

ROUTLEDGE STUDIES IN
FASCISM AND THE FAR RIGHT



The Evolving Radical Right in the Early Twenty-First Century

Liberty Under Siege

Edited by Ken Fuchsman and Brigitte Demeure



THE EVOLVING RADICAL RIGHT IN THE EARLY TWENTY-FIRST CENTURY

This book investigates the dynamics of expansion and normalization of the radical right in the early twenty-first century.

The radical right's popularity with voters dramatically increased, it even enabled twice the election of Trump as a chief executive in the United States. The main focus of this volume is on the forces in a variety of nations where this occurred, and why this phenomenon happened at this point in history. This book illustrates both the diversity and commonality of the radical right. It is multidisciplinary and international. It examines the topic of the radical right resurgence from the perspectives of history, economics, political sciences, law, sociology, and applied psychoanalysis. It is comparative in that the radical right is discussed from the national perspective of the United States, France, Italy, Germany, the United Kingdom, Turkey, Iran, and Russia. It relies on empirical and theoretical outlooks to make sense of a complex subject matter.

This book will be of interest to students and researchers of the radical right, populism, and extremism.

Ken Fuchsman is Emeritus Faculty at the University of Connecticut, where he taught history and later interdisciplinary studies. He was also Executive Program Director of the Bachelor of General Studies program. His previous publications include *Psychoanalytic and Historical Perspectives on the Leadership of Donald Trump* (Routledge, 2020), *Healing, Rebirth and the Work of Michael Eigen* (Routledge, 2021), and *Sigmund Freud's Inner Divisions* (Routledge, 2026).

Brigitte Demeure holds a master's degree in intercultural negotiation and a doctorate in history. She has worked for many years in international trade, but also for various international solidarity NGOs defending workers' rights. She has authored the book *La figure maternelle dans la vie politique française: 1789–1914* (Editions universitaires d'Avignon, 2023) and presented on the Radio France Culture program, *Concordance des temps*. She has received two ACOPSA (*American College of Psychoanalysts*) awards in 2014: a Clinical Research Award and a Distinguished Citizen Award.

Routledge Studies in Fascism and the Far Right

Series editors: Nigel Copsey

Teesside University, UK

Graham Macklin

Center for Research on Extremism (C-REX), University of Oslo, Norway

This book series focuses upon national, transnational and global manifestations of fascist, far right and right-wing politics primarily within a historical context but also drawing on insights and approaches from other disciplinary perspectives. Its scope also includes anti-fascism, radical-right populism, extreme-right violence and terrorism, cultural manifestations of the far right, and points of convergence and exchange with the mainstream and traditional right.

Fascist in the Family

The Tragedy of John Beckett MP

Francis Beckett

Farming, Fascism and Ecology

A Life of Jorian Jenks

Philip M. Coupland

Searching for Lord Haw-Haw

The Political Lives of William Joyce

Colin Holmes

France and Fascism

February 1934 and the Dynamics of Political Crisis

Brian Jenkins and Chris Millington

The Evolving Radical Right in the Early Twenty-First Century

Liberty Under Siege

Edited by Ken Fuchsman and Brigitte Demeure

For more information about this series, please visit: www.routledge.com/Routledge-Studies-in-Fascism-and-the-Far-Right/book-series/FFR

THE EVOLVING RADICAL RIGHT IN THE EARLY TWENTY-FIRST CENTURY

Liberty Under Siege

Edited by Ken Fuchsman and Brigitte Demeure

Designed cover image: © Getty Images

First published 2026

by Routledge

4 Park Square, Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxon OX14 4RN

and by Routledge

605 Third Avenue, New York, NY 10158

Routledge is an imprint of the Taylor & Francis Group, an informa business

© 2026 selection and editorial matter, Ken Fuchsman and Brigitte Demeure;
individual chapters, the contributors

The right of Ken Fuchsman and Brigitte Demeure to be identified as the authors of the editorial material, and of the authors for their individual chapters, has been asserted in accordance with sections 77 and 78 of the Copyright, Designs and Patents Act 1988.

All rights reserved. No part of this book may be reprinted or reproduced or utilised in any form or by any electronic, mechanical, or other means, now known or hereafter invented, including photocopying and recording, or in any information storage or retrieval system, without permission in writing from the publishers.

For Product Safety Concerns and Information please contact our EU representative GPSR@taylorandfrancis.com. Taylor & Francis Verlag GmbH, Kaufingerstraße 24, 80331 München, Germany.

Trademark notice: Product or corporate names may be trademarks or registered trademarks, and are used only for identification and explanation without intent to infringe.

British Library Cataloguing-in-Publication Data

A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library

ISBN: 978-1-032-93238-5 (hbk)

ISBN: 978-1-032-93237-8 (pbk)

ISBN: 978-1-003-56500-0 (ebk)

DOI:10.4324/9781003565000

Typeset in Times New Roman

by Apex CoVantage, LLC

This book is dedicated to
– *Roger Griffin*
– *Cas Mudde*
– *Lauren Powell*



Taylor & Francis

Taylor & Francis Group

<http://taylorandfrancis.com>

CONTENTS

<i>List of Figures</i>	<i>x</i>
<i>List of Tables</i>	<i>xi</i>
<i>List of Contributors</i>	<i>xii</i>
Introduction <i>Ken Fuchsman and Brigitte Demeure</i>	1
PART I	
Overview of the Radical Right	11
1 The Radical Right and Populism in Europe and the U.S. <i>Cas Mudde Interview with Ken Fuchsman</i>	13
2 The Emergence of the Populist Radical Right in a “Post-Fascist” Era <i>Ken Fuchsman Interview with Roger Griffin</i>	24
3 Resentment and Fear of Loss in the Radical Right <i>Lawrence Rosenthal Interview with Ken Fuchsman</i>	37
PART II	
The U.S. Radical Right	47
4 How Trump and the Radical Right Threaten(ed) the U.S. Democracy <i>Brigitte L. Nacos and Yaeli Bloch-Elkon</i>	49

viii Contents

- 5 Donald Trump and the Eroding of the U.S. Constitution 63
Julie Novkov Interview with Ken Fuchsman
- 6 Donald Trump and the Evolving Radical Right 81
Ken Fuchsman
- 7 Hate Among U.S. Extremist White Supremacists:
Female and Male 92
Kathleen Blee Interview with Ken Fuchsman

PART III

International Connections 105

- 8 Transnational History of White Nationalism:
Radical Ideologies and Terrorist Practices 107
Nicolas Lebourg
- 9 From the Nouvelle Droite to the Alt-Right, via the
German “Conservative Revolution” and Nazism 119
Stéphane François
- 10 “Declaration of the Rights of Nations and Peoples”
by the French Far Right 130
Brigitte Demeure
- 11 *Reconquête!* and *Rassemblement National*: Two Far-Right
Parties at the Ballot Box 142
Marion Jacquet-Vaillant

PART IV

The Radical Right: Socio-psychological Perspectives 159

- 12 Preventing People From Thinking: A New Form of
Political Censorship? 161
Roland Gori Interview with Brigitte Demeure
- 13 “Who Are We Now” Question and Extreme
Right-Wing Politics 171
Vamik Volkan

14	How the Radical Right Has Used the Coronavirus Crisis to Fuel Conspiracy Theories: Psychoanalytical and Socio-psychological Considerations <i>Hans-Jürgen Wirth</i>	180
15	Pushing One's Own Advantage to the Detriment of Others: Social Darwinism as a Core Delusion of Right-Wing Politics <i>Josef Berghold</i>	191
PART V		
	The Far Right and Distorted National Memories	203
16	Identity by Refusing Mourning and Guilt?: Traumatic Reasons and Abysses for Right-Wing Identity Politics <i>Bernd Nielsen</i>	205
17	Against Fascism but Not Antifascists: The Political Strategy of Fratelli d'Italia <i>Giulia Chielli</i>	217
18	Anti-democracy in Turkey, Iran, and Russia <i>Hamit Bozarslan Interview with Brigitte Demeure</i>	228
	<i>Index</i>	237

FIGURES

4.1	Support for authoritarianism	56
4.2	Donald Trump a threat to democracy in 2024?	57
4.3	Public support for political violence	58
4.4	Steep rise of threats against Members of Congress	59
11.1	Position of the Presidential Candidates in the French Political Landscape in 2017 (Left) and 2022 (Right)	144
11.2	Pearson's r correlation coefficients ($P < 0.01$) linking the votes of right-wing and far-right candidates in the first rounds of presidential elections since 2002	148
11.3	Map of the Zemmour vote in the 2022 presidential election	149

TABLES

11.1	Political careers of Reconquête's executives	146
11.2	Sociology of the electorates of Emmanuel Macron, Valérie Pécresse, Marine Le Pen, and Éric Zemmour	151
11.3	Vote transfers between the first round of the 2017 and 2022 presidential elections	152
11.4	Political positioning of the electorates of Emmanuel Macron, Valérie Pécresse, Marine Le Pen, and Eric Zemmour	153
11.5	Voter issues and preferences	154

CONTRIBUTORS

Josef Berghold has taught at the universities of Vienna, Klagenfurt, Ferrara, Innsbruck, Bolzano, and Lüneburg (among others). Core areas of research: global society, racism and ethnic prejudice, solidarity and social Darwinism, ecological sustainability, the unconscious in public life, and overcoming obstacles to taking the climate catastrophe seriously. Publications include *The Region of Trentino-South Tyrol in the 20th Century: Expressions and Forms of Cultural Identities* (2024); *Climate Crisis and Health* (2022); and *Medical Care Between Progress and Pressure of Time* (2020, all as author and coeditor); *Enemy Images and Reconciliation*, 3rd ed. (2007), and *Distant Neighbors* (2003 as sole author).

Kathleen Ble is Distinguished Professor of Sociology at the University of Pittsburgh. She has studied U.S. extremist white supremacist and antisemitic groups for over 40 years and has published nine books, including *Out of Hiding: Extremist White Supremacism and How It Can be Stopped* (2024, coauthored with Robert Futrell and Pete Simi), and over a hundred journal articles and book chapters. She has lectured extensively in the U.S. and Europe and worked with multiple communities, public officials, media outlets, and educational and professional groups on the proliferation of organized hate.

Yaeli Bloch-Elkon is Associate Professor of Communications and Political Science, Head of the International Communication program, and a senior research fellow at the Begin-Sadat Center for Strategic Studies (BESA) at Bar-Ilan University, as well as an associate research scholar at Columbia University's Institute for Social and Economic Research and Policy (ISERP). She has published articles in numerous journals on the topics of media, public opinion, foreign policy, terrorism and counterterrorism, and partisan polarization. She is the coauthor of *Hate Speech*

and *Political Violence* (2024) and *Selling Fear: Counterterrorism, The Media and Public Opinion* (2011).

Hamit Bozarslan, Ph.D. in history (EHESS) and in political sciences (IEP-Paris), teaches at the EHESS. He is the author of *Walpurgis, Right-Wing Revolution, 19th–20th Centuries* (2026); *Ukraine, the Double Blindness* (2023); *Anti-Democracy in the 21st Century: Iran, Russia, Turkey* (2021); and *The Time of Monsters: The Arab World, 2011–2021* (2021). His research interests include the Kurdish issue, the historical and political sociology of the Middle East, and anti-democratic regimes in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries.

Giulia Chielli is a Ph.D. candidate in contemporary history at the University of Toulouse Jean Jaurès and the Universidad de Granada. She obtained scholarships at the Casa de Velazquez and the École Française de Rome, and she was a visiting scholar at George Washington University. Her research focuses on neo-fascism and the far right in Europe from a transnational perspective. She has published several articles and book chapters on these topics and coedited *Did You Say Fascist? Forms and Traces of Fascism Today* (2026).

Brigitte Demeure holds a master's degree in intercultural negotiation and a doctorate in history. She has worked for many years in international trade, but also for various international solidarity NGOs defending workers' rights. She authored the book *The Mother Figure in French Politics, 1789–1914* (2023) and presented on the Radio France Culture program, *Concordance des temps*. She has received two ACOPSA (*American College of Psychoanalysts*) awards in 2014: a Clinical Research Award and a Distinguished Citizen Award.

Stéphane François is Professor of Political Science (University of Mons in Belgium) and associate member of the *Groupe Sociétés, Religions, Laïcités* (École Pratique des Hautes Études and CNRS). He is the founder of the journal *Terra Incognita*, dedicated to countercultures. His latest publications include *The New Right and Nazism: A Never-Ending Story. German Conservative Revolution, National Socialism, and the Alt-Right* (2024); *An Extreme Right-Wing Vanguard: Counterculture, Radical Conservatism, and Modernist Temptations* (2022); and *Geopolitics of the Far Rights* (2022, pocket edition, revised and expanded, June 2025).

Ken Fuchsman is Emeritus Faculty from the University of Connecticut where he taught history and later interdisciplinary studies. He was also executive program director of the Bachelor of General Studies program. His previous publications include *Psychoanalytic and Historical Perspectives on the Leadership of Donald Trump* (Routledge, 2020), *Healing, Rebirth and the Work of Michael Eigen* (Routledge, 2021), and *Sigmund Freud's Inner Divisions* (Routledge, 2026).

