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

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Standing Group Announcements

Change of convenorship

This is the first *e-Extreme* newsletter edited by the new convenors of the ECPR Standing Group on Extremism and Democracy. Our aim is to continue the newsletter in its existing form. Next to the newsletter, however, we have also launched a Facebook group (www.facebook.com/groups/188622364661873). The aim of this Facebook group is to develop new modes of participation, and to promote interaction between the Standing Group members. Although membership to this group is obviously not a prerequisite for participation in the Standing Group, we sincerely hope that many of you will join the group and contribute to it by posting messages and links. An advantage of the Facebook group is that it is much more interactive: announcements can be made on much shorter notice and participation in discussions can be facilitated much more easily. Yet we would like to emphasize that the Facebook group is by no means a replacement of the digital newsletter *e-Extreme*. We will enthusiastically continue publishing *e-Extreme* four times every year, including its conference reports, book reviews, publication alerts and general announcements. We hope you will enjoy reading it!

The new convenors,

Sarah de Lange
Andrea Pirro
Matthijs Rooduijn
Stijn van Kessel

Conference in Glasgow

During the 2014 ECPR General Conference in Glasgow (3-6 September), the ECPR Standing Group on Extremism and Democracy organizes a section entitled "Political radicalism in times of crisis". The section chairs are Stijn van Kessel, Andrea Pirro and Elisabeth Carter. The section includes six panels.

Forthcoming conferences and workshops

As ever, please visit our website for details of forthcoming conferences and workshops: www.extremism-and-democracy.com. If you would like to advertise an event you are organizing or know about, then please also get in touch by emailing us at info@extremism-and-democracy.com. Similarly, if you would like to write a report on a conference or workshop that you have organized for inclusion in our newsletter, please get in touch.

This month, we have a report by Dr. Yin Paradies on the conference 'Reconfiguring Anti-racism: Tolerance, Harmony, Inclusion or Justice?' (Deakin University, Australia, 9-10 December 2013).

Book reviews

We are always looking for people to review books of interest to our members. So if you would like to review a particular book or if you would like your own book reviewed in *e-Extreme* please get in touch with the editors (info@extremism-and-democracy.com).

This month's newsletter contains contributions from Lewis Young, Matthew Feldman and Paul Jackson.

Book series in Extremism and Democracy

The Standing Group has close links with the Routledge Book Series in Extremism and Democracy. This series has two strands aimed at different audiences: the 'Routledge Studies in Extremism and Democracy' targeted at students and teachers, and the 'Routledge Research in Extremism and Democracy' aimed at a more specialist readership. Please contact Roger Eatwell or Matthew Goodwin via the Standing Group website if you would like to discuss ideas or suggestions for titles.

Member database by research interest

Remember that our 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. Please also 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 have organized and have this included 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

Conference Report

Reconfiguring Anti-racism: Tolerance, Harmony, Inclusion or Justice?

Centre for Citizenship and Globalisation, Deakin University, Australia
9-10 December 2013

Yin Paradies
Chair of the Organising Committee

This conference was organised by A/Prof Yin Paradies, Prof Fethi Mansouri, A/Prof Danny Ben-Moshe, Dr Michele Lobo and Ms Cayla Edwards, all from the Centre for Citizenship and Globalisation, Deakin University.

This forum sought to understand the breadth of scholarship and practice aimed at addressing, countering or transcending racism as a phenomenon with a range of pernicious consequences for individuals, communities and societies.

The conference was opened by Dr Soutphommasane, the newly appointed Race Discrimination Commissioner who spoke about the ongoing significance of race and racism in the Australian context, the National Anti-racism Strategy and the importance of scholarship in informing action against racial discrimination.

The first session examined individual and institutional anti-racism with plenary speakers discussing a longitudinal study to reduce intergroup bias among school children (A/Prof Fiona White; University of Sydney), the challenges of developing and evaluating anti-racism interventions (A/Prof Margaret Kelaher; University of Melbourne) and exposing institutional racism within the public health system (Dr Heather Came; Auckland University of Technology). This was followed by three concurrent sessions covering topics as diverse as Islamophobia, racial literacy, egalitarianism, colour-blindness, cyber-racism, racism in the legal system, target responses to racism, the mental health impacts of an anti-racism intervention,.

