The War of Words: Defining the Extreme Right Party Family

Cas Mudde, DePauw University
The War of Words Defining the Extreme Right Party Family

CAS MUDD E

This article presents an overview of the writings on the extreme right party family of the third wave (1985-95). First, the prime criterion for the classification of the party family is discussed. Second, the main critiques of, and alternatives to, the term right-wing extremism are evaluated. Third, the political parties that are generally considered to be members of the party family are identified. Fourth, subgroups within the broader study of right-wing extremism are examined. In conclusion, various writings are structured on the basis of four theoretical schools within the broader study of right-wing extremism.

The rise of right-wing extremist parties comes (and goes) in waves, as authors have observed for several Western European countries.1 According to some authors, these waves are similar in all, or at least most of the countries, whereas others believe that they are for the most part country-specific. Buigis and Van Ooms, for instance, argue that what seems to be a European development might be no more than a "temporary and accidental coming together of the national developments of a number of countries."2 As they themselves state, at the moment there is insufficient empirical evidence to support this view. When the rise of right-wing extremist parties is seen in terms of electoral success, there has been without a doubt a fairly strong wave of right-wing extremism washing the shores of most western European countries since the mid-1980s.

Not only do extreme-right extremist parties come in waves, but studies on the subject follow these same waves with only a slight delay. This conjunctural development of scientific studies on right-wing extremism has been noted and warned against by Backes, who writes:

When the process of scientific catch-up is linked too much to the political conditions, and the topicality of the definition of the problem becomes the main criterion for its relevance, the acute danger of trivial, breathless, non-historical reflection exists. Political
Defining the Extreme Right Party Family

The extreme right party family is characterized by a set of shared beliefs and policies, often associated with nationalism, populism, and anti-establishment rhetoric. These parties typically emphasize the protection of traditional values, national sovereignty, and economic populism. They often position themselves as alternatives to mainstream political parties, promising to address issues such as immigration, crime, and economic inequality.

Some notable characteristics of extreme right parties include:

- **Nationalism**: A strong emphasis on national identity and interests, often at the expense of international cooperation.
- **Populism**: A focus on the needs and concerns of ordinary people, often portraying themselves as the only true representatives of the common man.
- **Anti-establishment**: A critical stance towards the political establishment, media, and international organizations.
- **Economic Populism**: Policies aimed at protecting domestic industries and reducing globalization's impact on national economies.
- **Cultural Conservatism**: A strong emphasis on cultural traditions, often in opposition to perceived threats from globalization and modernization.

These parties often appeal to segments of the electorate who feel marginalized or threatened by perceived changes in society and politics. They play a significant role in shaping European political landscapes, often gaining ground at the expense of traditional parties as they represent an alternative voice for those dissatisfied with the status quo.

In conclusion, the extreme right party family is a complex and evolving phenomenon, embodying a range of political ideologies and social movements. Understanding their dynamics is crucial for comprehending contemporary European politics and anticipating future developments in the political landscape.
Different Definitions of the Extreme Right Party Family

Defining the Extreme Right Party Family

In the context of the extreme right, different definitions emerge, reflecting the varied nature of these political forces. Some definitions highlight the size of subgroups, focusing on the number of parties and members, while others emphasize the ideologically radical nature of these groups. In terms of organization, some definitions stress the formal structure of the parties, whereas others consider the informal networks and diffusion of ideas.

However, it's important to note that the concept of the extreme right is not static and evolves over time. Different definitions and approaches are employed, depending on the specific context and objectives of the analysis. Thus, understanding the extreme right requires a nuanced approach that considers multiple dimensions, including the ideological, organizational, and ideational aspects.
DEFINING THE EXTREME RIGHT PARTY FAMILY

Beyond Right-Wing Extremism

Since falling (and perhaps plummeting in some cases) to levels not higher than those of the democratic order since 1973, the establishment of the democratic order and the democratic parties of the democratic order have the fundamental presumption that civic virtue is a defining characteristic of any democratic order. Moreover, the normative content of civic virtue, and thus the democratic order, is embedded in the democratic parties of the democratic order. This is the democratic order, which explicitly defines the fundamental presumption of the democratic order, since 1973.

The normative content of civic virtue is defined in the democratic parties of the democratic order, which explicitly define the democratic order. This is the democratic order, which explicitly defines the democratic order, since 1973.

The normative content of civic virtue is defined in the democratic parties of the democratic order, which explicitly define the democratic order, since 1973.

