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Right-Wing Extremism in the Netherlands:

Why it is still a marginal phenomenon

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Introduction

At present, right-wing extremism seems a really marginal phenomenon in the Netherlands. Only three or four political parties may belong to this political family, if we define it broadly as a combination of nationalism, racism and xenophobia.¹ None of them is represented at the national parliament or even at a provincial parliament; and only two of them hold a seat in a municipal parliament. Together they count probably less than 1000 members, at present.

How to explain this? Is it the electoral system that prevents the rise of new parties, as in Britain? No: the Dutch system is extremely kind to newcomers; merely 0.7 of the popular vote suffices to win a seat in parliament. Are there no immigrants or refugees in the Netherlands? Yes there are; more than 40,000 refugees, and almost 40,000 legal immigrants (and an unknown number of illegal immigrants) arriving each year.² I suggest we have to use a more historical approach to explain the relative failure of right-wing extremist organisations in this country. Therefore, I will present here the history of the Extreme Right in the Netherlands; and I will do so from three angles: organisational development, ideology and electoral support.

1. The Roots of the Extreme Right in the Netherlands

The Extreme Right has always been weak and fragmented in the Netherlands. It lacked an ideological tradition as well as a solid social base. A landowning aristocracy no longer played a significant role in Dutch politics in the nineteenth century – power had shifted to a patrician bourgeoisie already in the Dutch Republic (1588-1795). Moreover, the Dutch did not have to deal with a national question that could have given rise to a nationalist movement with extremist tendencies. It is true, reactionary anti-democratic forces did emerge in the late nineteenth century, but they were divided between Liberal, Catholic and Calvinist parties. Only has survived until today, the Reformed State Party (*Staatkundig Gereformeerde Partij*, SGP). This party has come to accept democracy in practice, but not in theory. It would like to replace universal suffrage by ‘organic suffrage’, i.e. give the right to vote only to (male) heads of households.³ However, it is not a nationalist, racist or xenophobic party.⁴ Since 1925 it has occupied two or three seats in parliament.

In the 1930s, two extreme right-wing parties entered parliament: in 1933 the conservative Association for National Reconstruction (*Verbond Nationaal Herstel*), in 1937 the National Socialist Movement (*Nationaal-Socialistische Beweging*); the former won 0.8 percent of the popular vote, the latter 4.2 per cent. The National-Socialists had already peaked by then and began to decline – until they were saved, temporarily, by the German occupation in 1940.⁵

By 1945, national-socialism and fascism had become dirty words, of course; but so had nationalism, conservatism and even the term ‘right-wing’. During the 1960s, a populist right-wing Farmers’ Party (*Boerenpartij*) made a temporary breakthrough but failed to consolidate its organisation as well as to articulate a coherent ideology.⁶

[This by way of historical introduction. Now I will present the history of contemporary organisations: NVU, CP/CP’86 and CD – see Figure 1, Family Tree]

2. The Dutch People’s Union

In 1977 a nationalist party, the **Dutch People’s Union** (*Nederlandse Volksunie*, NVU), took part in parliamentary elections and almost won a seat. When it was founded in 1971, its main purpose was to unite the Netherlands and Flanders in a Greater Dutch State. The regime of this state should be fairly authoritarian and corporatist: the head of state should appoint a prime minister who would not depend on parliamentary support; and parliament should be elected at least in part by professional organisations.⁷ Former members of the (banned) National Socialist Movement and SS-volunteers had joined the NVU but kept a low profile, at

first. Within a few years, however, the NVU turned into a racist and almost openly national-socialist party. In 1974 the Board of Directors appointed a new leader, Joop Glimmerveen, after he had almost won a seat in the municipal council of The Hague with the slogan ‘The Hague should remain white and safe’.⁸ He made no secret of his national-socialist sympathies.⁹ In 1977, Glimmerveen led the party in parliamentary elections with the slogan ‘Keep the Netherlands white’ and won 0.4% of the popular vote – not quite enough for a seat (see Table 1). The NVU attracted most support in poor urban areas with a high proportion of immigrants from countries like Surinam, Morocco or Turkey.¹⁰ In 1978, the NVU was banned by the court of The Hague, because its activities clashed with ‘public order and morality’.¹¹ Though the Supreme Court qualified this decision a year later and dissolution of the party turned out to be impossible because of a formality, electoral participation became very difficult for the NVU. Internal quarrels weakened it further. By the mid-eighties, the organisation appeared dead for all practical purposes. Even the very active members of its youth organisation joined other groups, such as the Centre Party ’86 (see below), or the Action Front National Socialists (*Aktiefront Nationale Socialisten*, ANS); the latter was founded in 1984 (as an informal organisation) by supporters of the German Neo-Nazi Michael Kühnen.¹²

Yet all of a sudden in 1996, the aging Glimmerveen decided to revive the dormant NVU, with the help of some of his young friends. Co-operating closely with the ANS, they have organized (illegal) demonstrations in several Dutch cities, for example in August 2000 in Echt (Limburg), in order to commemorate the death of Rudolf Hess.¹³ Moreover, Glimmerveen presented himself at municipal elections at The Hague in 1998, without success however. So did his young friend Constant Kusters, secretary of the NVU, in Arnhem.¹⁴ The NVU seems to maintain contacts with other Neo-Nazi organisations in Europe.¹⁵ In 1999, Glimmerveen was sentenced to five months in prison for inciting people to hatred and discrimination of minorities.

