

Abrahamsen, Rita, Jean-François Drolet, Michael C. Williams, Srdjan Vucetic, Karin Narita, and Alexandra Checiu. 2024. *World of the Right: Radical Conservatism and Global Order*. Cambridge University Press, 211 pp. £ 22.99 (Paperback)

The book “World of the Right: Radical Conservatism and Global Order” is a crucial contribution to the emerging field of radical Right, sometimes referred to as ‘new Right’ or ‘global Right.’ It expands on the ‘international turn’ within the field, thoroughly examining one of the most pressing global challenges today: the rise of the radical Right and its implications for the future of the liberal international order (LIO). The book consists of five chapters that aim to clarify the key elements of this diverse political movement, which is united in its advocacy for sovereignty, civilisational orders, multipolarity, and alignment with illiberal states, such as Russia and China. The chapters are titled: “A Diverse and Global Right,” “The Gramscian Right, or Turning Gramsci on His Head,” “Deconstructing the Global Administrative State,” “The War of Position: Toward a Right Common Sense,” and “The Right World.”

In the opening chapter, the authors explore the intriguing contradiction of a radical Right that is both internally divided and globally interlinked. They examine how this emerging Right, characterised by its populist and nationalist tendencies, advances its agenda globally instead of being limited to local or regional boundaries. First and foremost, this movement engages in a strategically crafted counter-hegemonic struggle against a common global enemy: the liberal managerial elites. More importantly, the notion of global is crucial for the radical Right’s intellectual foundations and political tactics. Liberal actors and the whole LIO are not mere adversaries. They serve as constitutive factors of the radical Right. This is evident in the radical Right’s general strategy to unite various social and geographic groups by sharing a common perception of their marginalisation caused by liberalism and globalisation. In doing so, the radical Right has become a threat from within for the LIO. To that end, the radical Right strategically seeks to establish transnational links, disseminate ideas, gain exposure, and foster commitment worldwide. Therefore, the authors suggest the concept of *global Right*, which they define as consisting of transnational interactions operating at multiple scales and its relation to the global, as opposed to a simultaneous rise of right-wing national parties and movements.

The second chapter illustrates how the radical Right has adopted some of Gramsci’s fundamental concepts, earning it the designation of the Gramscian Right. Concepts such as cultural hegemony, historic blocs, and counter-hegemonic movements are integral to the radical Right’s globalisation efforts. These ideas provide not just intellectual and political motivation but also coherence, strategic agency, and a framework to challenge the liberal

order. By embracing these concepts, the radical Right shifted from direct hostility to the hegemonic order to a more subtle strategy, developing opposition and critique through counter-hegemonic agency. Its organic intellectuals participate in the 'war of positions,' aiming to undermine the current order while establishing the ideological, cultural, and institutional foundations for a new one. For them, this struggle extends beyond politics to encompass cultural issues, which is why they often refer to it as 'culture wars.' There is also a metapolitical aspect to it. The radical Right aims to alter the political landscape by critiquing modernity, especially liberalism, intending to dismantle the liberal order and redefine the ideas, concepts, and meanings people rely on to interpret their surroundings. This is particularly evident in their opposition to postmodernism.

A key aspect of this counter-hegemonic struggle is the critique of the global administrative state and liberal managerial society (the New Class), discussed in chapter three. Managerialism is a fundamental idea that connects various national agendas and provides significant momentum for the globalisation of radical Right's concepts and movements. By framing globalisation as an extension of managerialism and global elites, the radical Right presents a counter-hegemonic perspective for comprehending the modern world, pinpointing those to blame, institutions to challenge and oppose, and those who resist, whom they aim to empower and mobilise against. Managerial elites in this perspective face criticism for undermining traditional identities and hierarchies, values and rights, fostering detachment from local communities and nations, and generally causing the 'decay of the West.' Consequently, the radical Right has identified liberal managerial elites as the main adversaries, striving to mobilise cultural resentment and advance the economic interests of the social forces depicted as the principal victims of the LIO.

The fourth chapter examines how the radical Right has engaged in a 'war of position,' a struggle to reshape the dominant common sense and cultivate organic intellectuals who can critique the existing order and offer alternatives. The authors acknowledge the pivotal role of digital media in their efforts. However, they investigate two more traditional methods of resistance: the publishing sector and educational institutions. They explore various right-wing publishing houses, including Arktos, Counter-Currents, and Encounter Books, which have played a part in normalising and trivialising radical Right views. Institutions like Hillsdale College, New College of Florida, and Ludovika University of Public Service illustrate that the radical Right takes these 'wars' seriously, viewing culture, especially education, as their primary battlegrounds. These examples demonstrate their belief in a lengthy process of reshaping globalist institutions from within.

The last chapter concludes by discussing the crisis of the LIO and the rise of the radical Right as both its cause and symptom. The authors outline three key sources for this relationship: the shift from Keynesian liberalism to neoliberal globalisation, the erosion of domestic political institutions and representation, and the emergence of illiberal powers, such as China and Russia. In response to these changes, the radical Right has fostered global alliances and visions for a redefined world order, emphasising civilisational concepts, sovereignty and multipolarity. This movement connects the radical Right with

global illiberal powers and the Global South. Although their agendas diverge, these groups stand united against Western dominance and the LIO. A prime example of these cross-sectional alliances is a worldwide campaign aimed at defending and promoting 'natural family' and 'family values', encompassing 'antigenderism' and 'human rights originalism', which directly jeopardise fundamentals of the LIO. Another commonality is the concept of a multipolar world composed of civilisational blocs – groups of nations united by distinct epistemic, cultural, and spiritual principles – that rejects Western universalism. This all fosters a distinct geopolitical perspective that unites anti-LIO forces on a global scale.

This book deserves thorough attention from scholars and those curious about the radical Right, the future of the LIO, and international relations in general. It serves as an essential resource for understanding the intricate connections and dynamics of the global radical Right, establishing a foundational basis for radical Right studies. Additionally, it signals the pathways that international relations should explore in the twenty-first century.

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