The second session focused on anti-racist collective action and social change with plenary presentations by A/Prof Anne Pederson (Murdoch University) on bystander anti-racism, by A/Prof Caroline Howarth (London School of Economics and Political Science) on identity and anti-racism and by Prof Floya Anthias (University of East London) on moving beyond diversity and integration. The associated concurrent papers explored racial profiling, political action among migrant youth, journalism and media racism, solidarity indigenous struggles, resistance by the targets of racism, the economics of anti-racism as a human right and the role of racism in environmental debates.

After a lively conference dinner attending by over half of the 130 delegates, the second day of the conference began with a presentation by A/Prof Yin Paradies (Deakin University) on contemporary manifestations of anti-racism and its relationship to concepts such as tolerance, harmony, inclusion and social justice.

The third session explored conflict resolution and intercultural understanding, with Prof Fethi Mansouri (Deakin University) discussing cultural diversity and social justice through the tropes of recognition, redistribution and representation. Prof Adrian Little and Dr Mark McMillan (University of Melbourne) then invited us to consider the importance of keeping conflict in view by resisting rapid reconciliation before Prof Ratnesh Nagda (University of

Washington) detailed the effectiveness of intergroup dialogue. The three concurrent sessions investigated the dialectic between racism and anti-racist action, anti-racism through theatre, constructions of meaning in intercultural dialogue, reconciliation in white settler nations, intercultural understanding beyond harmony, the Hijab as a flag for Islam, interfaith dialogue and international law as anti-racism.

The final and most controversial theme engaged with alter-racist citizenship and cosmopolitanism through plenaries that extolled the virtues of tolerance as a minimum moral obligation (Dr Peter Balint; University of New South Wales), examined alternative variations of intercultural civility (Dr Bart van Leeuwen; Radboud University Nijmegen) and revisited the crises of multiculturalism as a crisis of politics (A/Prof Alana Lentin; University of Western Sydney). Concurrent sessions entailed scholarship on anti-racist rituals, geopolitics and anti-racism, contrarian tendencies in Aboriginal politics, school-based cosmopolitanism, building inclusive organisations, the role of community arts in anti-racism, re-constructing religious diversity, intercultural encounters and cosmopolitan predilection as well as the possibilities of humour for anti-racist action.

Prof Ghassan Hage closed the conference with an insightful and unique response to the key themes that emerged over the two days of proceedings. Prof Hage emphasised global transformations over the recent history of modernity and their impact on the mutating nature of racism, and hence anti-racism.

As a follow-up, the organisers have invited select presenters to participate in a proposed journal special issue that will be pursued in 2014. The conference program, including abstracts can be found at: <http://www.deakin.edu.au/arts-ed/ccg/events/conferences/13-anti-racism/index.php>

Book Reviews

James Joll, (2014), *The Second International 1889-1914* (Abingdon: Routledge), pp. 224, ISBN: 9780415741163, (hbk); RRP: £75;

Reviewed by Lewis Young
Teesside University

Reprinted under the 'Routledge Revivals' imprint, perhaps fittingly, in a year of European-wide elections, James Joll's *The Second International, 1889-1914* is a useful text for scholars with an interest in the political thought and organisation of both the historical and contemporary European Left. For those unfamiliar with the pre-World War One European Left, the study is accessible and straightforward. As a result of the author's firm grasp of the domestic and international politics of the pre-World War One period, and his eye for detail, *The Second International* is more than a study of the European Left, it provides a window into the politics and decisions that contributed in some way to the outbreak of war in 1914. He also wrote with one eye on the international politics of the inter-war period. As such *The Second International* would be a useful addition to reading lists on both Europe pre-1914, and the European Left in the post-First World War period.

There are some issues with the work. The first is that the title *The Second International* is something of a misnomer. Although Joll's work does examine the Socialist International, and always attempts to bring the subject of each chapter back to this, it does have a tendency to become a study of the European socialist parties rather than of the organisation to which they affiliated. More specifically it is a study of the German Social Democratic Party (SPD) and the French Left. Joll was open about this, and indeed had valid reasons for doing so, but there are times when the study focuses on the SPD and French Left at the expense of the International. When he does examine other socialist parties from across Europe, it is often done in a casual manner. Moreover it is focussed on the Left of the European Continent, and so the British Left has only a marginal presence and the left in America and the rest of the world are ignored entirely. Why this is so is set out in the introduction, but this approach does turn *The Second International* into a study of the German and French Left's influence on the European Socialist movement, rather than of the Socialist International itself.