3. The Centre Party

For many nationalists, the NVU had already become too radical by the late seventies. They tried to set up more moderate organisations, of which only the **Centre Party** (*Centrumpartij*, CP), proved relatively successful. It was founded in 1980 and entered parliament in 1982 (see Table 1). As the name implied, the Centre Party claimed to belong in the centre of the political spectrum and to reject any extremist or anti-democratic tendencies.¹⁶ Its main purpose was the ‘preservation of Dutch culture’ and promotion of ‘likemindedness’ (*eensgezindheid*).¹⁷ Unlike the NVU, it did not favour an authoritarian regime, but the contrary: a more democratic regime, where parliamentary democracy would be combined with direct democracy, i.e. referendum and people’s initiatives. Its socio-economic programme could be considered moderately conservative: while accepting the welfare state, the CP wanted to reduce the civil service and restrict the role of the state. The party was also conservative with respect to law and order issues, but quite progressive in its emphasis on environmental policies and animal welfare. Immigration policy did not figure prominently in the first party programme, but the CP did focus on this theme in its election campaigns in 1981 and 1982. All in all, the party programme could hardly be called extremist.¹⁸

Nonetheless the CP was identified with the Extreme Right by most observers, journalists and academics alike. Hans Janmaat, a political scientist who soon became president of the party and represented it in parliament, was decried as a ‘wolf in sheep’s clothing’ who tried to hide his fascist intentions behind a democratic façade.¹⁹ Meetings of the party were often disturbed, if not prevented altogether, by antifascist activists. Even so the party grew rapidly at first, from 50 to perhaps 3000 members in its first three years, and mobilized 135,000 voters (2.5%) at the European elections of 1984, almost enough for a seat. It had presented a rather moderate platform at these elections, warning against the ‘internationalism’ of the established parties and emphasizing ‘Dutch identity’, but also praising European integration and a ‘European identity’. The European Community ought to

develop an immigration policy somewhat similar to that of the USA or Canada and to foster remigration as well as integration of immigrants from non-European countries.²⁰

The electorate of the CP resembled that of the NVU. It was concentrated in larger cities [where it obtained 5% in 1984;] and especially in districts with substantial and growing ethnic minorities as well as high rates of unemployment. CP-voters, when interviewed by telephone, proved much more hostile towards foreigners than average voters; as well as more dissatisfied with their own socio-economic situation and with the political system and politicians in the Netherlands.²¹

However, already in 1984 the party started to disintegrate. Its rapid growth and the pressure from a hostile environment may have exacerbated ideological and personal tensions that existed from the beginning. At a party congress in May 1984, Janmaat was replaced as party president by Nico Konst, a history teacher and a romantic nationalist who objected to the parliamentarism and conservatism of the member of parliament.²² Personal ambitions, jealousy and accusations of financial mismanagement contributed to the conflict between the two factions. In October 1984 Janmaat was expelled from the Centre Party, while retaining his seat in parliament. A month later, he founded a new party, the Centre Democrats (CD, *Centrumdemocraten*) – more about this below.

4. CP'86 and its Offshoots

No longer represented in parliament, the Centre Party was deprived of government subsidies – while also losing many members - and soon ran into financial troubles. Moreover, internal strife continued. When his high school threatened to fire him, Konst resigned as president. In May 1986, the party failed to regain a seat in parliament; but it also failed financially. As a consequence, it was reorganized and renamed **Centre Party '86** (CP'86). It maintained some support in large cities, however, having won five seats at municipal elections earlier in 1986 [one each in Amsterdam, Almere, Lelystad, Rotterdam and Utrecht]. It came to depend on assistance from the German NPD (*Nationaldemokratische Partei Deutschlands*), which helped to print the party journal and inspired its programme.²³

By 1989, the party seemed about to disappear, even lacking resources to take part in the (anticipated) parliamentary elections of that year. Yet the next year it received fresh blood from the Youth Front of the Netherlands, a youth organisation affiliated with the NVU, which was about to be banned. The Youth Front leader, Stewart Mordaunt, was nominated by the CP'86 and elected to the municipal council of The Hague in 1990. In this year the CP'86 won four seats altogether at the municipal elections. The new members were quite active – though more in the street, holding marches and demonstrations, than in the council meetings. Even so, at municipal elections in 1994 the party gained nine seats. It proved particularly successful in the Rotterdam area. Here even a founding member of the ANS, Martijn Freling, became a municipal councillor. However, not all members of the CP'86 were happy with the growing Neo-Nazi tendencies in the party. Disappointing results at parliamentary elections in 1994 (only 0.4%, no seat) and at provincial elections in 1995 (0.1%, no seats either) may have contributed to growing tensions between the national-socialist wing and a more democratic ethnic or popular-nationalist wing.