Roland Gori is Honorary Professor of Clinical Psychopathology at the University of Aix-Marseille, psychoanalyst, and member of *Espace analytique*. Roland was initiator with S. Chedri of the association *Appel des appels* (*Call of Calls*), and its president until 2025. His recently published books include *De-civilization: The New Logic of Control* (2025), *The Making of Our Servitudes* (2022), *What if the Collapse Had Already Happened? The Strange Defeat of Our Beliefs* (2020), *Homo drogus* (with H. Fresnel, 2019), *The Nudity of Power; Understanding the Macron Moment* (2018), *A World Without Spirit* (2017), *The Ungovernable Individual* (2015), *Must We Give Up Freedom to Be Happy?* (2014), *The Factory of Imposters* (2013), *The Dignity of Thinking* (2011), *The Madness of Evaluation, The New Factories of Servitude* (collective work Ed. by A. Abelhauser, R.Gori, M.-J. Sauret, 2011), *What is psychoanalysis the name of? Democracy and Subjectivity* (2010), *The Call of Calls – For an Insurrection of Consciences* (collective work ed. by R. Gori, B. Cassin and C. Laval (2009), and *Exiles from Intimacy Medicine and Psychiatry in the Service of the New Economic Order* (with MJ Del Volgo, 2008, reprint 2020).

Roger Griffin, Emeritus Professor at Oxford Brookes University, is best known for *The Nature of Fascism* (1991), *Modernism and Fascism* (2007); *Terrorist Creed: Fanatical Violence and the Human Need for Meaning* (2012); and *Fascism: An Introduction to Comparative Fascist Studies* (2018), and for co-founding the journal *Fascism* and COMFAS, the *Association for the Comparative Fascism Studies*. His works highlight the need for cross-disciplinary, collaborative and comparative research to make sense of extremism and episodes of collective inhumanity, and the dominant role played in them by cultural, psychological, and mythic forces. His main research interests are fascism, populism, terrorism, and more generally the way the stresses of modern society generates minority movements of extremism and fanaticism under the disorienting impact of secularization and pluralism, as well as large-scale movements of populist nationalism, which have the effect of de-liberalizing democracy.

Marion Jacquet-Vaillant is Associate Professor of Political Science at Paris-Panthéon-Assas University and a researcher at the *Centre d'études constitutionnelles et politiques*. Her doctoral work focused on the identitarian movement in France. On this topic, she has published, among others, "Building a Transnational Identitarian Movement? Limits to the Diffusion of Génération Identitaire in Europe," in P. Zúquete (ed.), *Global Identitarianism*, Routledge (2023) and *The Identitarians: An Investigation at the Margins of Politics* (2026). Her current research focuses on the French far right, analyzing both party politics and electoral behavior, and movement dynamics, radicalization, and political violence (offline and online). On *Reconquête!*, she has notably published "The Far Right Tested by Unity (2022) and "Éric Zemmour's Candidacy," *Revue française de science politique* (2024).

Nicolas Lebourg is a French researcher at CEPEL (National Center for Scientific Research-Montpellier University). He is a member of the *Project on the Transnational History of the Far Right Institute for European, Russian and Eurasian Studies* (George Washington University). He is a specialist in the European far right, particularly in its violent forms. His publications include Jean-Yves Camus and Nicolas Lebourg, *Far-Right Politics in Europe* (2017) – translation of *Les Droites extrêmes en Europe*, 2015); others translations: Tokyo, 2023; Buenos Aires, 2020; Madrid, 2020; Séoul, 2017; N. Lebourg as sole author, *Have the Nazis Survived? An Investigation into Fascist Internationals and the Crusaders of the White Race* (2019); Nicolas Lebourg and Marlène Laruelle, «*The New Horizons of French Extreme Right: Fragmented but Dynamic and Better Socially Embedded*,» in Katherine Kondor, Mark Littler ed, *The Routledge Handbook of Far-Right Extremism in Europe*, London, Routledge, 2023, pp. 217–229; Nicolas Lebourg, «*Extreme-Right Terrorist Radicalization in France since November 13, 2015*,» in *Illiberalism Studies Program Working Papers*, n°3, January 2021.

Cas Mudde is the Stanley Wade Shelton UGAF Professor of International Affairs and distinguished research professor at the University of Georgia. He is likely the most influential and cited scholar on the contemporary far right. His books include *The Far Right Today*, *The Far Right in America*, the Co-authored *Populism*, *The Ideology of the Extreme Right*, *Populist Radical Right Parties in Europe*, *On Extremism and Democracy in Europe*, and more. Dr. Mudde also writes on current events for *The Guardian*.

Brigitte L. Nacos is a journalist and political scientist with a Ph.D. from Columbia University (1988), where she taught for more than 30 years in the Department of Political Science. She has published a number of books, chapters in edited volumes, and many articles. Her primary teaching and research interests are the linkages between mass media, public opinion, and decision-making; the role of communication in the spread of conspiracy theories; and terrorism and counterterrorism. Among her more recent books are *Terrorism and Counterterrorism, Seventh Edition* (Routledge, 2023) and *Mass-Mediated Terrorism, Third Edition* (2016). She is the coauthor of *Hate Speech and Political Violence* (2024) and *Selling Fear: Counterterrorism, the Media, and Public Opinion* (2011).

Bernd Nielsen is a retired Protestant theologian and pastor and a psycho-historian. He studied with a focus on practical theology under the psychoanalyst, pastoral psychologist, and student of Erik H. Erikson, Joachim Scharfenberg. His work includes numerous publications, also as a co-editor, and lectures in the context of 40 years of psycho-historical work, in particular on topics in the fields of political, social, religious, and cultural studies. From 2008 to 2014, he headed *The Society for Psychohistory and Political Psychology* (GPPP) and organized several of its conferences.

Julie Novkov is the dean of the Rockefeller College of Public Affairs & Policy, a Collins Fellow, and Professor of Political Science and Women's, Gender, and Sexuality Studies at the University at Albany, SUNY. Dean Novkov coauthored most recently with Carol Nackenoff *American by Birth: Wong Kim Ark and the Battle for Citizenship*. Her *Racial Union* was the co-recipient of the American Political Science Association's 2009 Ralph Bunche Award for the best scholarly work in political science, which explores the phenomenon of ethnic and cultural pluralism. Her first book, *Constituting Workers, Protecting Women*, addressed gender and constitutional development, rereading through the lens of gender the history of the courts' unwillingness to accept protective legislation for workers in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

Lawrence Rosenthal is founder and chair of the Berkeley Center for Right-Wing Studies, and is currently editor-in-chief of the *Journal of Right-Wing Studies*. He has taught at UC Berkeley in the Sociology and Italian Studies Departments and was a Fulbright Professor at the University of Naples in Italy. His work has appeared in the *San Francisco Chronicle*, *The Nation*, *Foreign Policy*, *The New York Times*, and many other venues. He is the author of *Empire of Resentment: Populism's Toxic Embrace of Nationalism* (2020). Also, he is the coeditor of *The New Nationalism and the First World War* (2014) and *Steep: The Precipitous Rise of the Tea Party* (2012).

Vamık Volkan is Emeritus Professor of Psychiatry at the University of Virginia and Emeritus Senior Erik Erikson Scholar at the Erikson Institute of the Austen Riggs Center. He is the founder and Emeritus President of the International Dialogue Initiative and a former president of the Turkish-American Neuropsychiatric Society, the International Society of Political Psychology, the Virginia Psychoanalytic Society, and the American College of Psychoanalysts.

Hans-Jürgen Wirth is a psychoanalyst and family therapist, practicing in his own private practice. He is the member of the *German Psychoanalytical Association* (DPV) and the *International Psychoanalytical Association* (IPA). He is professor in the field of "Psychoanalytical Social Psychology" at the Department of Social Sciences at the University of Frankfurt/Main. University lecturer of psychoanalysis depth-psychologically founded psychodynamic psychotherapy and psychoanalytically oriented family and social therapy at the "Institute for Psychoanalysis and Psychotherapy Giessen." Founder, publisher, and owner of the publishing company *Psychosozial-Verlag*, he is the editor of the German book series *Bibliothek der Psychoanalyse*, which presents about 400 hundred books by the most important psychoanalytical scholars; editor-in-chief of the journal *Psychosozial*; and author of numerous articles and various books on the applications of psychoanalysis including *9/11 as a Collective Trauma and Other Essays on Psychoanalysis and Society* (2004) and *Narcissism and Power. Psychoanalysis of Mental Disorders in Politics* (2009).

INTRODUCTION

Ken Fuchsman and Brigitte Demeure

The Economist reported in February 2025 that hard-right parties are now Europe's most popular (*The Economist*, 2/28/2025, <https://www.economist.com/graphic-detail/2025/02/28/hard-right-parties-are-now-europes-most-popular>). By 2024, seven European Union nations have radical right officeholders within the government administration (Ruth Green, *International Bar Association*, 9/30/2024). In 2022, Italy, Europe's second-largest industrial power behind Germany, brought to power rightist Giorgia Meloni as prime minister in a coalition government. Notwithstanding Europe's ascendancy, the most notable successes of this recent movement occurred across the Atlantic, in countries with long-standing electoral traditions. U.S. American Donald J. Trump was elected president in 2016 and again in 2024. Within nations possessing long-established democratic systems, he is the first radical right chief executive to attain office without coalition support. This suggests the emergence of two distinct phenomena in countries with free elections in which the radical right plays a significant role. The radical right is an evolving phenomenon.

The reemergence of the populist radical right beginning in the 1980s constituted an astounding political phenomenon, unfolding in a world still within living memory of Mussolini, Hitler, Stalin, and Mao. This volume contributes to the scholarship by addressing areas of radical-right research that have been insufficiently explored and by engaging with more recent developments in the right's contemporary history. It highlights the disruption that a freely elected right-wing government in the United States can generate in both domestic and international arenas.

Definitions

Several issues emerge. First, how should the terms *far right* and *populist radical right* be understood? Clarifying the defining characteristics of both populism and

2 The Evolving Radical Right in the Early Twenty-First Century

the extreme right can help shed light on the tensions among the various components of the far right. The far right, to many, is an overarching or umbrella term. Cas Mudde, associate professor at the University of Georgia, says the “*far right* . . . encompasses both the extreme right and the radical right” (Mudde, 2018, p. 1). Norwegian sociologist Lars Berntzen concurs: the far right is a “conceptual container” containing both the populist nativist radical right and the anti-democratic extreme right (Berntzen, 2020, p. 310). Another important contribution comes from British historian Nigel Copsey. In 2024, he divided

the far right into two primary subgroups. The first, the softer one, is radical right populism. Radical-right populists abstain from declarations of white racial supremacy, are Islamophobic, anti-elitist . . . The second sub-group of the far right . . . sits at the very end of the right-wing spectrum. This is what we should understand by ‘extreme right’ . . . The nationalism of the extreme right is . . . violently anti-democratic, and often, anti-Semitic.

(Copsey, 2024, <https://www.historyworkshop.org.uk/anti-fascism/we-are-not-far-right-just-right/>)

We now turn to the populist radical right.

Cas Mudde found that the populist radical right contains at least “three features: nativism, authoritarianism, and populism.” Nativism combines nationalism and xenophobia. It advocates for groups perceived as natives and is hostile to so-called alien elements. Populism, to Mudde, separates the political world into two groups, “the pure people and the corrupt elite” (Mudde, 2018, p. 2). Mudde’s views on the far right are likely the most cited of all academic publications on the subject.

If populism is defined as the people versus the elite, who are considered members of the people? According to Kyle and Gultchin (2018), “Populists are united by two fundamental claims, the ‘true people’ are locked into conflict with outsiders” In addition, in recent debates, right-wing populism “is often equated with nativism” (Kyle and Gultchin, 2018).

Nativism indicates that large segments of the population are not true people for populists. This notion of the people is a restrictive one. Moreover, contemporary populist radical right movements rely on “the true people” to legitimize discriminatory measures against perceived immigrant invaders thanks to the free electoral system.

In 2019, Columbia University political theorist Nadia Urbinati described populism as “an authoritarian rendering of how democracy should be implemented” (Urbinati 2019, p. 120). Authoritarianism is defined by political scientist James Loxton as “a broad umbrella term for non-democratic systems of government, including, military, single-party, and personalist regimes. It focuses of “obedience to authority” rather than “personal liberty” (Loxton, 2024, p. 1). In authoritarian societies those who infringe on the rulers are severely punished (Mudde and Kaltwasser, 2017, p. 4). Erica Frantz, another political scientist, sees authoritarian incumbents

as “slowly undermining institutional constraints on their rule, weaken those who oppose them, and sideline and splinter civil society” (Frantz, 2018, p. 94).

But this is not all. According to Australian political scientist Benjamin Moffitt, a central feature of populism is that it “resolves around an individual person. Specifically, populism rests on personalities leadership” (Moffitt, 2020, p. 18).

Adherence to a charismatic leader thus serves as the bridge between the populist and authoritarian elements of the populist radical right. In other words, populism is reinforced by the presence of a prominent political leader. This politician may likely have an authoritarian strand. Having authoritarian tendencies has certainly been said to apply to Trump 2025.

The tensions among the various elements of the contemporary populist radical right may not fully materialize when these movements remain out of power. Radical right populists may have supported a candidate who, once elected, displays greater authoritarianism in office than during the campaign. This shift can alienate supporters who fear that, rather than prioritizing “the people,” the ruler has become part of the elite, thereby betraying the populist cause.

Through much of 2025 that seems to be President Trump’s pattern. The U.S. president has been accused of not paying sufficient attention to the economic issues that helped him get elected in 2024. As 2025 ends, his approval numbers in the Gallup poll fell to the very low 36% (<https://news.gallup.com/poll/699221/trump-approval-rating-drops-new-second-term-low.aspx>)

We now turn to the extreme right.

The extreme right and the populist radical right share core features such as nativism and authoritarianism; however, they differ in that populist radical right actors retain a commitment to key elements of democracy, whereas the extreme right is driven by a fundamentally anti-democratic outlook.

Defining the extreme right requires acknowledging its historical manifestations, including fascism, neo-fascism, totalitarianism Nazism, neo-Nazism, and in the United States, the Ku Klux Klan (KKK).

