

RIGHT WING POPULISM IN EUROPE: A DISCOURSIVE RHETORIC FOCUSED ON EUROPEAN UNION, ETHNO-NATIONALISM, DEMOCRACY AND GLOBALIZATION

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1. POPULISM IN SOCIAL SCIENCES AND POLITICAL ANALYSIS.

Despite the fact that the term “populism” is highly ambivalent, it is increasingly used in the social sciences and has become a particular field in political analysis, without being precisely defined. Populism is a particular political rhetoric, which extremely simplifies complex problems and offers apparently easy, painless but at the same time vague solutions. However, due to the negative connotation of the term, far-right populist parties prefer to define themselves to be centrists, reject most of labels normally associated with them -conservative, right-wing, racist, xenophobic- and threaten to take legal actions or denounce in some cases media companies and journalists who do. After a Swedish journalist of *Sveriges Radion* called the Sweden Democrats party xenophobic in 2013, the party reacted with a complaint lodged to the broadcasting regulator. In 2014, the Supreme Court of Hungary ruled that Jobbik couldn't be labelled “far-right” in any domestic radio or television transmission.

They present themselves as common men and women who understand and represent people, especially the under-privileged and under-represented segments, who know and voice their concerns, in contrast to the corrupt and established elites. Populism relies on charismatic leaders with decisive roles in their parties and on popular support. Populism respects the basic criteria of democracy but rejects all existing ideologies as insufficient for the particular society and tries to find and adopt its “own new path”. However, it is characterised by a lack of any coherent and clear set of ideas, or any consistent ideology and policy for the long run.

The current and complex multidimensional socio-economic, political, cultural and discursive crisis our European societies are facing can be used to explain the re-emergence of

populism today. They have become increasingly popular at a time when public trust in government is at the lowest level in the last at least 30 years due to the dramatic effects -unemployment, poverty, inequality- of the economic recession and financial crisis that started in 2008, due to the painful austerity plans implemented in many countries including controversial measures like increases in retirement age and taxes, significant reduction in budgetary allocations to education and healthcare policies, the freezing of public workers salaries, etc., and due to the growing number of scandals of corruption and wrong doings by public officials. It is interesting to see how their current electoral successes began roughly at a time when public disillusionment with the established political elites was at its height due to corruption scandals and to their proven inability or unwillingness to find and adopt fair solutions to address the challenges of our European societies. Another particular cause behind the rise in populism, Euroscepticism, and ethno-nationalism across the continent has been the economic and political fallout from the eurozone debt crisis that has been taking place in the European Union since the end of 2009, and in particular the economic meltdown in Spain, Portugal, Ireland, Cyprus and Greece that required rescue programs from its European partners as they were unable to repay their government debt or to bail out over-indebted banks without the assistance of third parties like the European Financial Stability Facility, the European Central Bank or the International Monetary Fund. Another reason is related to the consequences of the enlargement process towards Central and Eastern Europe, the recent lifting of controls on migration from Romania and Bulgaria, the arrival of young employed people from southern European countries, and the refugee crisis. These migration flows have led to political attacks by these right-wing populist parties on the impacts of central, eastern and southern European migrants on security, salaries, employment, welfare programs and social benefits, schools and hospital that hit home during a time of austerity and falling national budgets. Immigration concerns, inflamed by the media, are troubling the political classes in Germany, the Netherlands, France, Finland and Sweden as well as the United Kingdom.

2. THE RISE OF RIGHT WING POPULISM IN EUROPE

Recent electoral evidence shows clearly a shocking and outstanding rise of right-wing populist movements and related political parties in most of European Union member states and beyond, like Norway, Switzerland, official candidate countries such as Serbia, and potential candidates like Ukraine. The interesting thing is that countries and world areas, such as Scandinavia, considered for decades to be a safe haven of liberal and stable democracy, cultural tolerance and social inclusion have also become examples of anti-immigration, Eurosceptic, and Islamophobic activism. Political and social movements promoting racist, xenophobic, ethno-nationalist, and populist extreme-right ideologies have grown substantially in the past two decades mobilizing a wide range of segments of European citizens, obtaining outstanding performances in local, regional, national and European Parliament elections, becoming a permanent feature and active players on the political stage, as well as champions of public debates, and influential agenda-setters.