Another objective of the study is an exploration of the political thought surrounding the formation and aims of the Second International, including an examination of some of the leading figures in the Second International. It cannot be denied that the author is thorough in his biographical sketches of these individuals, and *The Second International* often appears as a history of these figures as much as it is of International. This works, however, as it is undeniable that the fortunes of the International were often inextricably linked to those men and women who led it. Due to the sheer numbers of individuals that crop up in the work, it would have been helpful to include a basic glossary to allow the reader to keep track of everyone. Joll also has a tendency to break away from the main argument of the text in order to focus - often in great detail - upon a certain individual, which at times can detract from his argument.

Originally published in 1955, it is clear from this work that the author wrote from a particular Cold War-influenced standpoint and the rise of Communism and the Third (Communist) International are never far away from his mind. At times his analysis comes across as contradictory. On one hand Joll appears to praise the Second International for not adhering

to a rigid structure of discipline and leadership, on the other he argues that it was for this very reason that the Second International collapsed. Ultimately however, he sides with the anti-Communist, pro-Western view, and his closing statement raises the question of whether

an all-embracing dogmatic theory of history and the nature of man can ever serve as a proper basis for political action in a society which believes in parliamentary government and personal liberty (p. 205).

It is this notion which underlies the entire study. Marxist doctrine, according to Joll's analysis, is entirely alien to most countries, and he has a tendency to blame to SPD, who adhered to Marxism, for the political failures of the French Left. For if the French Left had adopted a 'French' socialism rather than bending to the whims of the SPD, then, Joll's argument implicitly suggests, it would have been more successful within domestic French politics in the period. Had the author examined the British Labour Party in more depth, he provided only cursory examination of the party for the reason that it is not Marxist; he would have noticed a flaw in his argument. The British Labour Party did not adhere to Marxist doctrines, and yet its successes in this period were few and far between. His examination needs to be located in the wider political context of the time rather than relying on a theoretically flawed Cold War standpoint.

The Second International is a useful book and should be recommended to all scholars of the European Left, particularly those just starting out in their studies. Joll's eye for the detail and his readable prose makes this study a highly accessible and thorough piece of work. However, it suffers from both his tendency to focus on the SPD at the expense of other parties and of the International itself. His Cold War analysis also significantly dates the work. Whilst *The Second International* should not be ignored, perhaps it is time for another historian of the European Left to reassess the Second International for a post-Cold War audience.

***The Third Reich Sourcebook*, Anson Rabinbach and Sander L. Gilman (eds)
(University of California Press, Berkeley, Los Angeles and London: 2013) ISBN
978-0-520-20867-4, pp. 991, Price: £44.95 / \$65.00**

Reviewed by Matthew Feldman
Reader, Teesside University

One can scarcely congratulate the editors and translator highly enough on this brilliant, masterful sourcebook containing "a broad range of texts, written or published during the twelve years that the National Socialist (Nazi) regime held sway in Germany" (p.xxiii). For this, scholars in the field can thank the University of California Press for thinking big: their "companion volume" was *The Weimar Republic Sourcebook* from 1994, by Edward Dimendberg, Martin Jay and Anton Kaes – who are also the general editors of the 47 books in this "Weimar and Now: German Cultural Criticism" series. At *only* 800 or so pages, that volume is slim by comparison: here, the table of contents runs to 15 pages!

For teaching purposes – but not only that, surely – this doorstopper builds upon the classic four volumes by Jeremy Noakes and Geoffrey Pridham, *Documents on Nazism, 1919-1945*; the impressively edited *Nazism: A Reader's Guide* by Neil Gregor; and also those dealing more squarely with genocide, like Steve Hochstadt's *Sources of the Holocaust*. While the

editorial commentaries on the later three volumes tend to be more extensive than those presented here – confined to roughly a page for each of the 31 sections – that is a price worth paying for a collection whose index alone extends to fully 28 pages. In a hugely crowded field, this admittedly unwieldy, tome surely takes pride of place for Anglophone sources on history's most ruthless regime (with dishonorable mention to Stalinism, Maoism, the Khmer Rouge and the Croatian Ustasha). The sheer size and scope make this compendium, frankly, unreviewable.

