CONSOLIDATION OF RIGHTIST POLITICS IN THE WORLD: AN ANALYSIS

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Preamble

The right wing politics is institutionalized on the basis of transnational processes of exchange and interaction. The level of networking does not only increase in the sub-cultural milieu but is based on the international alliances through modern communication channels. Ideologically, the radical populist right is still a right-wing phenomenon, although considerably different from the traditional extreme right. The libertarian left is committed to equality but the radical right is responsible for inequality in all walks of life. The right wing politics protects the interests of established, organized groups while preventing inclusive development of the marginalized sections of society.

Rightist Politics in the World

 In a social, cultural and political climate characterized by fluidity and insecurity, radical right-wing populism appeals to the new ego-centrism which prevails throughout the advanced western world. The radical right-wing populist parties are symptoms as well as distasteful by-products of the general turbulence of the present age (Betz, 1993:06). The interaction between the

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development of the welfare state, cultural pluralization through immigrants, and the growth of the extreme right should be explored by the right thinking persons (Kitschelt, 1995:14).

Germany belongs to the countries with the highest levels of violence, but Switzerland and Great Britain are roughly comparable in the context of rightist politics. The development of extreme right and racist violence and the political debate around asylum legislation in Germany warrants introspection by the stakeholders of democracy. The level of violence tends to below where extreme right and recist parties are strong and vice versa (Koopmans, 1996:16). Moreover, cross national comparision shows that the amount of violence also depends on the prior strength of extreme right and racist parties.

The efficacy of institutional repression was modest, even though extreme right repression in Germany included far-reaching measures that went to the limits of repression within a democratic political context (Koopmans, 1997:15). Two types of repression namely institutional and situational occurred in Germany in the 1990s on account of emergence of extreme right politics. The situational police repression was a direct reaction to mass mobilization and institutional represssion occurred due to trials and court rulings against activists.

New Politics of the Right

The New Politics of the Right is a comprehensive look at the dangerous spread of right-wing radicalism throughout the 'free' world (Betz and Immerfall, 1998:05). Since the turn of the new millenium, extreme right parties have been the subject of considerable concern. There are clear dangers of a major realignment of voters, with hostility to the current EU reinforcing existing hostility to mainstream elites and fears about the immediate economic future. The extreme right is coming in from the cold (Roger, 2000:27). But the rise of new generations of leaders, with no direct connection with historic fascism, together with new forms of discourse, makes it more difficult to tag them as beyond the pale.

In Switzerland an issue-based polarization within two distinct policy areas took place. There was considerable antagonism between the government and large sections of the political elite on one side and the right-wing populist parties on the other. The latter use this antagonism

to propagate the belief in a divergence between the political elite and a majority of the voters. By launching popular initiatives and xenophobic campaigns, the right-wing populist parties regularly promote opposition to the authorities' policies and urge a restrictive handling of immigration rates, integration opportunities, and citizenship policy.

The right wing politics offers the electorate a set of cleverly packaged ideas designed to have widespread appeal. It talks in old-fashioned terms about tradition and Frenchness (francité) and also, in more modern terms, parades its ecological credentials and argues that the Fifth Republic should give way to a Sixth. It can act like a neo-fascist movement and can also come across as the epitome of national-populism (Davies, 2002:10). It is, by turn, revolutionary and reactionary, but, more than anything, the party is defensive and protective about the nation, and, as such, is a fine example of 'closed nationalism' in action.

Theorists disagree over the extent to which support for the contemporary far right stems from a fundamental change in party systems and voter alignments in Western Europe. France and Italy have provided models for each other. Certain elements were added to revitalize the Italian far right by following the example of Le Pen's party. Various societal and partisan responses to far right wing politics in Western Europe need to be examined systematically (Veugelers and Chiarini, 2002:34).

The enduring class loyalties, high salience of the economic cleavage dimension, a relatively low salience of the immigration issue and low degree of convergence between the established parties in political space have affected the radical right populism in Sweden (Rydgren, 2002:28). A new radical right-wing party made headlines in Germany and beyond in 1989. The European right-wing parties emerged as a parliamentary group of the radical right in the European parliament.

Populist Ultra-Nationalism

It is an ideological core of populist ultra-nationalism that is derived from an anti-universal, anti-democratic myth of the national community. The field of right-wing collective actors is structured in terms of ideology and organization type (Minkenberg, 2002:21). The extreme right wing voting behavior indicates that cross national differences in support of

extreme right wing parties are particularly due to differences in public opinion on immigration and democracy, the number of non-Western residents in a country and party characteristics of the extreme right wing parties themselves (Lubbers et. al. 2002:18).