Some of the worst things known to humanity have been enacted just within the last hundred year by totalitarians of the right and left. Distinguishing the meaning of these various movements is important in and of itself and for the ways it may be applicable to the contemporary far right as a whole.

First, fascism. Noted historian Roger Griffin writes, “Fascism is a genus of political ideology” with a “mythic core . . . of populist ultranationalism.” This core myth is utopian in imagining an “ideal state of society and civilization.” Fascists consider the present state as one of “disintegration and decadence.” Fascists “embrace an ideology” that can lead to “renewal” and “rebirth” that inaugurates “a new, revolutionary national or civilizational order” (Griffin, 2018, p. 46).

Then, totalitarianism. Simon Tormey, in accord with Griffin, writes that “what distinguishes totalitarian rule from other forms of dictatorship is the commitment of a ruling elite to fashioning an entirely new form of society” (Tormey, 1995, p. 168). According to historian François Furet, in totalitarian societies, people are

“systematically deprived of their political ties and subject to the ‘total’ power of the ideological power and its leader” (Furet, 1999, as cited in Linz, 2000, p. 4).

To political scientist Juan Linz, totalitarianism has three characteristics: (1) a monolithic power that eliminates political diversity; (2) an elaborate ideology; (3) citizens participate in carrying out the leader and party’s directives (Linz, 2000, p. 70). Authoritarians wish to concentrate power in their own hands and enforce obedience to their rule, while totalitarians want to create a revolutionary new human reality. Italian fascism under Mussolini and Hitler’s Third Reich would then be considered rightist totalitarian regimes.

In the early 2000s, the extreme right has a smaller following than the populist radical right. It takes various forms.

“Neo-Nazism” is a term applied to post-Hitler groups adhering to the German Nazi ideals. They are spread out in a number of countries. In the United States, soon after the 2016 elections, Neo-Nazi Richard Spencer gave a speech at a gathering which was described as “dripping with anti-Semitism.” Then some members of this group broke out in a Nazi salute as Spencer declared “Hail Trump, hail our people, hail victory” (Lombardo and Applebaum, 2016). Neo-Nazi leader Andrew Anglin wrote to the *Huffington Post*, “We support Trump because he is the savior of the white race, sent by God to free us from the shackles of the Jew occupation” (Neiwert, 2017, pp. 268, 292). At the time, these neo-Nazi extreme right men pledged their allegiance to Trump as they thought the President shared their allegiances to anti-Semitism and Hitler.

Next, we turn to the complex phenomenon of neo-fascism.

Neo-Fascism to Bennington College political scientist John Hultgren “usually includes ultranationalist, populism . . . nativism, . . . anti-communism . . . and opposition to the parliamentary system and liberal democracy” (Hultgren, 2017). To historian Roger Griffin, neo-Fascists adhere to the revolutionary aims of earlier fascists for national rebirth (Griffin, 1991, p. 167). French scholars Jean-Yves Camus and Nicolas Lebourg in 2017 affirmed that neo-fascists continue to believe in the pre-war worldview of adherence to “a communitarian palingenesis and . . . a conservative revolution against the modern world” (Camus and Lebourg, 2017, p. 39).

The KKK is an American phenomenon formed in the South after the civil war. It was focused on suppressing African-Americans, including lynching and dismembering them.

Anti-semitism and nativism have also long been part of the KKK arsenal. There are many different Klan groups, but their total membership is small (SPLC, 2025).

We now turn to a comparison of the populist radical right and the extreme right within the contemporary far right.

Are there primarily irreconcilable differences or much overlap between the populist radical right and the various versions of the extreme radical right? Nazis and neo-Nazis are characterized by totalitarian ideology, entrenched antisemitism, and a readiness to employ lethal violence. There is not much similarity here with the populist radical right, which can be authoritarian but is not usually totalitarian. The

KKK is anti-African American, anti-Semitic, nativist, and with a history of lynching. It has a tradition beyond resentment to hatred.

In the United States, Trump has consistently demonstrated bias toward African Americans, coupled with pronounced nativist tendencies. He has flirted with anti-Semitism, encouraged violence at his rallies, and habitually vented his fury at opponents. The Neo-Nazis inaccurately believed that Trump was completely in their corner. The European populist radical right is nativist, but does not exhibit all the same extremes as Trump does. It is contemporary Neo-Fascism that presents the most complex comparison with the populist radical right. Historian Nigel Copsey's research finds that "there is a close relationship between radical right-wing populism and neofascism" (Copsey, 2018, p. 116). "For one, they both share a distaste for liberalism, mass immigration, and being multicultural. They are both nationalist, racist." To Copsey, neofascist theorists have assisted the populist radical right grow "in sophistication . . . (neo)fascists shade into radical right populism," though "they are not identical." Overall, there is a "thorny relationship between fascism and radical-right populism" (Copsey, 2018, pp. 117–119).

Scholarship

There is, unsurprisingly, a growing body of scholarship on the radical right as reflected in the increasing number of handbooks and essay collections examining these political developments. Many of these works aim to provide a comprehensive overview of the field, covering both the broad spectrum of radical right politics and more specific subtopics. As noted earlier, the radical right manifests differently depending on political context: in countries with free elections, populist radical right leaders can come to power, whereas in other contexts they may remain outside formal government structures. This raises important questions: what enables a populist radical right leader to attain national leadership in free electoral systems, and how does the radical right behave once it controls the machinery of government? The relative novelty of populist radical right parties in power may help explain why these distinctions have received limited scholarly attention to date.

Outline of This Book

This volume primarily examines the populist radical right, while also including chapters on the extreme right. Its main focus is on the United States and Europe, with two essays addressing cases such as Iran, Russia, and Turkey. This book covers a broad ideological and geographical spectrum. Earlier literature largely treated the populist radical right as an oppositional force, whereas recent developments point to a new phase in its evolution. Both within and outside governing coalitions, there are now countries with long traditions of free elections whose elected leaders come from the populist radical right. Accordingly, we devote a full section to the United States and the far right as part of this new stage of radical-right politics.

This book also highlights the international and ideological connections among radical right movements. Moreover, it addresses the question of voter motivation for supporting these political movements from different socio-psychological perspectives. The importance of national “historical” narratives is emphasized, and their consequences at both the collective and individual levels are also examined.

Part I

Part I is an overview of the subject matter. Our contributors are political scientist Cas Mudde, likely the most cited scholar on the radical and far right, historian Roger Griffin who has transformed the definition of fascism, and sociologist Lawrence Rosenthal, founder and director of UC Berkeley’s Center for Right-Wing Studies. Prof. Mudde sees the rise in popularity of the radical right as connected to a shift from socioeconomic issues to socio-cultural issues in particular with nativism. This emergence is also connected to the failures of liberalism. Mudde sees Trump 2025 as following the populist, nativist, and authoritarian sides of the populist radical right. But to him Trump is a combination of the populist and extreme right in his long-standing racism. So to Mudde, Trump embodies both sides of the far right in one person.

In this chapter, R. Griffin presents and compares fascism and radical right-wing populism. He considers fascism as revolutionary and the populist right as illiberal democracy, showing how these movements fit into a contemporary world facing multiple crises.

According to Prof. Rosenthal, replacement theory is central to the ideology of more recent radical right populists. They perceive that the arrival of undesirable immigrants has deprived them of something they once considered theirs. It is a movement of resentment and anger. Trump’s appeal lay partly in his encouragement of opposition to both major political parties. Nevertheless, the integration of the Tea Party and other factions into the Republican Party provided them with leverage, culminating in the eventual dominance of Tea Party and MAGA allies within the Grand Old Party.

Part II

This part of this book is about the United States. There are two essays on Trump, one on the U.S. Supreme Court and another on women in extreme right racist groups. Political scientists Brigitte L. Nacos and Yaeli Bloch-Elkon write about Trump, the radical right, and the threat to democracy. Donald Trump exhibits authoritarian tendencies in that he undermines constitutional checks and balances, promotes political violence, and encourages the curtailment of civil liberties and natural rights. Lawyer and political science professor Julic Novkov turns her attention to the highly ideological and backward looking Roberts Supreme Court. It has dismantled remnants of civil rights protections. In a nation where the president has

to take care that laws are faithfully executed, John Roberts, chief justice of the U.S. Supreme Court since 2005, together with five other judges, ruled that a president cannot be criminally indicted when carrying out official acts. The judicial body led by J. Roberts has been described as an imperial court and as such as too ideological. Ken Fuchsman, coeditor of a 2020 book on Trump, considers what enabled Trump to be elected in 2016. On Trump 2025, Fuchsman examines Trump's backward-looking policies, the ways in which they ignored the astounding international economic stature of the U.S., and the economic well-being of his populist base. Trump in power in 2025 could be dangerous for the world and self-defeating for himself. Sociologist Kathleen Blee studies women in extreme right, racist groups. She examines the active role played by women in the KKK in the 1920s, at a time when the organization was a national force. Dr. Blee has interviewed contemporary women in extreme right racist groups. Blee finds that white supremacist Protestant groups have been active, if not always visible, through most of American history.

Part III

This part deals with international connections. A whole network is being woven at European and transatlantic level by radical right parties and movements. This part presents some little-known aspects of those connections which might help make sense of upcoming events within the globalized radical right. French historian Nicolas Lebourg shows the ideological emergence of white nationalism, the creation of transnational structures from the 1950s onward and how the twenty-first century has given rise to a new globalized ideological product with a terrorist vocation: accelerationism which does seem to represent the future of white nationalism. French politist Stéphane François proposes to trace the interplay of ideological references between the French Nouvelle Droite, the German Conservative Revolution, Nazism, and the U.S. alt-right. Marine Le Pen is trying to set in stone her "Declaration of the Rights of Nations and Peoples," which she wants to promote abroad. French Historian Brigitte Demeure aims to demonstrate how this declaration of the rights of the peoples and its notion of "Natural community" are in line with the tradition of the Anti-Enlightenment and the far right. French politist Marion Jacquet-Vaillant presents the new French radical right party *Reconquête!*, led by Eric Zemmour. Despite the small size of the party, Zemmour was the only leader of the French radical right, accompanied by his partner and only member of the European Parliament, Sarah Knafo, to be invited by the president Trump for his inauguration in January 2025. This might change the political landscape of the radical right in France.

Part IV

We have observed in the previous parts that affects and feelings play a prominent role in the voter's preference for radical right parties. In this part, social

psychological perspectives on the far right are addressed by psychoanalysts and a sociopsychologist. French psychoanalyst Roland Gori explains with a historical context related to France, how the widespread exposure of our lives to algorithms and the financialized world (which leads to what he calls «techno fascism») contributes to the rise of radical-right populism as well as to what he calls “theo fascism,” that is, religious fanaticism and terrorism. American-Cypriot psychoanalyst and psychiatrist Vamık Volkan explores the issue of large group identity, and examines the propagation of malignant propaganda that supports the evolution of contemporary far right, which leads to societal division. German psychoanalyst Hans-Jürgen Wirth examines how in Germany the radical right has used the coronavirus crisis to fuel conspiracy theories. Austrian-borne socio-psychologist Josef Berghold traces the history of Social Darwinism and how it is now permeating our social life, thus easing the way to far right opinions.

Part V

Radical right parties and anti-democratic regimes tend to glorify the nation and to distort the past of their countries. They also deny guilt and mourning feelings, which German pastor and psychohistorian Bernd Nielsen examines in the United States, Germany, and Russia with the help of psychoanalyst Erik Erikson’s works. Italian historian Giullia Chielli shows how G. Meloni is building an ambiguous strategy regarding the fascist past of Italy. French-Turkish historian Hamit Bozarslan, a specialist of the Middle East, compares the three anti-democratic regimes of Iran, Turkey, and Russia, and shows how the past is being manipulated by the political leaders, and the impacts thereof on individuals.

References

- Berntzen, L. (2020). *The liberal roots of far right activism*. Routledge.
- Camus, J.-Y. and Lebourg, N. (2017). *Far right politics in Europe*. Harvard University Press.
- Copsey, N. (2018). The Radical Right and Fascism. *The Oxford handbook of the radical right* (Jens Rydgren, Editor). Oxford University Press, pp. 95–121.
- Copsey, N. (2024). We Are Not Far Right, Just Right. *History Workshop*. <https://www.historyworkshop.org.uk/anti-fascism/we-are-not-far-right-just-right/>.
- The Economist* (2025). Europe’s Worst Nightmare. <https://www.gregorisaavedra.com/project/112-europes-worst-nightmare>.
- Frantz, E. (2018). *Authoritarianism: What everyone needs to know*. Oxford University Press.
- Griffin, R. (1991). *The nature of fascism*. Routledge.
- Griffin, R. (2018). *Fascism*. Polity.
- Hultgren, J. (2017). Political Ideologies in Action. *Bennington College*. <https://library-guides.bennington.edu/c.php?g=719365&p=5124588>.
- Kyle, J. and Gultchin, L. (2018). *Populism in power across the world*. Tony Blair Institute for Global Change.
- Linz, J. (2000). *Authoritarian and totalitarian regimes*. Lynn Rienner Publishers.
- Lombardo, D. and Applebaum, Y. (11/21/2016). Hail Trump! White Nationalists Salute the President-Elect. *The Atlantic*. <https://www.theatlantic.com/politics/archive/2016/11/richard-spencer-speech-npi/508379/>.