These parties have carried out a clever strategy to obtain greater public acceptance and

to expand their electoral support and political base. Current right-wing populism in Europe has dissociated itself from the non-democratic past, from the burden of racism and Nazism, has moved away from overt neo-fascist discourse, and has softened their language and rhetoric. These parties have moderated their public face to hide an ideological hard core, not only accepting the rules of democratic constitutions but presenting themselves as the guardians and protectors of Western liberal and democratic values and principles against the cartel of traditional parties, and of the cultural and religious values, customs and traditions of European societies against the enemies from outside, immigrants and Muslims in particular.

Right-wing populism has demonstrated an outstanding ability to take advantage of the huge possibilities offered by social networks and modern media democracies to create a permanent process of campaigning not only tied to electoral processes providing and securing a massive attention and cover from the media. Their political communication has relied on a discursive and rhetorical strategy that simplify extremely complex phenomena, make false claims, deny the obvious, say the unsayable, transcend the limits of the permissible, and use double messages with calculated ambivalence related to race, culture, traditions, and national identity. Creating permanent provocation and scandals, they don't only assure the cover of media but also the control of public debates forcing the other parties and politicians to react and respond permanently to ever new scandals offering few opportunities to present other frames, values, counterarguments or agendas.

Right-wing populist parties in Europe have promoted an effective discourse and agenda very much single-issue oriented. These political parties don't claim anymore an alternative to the existing political system or model of state, as did the traditional fascist parties in the past, but an alternative to specific policies, like migration, globalization and European integration once they have changed considerably since their foundation, adjusted their rhetoric to the changing national and international political conditions and to the new citizens' concerns. They pursued the principles of modernization and pragmatism. So recently, anti-Semitism, revisionism were replaced by Islamophobia, Euroscepticism and anti-globalization. Topics such as immigration, increasing cultural and religious diversity, race relations, national identity, rights of the local population, and radical political Islam have constituted a core element of such movements with controversial slogans such as "people like you".

Another political and electoral strategy of these parties has been their ability to cut across, and transcend traditional left-right cleavages facilitated by the *Third Way* adopted by many social-democratic parties in the continent during the 1990s and 2000s. European party systems, dominated historically by polarization and electoral competition between two clearly ideological profiles and political blocs, became profoundly affected as those political and electoral options largely moved towards the centre to win the support of the middle class and become a credible political and governmental alternative. The broad consensus on economic and welfare issues between the traditional left-wing and right-wing parties provoked that many voters perceived those blocs as more or less indistinguishable inciting many of them to seek out to new political alternatives, and lead to a confrontation on moral and cultural issues and the risk of promoting a politicization and polarization of value issues

which represents a great success of right-wing populism. At the same time, the acceptance of neo-liberal policies allowed them to construct new social cleavages related to, often legitimate and justified, fears about globalization, Europeanization and the subsequent rise of nationalism, chauvinism, etc., appealing to the common-sense and traditional conservative values linked to aggressive exclusionary rhetoric.

One crucial explanation to this outstanding performance of right-wing populism has been the use of increasingly sophisticated techniques of political communication and marketing, skilled use of new social media and networks within and across countries, a new political language, new tools of outreach and mobilization, and the role played by charismatic leaders -Jean Marie Le Pen, Nigel Farage, Umberto Bossi, Jörg Haider, Nick Griffing, Heinz-Christian Strache, Pim Fortuyn, Kaczynski brothers, Christoph Blocher, Carl I. Hagen, Frauke Petry, Nikolaos Michaloliakos, etc.- with the ability to excite audiences at rallies and appeal to common people and make complicated things look easy using a populist tone and rhetoric.