The centre-right has demonstrated its commitment to getting tough on immigration, crime and welfare abuse, not least to distract from a somewhat surprising turn toward market liberalism (Bale, 2003:03). The rise and mainstreaming of far right parties has done the same for the other side and reinforced the trend. This change in the political opportunity structure was not simply seized upon but in part engineered by a centre-right willing to rely on former pariahs for legislative majorities.

The Danish People's Party emerged over a period of time as a radical right-wing populist party, by using a model combining political opportunity structures and the diffusion of new master frames. The niches were created on the electoral arena because of dealignment and realignment processes – as well as the politicisation of the immigration issue. The Danish People's Party was able to mine these niches by adopting a master frame combining ethno-pluralist xenophobia and anti-political establishment populism, which had proved itself successful elsewhere in Western Europe. In this process of adaptation, a far right circle of intellectuals, the Danish Association, played a key role as mediator (Rydgren, 2004:29).

The Freedom Party and the Lega Nord have been instrumental in passing more restrictive immigration policy, limiting the flow of immigrants and the ability of non-EU-labour to live, work, and settle permanently in either Austria or Italy. There was an electoral breakthrough of the French Front National in 1984 which started a process of cross-national diffusion, where embryonic extreme right-wing groups and networks elsewhere adopted the new frame.

The innovation and diffusion of the new master frame was a necessary, but not a sufficient, condition for the emergence of extreme right-wing populist parties. It is suggested that dealignment and realignment processes, in which the socioeconomic cleavage dimension loses salience as the sociocultural dimension gains it, and politicization of the immigration issue are of

particular importance (Rydgren, 2005:30). The regional difference in electoral results cannot be explained by differences in voters' social background or by voters' attitudes.

The regional difference in extreme right-wing voting becomes even greater partly due to the existence of a traditionally well-organized nationalist subculture. The radical right in Wallonia is handicapped because of the organizational, electoral and popular strength of socialism in the region (Hilde, 2005:12). The extreme right parties are indeed a force in constraining policy development in many countries (Matin, 2006:19).

Far-right parties play pivotal roles in setting the tone of political debates, shaping the political party system and structuring government policy. Increasingly, as national governments attempt to cope with new realities of greater global migration, strained welfare states, and threats of foreign terror, opportunities have opened for parties of the far right to position themselves strategically.

During the past several years, studies have become more theoretically and methodologically sophisticated and increasingly comparative in scope (Rydgren, 2007:31). The reaction of existing political parties, the tabloid press and civil society to right-wing populism has been different in Germany and Austria. These differences help explain the divergent development of the Austrian Freedom Party (FPÖ) and the German Republicans (REPs). The strategies of mainstream political forces affect the coalition markets, party organizations, political recruitment and perceived legitimacy of right-wing populist parties. Anti-foreigner sentiment is higher where the prevalence of support for the extreme right is strong. Sharp ideological differences between extreme right parties on racial issues, especially across countries, matter (Rima et. al, 2007:26).

The social policy reform retrenchment in universalistic welfare systems has a highly incendiary potential for political conflict and radical parties. Highly polarized patrimonial regimes, on the contrary, are the most fertile breeding ground for the radical right due to the high levels of inequality and dissatisfaction resulting from a rapid dismantling of the welfare state. The ethnic composition of countries plays an important role in the radical right mobilization as well (Lenka

and Herbert, 2009:17). Radical right parties benefit from a situation in which the titular majority faces a small ethno-cultural minority.

The BNP has entered the mainstream of British politics and suggests that the potential support for the extreme right in Britain is more solid than many comparative studies indicate (Peter and Margetts, 2009:25). The extreme right in Britain has a higher level of latent support than would be indicated by its polling performance. The right-wing radicalism occupies social space in both organizations and media in modern times.

Ethnocracy vs Democracy

The right wing forces have created a new ethnocracy in the place of democracy. The right-wing actors reformulate political agendas and strategies for achieving their goal. The center-left forces have gained politically under the changed political environment. The German society has not only become more heterogeneous but also more open and liberal in the present times.

The extreme right wing politics has not flourished in Britain since a great majority of people have supported liberal and democratic parties. There was a very strong anti-fascist campaign against the right wing political parties in Britain due to absence of social determinism. The core of extreme-right support is clearly less numerous – its penumbra of support most numerous. The initiatives against the extreme right by the state have been principally by statute or based upon the criminal law. There have been no proscriptive actions against extreme-right parties or organizations per se, although a substantial number of organizations alleged to support Islamist terror have been banned.

There is less space available for the populist radical right. Although populist radical right parties might not perform well in government, they will face difficulties too if they stay in permanent opposition, because they become perceived as irrelevant in the long run. A consistent strategy of containment combined with democratic alternatives might hence be more effectively to defend a democracy in the longrun.