- Loxton, J. (2024). *Authoritarianism: A very short introduction*. Oxford University Press.
- Moffitt, B. (2020). *Populism*. Polity.
- Mudde, C. (2018). *The far right in America*. Routledge.
- Mudde, C. and Kaltwasser, C. (2017). *Populism: A very short introduction*. Oxford University Press.
- Neiwert, D. (2017). *Alt-America: The rise of the radical right in the age of Trump*. London: Verso.
- Southern Poverty Law Center (SPLC). (2025). Ku Klux Klan. <https://www.splcenter.org/resources/extremist-files/ku-klux-klan/>.
- Tormey, S. (1995). *Making sense of tyranny*. Manchester University Press.
- Urbainati, N. (2019). *Me the people: How populism transforms democracy*. Harvard University Press.

Introduction

- Berntzen, L. (2020). *The liberal roots of far right activism*. Routledge.
- Camus, J.-Y. and Lebourg, N. (2017). *Far right politics in Europe*. Harvard University Press.
- Copsey, N. (2018). *The Radical Right and Fascism*. *The Oxford handbook of the radical right* (Jens Rydgren, Editor). Oxford University Press, pp. 95–121.
- Copsey, N. (2024). *We Are Not Far Right, Just Right*. History Workshop.
<https://www.historyworkshop.org.uk/anti-fascism/we-are-not-far-right-just-right/>.
- The Economist (2025). *Europe's Worst Nightmare*.
<https://www.gregorisavedra.com/project/112-europes-worst-nightmare>.
- Frantz, E. (2018). *Authoritarianism: What everyone needs to know*. Oxford University Press.
- Griffin, R. (1991). *The nature of fascism*. Routledge.
- Griffin, R. (2018). *Fascism*. Polity.
- Hultgren, J. (2017). *Political Ideologies in Action*. Bennington College.
<https://libraryguides.bennington.edu/c.php?g=719365&p=5124588>.
- Kyle, J. and Gultchin, L. (2018). *Populism in power across the world*. Tony Blair Institute for Global Change.
- Linz, J. (2000). *Authoritarian and totalitarian regimes*. Lynn Rienner Publishers.
- Lombardo, D. and Applebaum, Y. (11/21/2016). *Hail Trump! White Nationalists Salute the President-Elect*. The Atlantic. <https://www.theatlantic.com/politics/archive/2016/11/richard-spencer-speech-npi/508379/>.
- Loxton, J. (2024). *Authoritarianism: A very short introduction*. Oxford University Press.
- Moffitt, B. (2020). *Populism*. Polity.
- Mudde, C. (2018). *The far right in America*. Routledge.
- Mudde, C. and Kaltwasser, C. (2017). *Populism: A very short introduction*. Oxford University Press.
- Neiwert, D. (2017). *Alt-America: The rise of the radical right in the age of Trump*. London: Verso.
- Southern Poverty Law Center (SPLC) . (2025). *Ku Klux Klan*.
<https://www.splcenter.org/resources/extremist-files/ku-klux-klan/>.
- Tormey, S. (1995). *Making sense of tyranny*. Manchester University Press.
- Urbinati, N. (2019). *Me the people: How populism transforms democracy*. Harvard University Press.

How Trump and the Radical Right Threaten(ed) the U.S. Democracy

- Albright, M. (2018). *Fascism: A warning*. Harper Collins.
- Applebaum, A. (2021). *Twilight of democracy*. Vintage Books, e-book.
- Astor, M. (2024). *Trump Says He Might 'Have to' Prosecute Political Opponents*. New York Times, <https://www.nytimes.com/live/2024/06/05/us/trump-biden-election#trump-says-he-might-have-to-prosecute-his-political-opponents>, accessed June 5, 2024.
- Ben-Ghiat, R. (2021). *Strongmen: Mussolini to the present*. W.W. Norton.
- Blitzer, J. (2024). *Inside the Trump Plan for 2025*. The New Yorker, July 22, 26–27, <https://www.newyorker.com/magazine/2024/07/22/inside-the-trump-plan-for-2025>, accessed July 18, 2024.
- Brooks, D. (2024). *My Unsettling Interview with Steve Bannon*. New York Times, <https://www.nytimes.com/2024/07/01/opinion/steve-bannon-trump.html>, accessed July 4, 2024.
- Christopher, T. (2023). *Watch: Full Context of Trump 'Vermin' Remarks That Are Being Compared to Hitler*. MSN.com, <https://www.msn.com/en-us/news/politics/watch-full-context-of-trump-vermin-remarks-that-are-being-compared-to-hitler/ar-AA1jUZWy>, accessed July 9, 2024.
- Dickerson, T. (2024). *Right-Wing Think Tank Leader Promises Revolution, Warns of 'Bloodshed'*. Rolling Stone, <https://www.rollingstone.com/politics/politics-news/kevin-roberts-heritage-revolution-bloodshed-1235052706/>, accessed July 16, 2024.
- Gabriel, T. (2023). *Trump Escalates Anti-Immigrant Rhetoric with 'Poisoning the Blood' Comment*. New York Times, <https://www.nytimes.com/2023/10/05/us/politics/trump-immigration->

rhetoric.html, accessed July 25, 2024.

Goebbels . (1937). Unser Fuehrer, <https://research.calvin.edu/german-propaganda-archive/unser36.htm>

Han, J. (2024). In His First Rally with Vance, Trump Says He Took 'a Bullet for Democracy'. NPR, July 21, <https://www.npr.org/2024/07/21/nx-s1-5047825/donald-trump-jd-vance-michigan-rally>, accessed July 30, 2024.

Harvard Caps/Harris Poll . (2024). Immigration Remains Top Issue, Harvard, <https://harvardharrispoll.com/>, "Do you think Donald Trump is a threat to democracy if he is elected president or is he not a threat to democracy if elected?" The survey was conducted February 21 and 22.

Heritage Foundation . (2024). Project 2025: Presidential transition project. Heritage Foundation, https://static.heritage.org/project2025/2025_MandateForLeadership_FULLL.pdf, accessed September 2, 2024.

Hitler, A. (1939). Mein Kampf, Hurst and Blackett LTD, 100.

<https://mk.christogenea.org/references/mein-kampf-pdf-version>, accessed July 9, 2024

Hitler, A. (n.d.). Collection of Speeches 1922–1945,

https://dn790003.ca.archive.org/0/items/AdolfHitlerCollectionOfSpeeches19221945_201905/Adolf%20Hitler%20-%20Collection%20of%20Speeches%20-%201922-1945.pdf, accessed July 23, 2024.

Holmes, K. (2022). Trump Calls for the Termination of the Constitution in Truth Social Post. CNN, <https://edition.cnn.com/2022/12/03/politics/trump-constitution-truth-social/index.html>, accessed July 23, 2024.

Kazin, M. (1995). The populist persuasion: An American history. Cornell University Press.

Leibovich, M. (2020). Trump Called His Supporters 'Disgusting': Do They Care? New York Times, <https://www.nytimes.com/2020/10/10/sunday-review/trump-supporters.html>, accessed July 9, 2024.

Levitsky, S. and Ziblatt, D. (2018). How democracies die. Penguin.

McCarthy, M. (2024). 'I'm a Never Trump Guy': All of J.D. Vance's Trump Quotes That Could Come Back to Bite Him. Politico.com , <https://www.politico.com/news/2024/07/15/jd-vance-donald-trump-comments-00168450>, accessed July 30, 2024.

Mueller, J.-W. (2016). What is populism? University of Pennsylvania Press.

Pinto, J. (2018). Trump, a Nationalist and a Populist Leader. Global Journal of Human Social Science 18 (1): 1–7, https://www.researchgate.net/profile/Jose-Pinto-53/publication/324129443_Trump_a_nationalist_and_a_populist_leader/links/5af0783f0f7e9ba366415ff1/Trump-a-nationalist-and-a-populist-leader.pdf, accessed July 7, 2024.

Post, J. (1986). Narcissism and the Charismatic Leader-Follower Relationship. Political Psychology 7 (4) (December 1986): 675–688.

Pratkanis, A. and Aronson E. (1991). Age of propaganda: The everyday use and abuse of persuasion. Freeman and Company.

Sheffield, P. (2023). 1990 Interview with Ivana Resurfaces Alleging Donald Trump Kept Hitler's Book by His Bedside. MSN.com , <https://www.msn.com/en-us/news/politics/1990-interview-with-ivana-resurfaces-alleging-donald-trump-kept-hitlers-book-by-his-bed/ar-AA1lUEzH>, accessed July 23, 2024.

Snyder, T. (2017). On tyranny. Tim Duggan Books.

Stanley, J. (2018). How fascism works. Random House, e-book.

Swan, J. , Haberman, M. , and Savage, C. (2023). How Trump Plans to Wield Power in 2025: What We Know. New York Times, <https://www.nytimes.com/article/trump-2025-second-term.html>, accessed June 5, 2024.

Taylor, J. (2023). Trump Calls People Charged and Convicted for Jan.6 Riots 'Hostages'. NBC News, <https://www.nbcnews.com/meet-the-press/meetthepressblog/trump-calls-people-charged-convicted-jan-6-riots-hostages-rcna123617>, accessed March 10, 2024.

Thiers, C. and Wehner, L. (2022). The Personality Traits of Populist Leaders and Their Foreign Policy: Hugo Chavez and Donald Trump. *International Studies Quarterly* 66 (1) (March 2022), <https://academic.oup.com/isq/article/66/1/sqab083/6400442>, accessed July 7, 2024.

Trump, D. (2017). Trump's Comments on White Supremacists, 'Alt-Left' in Charlottesville.

Politico, August 15, <https://www.politico.com/story/2017/08/15/full-text-trump-comments-white-supremacists-alt-left-transcript-241662>, accessed July 23, 2024.

Trump, D. (2024a). Posted on 11 March 2024, <https://truthsocial.com/@realDonaldTrump/posts/112079753989223875>, accessed May 8, 2024.

Trump, D. (2024b). Read the Transcript of Donald J. Trump's Convention Speech. New York Times, <https://www.nytimes.com/2024/07/19/us/politics/trump-rnc-speech-transcript.html>, accessed July 23, 2024.

Trump, D. (2024c). Truth Social Post, <https://truthsocial.com/@realDonaldTrump/posts/112784638860095397>, accessed July 31, 2024.

United States Capitol Police . (2024). USCP Threat Assessment for 2023. January 18, <https://www.uscp.gov/media-center/press-releases/uscp-threat-assessment-cases-2023>, accessed June 10, 2024.

Donald Trump and the Eroding of the U.S. Constitution

Ahmed, A. (2023). Is the American Public Really Turning Away from Democracy? Backsliding and the Conceptual Challenges of Understanding Public Attitudes. *Perspectives on Politics* 21 (3): 967–978.

American Law Institute . (2022). ALI-Convened Group Issues Principles of Electoral Count Act Reform. *American Law Institute News (blog)*, April 4. <https://www.ali.org/news/articles/ali-convened-group-issues-proposals-electoral-count-act-reform/>.

Arhin, K. , Stockemer, D. , and Normandin, M. (2023). The Republican Trump Voter: A Populist Radical Right Voter Like Any Other? *World Affairs* 186 (3): 572–602.

Balkin, J. (2020). *The cycles of constitutional time*. Oxford University Press.

Brandwein, P. (2011). *Rethinking the judicial settlement of reconstruction*. Cambridge University Press.

Braverman, A. , Buck, I. , Da, R. , Kahan, C. , and Venook, J. (n.d.). *Litigation Tracker: Legal Challenges to Trump Administration Actions*. *Just Security (blog)*.

<https://www.justsecurity.org/107087/tracker-litigation-legal-challenges-trump-administration/>.

Broadwater, L. , and Haberman, M. (2024). Newly Released Messages Detail Roots of the 'Fake Electors' Scheme. *New York Times*, March 4.

<https://www.nytimes.com/2024/03/04/us/politics/chesebro-troupis-jan-6-messages.html>.

Committee on the Judiciary . (2005). Confirmation Hearing on the Nomination of John G. Roberts, Jr. to Be Chief Justice of the United States. *United States Senate*.

<https://www.judiciary.senate.gov/imo/media/doc/GPO-CHRG-ROBERTS.pdf>.

Dans, P. , and Groves, S. , eds. 2023. *Mandate for leadership: The conservative promise*. Washington, DC: The Heritage Foundation.

Devins, N. , and Baum, L. (2017). Split Definitive: How Party Polarization Turned the Supreme Court into a Partisan Court. *The Supreme Court Review* 2016: 301–366.

Emergency Docket . (n.d.). *SCOTUSblog (blog)*. <https://www.scotusblog.com/case-files/emergency/emergency-docket-2022/>.

Fernando, C. (2024). Lawsuits over Voting in Multiple States Create Shadow War for the 2024 Election. *Los Angeles Times*, April 24. <https://www.latimes.com/world-nation/story/2024-04-23/crush-of-lawsuits-over-voting-in-multiple-states-creates-a-shadow-war-for-the-2024-election>.

Gardner, A. , and Arnsdorf, I. (2024). GOP Jump-Starts 2024 Election Challenges with Trump-Inspired Lawsuits. *Washington Post*, July 10.

Grabenstein, H. (2025). What You Need to Know about Impoundment, and How Trump Vows to Use It. *PBS News*, February 10. <https://www.pbs.org/newshour/politics/what-you-need-to-know-about-impoundment-and-how-trump-vows-to-use-it>.

Graber, M. (2006). *Dred Scott and the problem of constitutional evil*. Cambridge University Press.

Gunitsky, S. (2017). These Are the Three Reasons Fascism Spread in 1930s America – and Might Spread again Today. *Monkey Cage (blog)*, August 12.

<https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/monkey-cage/wp/2017/08/12/these-are-the-three-reasons-that-fascism-spread-in-1930s-america-and-might-spread-again-today/>.