In fact, so extensive is this collection of primary sources that even a complete listing of the 31 sections and 35 illustrations would exceed the parameters of this review. Some final metrics, therefore: the primary sources themselves extend beyond 800 pages, with the credits for roughly half the previously-published 411 excerpts running to more than six pages. Roughly 5% of the collection derives from non-German languages, mostly English. The remainder of excerpts have either already been rendered into English, or are translated here for the first time by Lilian Friedberg.

As might be expected, this includes some key texts well-known to specialists and general readers alike: the NSDAP's 25 Points Program in 'The Beginnings of National Socialism'; the Wannsee Conference Minutes in 'War, Conquest and the Annihilation of the Jews'; or the final text, Adolf Hitler's Political Testament, in the section titled 'Hitler's Last Will and Testament'. Still, other sections are invariably less familiar, from 'Music', 'Cinema' and 'The Visual Arts', broadly distinguishing between culture and propaganda, to sections on churches, women; or, welcome and unexpectedly, 'The 1936 Olympics' and 'Laughter in the Third Reich' – with the latter containing the previously unpublished 'Swastika-shaped crossword puzzle with clues showcasing Nazis leaders. *Illustrierter Beobachter*, 18 March 1934, 409' (p.717).

What is equally impressive, finally, is the way in which key historiographical developments this century are punctuated by the judicious choice of primary sources. Thus, as argued by Dan Stone, Yehuda Bauer and many others, anti-Semitism is presented as Nazism's 'Core Doctrine' – both as motivational scapegoat and genocidal wartime consequence – while, following the work of Wendy Lower, Shelly Baranowski and Mark Mazower, to name but three, a section on 'Germany's Colonial Mission' contains texts by 'geo/racial-theorists' like Karl Haushofer, Hans Grimm and Ernst Janisch. Reflecting a debate piqued by Richard Steigmann-Gall's *Holy Reich: Nazi Conceptions of Christianity, 1919-1945*, given a special issue by the *Journal of Contemporary History* in 2009, there is a section on 'The National Socialist State and Christianity'; while contrariwise, interpretations by Hans Maier and Emilio Gentile, which fleshed out Erik Voegelin's and Uriel Tal's insights on the Nazism's 'secular faith', are empirically supported by sources from 'The Political Religion: Führer Cult, Ceremonies and Symbol'.

Truly, then, this collection is a must have, a superb contribution to knowledge. *The Third Reich Sourcebook* charts the utopian heresies, banal irrationalities and unparalleled hatred unleashed by the Third Reich in the words of both Nazism's core proponents and its heroic, overly rare resisters. If Nazism's own words should rightly be preserved, as herein, for all the wrong reasons, then this incisive collection of key sources is at good as it is likely to get in a single volume.

Ruth Wodak, Majid KhrosraviNik and Brigitte Mral (eds.) *Right Wing Populism in Europe: Politics and Discourse* (London: Bloomsbury, 2013) ISBN 978-1-78093-245-3, Price: £19.99

Reviewed by Paul Jackson,
Senior Lecturer in History, University of Northampton

There is a perennial interest in the nature and dynamics of what we can very loosely dub 'far right' politics in Europe. This is a topic that seems to be at once lively and newsworthy, and yet analysis of it is beset by perennial, underlying issues, including: trying to measure how much marginalised groups are impacting on mainstream politics, conceptualising racism, and most problematically issues of parsing the variety of types of groupings 'it' consists of. Many academic discussions have gravitated around working out just what nebulous terms such as 'radical right', 'extreme right' and 'populist' really mean. This impressive new collection of essays, edited by Ruth Wodak, Majid KhrosraviNik and Brigitte Mral, offers some of the latest analysis of this slippery yet familiar phenomenon, while contributors also inevitably encounter some of the underlying issues that riddle this theme. There is plenty here to both please, and to fuel debate, not least the lack of consensus about who, exactly, we are talking about with the term 'right-wing populists'.