But we should not forget the fact that right-wing populism is not a new phenomenon in Europe, but has a long-term history. Since the end of the Second World War, revisionist ideologies have circulated and have been promoted by neo-Nazi or far-right extremist parties and movements, such as Occident, Group Union Défense, and Ordre Nouveau in

Table 1. Current and former leaders of right-wing populist parties in Europe.

COUNTRY	PARTY	CURRENT LEADER	PREVIOUS LEADERS
UNITED KINGDOM	UKIP	HENRY BOLTON	NIGEL FARAGE
SWITZERLAND	SVP-UDC	ALBERT RÖSTI	CHRISTOPH BLOCHER
SWEDEN	SD	JIMMIE AKESSON	MIKAEL JANSSON
SLOVAKIA	LsNS	MARIAN KOTLEBA	
POLAND	UPR/KNP	STANISŁAW ŻÓLTEK	
NORWAY	Fr	SIV JENSEN	CARL I. HAGEN
NETHERLANDS	PVV	GEERT WILDERS	
LATVIA	NA/TB/LNNK	RAIVIS DZINTARS	ROBERTS ZILE
ITALY	LN	MATTEO SALVINO	UMBERTO BOSSI
HUNGARY	JOBBIK	GÁBOR VONA	
GREECE	LS-CA	NIKOLAOS MICHALOLIAKOS	
GERMANY	AfD	ALEXANDER GAULAND	FRAUKE PETRY
FRANCE	FN	MARINE LE PEN	JEAN-MARIE LE PEN
FINLAND	SPiP	JUSSI HALLA-AHO	TIMO SOINI
DENMARK	DF	KRISTIAN THULESEN DAHL	PIA KJÆRSGAARD
BELGIUM	VB	TOM VAN GRIEKEN	
AUSTRIA	FPÖ	HEINZ-CHRISTIAN STRACHE	JÖRG HAIDER

France, Italian Social Movement in Italy, etc. But the true thing is that today this new kind of right-wing populism has specific features compared to the traditional far-right movements. In the first two decades of the 21st century, we have seen an important transformation in the ideologies, electoral strategies, discourses and organizational forms of racist, extreme right and populist movements and political parties.

3. A CALCULATED STRATEGY OF SOFTENING LANGUAGE AND RHETORIC.

Most of right-wing populist political parties in Europe have moderated and softened their discourse and rhetoric to obtain the support of a larger electoral base and to appear as a credible political force in regional, national and European politics.

Under the leadership of Marine Le Pen, elected president of the party in 2011 by two thirds of the members, the National Front has tried to de-demonise the party and soften its xenophobic and extremist image by expelling controversial members like his father when he referred to the Nazi gas chambers as “a point of detail of the history of the Second World War”. This change of image and discourse showed to be effective increasing its popularity and electoral performance in subsequent elections. The National Front won mayoralties in 12 cities in the municipal elections held in March 2014; became the first French party at the 2014 European elections with 24,86% of the vote and 24 of France’s 74 seats; reached the second round of 2017 presidential elections obtaining 33,9% of the vote; and obtained 8 deputies in the 2017 legislative election, the best number for the party in a majority parliamentary election since its creation.

The Sweden Democrats, a party with its roots in Swedish fascism and part of the white supremacy movement in the late 1980s, had some founding party officials who expressed strong support for the ideology of Nazism¹⁾, chose as the party’s logo from the 1990s until 2006 a version of the torch used by the UK National Front, until it was changed to an Anemone hepatica flower in 2006, and in the early days of the party, it recommended its members international connections with extreme organizations such as the National Democratic Party of Germany, the American National Association for the Advancement of White people founded by David Duke, and publications like the Nazi Nation Europa and Nouvelle École, a newspaper that advocated racial biology. But under the leadership of Miakel Jansson and Jimmie Åkesson since 2005, the party has softened its image and has moderated its positions and statements. They took controversial decisions such as formally banned in 1996 the use of any kind of uniform after that several members dressed in Nazi uniforms at party meetings.²⁾ But anyway, Sweden Democrats have the largest share of elected municipal representatives resign since 2010 elections, in most of the cases those resignations were brought on by racist statements or actions³⁾.