Hall, M. , and Druckman, J. (2023). Norm-Violating Rhetoric Undermines Support for Participatory Inclusiveness and Political Equality Among Trump Supporters. *Proceedings of The National Academy of Sciences* 120 (40): 1–3. <https://doi.org/10.1073/pnas.2311005120>.

Hasen, R. (2022). Research Note: Record Election Litigation Rates in the 2020 Election: An Aberration or a Sign of Things to Come? *Election Law Journal* 21 (2): 150–154.

Healy, B. (2024). Reflections on the Supreme Court's 2024 Rulings: What Do Americans Think? *YouGov Politics & Current Affairs* (blog), July 10. <https://today.yougov.com/politics/articles/50017-supreme-court-2024-rulings-what-americans-think-poll>.

Help America Vote Act of 2002, Pub. L. No. 107–252, 116 Stat. 1666 (2002).

Keating, D. , Joselow, M. , Ajasa, A. , and Halper, E. (2025). Here's Who's Losing Out as Trump Freezes the Inflation Reduction Act. *Washington Post*, February 8. <https://www.washingtonpost.com/climate-environment/2025/02/08/trump-climate-federal-funding-freeze/>.

Lemley, M. (2022). The Imperial Supreme Court. *Harvard Law Review* 136 (97): 97–118.

Lemonides, A. , Hughes, S. , Schwartz, M. , Gamio, L. , and Baker, C. (2025). Tracking the Lawsuits Against Trump's Agenda. *New York Times*, June 6. <https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2025/us/trump-administration-lawsuits.html>.

Levy, P. (2025). Violent Threats against Members of Congress Spiked as Senate Considered Trump's Nominees. *Mother Jones*, March 25. <https://www.motherjones.com/politics/2025/03/violent-threats-congress-donald-trump-data/>.

Lutz, E. (2023). Mike Pence: My Son Had to Remind Me Not to Let Trump Steal the Election. *Vanity Fair*, November 28. <https://www.vanityfair.com/news/2023/11/mike-pence-donald-trump-2020-election-certification>.

Martel, F. , Moniz, P. , Ashokkumar, A. , and Swann, W. (2024). Identity Fusion and Support for Political Authoritarianism: Lessons from the U.S. Insurrection of 2021. *Political Psychology*. <https://doi.org/doi.org/10.1111/pops.12979>.

Mattingly, P. (2024). 5 Ways a Second Trump Administration Would Be Different from the First. *CNN Politics*, June 23. <https://www.cnn.com/2024/06/23/politics/second-trump-administration-agenda/index.html>.

McDonnell, B. , Hoeven, J. , and Blackburn, M. (2012). Republican Party Platform. American Presidency Project. <https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/node/302338>.

McMahon, K. (2024). A Supreme Court unlike any other: The deepening divide between the justices and the people. University of Chicago Press.

National Voter Registration Act of 1993, Pub. L. No. 103–31, 107 Stat. 77 (1993).

Novkov, J. (2018). How Do We Solve a Problem Like the Donald: The Democratic Challenge of Trump Supporters and the Politics of Presidential Removal. *New Political Science* 40 (3): 439–458.

Novkov, J. (2021). Donald Trump, Constitutional Failure, and the Guardrails of Democracy. *Maryland Law Review* 81: 276–297.

Novkov, J. (2023). Death Drop: The Roberts Court, Legitimacy, and the Future of Democracy in the United States. *Maryland Law Review* 83 (1): 77–144.

Novkov, J. (2024). From the Rotting Soil Grows the Poison Ivy: The Supreme Court and the Legitimation of Herrenvolk Democracy. *Law & Policy* 46: 1–24. <https://doi.org/10.1111/lapo.12236>.

Presidential Election Day Act, ch. 1, 5 Stat. 721 (1845).

Quinn, M. (2025). What to Know about the Key Laws Invoked in the Scores of Trump Legal Challenges. *CBS News*, February 21. <https://www.cbsnews.com/news/trump-lawsuits-apa-privacy-act-impoundment/>.

Republican Party . (2024). 2024 Republican Party Platform. The American Presidency Project. <https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/node/373351>.

Swan, J. , Savage, C. , and Haberman, M. (2023). Trump and Allies Forge Plans to Increase Presidential Power in 2025. *New York Times*, July 17. <https://www.nytimes.com/2023/07/17/us/politics/trump-plans-2025.html>.

Trump v. United States . (2024). 603 593. U.S. Supreme Court.

“ Twenty-Fourth Amendment .” (1964). U.S. Const. amend. XXIV.

“ Twenty-Sixth Amendment .” (1971). U.S. Const. amend. XXVI.

Underhill, W. (2023). What the Electoral Count Reform Act Means for States. National Conference of State Legislatures (blog), January 16. <https://www.ncsl.org/state-legislatures-news/details/what-the-electoral-count-reform-act-means-for-states>.

United States . Constitution of the United States. Amendment XV. 1870.

United States . Constitution of the United States. Amendment XIX. 1920.

Vladeck, S. (2023). The shadow docket: How the Supreme Court uses stealth rulings to amass power and undermine the Republic. Basic Books.

Voting Accessibility for the Elderly and Handicapped Act of 1984, Pub. L. No. 98-435, 98 Stat. 1678 (1984).

Voting Rights Act of 1965, Pub. L. No. 89-110, 79 Stat. 437 (1965).

Wintemute, G. , Robinson, S. , Tomsich, E. , and Tancredi, D. (2024). MAGA Republicans' Views of American Democracy and Society and Support for Political Violence in the United States. *PLOS One* 19 (1): 1–26. <https://doi.org/10.1371/journal.pone.0295747>.

Woodward-Burns, R. (2022). Counter-Majoritarian Constitutional Hardball. *Maryland Law Review* 81: 380–393.

Balz, D. , Ence Morse, C. , and Mourtoupalas, N. (2023). The Hidden Biases at Play in the U.S. Senate. *Washington Post*, November 17. <https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/interactive/2023/us-senate-bias-white-rural-voters/>.

Boccagno, J. (2016). Which Candidates Did the Seven 'Faithless' Electors Support? *CBS News*, December 21. <https://www.cbsnews.com/news/which-candidates-did-the-seven-faithless-electors-support-election-2016/>.

Chiafalo v. Washington . (2020). 591 U.S. US Supreme Court.

Hasen, R. (2005). Beyond the Margin of Litigation: Reforming U.S. Election Administration to Avoid Electoral Meltdown. *Washington and Lee Law Review* 62: 937–1000.

National Conference of State Legislatures . (2024). Enactments Relating to the Electoral Count Reform Act. National Conference of State Legislatures (blog), May 13. <https://www.ncsl.org/elections-and-campaigns/enactments-relating-to-the-electoral-count-reform-act>.

Pager, T. , and Scherer, M. (2024). Biden Set to Announce Support for Major Supreme Court Changes. *Washington Post*, July 16. <https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/2024/07/16/biden-supreme-court-reforms/>.

Rumpf, S. (2024). Biden Campaign Manager Candidly Throws in the Towel in Florida: Not in Play. *Mediaite*, June 24. <https://www.mediaite.com/biden/bidens-campaign-manager-candidly-throws-in-the-towel-in-florida-not-in-play/>.

Sanchez, Y. (2024). Pro-Trump Lawyer John Eastman Pleads Not Guilty to Arizona Charges. *Washington Post*, May 17. <https://www.washingtonpost.com/national-security/2024/05/17/john-eastman-2020-election-arizona/>.

Starks, T. , and Schaffer, A. (2022). Nearly Every Election-Denying Secretary of State Candidate Lost. *Washington Post*, November 10. <https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/2022/11/10/nearly-every-election-denying-secretary-state-candidate-lost/>.

Woodruff, B. , and Cheney, K. (2024). Felons or Dupes? Treatment of Trump's Fake Electors Has Varied Wildly by State. *Politico*, May 11. <https://www.politico.com/news/2024/05/11/trump-fake-electors-charges-00157440>.

Donald Trump and the Evolving Radical Right

Altman, D. (2025). Trump Voters on Medicaid, and Medicaid Cuts. *Kaider Foundation*, <https://www.kff.org/from-drew-altman/trump-voters-on-medicaid-on-medicaid-cuts/>.

Atkinson, R. (3/2012). Worse than the Great Depression. *The Information Technology and Innovation Foundation*, <https://www2.itif.org/2012-american-manufacturing-decline.pdf>.

Baker, P. (7/16/2025). For Trump Adversaries Are Evil. *New York Times*, <https://www.nytimes.com/2025/07/16/us/politics/trump-political-enemies-evil.html>.

Benen, S. (8/27/2025). Trump Says He Has 'the Right to Do Anything I Want'. *MS Now*, <https://www.ms.now/rachel-maddow-show/maddowblog/trump-says-right-anything-want-pushing-dictator-claims-rcna227466>.

Bremen, M. (11/28/2025). Trump's Approval Rating Drops to 36%. Gallup Poll, <https://news.gallup.com/poll/699221/trump-approval-rating-drops-new-second-term-low.aspx>.

Bureau of Labor Statistics . (10/2010). The Employment Situation – October 2010, https://www.bls.gov/news.release/archives/empsit_11052010.pdf.

CountryEconomy.com . (2025). U.S. GDP, <https://countryeconomy.com/gdp/usa?year=2024>.

Deliso, M. (2025). Here Are the Times Trump Said He Wouldn't Cut Medicaid. ABC News, <https://abcnews.go.com/Politics/trump-medicare-republican-bill-cut-benefits/story?id=121756481>.

Diamond, J. (2/23/2016). Donald Trump on Protester. CNN, <https://www.cnn.com/2016/02/23/politics/donald-trump-nevada-rally-punch/>.

Easley, J. (9/26/2016). Trump: African-Americans and Hispanics 'Are Living in Hell'. The Hill, <https://thehill.com/blogs/ballot-box/presidential-races/297937-trump-african-americans-and-hispanics-are-living-in-hell/>.

Edgington, T. (2025). From Gas to Groceries. BBC, <https://www.bbc.com/news/articles/ckgkl25734go>.

Ettinger, M. (2025). Trump Megabill Will Give \$117 Billion in Tax Cuts to the Top 1%. Institute for Taxation and Economic Policy, <https://itep.org/trump-megabill-billions-in-tax-cuts-top-1-percent-by-state/>.

European Council of the European Union . (2025). EU-US Trade: Facts and Figures, <https://www.consilium.europa.eu/en/infographics/eu-us-trade/>.

Feldstein, M. (1/29/2009). Stimulus Package May Yield Mixed results, PBS News Hour. <https://www.pbs.org/newshour/show/stimulus-package-may-yield-mixed-economic-results>.

Fortune . (2025). The Global 500, <https://fortune.com/ranking/global500/2025/>.

Goldfarb, Z. (10/23/2011). Obama's Efforts to Aid Homeowners, Boost Housing Market Fall Far Short of Goals. Washington Post, https://www.washingtonpost.com/business/economy/obamas-efforts-to-aid-homeowners-boost-housing-market-fall-far-short-of-goals/2011/09/22/gIQAoJdeAM_story.html.

Gore, D. (12/1/2016). Obama's Record on Manufacturing Jobs. Factcheck.org, <https://www.factcheck.org/2016/12/obamas-record-on-manufacturing-jobs/>.

Gregg, A. and Peiser, J. (2025). Bankruptcies Soar. Washington Post, <https://www.washingtonpost.com/business/2025/12/27/corporate-bankruptcies-economy/>.

Hagler, R. and Patki, D. (8/13/2025). Why Has Consumer Spending Remained So Resilient. Federal Reserve Bank of Boston, <https://www.bostonfed.org/publications/current-policy-perspectives/2025/why-has-consumer-spending-remained-resilient.aspx>.

House Committee on the Judiciary . (11/25/2025). Trump, Crypto and a New Age of Corruption, <https://democrats-judiciary.house.gov/media-center/press-releases/new-report-exposes-the-trump-family-s-multi-billion-dollar-crypto-empire-fueled-by-self-dealing-and-corrupt-foreign-interests>.

Ibes-Ruble and Musheno . (2025). The Truth About One Big Beautiful Bill. Center for American Progress, <https://www.americanprogress.org/article/the-truth-about-the-one-big-beautiful-bill-acts-cuts-to-medicare-and-medicare/>.

International Monetary Fund . (2025). Projected GDP Rankings, https://statisticstimes.com/economy/projected-world-gdp-ranking.php#google_vignette.

Irwin, D. (1998). The Smoot-Hawley Tariff. The Review of Economics and Research, 80 (2): 326–334.

Kiley, D. (1/20/2016). As Obama Takes Victory Lap Over Auto Industry Rescue, Here Are the Lessons of The Bailout. Forbes, <https://www.forbes.com/sites/davidkiley5/2016/01/20/obamas-takes-victory-lap-over-auto-industry-rescue/>.

Kiley, J. (8/14/2025). Trump's Tariffs and One Big Beautiful Bill. Pew Research Center, <https://www.pewresearch.org/politics/2025/08/14/trumps-tariffs-and-one-big-beautiful-bill-face-more-opposition-than-support-as-his-job-rating-slips/>.

Klein, E. (8/20/2012). The Best Case Against the Obama Administration. Washington Post, <https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/wonk/wp/2012/08/20/the-best-case-against-the-obama-administration/>.

Lindsay, J. (12/18/2024). The 2024 Election by Numbers. Council on Foreign Relations, <https://www.cfr.org/article/2024-election-numbers>.

Marquez, A. (10/3/2024). 'The Enemy from within': Trump Calls Democrats More Dangerous Than U.S. Foreign Adversaries. NBC News, <https://www.nbcnews.com/politics/2024-election/>

enemy-trump-claims-democrats-are-dangerous-us-foreign-adversaries-rcna175198.