The party programme of 1994 still reflected the ideology of the ethnic nationalists or popular nationalists (*volksnationalisten*). They pursued the old ideal of a Greater Dutch State, which would incorporate French and Belgian Flanders and would be free from foreigners and ethnic minorities. It should be an ethnically and racially pure, but democratic state. Like its predecessor (the CP), the CP'86 advocated direct democracy, and specifically a 'people's referendum' in which only Dutch people would be allowed to participate. And the party made it quite clear: 'one becomes a Dutchman by birth and not by some administrative measure'.²⁴ Its racism remained usually implicit. It did not imply a belief in superiority of a particular race, but the idea that a 'multi-racial society' lacks cohesion and stability.²⁵ The ardent nationalists rejected the 'coca-cola and hamburger culture' and its producer, international capitalism. They would prefer a 'third way' beyond capitalism and socialism, but failed to

operationalize this ideal. In fact, they seemed resigned to accept the dominant economic system because they did not perceive an alternative.²⁶ Compared to the CP, however, the socio-economic discourse of the CP'86 had become more leftist, whereas its ideas about immigrants could be considered more right-wing and racist.

In 1996 the *volksnationalisten* lost the struggle against the Neo-Nazi wing and decided to leave the CP'86. Most of them set up a new organisation, Popular Nationalists of the Netherlands (*Volksnationalisten Nederland*, VNN). In March 1998, the VNN participated in municipal elections in four cities, without any success however. In October 1998 its members decided to dissolve the VNN and found again a new organisation, the **New National Party** (NNP), to which also some members from the CD adhered. By 2000, the NNP claimed 500 members – though 200 seems more realistic – and to be ready for national elections.²⁷ The leader of the *Vlaams Blok*, Filip de Winter, addressed its party conference in April. The NNP has tried to mobilize popular discontent about refugee centres in several smaller cities, by distributing leaflets there against the ‘multi-cultural’ and ‘multi-criminal’ society. While its president and vice-president were former CP'86-leaders (Egbert Perée and Henk Ruitenbergh respectively), its secretary and part of its cadre consisted of younger people, recently recruited – often through internet. The programme of the NNP resembled that of the CP'86 in substance, though it seems more cautious in some ways.²⁸

However, not all moderate members from CP'86 had joined the NNP; some had given up on party politics and preferred to join the nationalist pressure group Outpost (*Voorpost*). A Dutch branch of this originally Flemish movement was established in 1977 but kept a low profile until 1996. Since then, it has organized seminars and summer camps, set up a nationalist student association (*Nederlandse Studentenvereniging*, since 1999 called National Action Platform for Nationalist Students, *Landelijk Actieplatform voor Nationalistische Studenten*) and published a journal for right-wing intellectuals.²⁹ Thus it hopes to create a nationalist sub-culture in the Netherlands – and in the long run, a Greater Dutch State which would incorporate Belgian and French Flanders.

Meanwhile, the CP'86 (now led by Mordaunt and Freling) had been declared a ‘criminal organisation’ by the Supreme Court of the Netherlands in 1997 and was thereupon banned and dissolved by a lower court in 1998, because it promoted discrimination of foreigners in its programmes and propaganda and endangered the public order. The fact that it was regarded as a criminal organisation implied that its leaders would not be allowed to found a new party on similar principles. Both Mordaunt – convicted in 1998 for promoting discrimination and violence at a party meeting in 1996 – and Freling seemed to have ceased political activities, but rank-and-file members may have joined the NVU (as Kusters did earlier) or ANS.

5. The Centre Democrats

While the CP'86 fell apart and disappeared, its moderate rival, the Centre Democrats, experienced ups and downs as well. More than the CP and CP'86 it focussed on the issue of immigrants and ethnic minorities, almost like a single-issue party. Like the CP in its first years, it embraced state nationalism, rather than ethnic nationalism.³⁰ ‘Preservation and development of the political and cultural identity of the Netherlands and promotion of national solidarity’ constituted its main principle.³¹ How this should be achieved remained a little vague, even in election platforms which tend to be rather specific. The CD rejected the multi-cultural society in principle and would like to confront immigrants with a clear choice: either assimilation or remigration. Yet even its rejection of multi-culturalism is not perfectly clear and consistent. In its 1998 programme, the party suggested ‘amalgamation’ of elements from different cultures, provided the elements from (ethnic) minorities would not clash with essential elements of Dutch culture.³² This rather moderate position seems hard to reconcile with the ethnocentric and xenophobic statements in the programme and party journals of the CD. In almost every area, housing, health care, welfare, employment, the Centre Democrats perceived that foreigners received preferential treatment, while Dutch citizens were

discriminated against. This 'Anti-Dutchman-Policy' (*Anti-Nederlander Beleid*) should stop, and be reversed: it was time to give preferential treatment to Dutch citizens in every area. Apart from these ethnocentric demands, the programme of the CD contained rather moderate, though often trivial propositions for lower fuel prices, protection of animals, re-introduction of the death penalty and so on. Though the party often voiced populist criticisms of the prevailing political regime – a 'democratic dictatorship' according to Janmaat – it advocated only modest reforms, like introduction of a referendum (which all leftwing parties in the Netherlands favoured also) and election of a non-partisan chairman in both houses of parliament.³³ Like the CP, the CD favoured conservative social and economic policies. The party also accepted European integration, though it expressed some reservations about monetary integration in its 1998 programme.³⁴