Similarly, since the 2014 legislative election, Jobbik, due to its growing popularity and broadening supporter groups, implemented major changes in its program and policies, started to re-define itself as a conservative people’s party, and changed the controversial elements of its communication. This political trend adopted before the 2014 legislative elections, called “moderation to a people’s party” –*néppártosodás*–, resulted in a new style of communication avoiding many radical elements of the earlier program and putting an end

to the previous time of radicalism. In Norway, the Progress Party from the mid 2000s, under the leadership of Siv Jensen, has to some extent sought to moderate its profile and move and position itself more towards conservatism in order to seek government cooperation with centre-right parties. As part of that strategy, in 2001 the party decided to expel certain controversial and radical members. The Latvian party, became more moderate after merging with the Latvian National Independence Movement in 1997 shifting their emphasis to economic issues and in particular to free market.

Nevertheless, other right-wing populist parties, such as Alternative for Germany, the Northern League and the Slovak People's Party Our Slovakia, behave differently and maintained or even hardened their positions. In the particular case of the Italian *Lega Nord*, under the leadership of Matteo Salvini since 2013, the party has emphasized Euroscepticism, opposition to immigration and other populist policies. Alternative for Germany, after few months of internal disagreements under the new leadership of Frauke Petry in mid 2015, the party has completed a clear shift to the right hardening its position on issues such as immigration, and Islam. This shift provoked the exit of several members some weeks later in protest for the rise of xenophobic and pro-Russian sentiments, and some of them, lead by Bernd Lucke, formed a new part in July 2015, the Alliance for Progress and Renewal.

The People's Party Our Slovakia party during the elections of 2016, nominated several candidates seen as controversial, such as the ex-singer of neo-Nazi music bands *Krátky process* and *Juden Mord*, and a candidate who openly admired Adolf Hitler and promoted Hlinka's historical Slovak people's Party. Some of its members are connected to extremist movements such as the Slovak Brotherhood. Equally controversial was when the party and its members requested a minute of silence for Jozef Tiso, who supported and actively put laws in place during the Second World War that discriminated against Jews and made the country pay Nazi Germany to transfer Slovak Jews into concentration camps. In May 2017, the General prosecutors Office of the Slovak Republic made a submission to the Supreme Court, requesting a dissolution of the party due to pro-fascist tendencies, violation of the Constitution and Slovak and International laws.

But probably, the most extreme case of all is the Greek Golden Dawn. Its leader, Nikolaos Michaloliakos, during the 1980s and 1990s was arrested several times for politically motivated offences such as beatings and illegal possession of explosive materials while the party embraced at that time Hellenic Neopagan beliefs. Afterwards, members of the party attacked students at the Athens University during a massive demonstration against the use of the name Macedonia by the Republic of Macedonia, and a significant number of them participated during the Bosnian War in the Greek Volunteer Guard supporting the Serbian army, and being decorated for their contribution in the war crimes committed against Bosnian Muslims in Srebrenica. More recently, following the investigation of the murder by several supporters of the party of anti-fascist rapper Pavlos Fyssas in September 2013, its leaders and several members were arrested and held in pre-trial detention on suspicion of forming a criminal organization.

4. RIGHT WING POPULIST PARTIES IN EUROPE.

In this paper, I will focus on a limited number of far-right populist parties in Europe, choosing one main representative from each European country that has been affected by the emergence of these political and social movements. Most of these political parties are members of the three main eurosceptic parliamentary groups in the European Parliament: the Europe of Freedom and Direct Democracy, Alliance of European Conservatives and Reformists, and the Europe of Nations and Freedom.