McCormick, J. (2024). Trump Calls Tariff the 'Most Beautiful Word'. Wall Street Journal, <https://www.wsj.com/livecoverage/harris-trump-election-10-16-2024/card/trump-calls-tariffs-the-most-beautiful-word-YMVPaupw4EjBRp6yobOy>.

Mitchener, K. (3/2025). The Smoot-Hawley Trade War. National Bureau of Economic Research, <https://www.nber.org/papers/w28616>.

Parker, A. and Scherer, M. (6/2025). Donald Trump Is Enjoying This. The Atlantic, pp. 22–45.

Pew Research Center . (1/22/2009). Economy, Jobs Trump All Other Policy Priorities in 2009, <https://www.pewresearch.org/politics/2009/01/22/economy-jobs-trump-all-other-policy-priorities-in-2009/>.

Purdy, M. (1/2/2026). After Watergate the Presidency Was Tamed: Trump Is Unleashing It. New York Times, <https://www.nytimes.com/2026/01/02/us/politics/president-trump-powers-watergate.html>.

Rosenthal, L. (2020). Empire of Resentment: Populism's Toxic Embrace of Nationalism. The New Press.

Scheiber, N. (2011). The Escape Artists. Simon & Schuster.

Shear, M. (2025). Trump Administration Says EU Faces 'Civilizational Erasure'. New York Times, <https://www.nytimes.com/2025/12/05/world/europe/trump-europe.html>.

Soegerl, A. (1/27/2017). GDP Growth Slows to 1.9 Percent in Obama and Final Days. U.S. News, <https://www.usnews.com/news/articles/2017-01-27/gdp-growth-slows-to-19-percent-in-obama-administrations-final->.

Statista.com . (2025). U S. Annual GDP 1990–2024, <https://www.statista.com/statistics/188105/annual-gdp-of-the-united-states-since-1990/>.

Timotija, F. (7/4/2025). Trump on Democrats Who Voted against GOP Mega Bill: 'I Hate Them'. The Hill, <https://thehill.com/homenews/administration/5385217-trump-on-democrats-who-voted-against-gop-megabill-i-hate-them/>.

Toosi, N. (12/5/2025). Trump Reveals What He Wants from the World. Politico, <https://www.politico.com/news/2025/12/05/trump-reveals-national-security-strategy-western-hemisphere-europe-00678265>.

Trump, D. (9/2/1987). Letter on Foreign Policy. New York Times, <https://rollcall.com/factbase/trump/transcript/donald-trump-letter-foreign-policy-september-2-1987/0>.

Trump, D. (1/20/2017). The Inaugural Address. The White House, <https://trumpwhitehouse.archives.gov/briefings-statements/the-inaugural-address/>.

Trump, D. (1/20/2025). Executive Order 14160. The White House, <https://www.govinfo.gov/content/pkg/DCPD-202500127/pdf/DCPD-202500127.pdf>.

Trump, D. (1/20/2025). The Inaugural Address. The White House, <https://www.whitehouse.gov/remarks/2025/01/the-inaugural-address/>

United States 1950 Census . (2022). Special Edition 1950 Census Records Release, <https://www.census.gov/newsroom/facts-for-features/2022/1950-census-records.html>.

United States Department of Agriculture . (12/15/2025). Food Price Outlook, <https://www.ers.usda.gov/data-products/food-price-outlook/summary-findings>.

U.S. Census 2020 . (2021). 2020 U.S. Population More Racially and Ethnically Diverse, <https://www.census.gov/library/stories/2021/08/2020-united-states-population-more-racially-ethnically-diverse-than-2010.html>.

Weissert, W. (4/8/2025). Trump Says High Tariffs May Have Prevented the Depression. Associated Press, <https://www.ap.org/news-highlights/spotlights/2025/trump-says-high-tariffs-may-have-prevented-the-great-depression-history-says-different/>.

White, D. (2/1/2016). Donald Trump Tells Crowd to 'Knock the Crap Out of' Hecklers. Time, <https://time.com/4203094/donald-trump-hecklers/>.

Wikipedia . (2025). Party Divisions of United States Congresses, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Party_divisions_of_United_States_Congresses.

Yale Budget Lab . (7/7/2025). State of U S Tariffs – July 7, 2025. Budget Lab, <https://budgetlab.yale.edu/research/state-us-tariffs-july-7-2025>.

Zakaria, F. (12/19/2025). Trump's Doctrine is Make the World Small Again. Washington Post, <https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/2025/12/19/trump-monroe-doctrine-dangerous/>.

Alexander, D. (6/5/2025). This Is How Much Trump Has Made on Crypto. Forbes, <https://www.forbes.com/sites/danalexander/2025/06/05/this-is-how-much-trump-has-made->

from-crypto-so-far/.

Ellyatt, H. (2025). Trump Threatens to Slap 25% Tariffs on EU. CNBC, <https://www.cnbc.com/2025/02/27/trump-threatens-25percent-tariffs-on-eu-says-bloc-formed-to-screw-us.html>.

Gauthier-Villars, D. (2025). Inside the Trump's Family Global Crypto Cash Machine. Reuters, <https://www.reuters.com/investigations/inside-trump-familys-global-crypto-cash-machine-2025-10-28/>.

Palmer, D. (2021). America's Trade Gap Soared Under Trump. Politico, <https://www.politico.com/news/2021/02/05/2020-trade-figures-trump-failure-deficit-466116>.

Reuters . (2021). U.S.–China Trade war Has Cost Up to 245,000 U.S. Jobs, <https://www.reuters.com/article/business/energy/us-china-trade-war-has-cost-up-to-245000-us-jobs-business-group-study-idUSKBN29J2O9/>.

Voronio . (2025). Manufacturing Descent (1953–2024), <https://www.voronoiapp.com/economy/Manufacturing-Descent-American-GDPcapita-change-by-sector-1953-2024-4631>.

Transnational History of White Nationalism

Binet, R. (1950). *Théorie du racisme*. Paris, Les Vikings.

CIA. The Bruderschaft and the right-wing nationalist groups | CIA FOIA (foia.cia.gov). (1950). Cia.gov. <https://www.cia.gov/readingroom/document/cia-rdp78-01617a000900120001-8>

CIA. Meeting of European neo-fascists parties to be held in Sweden | CIA FOIA (foia.cia.gov). (1951). Cia.gov. <https://www.cia.gov/readingroom/document/cia-rdp82-00457r007400040008-2>

Devi Mukherji, S. (1976). *Souvenirs et réflexions d'une Aryenne*. Calcutta, Temple University Press.

Direction centrale des Renseignements généraux . (1956). AN/F/7/15591. *Partis et groupements politiques d'extrême droite. Identification et organisation des mouvements et associations* (Vol. 1).

Doxsee, C. , Jones, S. , Thompson, J. , Halstead, K. , & Hwang, G. (2022, May 17). Pushed to Extremes: Domestic Terrorism amid Polarization and Protest. Center for Strategic and International Studies. <https://www.csis.org/analysis/pushed-extremes-domestic-terrorism-amid-polarization-and-protest>

Durham, M. (2002). From Imperium to Internet: The National Alliance and the American Extreme Right. *Patterns of Prejudice*, 36(3), 50–61.

Ehsan, R. , & Stott, P. (2020). *Far-Right Terrorist Manifestos: A Critical Analysis*. London, Henry Jackson Society.

ENO . (1987). *Les Peuples blancs survivront-ils?* Lausanne, Éditions celtiques.

Evola, J. (1991). *Révolution contre le monde moderne*. Lausanne, L'Âge d'Homme. (Original work published 1934).

Faye, G. (1998). *L'Archéofuturisme*. Paris, L'Encre.

François, S. , & Nonjon, A. (2022). Guillaume Faye (1949–2019): At the Forefront of a New Theory of White Nationalism. *Journal of Illiberalism Studies*, 2(1), 17–30.

Freda, F. (n.d.). *La désintégration du système*. Nantes, Ars. (Original work published 1969).

Gardell, M. (2021). *Lone Wolf Race Warriors and White Genocide*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

Gentile, E. (2006). Fascisme, Totalitarisme et Religion Politique: définitions et réflexions critiques sur les critiques d'une interprétation. *Raisons Politiques*, 22(2), 119–173.

Hitler, A. (2005). *Mein Kampf*. Paris, Nouvelles éditions latines. (Original work published 1925).

Kaplan, J. (2001). The Post-War Paths of Occult National Socialism: From Rockwell and Madole to Manson. *Patterns of Prejudice*, 35(3), 49–50.

Lane, D. (n.d.). *Manifiesto del genocidio blanco*. Kamerad. (Original work published 1995).

Macklin, G. (2019). The Christchurch Attacks: Livestream Terror in the Viral Video Age. *CTC-Sentinel*, 19(6), 18–29.

Manson, J. (2015). *Siege. Iron March*.

- Michael, G. (2012). *Lone Wolf Terror and the Rise of Leaderless Resistance*. Nashville, Vanderbilt University Press.
- Miller, C. (2022). *Social Media and System Collapse: How Extremists Built an International Neo-Nazi Network*. In M. Hübscher & S. von Mering (Eds.), *Antisemitism on Social Media*. London, Routledge.
- Sempéré, P. (2014). *L'européisme d'Oswald Mosley à travers ses textes fondateurs: un projet de Grande Europe sur les traces du fascisme historique*. Miranda, 9. <http://miranda.revues.org/5891>
- Sommier, I. (2008). *La violence politique et son deuil*. Rennes, Presses universitaires de Rennes.
- Tarrant, B. (2019). *The Great Replacement*.
- Tommasi, J. (2018). *Building the Revolutionary Party*. *The FashCast Anthology*.
- Upchurch, H. E. (2021). *The Iron March Forum and the Evolution of the "Skull Mask" Neo-Fascist Network*. *CTC-Sentinel*, 14(10), 7–37.
- Vervaecke, P. (2012). *Sir Oswald Mosley et l'internationalisation du fascisme britannique, 1947–1966*. In O. Dard (Ed.), *Doctrinaires, vulgarisateurs et passeurs des droites radicales au XXe siècle*. Berne, Peter Lang.
- White Power . (1972). *Busing is Genocide ! Red race-mixers Planning to Destroy White People*. *The Newspaper of White Revolution*, 24.
- Whitman, J. Q. (2017). *Hitler's American Model: The United States and the Making of Nazi Race Law*. Princeton, Princeton University Press.
- Yockey, F. P. (1949). *Proclamation of London of the European Liberation Front*. London, Westropa Press.
- Yockey, F. P. (1981). *The Enemy of Europe*. York, Liberty Bell Publications. (Original work published 1953).
- Yockey, F. P. (2008). *Imperium*. Dublin, Avatar. (Original work published 1948).

From the Nouvelle Droite to the Alt-Right, via the German “Conservative Revolution” and Nazism

- Bjorgo, T. , & Kaplan, J. (1998). *Nation and race: The developing Euro-American racist subculture*. Northeastern University Press.
- Dard, O. (2007). *Contribution à l'étude des réceptions françaises de la “Révolution conservatrice” allemande: l'exemple de la Nouvelle Droite*. In P. Behar , F. Lartillot , & U. Pushner (Eds.), *Médiation et conviction. Mélange offerts à Michel Grunewald*. L'Harmattan.
- De Benoist, A. (1985). *Vers de nouvelles convergences*. *Elements*, 56, 15–16. <https://www.revue-elements.com/>.
- Favrat, J. (1992). *Conservatisme et modernité: le cas de Paul Lagarde*. In L. Dupeux (Ed.), *La révolution conservatrice dans l'Allemagne de Weimar*. Kimé.
- Francis, S. (2004). *The real right*. *The Occidental Quarterly*, (3).
- François, S. (2014). *Au-delà des vents du Nord. L'extrême droite française, le Pôle Nord et les Indo-Européens*. Presses Universitaires de Lyon.
- François, S. (2020). *L'occultisme nazi*. CNRS Editions.
- Hébert, J.-P. (collective pseudonym). (1977). *Race et intelligence: les différences*. Copernic.
- Johnson, G. (2016). *Le Nationalisme blanc. Interrogations et définitions*. Akribia.
- Contemporary voices of white nationalism in America*. 9. R. Nieli & C. S. Swain (Eds.). Cambridge University Press.
- Kaplan, J. , & Weinberg, L. (2003). *The Emergence of a Euro-American Right*. Rutgers University Press.
- Lebourg, N. (2019). *Les Nazis ont-ils survécu? Enquête sur les Internationales fascistes et les croisés de la race blanche*. Seuil.
- Norwood, S. H. (2011). *Antisemitism in the contemporary American university: Parallels with the Nazi Era*. *Acta. Analysis of Current Trends in Antisemitism*, 34, 1–30.
- Rouso, H. (2004). *Le Dossier Lyon III. Rapport sur le racisme et le négationnisme à l'université Jean Moulin*. Fayard.

Schönekas, K. (1988). La “Neue Rechte” en République Fédérale d’Allemagne. Lignes, 4, 139, footnote 34.

Siegel, J. (2016). The alt-right’s Jewish Godfather. The Tablet www.tabletmag.com/Jewish-News-And-Politics

Taguieff, P.-A. (1984). La stratégie culturelle de la “Nouvelle Droite” en France (1968–1983). In R. Badinter (Ed.), *Vous avez dit fascismes?* Arthaud.

Taguieff, P.-A. (1994). *Sur la Nouvelle droite. Jalons d’une analyse critique.* Descartes et Cie.

Tyr. Myth – Culture – Tradition. 5 vol. (2002, 2003–2004, 2007–2008, 2014, 2018). Arcana Europa.

Vullierme, J.-L. (2018). *Le Nazisme dans la civilisation. Miroir de l’Occident.* Éditions de l’Artilleur.