A strong extreme right has been a permanent feature of French political life since the election of the first local councilor for the Front National (FN) in the city of Dreux in 1983. The extreme right is divided into a myriad of rival groups jostling for the leadership of this party family. The extreme right has almost no influence on social movements in France since it is a kind of counter-society with its own codes and traditions.

In Netherlands, the people were on the left side of the political spectrum since they had faith in a future of equality and freedom from discrimination. The rightist forces were brande as racist or fascist forces. There is growing support for racism and xenophobia in the mainstream of national life. The left wing is not united enough to check the menace of right wing politics and save the people from the violation of human rights and other disadvantages.

The extreme right in Italy exhibits very special characteristics, both ideologically and with respect to its politics. The right wing was no longer disloyal but acknowledged the institutions of democracy. The major political parties have turned towards liberal democratic norms of governance in Italy (Chiarini, 2011:09). The right wing forces have demonstrated increased toughness in deporting illegal immigrants due to political compulsions. They have also maintained distance from neofascism or anti-Semitism in the country dominated by the social democrats.

There is sharp rise in support for right-wing populism among the Swiss population in the age of globalization. The country's right-wing populist parties are very active in using the institutional opportunity structure of direct democracy. The right wing political leaders have cultivated the anti-establishment attitudes and demonstrated radical criticism of government migration policy (Skenderovic, 2011:32). The country's right-wing populist parties are very active in using the institutional opportunity structure of direct democracy.

There is a wide spectrum of non-aligned far-right forces in Spain, ranging from nationalist revolutionary and patriotic organizations to extreme-right-wing skinheads and cultural-political groups. The liberal and democratic political forces have mainly focused on anti-capitalist and environmental issues in the country.

Bulgaria succeeded in developing a model very different from its close westerly neighbours and experienced far greater tensions. The extreme right wing parties are not in the government but the scars would remain on Bulgaria's political system. In Poland, the united forces of the left are fighting fiercely against the Catholic Polish nation which was born of holy baptism. The radical expression of revolutionary nationalism is no anathema for the Polish right which is politically insignificant.

The Hungarian radical right is a movement strongly embedded in specific traditions which has more historical roots. It was a mainstream political and ideological force in the country and actively participated in government. The rising immigration from predominantly Muslim regions has caused threat to the unity of Danish society. This gave voice to growing concerns and anti-immigration attitudes that already existed among segments of the Danish electorate. The view of Islam as a fundamental threat to Western values and culture has become a key issue for the rightist political forces in Denmark. A racist subculture milieu which is a mixture of neo-Nazism, esoteric groups and social movements inspired by American white supremacy ideology and ethnocentric right-wing parties which exploit anti-establishment, anti-immigration and anti-Muslim feelings are found predominantly in the Western and Northern Europe.

The radical right in Norway has not made any difference in the lives of the people in view of an ongoing clash between feminism and multiculturalism (Bjorklund, 2011:07). Comprehensive observation of the radical right is the basis for developing any potentially successful strategy. To achieve the most realistic picture possible, it is highly advisable to consult players from civil society as well as from government institutions.

The democratic parties have to take an arduous but ultimately successful path: they have to go on the offensive and argue openly with the radical right and its ideologies. It is necessary to conduct debate consciously and, at the same time, not to accept the participation of the radical right in political decision-making.

The radical right parties do not run a higher risk of losing votes after government participation than other parties.   Some radical right parties experienced great losses, while others won

additional support due to their policy achievements with regard to immigration and integration policies. The policy records do not fully explain the variation in post-incumbency electoral results (Akkerman and De Lange, 2012:01). The impact of the extreme Right on the electoral behaviour of mainstream right parties has been overstated in previous studies (Alonso and da Fonseca, 2012:02).

The differing strategy of the mainstream left in the two contexts has allowed the Front National to anchor itself in the French party system, whereas similar parties have not achieved a breakthrough in Germany. The extreme right-wing populist parties have emerged in some West European countries, but not in others. The diverging behavior of the established parties, rather than the strength of the traditional state-market cleavage, explains the differences between these two countries. Even in countries such as Mexico, where leftist parties have not captured political office, they have gained in strength and forced conservatives to pay greater attention to social issues (Stewart, 2012:33).

Contemporary Right Wing Politics

The radical right-wing populist parties are consistently preferred by exclusive-nationalist individuals, though not necessarily to all other parties, but only inconsistently preferred by authoritarian individuals. The radical right-wing populist parties cannot always rely on authoritarian individuals for support (Dunn, 2013:11). In Latin America, conservative governments have virtually disappeared from the region after the cold war. The leftward shift has been under way since the start of the millennium. Latin America's right who identified themselves with pro-business forces has inclined towards leftist ideology and approaches. The region has undergone a massive realignment which has resulted in declining US influence (Miroff, 2014:22).

