in selecting appropriate cases.' (Von Beyme, 1988, p.3) This was perhaps true at the time of writing, but now it no longer holds. Not only does the *Bundesamt für Verfassungsschutz* in Germany maintain that the *Republikaner* cannot be considered as an extreme right party even though many specialists in the field do not hesitate to call them so. There is even more doubt, even among specialists, whether or not the Italian Lega Lombarda or the Austrian FPÖ should be called extreme right. The fact that there is no consensus about the label which should be attached to the new political family (see Elbers and Fennema, *Racistische partijen in West-Europa*, 1993) reveals a theoretical flaw that also hampers a solid comparative approach. Each contributor has his or her own theoretical framework, which prevents an integrative approach.

Given these restrictions, *The Extreme Right in Europe and the USA* is a very good book. The articles on France (Paul Hainsworth), Belgium and the Netherlands (Christopher Husbands) are outstanding, while none of the others is weak. The chapter on Germany is very informative, but the author (Eva Kolinsky) treats the electorate of the *Republikaner* and the immigration policy of Germany in much more detail than the extreme right parties themselves. Francesco Sidoti, on the other hand,

excavates the historical roots of the extreme right in Italy, but he treats Italy too much as a 'special case', which makes any comparison with other countries very difficult. The chapter on Denmark analyses the successes and failures of a party (*Fremskridtspartiet*) which, according to the author (Jørgen Goul Anderson), is not extreme right (p.194). This party does not, even according to the very vague circumlocution of the editor, belong to the extreme right family, because it shows no sign of anti-parliamentarian attitudes and it gives higher priority to alleviating the burden of taxation than to immigration policy. In the contribution on Greece the party of the Greek colonels (EPEN) is regarded as extreme right, even though in their twelve point program migration is not even mentioned (p.265). According to that program, EPEN can be regarded as a traditional right wing party, but hardly as an extreme right one.

The attempt to give the book a broader scope by including chapters on the USA and Eastern Europe decreases the theoretical coherence of the book even further, and leads in the case of Eastern Germany to a certain overlap with the chapter on Germany. But again, these chapters in themselves are highly informative. The high quality of most chapters, combined with the lack of theoretical coherence, and the price of the book will invite illegal xeroxing. We still have to wait for a 'real' comparative study of racist parties in Europe.

M. Fennema

William E. Connolly, *The Augustinian Imperative: A Reflection on the Politics of Morality*, Sage Publications, Newbury Park, 1993.

The Augustinian Imperative is the first volume in the Series Modernity and Political Thought, edited by Morton Schoolman. The common task for the authors in the series is 'to inquire into the thought of figures in the history of political philosophy in light of their possible contributions to our understanding of modernity, the way in which it is constituted, the problems and promises that remain latent in it' (p. vii-viii). The series wants to make clear that the development of liberalism goes along with a process of creating identities to the extent that differences are converted into strangenesses, whereas established identities tend to be naturalised. In this way the politics of liberalism is deconstructed as a social mechanism of power. Corresponding to the intention of the series, *The Augustinian Imperative* seeks to illuminate the political meaning of 'the augustinian imperative', that is, the insistence that there is an intrinsic moral order susceptible to authoritative representation.

In the first chapter Connolly introduces the subject thematically by a discussion of Job and Herculine Barbine. In the next three chapters he explores the writings of Augustine of Hippo. Focussing on central Augustinian notions such as confession, the divided will, the memory, heresy, biblical interpretation, Connolly argues that Augustine's preaching of an intrinsic moral order has discriminating implications which are far more radical than Augustine explicitly shows. The institution of belief