“Declaration of the Rights of Nations and Peoples” by the French Far Right

1973, Dictionnaire des parlementaires français: notices biographiques sur les ministres, sénateurs et députés français de 1889 à 1940. (Jolly, J. (Ed.); Vols. 7–8).

Baker, K. M. (1993) *Au tribunal de l’opinion, Essais sur l’imaginaire politique au XVIII^e siècle.* Bibliothèque historique Payot.

Bardella, J. (2024) On Television BFM/RMC. https://rmc.bfmtv.com/actualites/politique/jordan-bardella-sur-rmc-bfmtv-immigration-pouvoir-d-achat-candidats-lr-ce-qu-il-faut-retenir_AP-202406140333.html

de Bonald, L. . (1843) *Théorie du pouvoir politique et religieux dans la société civile, démontrée par le raisonnement et par l’histoire.* Le Clere. (Original work published 1796).

Civil Code . (1804)
https://fr.wikisource.org/wiki/Code_civil_des_Fran%C3%A7ais_1804/Texte_entier

Civil Code . (2006) Article 18.
https://www.legifrance.gouv.fr/codes/section_lc/LEGITEXT000006070721/LEGISCTA000006149907/#LEGISCTA000006149907

Darmanin, G. (02/09/2025) On Television BFMTV.
https://www.bfmtv.com/politique/gouvernement/droit-du-sol-etre-francais-ne-peut-pas-etre-automatique-affirme-gerald-darmanin_VN-202502090368.html

Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen. (1789). <https://www.conseil-constitutionnel.fr/le-bloc-de-constitutionnalite/declaration-des-droits-de-l-homme-et-du-citoyen-de-1789>

Diaz, D. (02/18/2025) Une vision biologique du lien national s’impose aujourd’hui en France, au-delà même de l’extrême droite. *Le Monde.*

Digeon, C. (1992). *La crise allemande de la pensée française (1870–1914).* Presses Universitaires de France. (Original work published 1959).

Fichte, J. G. (1808) *Reden an die deutsche Nation.* Realschulbuchhandlung.
https://www.deutschestextarchiv.de/book/show/fichte_reden_1808

François, S. (2024) *From the Nouvelle Droite to the Alt-Right, via the German “Conservative Revolution” and Nazism (in this book).* Routledge.

French Constitution of 1958. <https://www.conseil-constitutionnel.fr/le-bloc-de-constitutionnalite/texte-integral-de-la-constitution-du-4-octobre-1958-en-vigueur>

Fustel de Coulanges, N. D. de. (10/27/1870), Paris, E. Dentu, Libraire-éditeur, 1870.

Gengembre, G. (2011) Bonald, L.G.A., vicomte de. In Martin, J.-C. (Ed.), *Dictionnaire de la contre-révolution.* Perrin.

Girardet, R. (1983) *Le nationalisme française Anthologie 1871–1914.* Seuil.

Kohn, H. (1949) Father John’s Nationalism. *The Review of Politics*, 11(4), 419–432.
<https://doi.org/10.1017/s0034670500043795>

Krebs, P. (2013) *L’avènement de l’ethno-socialisme.*
<http://fierteseuropeennes.hautetfort.com/tag/pierre+krebs>. Accessed 9/20/2024

Le Petit Robert. (2002) *Dictionnaires le Robert,* Éditions Le Robert.

de Maistre . 1988 [1797] *Considérations sur la France*. (Manent, P. Ed.). Éditions Complexe.

Maurras, C. (05/15/1902) *Auguste Comte* 15 January 1798–5 September 1857. *Revue Minerva*.

Maurras, C. (1925) *Enquête sur la monarchie*. Nouvelle librairie nationale. (Original work published 1900–1901).

Maurras, C. (2023) *Mes idées politiques*. Franco-Gallia. (Original work published 1937).

Mudde, C. (2019) *The Far Right Today*. Polity Press.

Parrot, K. (2023) *Étranger*. Anamosa.

Renan, E. (1882) *Qu'est-ce qu'une nation?* Conférence faite en Sorbonne, le 11 mars 1882. Calmann Lévy.

Rials, S. (1987) *La contre-révolution*. In Ory, P. (Ed.), *Nouvelle histoire des idées politiques*. Hachette.

Sieyès, E. J. (1789) *What Is the Third Estate?* 3d Edition. Gallica.
<https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k97743407.textelimage>

Soury, J. (1902) *Campagne nationaliste 1899–1901*. Imprimerie de la cour d'Appel à Paris.

Sternhell, Z. (1978) *La droite révolutionnaire, les origines françaises du fascisme (1885–1914)*. Seuil.

Sternhell, Z. (1985) *Maurice Barrès et le nationalisme français*. Éditions Complexe. (Original work published 1972).

Sternhell, Z. (2006) *Les anti-Lumières du XVIIIème siècle à la guerre froide*. Fayard.

Strauch-Bonart, L. (2023). *Marine Le Pen et sa "Déclaration des droits des peuples", une pulvérisation des droits individuels*. L'Express.

UN Charter. (1945). <https://www.un.org/en/about-us/un-charter>

Van Den Haute, R. , Arckens, E. , Vial, P. , & Krebs, P. (1998) *Nouvelles Dissidences pour le XXIe siècle*. Héritage européen N°10.

Weil, P. (2017). *Devenir français*. In Jeanneney, J.-N. (Ed.), *Le récit national, une querelle française*. Arthème Fayard et France Culture.

Weil, P. (06/22/2024). *Le RN veut mettre à bas tout l'édifice du droit du sol construit avec constance par les rois de France et la République*. Le Monde.

Reconquête! and Rassemblement National

Amengay A. , Durovic A. , Mayer N. (2017). *L'impact du genre sur le vote Marine Le Pen*. *Revue française de science politique*, 67(6), 1067–1087.

Betz H.-G. (1994). *Radical right wing populism in Western Europe*. Saint Martin's Press.

Colange C. , Fourquet J. , Bussi M. (2012). *Les élections présidentielles de 2012: du quinquennat à la fabrication d'une France pentapolaire*. *Cybergeog: Revue européenne de géographie/European journal of geography*. 10.4000/cybergeog.25363. halshs-00846517.

Dargent C. (2016). *Les catholiques français et le Front national*. *Études*, (12), 19–30.

Dargent C. (2021). *Religion, classe sociale et comportement politique: l'épreuve de l'élection singulière de 2017*. *L'Année sociologique*, 71(2), 369–398.

Durovic A. , Mayer N. (2022). *Un vent de renouveau? La recomposition des gender gaps électoraux à l'élection présidentielle française de 2022*. *Revue française de science politique*, 72(4), 463–484.

ENEF (2022). *Enquête électorale française 2022 by Ipsos – Sopra Steria for CEVIPOF (Sciences Po), Fondation Jean Jaurès and Le Monde – wave 10 (April 15–18)*.
<https://data.sciencespo.fr/dataverse/ENEF2022>

Foucault M. , Chanvrlil F. (2017). *Le vote François Fillon autopsyie d'un naufrage*. In P. Perrineau (ed.), *Le vote disruptif*. Presses de Sciences Po, 221–236.

Givens T. (2004). *The radical right gender gap*. *Comparative Political Studies*, 37(1), 30–54.

Gombin J. (2015). *Le changement dans la continuité: géographies électorales du Front national depuis 1992*. In S. Crépon , A. Dézé , N. Mayer (eds.), *Les Faux-Semblants du Front national*. Presses de Sciences Po, 395–416.

Gougou F. , Labouret S. (2013). *La fin de la tripartition: les recompositions de la droite et la transformation du système partisan*. *Revue française de science politique*, 63(2), 279–302.

- Haegel F. , Mayer N . (2018). So close, yet so far: The French front national and Les Républicains 2007–2017. In L.E. Herman , J. Muldoon (eds.), *Trumping the mainstream: The conquest of democratic politics by the populist radical right*. Routledge, 222–245.
- Immerzeel T. , Coffé H. , van der Lippe T. (2015). Explaining the gender gap in radical right voting: A cross national investigation in 12 Western-European countries. *Comparative European Politics*, 13(2), 263–286.
- Ivaldi G. (2015). Du néolibéralisme au social-populisme?: La transformation du programme économique du Front national (1986–2012). In S. Crépon , A. Dézé , N. Mayer (eds.), *Les Faux-Semblants du Front national*. Presses de Sciences Po, 163–183.
- Ivaldi G. (2022). Marine Le Pen, Éric Zemmour: les deux extrêmes droites. In P. Perrineau (ed.), *Le vote clivé*. Presses Universitaires de Grenoble, 61–70.
- Jacquet-Vaillant M. (2021). *Le mouvement identitaire français. Pour une approche mixte des marges en politique*, PhD thesis, Supervisor: Pr. Sylvie Strudel, Université Paris-Panthéon-Assas.
- Jacquet-Vaillant M. (2023). L'extrême droite à l'épreuve de l'union. *Revue française de science politique*, 73(2).
- Kitschelt H. , McGann A. (1995). *The radical right in Western Europe: A comparative analysis*. University of Michigan Press.
- Mayer N. (2007). Comment Nicolas Sarkozy a rétréci l'électorat Le Pen. *Revue française de science politique*, 57(3–4), 429–445.
- Mayer N. (2015a). The closing of the radical right gender gap in France? *French Politics*, Palgrave Macmillan, 13(4), 391–414.
- Mayer N. (2015b). Le plafond de verre électoral entamé, mais pas brisé. In S. Crépon , A. Dézé , N. Mayer (eds.), *Les Faux-Semblants du Front national*. Presses de Sciences Po, 297–322.
- Mayer N. (2022). The impact of gender on votes for the populist radical rights: Marine Le Pen vs. Eric Zemmour. *Modern & Contemporary France*, 30(4), 445–460.
- Mudde C. (2007). *Populist radical right parties in Europe*. Cambridge University Press.
- Norris P. (2005). *Radical right: Voters and parties in the electoral market*. Cambridge University Press.
- Perrineau P. (Ed.) (2007). *Atlas électoral: qui vote quoi, où, comment?* Presses de Sciences Po.
- Perrineau P. (2017). Marine Le Pen au premier tour. In P. Perrineau (ed.), *Le vote disruptif*. Presses de Sciences Po, 251–268.
- Strudel S. (2007). L'électorat de Nicolas Sarkozy: "rupture tranquille" ou syncrétisme tourmenté? *Revue française de science politique*, 57(3–4), 459–474.
- Vitiello T. , Cautrès B. , Martigny M. , Strudel S. , Krouwel A. (2017). Dynamiques de campagne et choix des candidats. La primaire de la droite et du centre au miroir de la boussole présidentielle (2016–2017). *Revue française de science politique*, 67(6), 1131–1151.
- Vitiello T. , Krouwel A . (2015). Les Systèmes d'Aide au Vote comme nouvel outil d'analyse de la dynamique de campagne: le cas de La Boussole présidentielle française. *Revue internationale de politique comparée*, 22(2), 203–229.

Preventing People From Thinking

Gori, R. (2015). *L'individu ingouvernable*. Editions Les Liens qui Libèrent.

Gori, R. (2017). *Un Monde sans Esprit. La fabrique des terrorismes*. Les Liens qui Libèrent.

"Who Are We Now" Question and Extreme Right-Wing Politics

Akhtar, S. (1992). *Broken structures: Severe personality disorders and their treatment*. Jason Aronson.

Bloom, P. (2010). *How pleasure works: The new science of why we like what we like*. W. W. Norton.

- Blos, P. (1962). On adolescence. Free Press.
- Çevik, S. B. (2024). Grandiose dreams, mega projects: Ottoman nostalgia in 'new Turkey'. *International Journal of Applied Psychoanalytic Studies*, 21(1), e1846. <https://doi.org/10.1002/aps.1846>
- Emde, R. N. (1991). Positive emotions for psychoanalytic theory: Surprises from infancy research and new directions. *Journal of the American Psychoanalytic Association*, 39, 5–44.
- Epstein, J. (2023). Worried about World War III, Trump says he wants an “impenetrable” shield like Iron Dome to protect the US from hypersonic weapons: A missile defense expert says it's a long shot. *Business Insider*, January 31.
- Freud, S. (1921). Group psychology and the analysis of the ego. *Standard Edition*, 18: 65–143. Hogarth Press.
- Freud, S. (1930). Civilization and its discontents. *Standard Edition*, 21: 64–145. Hogarth Press.
- Freud, S. (1939). An outline of psycho-analysis. *Standard Edition*, 23: 211–253. Hogarth Press.
- Fung, K. (2023). Donald Trump promises Iron Dome for US, mass deportations. *Newsweek*, October 17.
- Kernberg, O. (1975). Borderline conditions and pathological narcissism. Jason Aronson.
- Kernberg, O. (1976). Object relations theory and clinical psychoanalysis. Jason Aronson.
- Maccoby, M. & Fuchsman, K. (eds.). (2020). *Psychoanalytic and historical perspectives on the leadership of Donald Trump: Narcissism and marketing in an age of anxiety and distrust*. Routledge.
- Purhonen, M. , Kilpeläinen-Lees, R. , Valkonen-Korhonen, M. , Karhu, J. , Lehtonen, J. (2005). Four-month-old infants process own mother's voice faster than unfamiliar voices – electrical signs of sensitization in infant brain. *Brain Res Cogn Brain Res*, August; 24(3), 627–633. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.cogbrainres.2005.03.012>. Epub 2005 April 20. PMID: 16099371.
- Stern, D. (1985). The interpersonal world of the infant: A view from psychoanalysis and developmental psychology. Basic Books.
- Volkan, V. (1976). Primitive internalized object relations: A clinical study of schizophrenic, borderline and narcissistic patients. International Universities Press.
- Volkan, V. (1988). The need to have enemies and allies: From clinical practice to international relationships. Jason Aronson.
- Volkan, V. (1997). Bloodlines: From ethnic pride to ethnic terrorism. Farrar, Straus and Giroux.
- Volkan, V. (2013). Large-group-psychology in its own right: Large-group identity and peace-making. *International Journal of Applied Psychoanalytic Studies*, 10, 210–246.
- Volkan, V. (2017). Immigrants and refugees: Trauma, perennial mourning, and border psychology. Karnac.
- Volkan, V. (2020). Large-group psychology: Racism, societal divisions, narcissistic leaders and who we are now. Phoenix Publishing.
- Volkan, V. (2023). Political leaders' personalities, socio-political processes and the invasion of Ukraine. In: *Why war in Ukraine and in Europe: Psychoanalysis, trauma, and resiliency*, (L. Giuseppe , Ed.), pp. 51–121. Frenis Zero Publishing House.
- Volkan, V. & Ast, G. (1994). Spektrum des narzißmus: Eine klinische studie des gesunden narzißmus, des narzißtisch-masochistischen charakters, der narzißtischen persönlichkeitsorganisation, des malignen narzißmus und des erfolgreichen narzißmus. Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
- Volkan, V. & Javakhishvili, J. (2022). Invasion of Ukraine: Observations on leader-followers relationships. *American Journal of Psychoanalysis*, 82, 189–209.
- Weigert, E. (1967). Narcissism: Benign and malignant forms. In: *Crosscurrents in psychiatry and psychoanalysis*, (R. Gibson , Ed.), pp.222–238. Philadelphia: Lippincott.