The CD concentrated on elections, rather than direct actions in the streets. Yet it did not very well at municipal and national elections in 1986, nor at provincial elections in 1987. Only in 1989 a breakthrough occurred: Janmaat regained a seat in parliament, no doubt benefitting from the fact that the CP'86 did not take part in these elections (see Table 1). During the next five years, electoral fortune smiled on the Centre Democrats. In March 1990 the party won 11 seats at municipal elections, in March 1991 it captured three seats at provincial elections, in March 1994 it raised its number of municipal council seats to 77 and gained three seats in parliament. Rising numbers of refugees and the incomplete integration of ethnic minorities had begun to worry even the leader of the Liberal Party and a large share of the electorate as well; in 1994, more than half of the voters sampled in a survey regarded this as the most urgent political problem at the time.³⁵

In national election studies, CD-voters tended to be under-represented. However, analysis of aggregate data, local surveys and accumulation of data from the Netherlands Institute of Public Opinion (NIPO) show a fairly consistent pattern. Like the Centre Party, the CD attracted mainly male voters from larger cities, and especially (though not exclusively) from areas where ethnic minorities – and especially Islamic minorities – were concentrated and growing. Moreover, a vote for the CD correlated significantly with a low level of education, a low income, unemployment and dependence on welfare or social security; and with secularity and feelings of social isolation.³⁶ The electorate changed somewhat during the nineties, however: more inhabitants of small cities and church members began to vote for the CD, though still not quite as much as people in larger cities and seculars. Also the gap between the genders and between provinces diminished without disappearing: women and people in the northern and eastern provinces remained more reluctant to support the CD than the average Dutch voter. Eisinga and his associates interpret these findings as a confirmation of two theories: the theory of economic interests and the theory of symbolic interests.³⁷ In other words, most CD-voters were 'social victims', who felt they had to compete with immigrants for jobs, housing and welfare, while established parties devoted more attention to the newcomers than to them. And moreover, they felt isolated and alienated from society and the political system.

This may also explain why support for the CD declined after 1994, when economic conditions improved in the Netherlands. Yet this was not the only factor. The CD failed to consolidate its electoral gains. Janmaat ran the party with his wife (who was party secretary) and step-son (who managed the party office) almost like a family business. His leadership style alienated party cadre, especially the more ambitious and competent members. Thus in 1993 Wim Vreeswijk, one of the three provincial councillors of the CD and often seen as Janmaat's 'crown prince', was expelled after he had tried to re-unite the Dutch extreme right in a new organisation, the Dutch Bloc (*Nederlands Blok*) – inspired by its Flemish counterpart, of course. As a result, the Dutch Bloc became another rival on the political scene, even if it has competed only in provincial and municipal elections so far.³⁸ Even more substantial defections took place between 1994 and 1998. Many of the newly elected municipal councillors failed to cope with the climate of mutual suspicion and distrust within the party and its hostile environment. Publications about racist statements and criminal activities of party cadre by three journalists, who had independently of each other joined the party 'under cover', caused considerable damage to the image of the party and to the

atmosphere within its ranks.³⁹ By the end of 1996, almost half of the 77 municipal councillors had either given up their seat or left the party or both.⁴⁰ Whilst the party claimed between 3000 and 4000 members in the mid-nineties, the real number must have been closer to 1000, of which perhaps 300 could be considered active members.⁴¹ The lack of active party cadre, and more in particular of politically competent people, may have encouraged Janmaat to cooperate with CP'86. In February 1996 the two parties held a demonstration together in Zwolle, protesting against the difficulties both faced in renting facilities for party meetings. In his speech, Janmaat promised the CD would abolish the multi-cultural society as soon as it would have the chance and the power to do so.⁴² In March 1997, he was convicted for incitement to racial discrimination and hatred because of this speech. The sentence was confirmed by a higher court in December 1997 and by the Supreme Court in May 1999.⁴³

The wheel of fortune had turned again. In 1998 the CD lost 76 of its 77 municipal seats and all three seats in parliament. As a consequence, it would not receive any more donations from its representatives, nor state subsidies for its research office, and party broadcasts on radio and television would end. In fact, it had to pay back subsidies it had received earlier but could not account for. In 1999 the three provincial council seats were lost also. Membership went down to 150, according to outside observers.⁴⁴ The party did not cease all activities, however. In October 1999 and in July 2000 it distributed leaflets in Kollum and Kampen, in both cases after a girl had been murdered (in Kollum possibly by a refugee).⁴⁵ Moreover, in September 2000 it announced that it was preparing to re-enter parliament at the next parliamentary elections (expected in 2002).⁴⁶

Thus by the end of the nineties, right-wing extremism had reached another electoral zenith in The Netherlands. It was not represented in a national or provincial parliament and retained only two seats in a municipal council (one in Utrecht (Dutch Bloc) and one in Schiedam (CD)), out of 10,000 municipal seats across the country.