The helpful introduction by Wodak and KhrosraviNik brings some order here by setting out not merely the eclectic set of nationalist and populist groupings that the diverse chapters seek to cover, but also stressing the benefits of an embracing, interdisciplinary approach found collectively among the diverse contributions. As they claim for the book, 'we bring together insights from political science, rhetoric and discourse-analysis, anthropology and media studies and attempt to explain the emergence and rise of this exceptionally complex phenomenon.' The volume's framework for disciplines could also stress the crucial relevance to contemporary history here, an often-neglected component of examining the post-war far right. Potted overviews of historical narratives do repeatedly crop up in the discussions, but exploring the post-war history of the radical right for its own sake, developing fresh archival research, rather than using history to make sense of contemporary developments, is not something we really see pursued here.

The book itself is structured via four sections, the first dedicated to 'Theories and Comparative Approaches', followed by three further divisions focusing on Western European, Central and Eastern European and finally Scandinavian case studies. Aside from the introduction, there are 22 essays in the volume, which for the most part offer fresh and relevant analysis of the topic. Interestingly, the final chapter, by journalist Christopher Andersson, offers comments on issues posed by those wanting to report on far right activity, which makes for a welcome, non-academic conclusion to the set.

Some of the thematic discussions in the first section are very helpful for allowing us to understand the subtle, but substantial, cultural shifts of recent times, which have helped normalise a new wave of far right activity. This includes Aristotle Kallis' identification of patterns of mainstreaming previously taboo messages, especially with regard to attitudes towards Muslims. This is a pattern he sees as akin to aspects of the Nazi regime popularising anti-Semitic cultures in interwar Europe: breaking taboos by one mainstream society empowers others to feel similarly liberated. Hans Georg-Betz offers further analysis of the pan-European trend of far right movements targeting Muslims in the 2000s, one of the standout features of the modern far right. Meanwhile the linkups between Europe and the American far right are examined by Heidi Beirich of the Southern Poverty Law Center – another valuable contribution from an expert voice operating outside of academia.

Collectively, this opening, thematic segment of the volume raises a number of crucial issues, and sets out space for a variety of more detailed, national discussions to follow.

Moving through the volume, the section on Western Europe includes two essays exploring the British case, one from John Richardson examining linguistic strategies and veiled messages in the British National Party, and synergies with the English Defence League; and another exploring the longer history of racist politics in Britain by John Solomos. This section also includes dedicated essays examining France, Belgium, Germany, Austria, the Netherlands and Italy, all of which are familiar territory for explorations of far right sentiments.

Where we enter less familiar ground is in the discussions on Eastern Europe, and three chapters explore the different historical legacy left by the collapse of Communism. Anton Shekhovtsov's examination of the Ukraine is especially timely given the (at the time of writing) revolutionary circumstances unfolding in the country. The exploration of Hungary's Jobbik by András Kovács is again a welcome addition to such a volume, drawing out the ways the collapse of Communism in Hungary framed the emergence of a post-Communist era for far right politics. Daunis Auers and Andreas Kasekamp also explore this theme in the chapter examining Latvian and Estonian populism. Indeed, vital though these chapters are, one criticism of the overall balance of the volume would be its limited coverage of countries formerly part of the USSR or the Eastern Bloc. Developing more analysis of these experiences of far right politics would help to draw out the greater complexities of the phenomenon as we move across Europe, and develop a fuller appreciation of the lasting relevance of extreme nationalism as strategies developed by some groupings to frame transition away from the Communist era.

This issue aside, the volume's final section offers ample coverage of the Scandinavian forms of far right politics, including a comparative historical analysis of Sweden, Norway, Denmark and Finland by Björn Fryklund, and another, focusing on the issue of the cartoons of Mohammed, published by *Jyllands-Posten* in Denmark in 2005, by Stig A. Nohrstedt. These discussions examining a rise in Scandinavian populism round off a successful volume that offers many new insights into the issues raised by contemporary far right political movements across Europe.

In sum, the book will make a valuable addition to the libraries of experts, and also would be a very useful addition to undergraduate reading lists for courses that engage with this theme. The editors have also done an excellent job of ensuring contributions are readable, and relevant, as succeed in their aim of offering in a new, relevant and interdisciplinary survey of right-wing populism.

Publications Alert

BOOKS

- Ellner, S. (ed.) (2014) *Latin America's Radical Left: Challenges and Complexities of Political Power in the Twenty-First Century*. Plymouth: Rowman & Littlefield.
- Finchelstein, F. (2014) *The Ideological Origins of the Dirty War: Fascism, Populism and Dictatorship in Twentieth Century Argentina*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
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