How the Radical Right Has Used the Coronavirus Crisis to Fuel Conspiracy Theories

Agamben, G. (2020). L'invenzione di un'epidemia – Quodlibet. Quodlibet. <https://www.quodlibet.it/giorgio-agamben-l-invenzione-di-un-epidemia>

- Amlinger, C. & Nachtwey, O. (2022). Gekränkte Freiheit. Aspekte des libertären Autoritarismus. Suhrkamp.
- Brauner, F. (2022). "Vertraut mir, solltet niemandem vertrauen." Verschwörungsmentalität in der Coronakrise aus mentalisierungstheoretischer Perspektive [Review of "Vertraut mir, solltet niemandem vertrauen." *Verschwörungsmentalität in der Coronakrise aus mentalisierungstheoretischer Perspektive*]. In F. Hessel, P. Chakkarath, & P. Luy (Eds.), *Verschwörungdenken. Zwischen Populärkultur und politischer Mobilisierung* (pp. 89–106). Psychosozial-Verlag.
- Butter, M. (2018). Nichts ist, wie es scheint. Über Verschwörungstheorien. Suhrkamp.
- Cristi, R. (2020, April 4). Pandemics and Philosophy – European Journal of Psychoanalysis. *European Journal of Psychoanalysis*. <https://www.journal-psychoanalysis.eu/articles/pandemics-and-philosophy/>
- Erikson, E.H. (1966). Identität und Lebenszyklus. Suhrkamp. (Original work published 1959).
- Fonagy, P., Luyten, P., Allison, E., & Campbell, C. (2017). What We Have Changed Our Minds about: Part 2. Borderline Personality Disorder, Epistemic Trust and the Developmental Significance of Social Communication. *Borderline Personality Disorder and Emotion Dysregulation*, 4(1). <https://doi.org/10.1186/s40479-017-0062-8>
- Foucault, M. (1977). Überwachen und Strafen. Die Geburt des Gefängnisses. Suhrkamp.
- Gravelmann, R. (2020). Jugend in Coronazeiten. Diskurse in Gesellschaft und Wissenschaft. [Review of *Jugend in Coronazeiten. Diskurse in Gesellschaft und Wissenschaft*]. *Dialog Erziehungshilfe*, 4, 39–45. <https://jugendhilfeportal.de/artikel/jugend-in-coronazeiten-diskurse-in-gesellschaft-und-wissenschaft>
- Hartmann, M. (2011). Die Praxis des Vertrauens. Suhrkamp.
- Kalwa, J., & Meltzer, C. (2021). Spitzensportler in der Pandemie: Wieso lassen sich Profis nicht impfen? [Review of *Spitzensportler in der Pandemie: Wieso lassen sich Profis nicht impfen?*]. *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*. <https://www.faz.net/aktuell/sport/sportpolitik/sportpolitik-wieso-lassen-sich-profis-nicht-impfen-17631001.html>
- Kneer, G. (2016). Die Analytik der Macht bei Michel Foucault [Review of *Die Analytik der Macht bei Michel Foucault*]. In P. Imbusch (Ed.), *Macht und Herrschaft. Sozialwissenschaftliche Theorien und Konzeptionen* (pp. 265–284). Springer VS. Current and expanded edition from 2012.
- Mentzos, S. (1977). Interpersonale und institutionalisierte Abwehr. Suhrkamp.
- Raffnsøe, S., Gudmand-Høyer, M., & Thaning, M.S. (2011). Foucault. Studienhandbuch. W. Fink.
- Ravens-Sieberer, U., Kaman, A., Otto, C., Adedeji, A., Napp, A.-K., Becker, M., Blanck-Stellmacher, U., Löffler, C., Schlack, R., Hölling, H., Devine, J., Erhart, M., & Hurrelmann, K. (2021). Seelische Gesundheit und psychische Belastungen von Kindern und Jugendlichen in der ersten Welle der COVID-19-Pandemie – Ergebnisse der Copsy-Studie. *Bundesgesundheitsblatt – Gesundheitsforschung – Gesundheitsschutz*. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s00103-021-03291-3>
- Reckwitz, A. (2019). Die Gesellschaft der Singularitäten – Zum Strukturwandel der Moderne. Suhrkamp.
- Richter, H.-E. (1963). Eltern, Kind und Neurose. Zur Psychoanalyse der kindlichen Rolle in der Familie. Rowohlt.
- Richter, H.-E. (1976). Die Rolle des Familienlebens in der kindlichen Entwicklung. *Familiendynamik*, 1, 6–24.
- Richter, H.-E. (2012). Patient Familie. Entstehung, Struktur und Therapie von Konflikten in Ehe und Familie. Psychosozial-Verlag. (Original work published 1970).
- Sarasin, P. (2020, March 25). Mit Foucault die Pandemie verstehen? Geschichte Der Gegenwart. Retrieved December 8, 2021, from <https://geschichtedergegenwart.ch/mit-foucault-die-pandemie-verstehen>
- Schnetzer, S., & Hurrelmann, K. (2021). Jugend in Deutschland – Trendstudie: Winter 2021/22. <https://simon-schnetzer.com/jugend-in-deutschland-trendstudie-winter-2021-22/>
- Volkan, V.D. (2005). Blindes Vertrauen. Großgruppen und ihre Führer in Krisenzeiten. Psychosozial-Verlag.
- Wirth, H.-J. (2013). Zur Familiendynamik der Aids-Phobie – Eine Fallstudie [Review of *Zur Familiendynamik der Aids-Phobie – Eine Fallstudie*]. In P. Möhring & T. Neraal (Eds.), *Psychoanalytisch orientierte Familien- und Sozialtherapie. Das Gießener Konzept in der Praxis*

(pp. 249–264). Psychosozial-Verlag.

Wirth, H.-J. (2019). Ressentiments, Verbitterung und die Unfähigkeit zu vertrauen als emotionale Bausteine des Populismus. *Psychosozial*, 42(2), 10–25.

<https://doi.org/10.30820/0171-3434-2019-2-10>

Wirth, H.-J. (2021). Der affektive Furor des Populismus. *Jahrbuch Der Psychoanalyse*, 62(2), 17–42. <https://doi.org/10.30820/0075-2363-2021-2-17>

Pushing One's Own Advantage to the Detriment of Others

Bauer, J. (2007). *Prinzip Menschlichkeit: Warum wir von Natur aus kooperieren*. Hoffmann & Campe.

Dawkins, R. (2006). *The selfish gene*. Oxford University Press. (Original work published 1976).

De Waal, F. (2009). *The age of empathy: Nature's lessons for a kinder society*. Three Rivers Press.

Elias, N. (2000). *The civilizing process: Sociogenetic and psychogenetic investigations*. Blackwell. (Original work published 1969).

Gay, P. (1994). *The cultivation of hatred*. Norton. (Original work published 1993).

Gould, S. J. (1996). *The mismeasure of man*. Norton. (Original work published 1981).

Klein, N. (2017). *No is not enough: Defeating the new shock politics*. Allen Lane.

Kohn, A. (1992). *No contest: The case against competition*. Houghton Mifflin. (Original work published 1986).

Lewontin, R. , Rose, S. , Kamin, L. (2017) *Not in our genes: Biology, ideology, and human nature*. Haymarket Books. (Original work published 1984).

Monbiot, G. (2024). To beat Trump, we need to know why Americans keep voting for him. *The Guardian*, 01/29/2024. www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2024/jan/29/donald-trump-americans-us-culture-republican

Zinn, H. (2003). *A people's history of the United States: 1492–present*. Harper Collins. (Original work published 1980).

Identity by Refusing Mourning and Guilt?

Canetti, E. (1980). *Masse und Macht*. Fischer Verlag.

Conzen, P. (2020). Erik H. Erikson: Grundpositionen seines Werkes. Kohlhammer Verlag.

Erikson, E. (1973). *Autobiographic notes on the identity crisis*. In: *Dædalus* 99, 1979. MIT Press.

Erikson, E. (1982). *The life cycle completed*. W. W. Norton & Company.

Flasch, K. (1971). Zur Rehabilitierung der Relation: Die Theorie der Beziehung bei Johannes Eriugena. In: Niebel, W. & Leisegang, D. (eds.) (1974). *Philosophie als Beziehungswissenschaft*. Horst Heiderhoff Verlag.

Freimüller, T. (2011). *Der versäumte Abschied von der Volksgemeinschaft: Psychoanalyse und "Vergangenheitsbewältigung"*.

http://docupedia.de/zg/freimueller_mitscherlich_unfaehigkeit_v1_de_2011.

Griffin, R. (2020). *Faschismus: Eine Einführung in die vergleichende Faschismusforschung (Explorations of the far right, Vol.7)*. Horst Heiderhoff Verlag.

Hillje, J. (2022). *Das "Wir" der AfD. Kommunikation und kollektive Identität im Rechtspopulismus*. Campus Verlag.

Jonas, H. (1995). *Der Gottesbegriff nach Aauschwitz: Eine jüdische Stimme*. Suhrkamp Verlag.

Karow, Y. (1997). *Deutsches Opfer: Kultische Selbstausslöschung auf den Reichsparteitag der NSDAP*. Akademie Verlag.

Koenen, G. (2023). *Im Widerschein des Krieges: Nachdenken über Russland*. C. H. Beck Verlag.

Land, N. (2023). *Okkultes Denken*. Matthes & Seitz Verlag.

- Lasch, C. (1980). *Das Zeitalter des Narzißmus*. Steinhausen Verlag.
- Madsen, D. (1998). *American exceptionalism*. University Press.
- Meyer, T. (2002). *Identitätspolitik: Vom Missbrauch kultureller Unterschiede*. Suhrkamp Verlag.
- Meyer, T. (2024). *Identitätspolitik – Worum es geht*. <https://www.frankfurter-hefte.de/artikel/identitaetspolitik-worum-es-geht-2572/>.
- Mitscherlich, A. & Mitscherlich, M. (1985). *Die Unfähigkeit zu trauern. Grundlagen kollektiven Verhaltens* (17th ed.). Piper Verlag.
- Nielsen, B. (2003). Die Weitergabe von Schmerz als psychohistorisches Ggrundkonzept: Überlegungen zum 11. September und zu einer Therapie der Beziehung zwischen den Nationen. In: *Jahrbuch für psychohistorische Forschung* 3, pp. 51–81. Mattes Verlag.
- Nielsen, B. (2006). Weltuntergang und Weltaufgang: Apokalyptik als Vorstellungszusammenhang des amerikanischen und islamistischen Fundamentalismus. In: *Jahrbuch für psychohistorische Forschung* 6, pp. 153–183. Mattes Verlag.
- Scharfenberg, J. (1989). Welchen Sinn hat es, von Schuld zu sprechen? Wunden, die die Zeit nicht heilt. In: *Evangelische Kommentare* 5, pp. 40–45. Kreuz Verlag.
- Schlögel, H. (1988). "Der Mensch ist Gewissen ...": Überlegungen zum Gewissensverständnis von Gerhard Eebeling. https://epub.uni-regensburg.de/8880/1/ubr03558_ocr.pdf.
- Schlögel, K. (2008). *Terror und Traum: Moskau 1937*. C. H. Beck Verlag.
- Sen, A. (2007). *Identity and violence: The illusion of destiny*. W.W. Norton & Company.
- Snyder, T. (2022). *Bloodlands: Europa zwischen Hitler und Stalin 1933–1945*. C. H. Beck Verlag.
- Wölfel, E. (1981). *Welt als Schöpfung: Zu den Fundamentalsätzen der christlichen Schöpfungslehre heute*. Kaiser Verlag.
- Yang, S. & Shen, D. (2023). Young chinese adults can't find work: Now many have a new job description: 'Full-time children'. *Los Angeles Times*. <https://www.latimes.com/world-nation/story/2023-09-28/china-full-time-children>.

Anti-democracy in Turkey, Iran, and Russia

Bozarlsan, H. (2021) *L'anti-démocratie au XXIème siècle, Iran, Russie, Turquie*. CNRS éditions.¹