United Kingdom Independence Party (United Kingdom). Originated as the Anti-Federalist League, it is a Eurosceptic party founded by the historian Alan Sked in 1991, and was renamed UKIP in 1993. In 1997, Sked was replaced by a faction of the party led by Nigel Farage, who became the new leader in 2006. Under his leadership, the party adopted a broader policy stance taking advantage of the concerns about rising immigration among a significant part of the British working class. Its most remarkable achievements were the 2014 European Parliament election, when the party became the largest British party, and the final result of the *Brexit* referendum held in the United Kingdom on 23 June 2016.

Swiss People's Party -Schweizerische Volkspartei- (Switzerland). Originated in 1971, as a merger of the Party of Farmers, Traders and Independents (BGB) and the Democratic Party, is currently the largest party in the Federal Assembly, with 65 members of the National Council and 5 seats of the Council of the States. From being a marginal party during the 1970s and 1980s, the party obtained unknown electoral outcomes during the 1990s and the first two decades of the 21st century when adopted deep structural and ideological changes under the leadership of Christoph Blocher and focused primarily on issues such as Euroscepticism and opposition to mass immigration. As a crucial fact, in the 2007 Federal Council election the party obtained the vote share of 28,9%, the highest vote ever recorded for a single party in Switzerland since 1919, until 2015 when it surpassed its own record with 29,4%.

Sweden Democrats -Sverigedemokraterna- (Sweden). The party was founded in 1988 as a successor to the Sweden Party, which was been formed in 1986 by the merger of *Bevara Sverige Svenskt* -Keep Sweden Swedish- and a faction of the Swedish Progress Party. It was not until the 2010 general election that the Sweden Democrats crossed the 4% threshold necessary for parliamentary representation for the first time in its history and obtained 20 seats. The party continued this trend in the 2014 general election, polling 12,9% of the votes and winning 49 seats in the *Riksdag*.

Kotleba- People's Party Our Slovakia - Kotleba- L'udová strana - Naše Slovensko- (Slovakia). The origins of the party are closely related to the nationalist Slovak Togetherness. When the Supreme Court, on grounds of anti-constitutional activities, dissolved the party, its members under the leadership of Marian Kotleba entered the small Party of Friends of Wine that has existed since 2000 and changed its name to People's Party of Social Solidarity in May 2009 and then to People's Party -Our Slovakia in early 2010.

The Congress of the New Right - Kongres Nowej Prawicy- (Poland). This Polish economically libertarian, socially conservative and radically eurosceptic party was founded in March 2011 by Janusz Korwin-Mikke as a result of the merger of the Liberty and Lawfulness

(WiP) with several members of the Real Politics Union (UPR), but adopted the current official name “Congress of the New Right” in May 2011.

The Progress Party –*Fremskrittspartiet*- (Norway). This classical neoliberal and conservative party was founded by Anders Lange in 1973 as a political movement for a strong reduction in taxes, subsidies, duties, foreign aid and public intervention. The party adopted its current name, the Progress Party, in January 1977 inspired by the great success of the Danish Progress Party. In the 1973 parliamentary election, the party won 5% of the vote and gained 4 seats, and after the 2013 parliamentary election entered into its first ever government.

For Fatherland and Freedom/LNNK - *Tēvzemei un Brīvībai/LNNK*- (Latvia). The party was founded when several small groups merged in 1993 – 18th November Union and Fatherland- to form the centre-right “For Fatherland and Freedom”, with a particular focus on national identity issues such as promoting the Latvian language and tighter or stricter citizenship/naturalization laws for Latvian non-citizens. They sponsored a national referendum in 1998 on citizenship that was supported by a majority of Latvians but was defeated overall by opposition from ethnic Russians. It merged with the moderate Latvian National Independence Movement (LNNK) in 1997, and moved its emphasis to economic liberalization since then. For the 2010 parliamentary election, the party formed an alliance with far-right nationalist All For Latvia, and in July 2011, both parties merged into a unitary party, bearing the name National Alliance.

Northern League – *Lega Nord per l’Indipendenza della Padania*- (Italy). It is a regionalist party in Italy, founded in 1991 as a federation of several regional parties of Northern and Central Italy –*Liga Veneta, Lega Lombarda, Piemont Autonomista, Uniuin Liguria, Lega Emiliano-Romagnola and Alleanza Toscana*-.