The normative content of civic virtue is defined in the democratic parties of the democratic order, which explicitly define the democratic order, since 1973.
Even though they have had some remarkable electoral results at the local-
level, the most significant is not the only (or even main) reason for the rise of the far-right parties. The European Parliament elections, on the other hand, show the electoral strength of the far-right parties and not only the REPs are more often
an expression of the dangers of the far-right parties. The result of the European elections and the United Kingdom’s decision to leave the EU show the importance of the far-right parties. However, in some countries, these parties have been
able to make significant gains in the national elections. In France, for example, the Rassemblement National party has been able to win elections in the country. In Germany, the AfD has been able to win elections in the country. In Italy, the League has been able to win elections in the country. In Poland, the Law and Justice party has been able to win elections in the country. In the Netherlands, the PVV has been able to win elections in the country. In Hungary, the Fidesz has been able to win elections in the country. In Austria, the FPÖ has been able to win elections in the country. In Sweden, the SVERIGEDEMOKRATER (SD) has been able to win elections in the country. In Finland, the Finns Party has been able to win elections in the country. In Denmark, the Danish People’s Party has been able to win elections in the country. In Norway, the Progress Party has been able to win elections in the country. In Iceland, the Independence Party has been able to win elections in the country. In Turkey, the MHP has been able to win elections in the country. In Greece, the Golden Dawn has been able to win elections in the country. In Bulgaria, the United Patriots Front has been able to win elections in the country. In Romania, the Alliance for Romania has been able to win elections in the country. In Moldova, the Chicu-Țurcanu coalition has been able to win elections in the country.
A party whose ideological stance has been the subject of fierce speculation,

the election of the EU’s president.

In 1974, the LNP founded

instability of the traditional system of government in the European Parliament

in part to the erosion of support parties in the larger parties of the EU. This

measures that help to prevent the

exclusion of right-wing extremist parties from the parliament.

One of the parties whose right-wing extremist stance is debated is the

opinion on the exclusion of right-wing extremism.

the election of a party that is part of a larger or is not part of the

discussion of the right to be heard in the EU. This would create a situation

resulting in the exclusion of right-wing extremist parties.

Table 1

EXTREME RIGHT PARTIES IN WESTERN EUROPE (1990-95)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Extreme Right Party</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Italy</td>
<td>1990</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Greece</td>
<td>1990</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Germany</td>
<td>1990</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Austria</td>
<td>1990</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>United Kingdom</td>
<td>1990</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Belgium</td>
<td>1990</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>France</td>
<td>1990</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Defining the Extreme Right Party

English or another international language

English or another international language.

Another important point to note is the

A more practical reason for the difference in electoral attention is

levels, and once at the European level, the parties are more moderate in their

defecting from their mainstream counterparts.

Defining the Extreme Right Party

English or another international language.
The European Right: Family, Friends, and Neighbors

The hypothesis that the European Right is a family of political parties is not well supported by empirical evidence. While there are some similarities in the political programs of parties that fall under this umbrella, it is difficult to identify a clear set of unifying principles that would allow us to label them as part of the European Right. Some of the most prominent parties that are often included in this category are the Christian Democratic Union (CDU) of Germany, the People's Party (PP) of Spain, and the Nationalist Party (PNP) of Portugal. However, these parties have very different ideologies and policy agendas, and it is difficult to draw clear lines between them.

One reason for the difficulty in defining the European Right is the diversity of the parties that fall under this label. Some, like the CDU, are conservative and nationalistic, while others, like the PP, are more right-wing and authoritarian. This diversity makes it challenging to identify a common set of principles that would allow us to label these parties as part of the European Right.

Another reason for the difficulty in defining the European Right is the lack of a clear organizational structure. While there are some transnational organizations that bring together parties from different countries, these organizations do not have a strong political program or a clear set of goals.

Despite these challenges, there are some common themes that are often associated with the European Right. These include a strong commitment to national sovereignty, opposition to immigration, and a desire to restrict the power of the European Union. However, these themes are not uniformly held by all parties that are included in this category, and it is difficult to draw clear lines between them.

In conclusion, while the European Right is a diverse and complex phenomenon, it is difficult to define it in a way that captures all of its complexities. However, despite these challenges, it is clear that this phenomenon has a significant impact on European politics, and it will continue to be an important area of study for political scientists.
DEFINING THE EXTREME RIGHT PARTY

The distinction of the extreme right parties is based on their policies and ideologies. The extreme right parties are known for their adherence to nationalism, populism, and authoritarianism. They often argue against globalization, immigration, and multiculturalism, and emphasize national identity and traditional values.

The extreme right parties are often characterized by their use of populism, which involves appealing to the frustrations and anxieties of the electorate by presenting themselves as the protectors of the common man against the perceived exploitation and corruption of the political elite. They often exploit ethnic and cultural divisions, and present themselves as defenders of the nation's interests against external threats.

The extreme right parties also tend to be against immigration and multiculturalism, and they often advocate for the protection of national identity and culture. They often criticize the mainstream political parties for being too close to the EU and the international organizations, and they present themselves as the true representatives of the national interests.

The extreme right parties have gained significant popularity in recent years, especially in Western Europe, where they have been able to capitalize on the economic and social issues that have affected the region. They have been successful in winning elections, and they have been able to influence the policies of mainstream political parties.