6. Conclusions

Four conclusions can be drawn from all this, it seems to me. In the first place, Nationalist or Right-wing Extremist organisations grow and decline in rather short cycles in the Netherlands. The Dutch People's Union (NVU) was founded in 1971, peaked between 1974 and 1977 and became an insignificant fringe party very soon after that. The Centre Party was established in 1980, peaked between 1982 and 1984 and fell apart in the next three years. One of its offshoots, the Centre Democrats, founded in 1984, has survived until today, but passed its peak in 1994 and lost significance in 1998. Thus one might hazard a prediction: that we are about to see another cycle of growth and decline in this decade, with probably a peak around 2005 – either for a new party like the NNP or a revival of the CD.

The Centre Democrats are more moderate state nationalists – though some members have made racist statements in private – whereas the New National Party adheres to a more radical, ethnic nationalism. Yet if the NNP would manage to become a more open and democratic party than the CD, it might attract more members and voters in the long run. Both parties advocate a rather conservative socio-economic programme, accepting the welfare state more or less like it is. In doing so, they may neglect the political opportunity (and electoral potential) for a party which would combine nationalism with a libertarian critique of the welfare state and call for drastic tax cuts, like the Progress Party in Norway and Denmark or its offshoot, the Danish People's Party, or even the Austrian FPO.⁴⁷

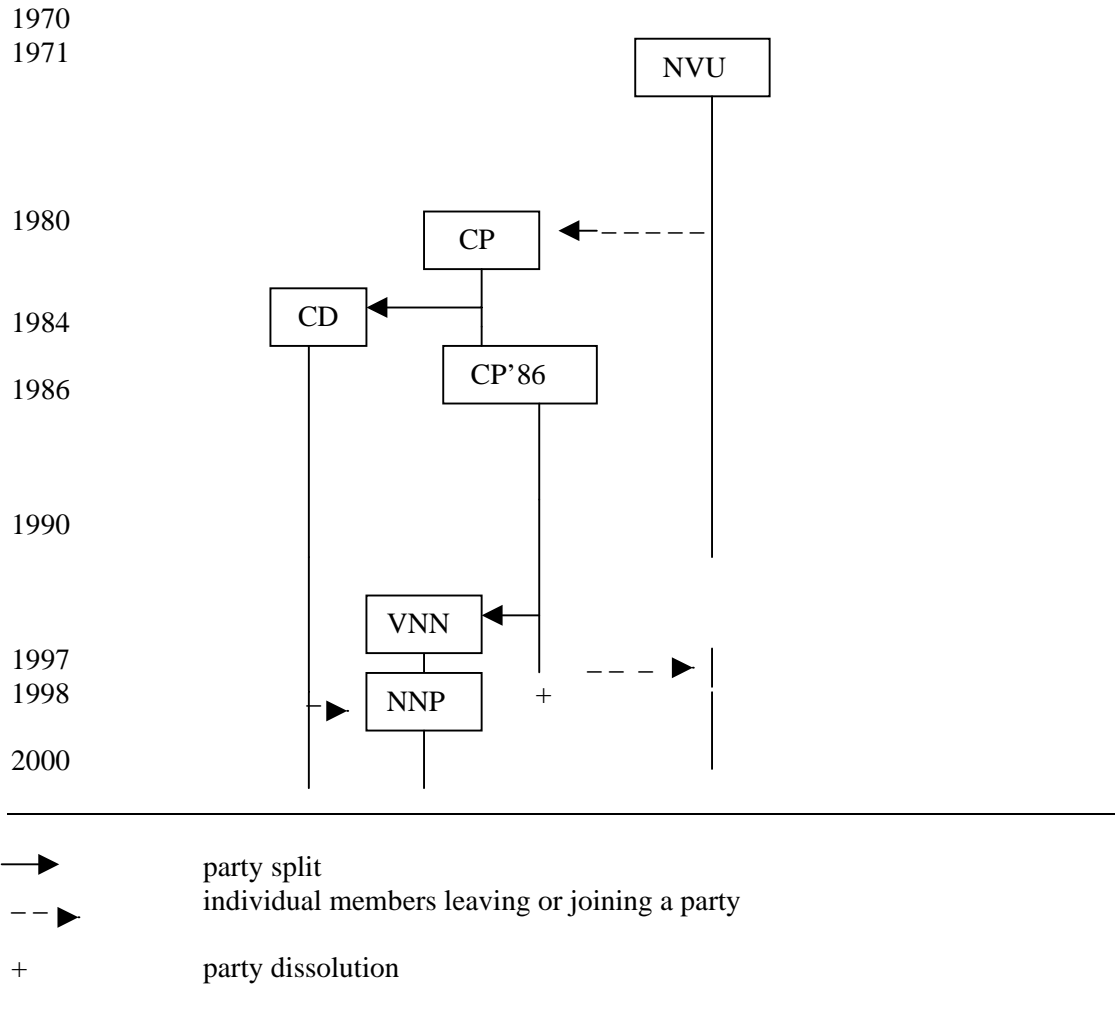
A more libertarian nationalist party might be able to win middle class as well as working class voters. So far, the nationalist parties in the Netherlands have alienated the educated middle class. NVU, CP and CD managed to win only (some) workers and small businessmen with little formal education as well as unemployed inhabitants of larger cities. Most studies indicate a close connexion between sympathy for these parties and the growing presence of ethnic minorities.