JOBBIK, the Movement for a Better Hungary - *Jobbik Magyarországért Mozgalom*- (Hungary). It was established in 2002 by a group of Catholic and Protestant university students, and became a political party in October 2003. Initially the party defined itself as a “Conservative and Patriotic Christian Party”, with the main task of protecting the “Hungarian values and interests”. In April 2014 parliamentary election, the party won 20,54% of the vote becoming the third largest party in the National Assembly.

The Popular Association – Golden Dawn - *Laikós Síndesmos – Chrysí Avgí*- (Greece). Probably this is the most ultranationalist, racist, far-right party of those analysed in this paper. Its neo-Nazi and fascist label comes from its members expressed admiration for the former dictator Ionnis Metaxas, the use of alleged Nazi symbolism, and for having praised figures of Nazi Germany in the past. After creating the magazine and joining the National Political Union, in January 1985, Nikolaos Michaloliakos broke away and founded the Popular National Movement-Golden Dawn, which was officially recognised as a political party in 1993. By the mid-2000s, Golden Dawn redirected its attention to opposing non-European, and particularly Muslim immigration into Greece, but recently, their rhetoric and concerns were about unemployment, austerity, and the economy, receiving in 2012 Greek national elections 7% of the popular vote and 21 seats and after 2015 elections, the party became the third largest party in parliament despite winning only 17 seats.

Alternative for Germany - *Alternative für Deutschland*- (Germany). This German

nationalist, right-wing populist and Eurosceptic political party was founded in April 2013, but its origin could be traced back in September 2012 when several prominent figures founded the political group *Electoral Alternative 2013* to oppose German federal policies regarding the Eurozone crisis. The party obtained parliamentary representation -94 seats and 12,6% of the vote- in the *Bundestag* after 2017 legislative elections and becoming the third largest party in Germany. Before that historical attainment, the party not only won 7 seats and 7,1% of the vote in the 2014 European Parliament election becoming member of the European Conservatives and Reformists Group⁴, but also secured representation in 14 of the 16 German state legislatures, being Hesse the first one where the party obtained representation.

National Front – *Front National*- (France). Due to the French electoral system, the party's representation in political institutions is very limited, despite its significant share of the vote and popular support. The party was founded in 1972 when several French nationalist movements – *Ordre Nouveau*, Party of the French Unity, Justice and Liberty Movement, as well as former Poujadists, Algerian War veterans and some monarchists- were unify under the undisputed leadership of Jean-Marie Le Pen until his resignation in 2011. Two turning points could be identified that changed the marginal position of the party since its creation in the early 1970s. The first one took place in 1984, when Jean-Marie Le Pen was invited to a primer-time television interview program for the first time and when Francois Mitterrand adopted a proportional representation electoral system to moderate a foreseeable defeat for his Socialist Party. In the 1984 European Parliament elections, the party won 11% of the vote and ten seats, in the 1986 legislative election obtained 9,8% of the vote and 35 seats in the National Assembly, and an unprecedented 14,4% of the vote in the 1988 presidential election⁵. And the second crucial moment was the replacement of Jean-Marie Le Pen by his daughter, Marine Le Pen in 2011, who reach the second round of 2017 Presidential elections, as her father did in 2002.

Finns Party – *Perussuomalaiset*- (Finland). This populist and nationalist party was founded in 1995 following the dissolution of the Finnish Rural Party, its predecessor founded by Agrarian League dissident Veikko Vennamo in 1959 that became partner in two coalition governments. Along the 2010s the party performed quite well in all elections. The party won 19,1% of the vote in the 2011 parliamentary election, becoming the third largest party in the Finnish parliament with 39 seats; 12,3% of the vote in 2012 municipal elections, and 12,9% in the 2014 European Parliament election. In the 2015 parliamentary election, the party became the second largest party in terms of seats, 38, and the third in terms of votes, 17,7%. After that election, the party joined the government coalition led by Juha Sipilä after softening its Eurosceptic position⁶.