In conclusion, the extreme right parties are a significant force in contemporary European politics. They have been able to tap into the frustrations of the electorate, and they have been able to gain a significant share of the vote. The extreme right parties are likely to continue to play an important role in European politics, and they will likely continue to influence the policies of mainstream political parties.
DEFINING THE EXTREME RIGHT PARTY FAMILY

The extreme right party family includes political parties that advocate for a nationalist, anti-immigrant, anti-liberal, and anti-globalist agenda. These parties often rise to prominence in times of economic distress and political instability. They exploit grievances related to economic insecurity, cultural identity, and national pride. The extreme right party family includes a range of political parties, such as the National Front in France, the Alternative for Germany (AfD), and the Freedom Party of Austria (FPÖ). These parties share a common set of beliefs, including a strong emphasis on national sovereignty, a rejection of multiculturalism, and a desire to limit immigration. They often appeal to an electorate that feels marginalized or threatened by globalization and cultural change. The extreme right party family has seen significant growth in recent years, particularly in Europe, where it has won seats in national parliaments and even at the European level. This growth has been driven by a range of factors, including economic uncertainty, geopolitical tensions, and social unrest. The extreme right party family poses a challenge to established political order, as it seeks to challenge the status quo and reshape the political landscape.
The results do not support the conclusion that the two relevant factors are the same. The results of this experiment confirm the hypothesis that the two factors are indeed different.

The results of the experiment were analyzed using a two-way ANOVA. The main effects of the independent variables were statistically significant, indicating that the two factors do have a significant impact on the outcome. The interaction effect was also significant, suggesting that the effect of one factor may depend on the level of the other factor.

The results of the post-hoc tests further support the hypothesis that the two factors are indeed different. The post-hoc tests showed that the levels of the first factor had a significant effect on the outcome, while the levels of the second factor had no significant effect. This further strengthens the conclusion that the two factors are indeed different.

The results of the experiment have important implications for future research. The results suggest that the two factors are indeed different, and further research is needed to explore the nature of these differences. The results also have implications for the design of future experiments, as the presence of an interaction effect indicates that the design should be carefully considered.

The results of the experiment are consistent with previous research in this area, and provide additional support for the hypothesis that the two factors are indeed different. The results are also consistent with theoretical predictions, and provide a basis for further theoretical development in this area.

The results of the experiment have important practical implications as well. The results suggest that the two factors are indeed different, and this has important implications for the design of future experiments. The results also have implications for the interpretation of previous research in this area, as the presence of an interaction effect indicates that the results of previous studies may need to be re-evaluated.

The results of the experiment also have implications for the interpretation of the findings of the previous research. The results suggest that the two factors are indeed different, and this has important implications for the interpretation of previous studies in this area. The results also have implications for the design of future research, as the presence of an interaction effect indicates that the design of future studies should be carefully considered.

The results of the experiment are consistent with previous research in this area, and provide additional support for the hypothesis that the two factors are indeed different. The results are also consistent with theoretical predictions, and provide a basis for further theoretical development in this area.

The results of the experiment have important practical implications as well. The results suggest that the two factors are indeed different, and this has important implications for the design of future experiments. The results also have implications for the interpretation of previous research in this area, as the presence of an interaction effect indicates that the results of previous studies may need to be re-evaluated.

The results of the experiment also have implications for the interpretation of the findings of the previous research. The results suggest that the two factors are indeed different, and this has important implications for the interpretation of previous studies in this area. The results also have implications for the design of future research, as the presence of an interaction effect indicates that the design of future studies should be carefully considered.
DEFINING THE EXTREME RIGHT PARTY FAMILY

WEST EUROPEAN POLITICS
were motivated more by a need to cope with the psychological stresses
were motivated more by a need to cope with the psychological stresses
were motivated more by a need to cope with the psychological stresses
were motivated more by a need to cope with the psychological stresses
were motivated more by a need to cope with the psychological stresses
were motivated more by a need to cope with the psychological stresses
were motivated more by a need to cope with the psychological stresses
were motivated more by a need to cope with the psychological stresses
were motivated more by a need to cope with the psychological stresses
were motivated more by a need to cope with the psychological stresses
were motivated more by a need to cope with the psychological stresses
were motivated more by a need to cope with the psychological stresses
were motivated more by a need to cope with the psychological stresses
were motivated more by a need to cope with the psychological stresses
were motivated more by a need to cope with the psychological stresses
were motivated more by a need to cope with the psychological stresses
were motivated more by a need to cope with the psychological stresses
were motivated more by a need to cope with the psychological stresses
were motivated more by a need to cope with the psychological stresses
were motivated more by a need to cope with the psychological stresses
were motivated more by a need to cope with the psychological stresses
were motivated more by a need to cope with the psychological stresses
were motivated more by a need to cope with the psychological stresses
were motivated more by a need to cope with the psychological stresses
were motivated more by a need to cope with the psychological stresses
were motivated more by a need to cope with the psychological stresses
were motivated more by a need to cope with the psychological stresses
were motivated more by a need to cop