The limited electoral appeal of these parties can be attributed to four factors, in my opinion:

- (1) the absence of a nationalist tradition in the Netherlands;
- (2) the (relative) prosperity and social security of the Dutch working class and unemployed, who constitute the potential electorate of extremist parties in post-industrial society; there is an obvious relationship between unemployment and sympathy for right-wing extremism;
- (3) the 'repressive tolerance' of the Dutch state with respect to extremism, and particularly the legal sanctions against racist statements (in a broad sense); this may compensate for the openness of the party system (low electoral thresholds);
- (4) the internal strife and incompetence of nationalist parties and leaders – itself partly a consequence of the factors (1) and (3).

In the long run, these factors may change; but in the next couple of decades, Right-wing extremism will probably remain a marginal phenomenon in the Netherlands.

Figure 1. Family Tree of Rightwing Extremism in the Netherlands (1970-2000)



List of Abbreviations

CD	Centre Democrats (<i>Centrumdemocraten</i>)
CP	Centre Party (<i>Centrumpartij</i>)
CP'86	Centre Party '86 (<i>Centrumpartij '86</i>)
NNP	New National Party (<i>Nieuwe Nationale Partij</i>)
NVU	Dutch People's Union (<i>Nederlandse Volksunie</i>)
VNN	Popular Nationalists of the Netherlands (<i>Volksnationalisten Nederland</i>)

Table 1. Election results of CD, CP/CP'86 and NVU at National and European Elections(1977-1999)

Election	CP/ CP'86		CD		NVU		Total ¹	
	Votes %	Seats	Votes	Seats	Votes	Seats	Votes	Seats
1977 NE					0.4	0	1.2	1
1979 EE					-	-	-	-
1981 NE	0.1	0			0.1	0	0.5	0
1982 NE	0.9	1			0.0	0	1.2	1
1984 EE	2.5	0			-	-	2.5	0
1986 NE	0.4	0	0.1	0	-	-	0.5	0
1989 EE	-	-	0.8	0	-	-	0.8	0
1989 NE	-	-	0.9	1	-	-	1.0	1
1994 NE	0.4	0	2.5	3	-	-	3.0	3
1994 EE	-	-	1.0	0	-	-	1.0	0
1998 NE			0.6	0	-	-	0.6	0
1999 EE			0.5	0	-	-	0.5	0

¹ Total includes other parties and lists, specifically: the Farmers' Party (*Boerenpartij*), renamed Right-Wing People's Party (*Rechtse Volkspartij*), in 1981 and active until 1982; the Political Federation (*Staatkundige Federatie*) in 1989 and Patriotic Democratic Appeal in 1994.

Notes

¹ Personally I consider this definition too broad, I prefer to restrict the term to groups that try to change the political regime in an authoritarian direction; however, then only one party in the Netherlands would qualify, the Dutch People's Union.

² Figures from the website of the Dutch Central Bureau of Statistics: www.cbs.nl/nl/kerncijfers, 25 October 2000.

³ D. Slagboom et.al., *Toelichting op het Program van Beginselen van de Staatkundig Gereformeerde Partij*, The Hague: SGP, 1996, 43-44.

⁴ Though it is opposed to Muslim and Hindu immigrants, as it strives for a Christian state; it welcomes Christian refugees regardless of ethnicity or race; see E.J. Brouwer et.al., *Over de grens? SGP-visie op asielzoekers en allochtonen*, Houten: Den Hertog, 2000.

⁵ A.A. de Jonge, *Crisis en critiek der democratie*, Assen: Van Gorcum, 1968.

⁶ A.H.M. Dölle, 'De Boerenpartij: terugblik op een politiek verschijnsel', *Intermediair*, 15: 36 (1979), 59-65.

⁷ 'Standpunten van de Volksunie' (1972), reprinted in *Wij Nederland*, 10: 4 (1981), 5-6; see also: C. Bouw, J. van Donselaar and C. Nelissen, *De Nederlandse Volksunie: portret van een racistische splinterpartij*, Bussum: Wereldvenster, 1981, 37-39.