Danish People's Party - *Dansk Folkeparti*- (Denmark). This far-right, populist and anti-immigrant party was founded in 1995 by Pia Kjaersgaard and Kristian Thulesen Dahl, who broke out from the Progress party. It has become a crucial power broker supporting the Liberal-Conservative government, led by Anders Fogh Rasmussen, from 2001 to 2011. The popularity of the party has grown since its foundation, as well as its electoral support. In 2005 parliamentary election the party obtained 13,2% of the vote and 24 seats. In 2007 parliamentary election, the party remained the third largest party with 13,9% of the vote

and 25 seats, a position confirmed in 2011 election but with 12,3% of the vote. In 2014 European Parliament election became the largest party securing 27% of the vote joining afterwards the European Conservatives and Reformists Group, while in 2015 general election became the second largest party in Denmark for the first time.

Flemish Interest – *Vlaams Belang*- (Belgium). This Flemish nationalist, far-right and secessionist political party was created in 1978. Previously was called *Vlaams Blok* but once the Court of Appeal in Ghent ruled in 2004 that the party had breached the 1981 anti-racism law, the party was dissolved and started afresh under a new name, the *Vlaams Belang*, becoming at that time the most popular Flemish party in Belgium⁷. When the party disbanded itself, adopted some changes in its political program, carefully moderating some of the more extreme positions. At the same time, the direct predecessor to the *Vlaams Blok* was the People's Union which was founded in 1954 as the successor to the Christian Flemish People's Union electoral alliance. The hardliner faction of this party who rejected the party's participation in the coalition government in 1977 and the *Egmont Pact*, left the party and established the *Vlaams Blok* in 1979, even though during its first years of existence it got not much electoral success. Then in the early 1980s, its electoral support started to increase once the party's emphasis shifted from Flemish nationalism and separatism to the immigration issue.

The Freedom Party of Austria - *Freiheitliche Partei Österreichs*- (Austria). The party was founded in 1956 as the successor to the Federation of Independents, representing the third camp of Austrian politics, the pan-German and national-liberal camp -*Lager*- and founded in 1949. Its first party leader, Anton Reinthaller, was a former Nazi minister of Agriculture and SS officer. The party participated in a government led by the Social-Democratic Party after the 1983 legislative election. When in 1980 the party chose Norbert Steger as the new leader, he transformed the party into a moderate centrist liberal party focusing on free market and anti-statist policies. But after the worst electoral results in its history, the new leader elected in 1986, Jörg Haider, forced the party to initiate an ideological turn towards radical right-wing populism. Under Heinz-Christian Strache leadership since April 2005, the party's ideology became more radical and very focus on immigration and Islam and that shift has attracted an increasing support: 11% of the vote in the 2006 general election; 17,4% in the 2008 general election; 20,5% in the 2013 general election; and 26,6% in the last 2017 parliamentary election. At the same time, in the 2016 presidential election, the FPÖ candidate, Norbert Hofer, won the first round receiving 35,1% but was defeated by the Greens' candidate, Alexander Van der Bellen, in the second definitive round.

The Party of Freedom -*Partij voor de Vrijheid*- (Netherlands). This Dutch nationalist and right-wing populist party was founded in 2006 as the successor to Geert Wilders' one-man party in the House of Representatives, when he left the VVD in September 2004 as a formal protest against the positive stance of the party towards Turkey's possible accession to the European Union. In the 2010 general election, the party won 24 seats becoming the third-largest party and agreed to support the minority government led by Prime Minister Mark Rutte till April 2012. In the 2017 general election, the party became the second-largest party in the Dutch unicameral parliament.