The leftists have gained an upper hand in the political sector. The economic globalization has impacted the political economy in Latin America. The people have strongly supported liberal and democratic political system for better democracy, governance and development. Religious agendas challenge African political regimes, urging innovative models of a secular, or perhaps 'post-secular', state that may allow the performance of religious identities in visual and material

form and their controlled inclusion in consultative public or political discourse. The increasing popularity of European populist radical right parties (PRRs) has often been argued as either a corrective or threat to democracy. The extreme right party did not increase its electoral support when it made itself more prominently heard in the mass media (Jasper, 2015:13).

In Africa, civil society claims and agitations, if consistent and sustained, may begin to reshape not only the character of politics but also the nature and essence of the state. The possibility of accountability from below is increasing by the day as citizens' demand for rights and opportunities.The nature of politics is changing in Africa since there is better observance of the rule of law.

The Australian Liberty Alliance (ALA) has attracted much attention due to its anti- Islam stance and its call for a stop to Islamisation of Australia, including limits on Muslim immigration and a ban on full face coverings. There has been right-wing resurgence in Australia but the party itself is unlikely to have much success politically (Pearlman, 2015:24). There certainly seems to be a resurgence of the right wing but the right wing forces are yet to gain the mainstream support in Australia.

South Africa works completely differently to the USA in political sector (Barker, 2016:04). The right-wing politicians are advocates of availability of non-primary but vital goods and services. The Freedom Party of Austria is very closely interwined with the identitarian movement, a conservative and nationalsit youth movement in Europe.

The events of 2014 have tempered enthusiasm for Russia among some on the U.S. Right, but for many of those dedicated to the pursuit of an anti-human rights. The right radical parties have not driven anti-immigration attitudes in Europe (Bohman and Mikael, 2016:08). Right-wing populism across Europe and the United States takes different forms depending on nationally specific factors such as political history, system and culture, but there are similarities.

Studies of party effects remain limited in number and scope, focusing mainly on immigration policies. A paradigmatic shift, in which populist radical right parties are no longer seen as new

outsider-challenger parties is the need of the hour. There is a movement toward the extremes of the political spectrum of the electorate, which puts in crisis the traditional parties both of the center right and of social democracy.

The crisis in Latin America and the 'progressive' governments is part of the crisis of the world capitalist system. The Australian politicians, business leaders and community leaders needed to speak out against 'Hansonism' to protect the country's reputation. This is not just a narrow-minded and impoverished vision for the future. It is also based on a myth about Australia's past.

The Sweden Democrats have contained the emergence of rightist political parties. In France, the rightist political parties have not achieved significant progress. The older voters tend to be more influential in shaping electoral outcomes while the younger voters prefer change in the political system and development agenda in Europe (Nardelli, 2016:23).

The radical right in Eastern Europe is a phenomenon *sui generis*, both organizationally more fluid and ideologically more extreme than the Western counterpart (Minkenberg, 2017:20). Large parts of the western working class now seem to gather around right populists, demagogues and racists. It would have been more important and more helpful if the left had taken a somewhat more self-critical look at their own role and policies.

There is no doubt that Norway is still at the upper deck of the global welfare ship, but much indicates that it is the upper deck of Titanic. The main challenge of the left today is to organize resistance against this development (Wahl, 2017:35). The right wing group will fan out across the country in full force on the eve of 70th anniversary of its pacifist Constitution in Japan. Meanwhile, liberal and conservative critics in Japan were united in their belief that such developments were troubling.

New right-wing nationalism with the potential to reshape the region's politics has emerged in Asia. This is evident over the last couple of years in the election of Shinzo Abe in Japan, Geun-Hye Park in South Korea, Tony Abbott in Australia and Narendra Modi in India. Donald Trump's election victory in the U.S. has shaken the reigning political orthodoxy in both the

Democratic and Republican parties. A sudden shift in policy by the world's largest economy leads to worrying implications for the global economic outlook. Large parts of the western working class now seem to gather around right populists, demagogues and racists. It would have been more important and more helpful if the left had taken a somewhat more self-critical look at their own role and policies.

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Conclusion

The socially and economically backward sections of society are angered, frustrated and alarmed by globalisation, immigration and other perceived vexations under the banner of right wing politics. Most people in Europe, America and other parts of the world are afraid of the consequences of economic globalization and political fundamentalization. Globally, right wing politics is clearly rising in the West but there is decline in Latin America, Asia, Africa and other continents. The new world order is defined by the right-wing politics which has brought about the marginalization of weaker sections across the globe. The disadvantaged sections of society have become the victims of right wing politics regardless of space and time.

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