⁸ Jaap van Donselaar, *Fout na de oorlog. Fascistische en racistische organisaties in Nederland 1950-1990*, Amsterdam: Bert Bakker, 1991, 155-157; the NVU was in fact controlled not by its membership but by the Board of Directors of the Foundation for Support and Supervision of the NVU (*Stichting tot Steun aan en Toezicht op de Nederlandse Volks-Unie*), a rather unusual construction in the Dutch context, but quite consistent with its authoritarian ideology.

⁹ For example, he called the leader of the National Socialist Movement – convicted for high treason and executed in 1945 – 'a great patriot' in 1978 (J. Glimmerveen, 'Mussert en Vondeling', *Wij Nederland*, 8: 4 (1978), 11); in 1980 he referred to 'the greatest political and spiritual seer of mankind' who would have said 'you are nothing, your people is everything' (*Wij Nederland*, 10: 3 (1980), 5).

¹⁰ Frank Bovenkerk, 'De verkiezingsaanhang van de Nederlandse Volksunie', in: Frank Bovenkerk (ed), *Omdat zij anders zijn: patronen van rasdiscriminatie in Nederland*, Meppel: Boom, 1978, 103-118.

¹¹ C. Bouw, J. van Donselaar and C. Nelissen, *De Nederlandse Volksunie*, 101-105.

¹² Karel ten Haaf, .. *en morgen de hele wereld? Het Aktiefront Nationale Socialisten, de Kühnenbeweging in Nederland, 1984-1992, een documentaire*, Amsterdam: FOK, 1992, 52.

¹³ *NRC Handelsblad*, 29 augustus 2000.

¹⁴ Kusters had been candidate for CP'86 (see below) in 1994 but was expelled from the party because of anti-semitic statements; in 1995 he had founded the Fundamentalist Workers Party (*Fundamentalistische Arbeiderspartij*, FAP), which seems to have led a shadow existence ever since (Rinke van den Brink, 'Nederlandse naziblaadjes', *Vrij Nederland*, 57: 1 (1996), 11).

¹⁵ Kusters claimed to be member of the German NPD and of the Flemish Bloc (*Trouw*, 15 November 1997).

¹⁶ Hans Janmaat, 'De plaats van de Centrumpartij in de Nederlandse politiek', *Middenweg*, 5: 1/ 2 (1984), 5-11.

¹⁷ CP, 'Verkiezingsprogramma', *Middenweg*, 2: 3 (1981), 4-36, especially 4; also in *Partijprogramma Centrumpartij 1982* (The Hague: CP, 1982).

¹⁸ See also Cas Mudde, 'Het programma van de Centrumstroming', in: Joop van Holsteyn and Cas Mudde (eds), *Extreem-rechts in Nederland*, The Hague: Sdu, 1998, 31-46; Paul Lucardie, 'The Netherlands: the Extremist Center Parties', in: Hans-Georg Betz and Stefan Immerfall (eds), *The New Politics of the Right: Neo-Populist Parties and Movements in Established Democracies*, New York: St.Martin's Press, 1998, 111-124.

¹⁹ Kees Brants and Willem Hogendoorn, *Van vreemde smetten vrij: de opkomst van de Centrumpartij*, Bussum: De Haan, 1983, 132.

²⁰ CP, *Europees programma*, s.l., s.a., 2-3, 28-29, 41.

²¹ Though one may question the representativeness of the samples, the results of various studies point in similar directions, thus adding to their reliability. See C. Nelissen and J. van Donselaar, 'Verkiezingsdeelname van de Nederlandse Volksunie en de Centrumpartij', *Intermediair*, (1982) 20, 1-9; J. Stapel, 'De profiteurs van de positieve discriminatie', *Beleid en Maatschappij*, (1984) 4, 102-108; Cees van der Eijk, Galen Irwin and Broer Niemöller, *Dutch Parliamentary Election Study 1986 Stratified Sample*, Amsterdam: CT Press, 1989; Maurice de Hond, *De opkomst van de Centrumpartij: een onderzoek onder de aanhang van de Centrumpartij in het najaar van 1983*, Amsterdam: Interview,

1983; Jaap van Donselaar and Carlo van Praag, *Stemmen op de Centruumpartij: de opkomst van anti-vreemdelingenpartijen in Nederland*, Leiden: COMT, 1983.

²² *NRC Handelsblad*, 2 June 1984; Jaap van Donselaar, *Fout na de oorlog*, 193-199.

²³ CP'86, *Nationaaldemocratische richtlijnen inzake ons nationaal bewustzijn*, Almere: CP'86, s.a.; see also Cas Mudde, 'Right-wing extremism analyzed. A comparative analysis of the ideologies of three right-wing extremist parties (NPD, NDP, CP'86)', *European Journal of Political Research*, 27: 2, 203-224.

²⁴ CP'86, *Partijprogramma*, Bergentheim: CP'86, 1993, 5.20.

²⁵ CP'86, *Nationaaldemocratische richtlijnen inzake ons nationaal bewustzijn*, 1.1-1.4.

²⁶ Interview with Henk Ruitenbergh, president of CP'86, in Zwolle, 27 October 1994.

²⁷ *NRC Handelsblad*, 8 June 2000; *De Volkskrant*, 19 April 2000.

²⁸ *Beginselprogramma NNP*, from internet: www.nationalepartij.nl, 24 November 1998.

²⁹ The three are not formally linked, but the president of Outpost, Marcel Rüter, is also editor-in-chief of the journal, entitled SOS (*Studie, Opbouw & Strijd*). See also Hans Buitelaar, 'De linkse glimlach van extreem-rechts', *Vrij Nederland*, 60: 42 (23 October 1999), 23; *NRC Handelsblad*, 8 June 2000. Buitelaar estimates the organisations attract between 100 and 200 supporters.

³⁰ See also Cas Mudde, *The Extreme Right Party Family: An Ideological Approach*, Leiden: PhD Thesis, 1998, 199-219.

³¹ CD, *Oost West Thuis Best. Partijprogramma Verkiezingen Tweede Kamer 1994*, The Hague: Thomas Hobbes Stichting, 1994, 6.

³² CD, *Trouw aan rood wit blauw! Partijprogramma Verkiezingen Tweede Kamer 1998*, The Hague: Thomas Hobbes Stichting, 1998, III.1, (p.14); also: XIII.13.(p.30).

³³ *Ibidem*, Preface (p.5), I.1 and I.2, (pp.10-11).

³⁴ *Ibidem*, XII, 6 (p.28).

³⁵ *Nationaal Kiezersonderzoek 1994 Kerncijfers*, Voorburg/Heerlen: CBS, 1994, 36, 39.

³⁶ T. Bijlsma and F. Koopmans, 'Stemmen op extreem-rechts', *Acta Politica*, 30: 2 (1995), 215-229; Christopher T. Husbards, 'Phoenixes from the ashes? The recovery of the Centruumpartij'86 and the Centrumdemocraten, 1989-1991', *Jaarboek 1992 DNPP*, Groningen: DNPP, 1993, 84 -102; A. van der Veen and O. Dicke, *CD-stemmers anno 1993*, Amsterdam: Interview, 1993; Meinedt Fennema and Jean Tillie, 'Ethnic Nationalism, Social Isolation and the Extreme Right', in: Peer Scheepers (ed), *Rechtsextremisme en kiezersonderzoek*, Voorburg: CBS, 1994.

³⁷ Rob Eisinga, Jan Lammers, Marcel Lubbers and Peer Scheepers, 'Het electoraat van extreem-rechtse partijen: individuele en contextuele kenmerken, 1982-1996', in: Joop van Holsteyn and Cas Mudde (eds), *Extreem-rechts in Nederland*, The Hague: Sdu, 1998, 93-112.

³⁸ Vreeswijk lost his seat in the provincial parliament of Utrecht in 1995, but was re-elected municipal councillor in 1994 and 1998 in the city of Utrecht.

³⁹ Bas van Hout, 'De dodenlijst van de Centrum Democraten', *Panorama*, 81: 12 (1994), 12-17; K. Kooiman, 'Undercover in de CD', *De Groene Amsterdammer*, 118: 12 (1994), 6-11; Peter Rensen, *Dansen met de duivel: Undercover bij de Centrumdemocraten*, Amsterdam: L.J.Veen, 1994.

⁴⁰ Some of them tried to set up a new party, the Citizen's Party of the Netherlands (*Burgerpartij Nederland*), but by 1998 this seemed a still-born baby. See about the municipal councillors of the CD also: Carlo van Riel and Joop van Holsteyn, 'In de raad: over het functioneren van gemeenteraadsleden van extreem-rechts', in: Joop van Holsteyn and Cas Mudde (eds), *Extreem-rechts in Nederland*, The Hague: Sdu, 1998, 61-74.

⁴¹ Rinke van den Brink, *De Internationale van de haat: extreem-rechts in West-Europa*, Amsterdam: Sua, 1994, 250; Marco Esser and Joop van Holsteyn, 'Kleur bekennen: over leden van de Centrumdemocraten', in: Joop van Holsteyn and Cas Mudde (eds), *Extreem-rechts in Nederland*, The Hague: Sdu, 1998, 75-92.

⁴² *NRC Handelsblad*, 26 February 1996.

⁴³ *NRC Handelsblad*, 29 March 1997, 29 December 1997 and 27 May 1999.

⁴⁴ *NRC Handelsblad*, 8 June 2000.

⁴⁵ *NRC Handelsblad*, 16 October 1999; *Reformatorisch Dagblad*, 27 July 2000.

⁴⁶ *CD-Info*, 21 September 2000; as far as we know this was the only issue of the party journal published in 2000.

⁴⁷ There is a Libertarian Party in the Netherlands, which does not take a nationalist position and which obtained only 0.0% of the vote in 1994.