5. RIGHT-WING POPULIST RHETORIC.

Political scholars and sociologists describe those parties as right-wing populist, whose strategies rely on a combination of ethno-nationalism, Euroscepticism, Islamophobia, anti-elite populist rhetoric and a radical critique of existing political institutions, with economic protectionism, zero tolerance approach to law and order issues, opposition to free migration, and firm defence and preservation of national culture, identity and values. They reject the common classification of the political spectrum in left and right and they see themselves as simply patriotic and centrist actors. I will analyse now their statements regarding the process of European integration, the democratic systems, the multicultural nature of our European societies, the process of Globalization, and trans-nationalization of this political and social movement.

5.1 RIGHT-WING POPULISM AND THE EUROPEAN UNION.

Since Margaret Thatcher's speech on 20 September 1988 in Bruges, Euroscepticism has grown across Europe. According to political analysts, Aleks Szczerbiak and Paul A. Taggart, there are three major factors that explain this growth. Firstly, the decline of the permissive consensus that appeared with the difficulties of ratifying the Maastricht Treaty in the early 1990s; secondly, the increasing tendency in the European integration to resort to referendums to ratify treaties; and finally, the enlargement of the European Union that widened the scope of the European project, as well as the diversification of expectations within the European community (Szczerbiak and Taggart, 2003). A crucial and primary emphasis of most of these right-wing populist parties has been on Euroscepticism calling for their country's exit from the European Union, or for a complete transformation of the process of European integration.

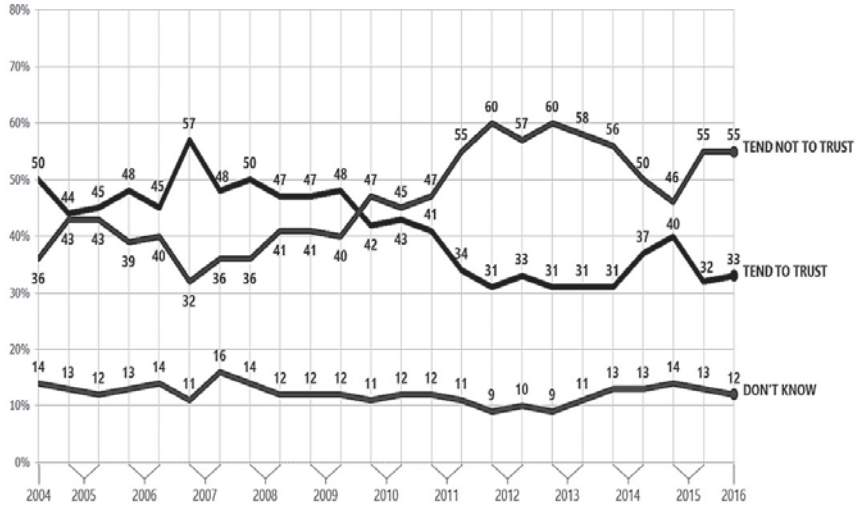
Being aware of the vagueness of the term Euroscepticism and the lack of consensus among scholars on it, we should understand it as a movement of opposition to European construction based on taking powers away from their national government undermining their national sovereignty. Data from Eurobarometer shows that trust in the European project has fallen not only in debtor countries, especially affected by the economic recession and financial crisis –Greece, Portugal, Cyprus, Spain-, but also in creditor countries – Austria, Netherlands, Germany-, and non-Eurozone member states, like Britain, where there is a growing number of citizens with a negative image of the European Union.

Euroscepticism, and particularly right-wing populist Eurosceptic parties, have been analysed and understood as a monolithic entity with regards to its position on European integration but a deep analysis of their rhetoric, discourse, parliamentary behaviour, and statements shows different types of Euroscepticism. The first category, the rejecting type Euroscepticism, consists of the political parties against all aspects of European integration and supporters of leaving the Union. The second type includes the parties not against the principle of European Union cooperation but against its practice and its future. And finally, the third one, compromising type, comprises parties accepting both the principle and the practice of the European Union cooperation but oppose future integration. So basically, Euroscepticism in the European Union could be simplified in withdrawalist Euroscepticism,

Graphic 1. European citizens' trust in the European Union.

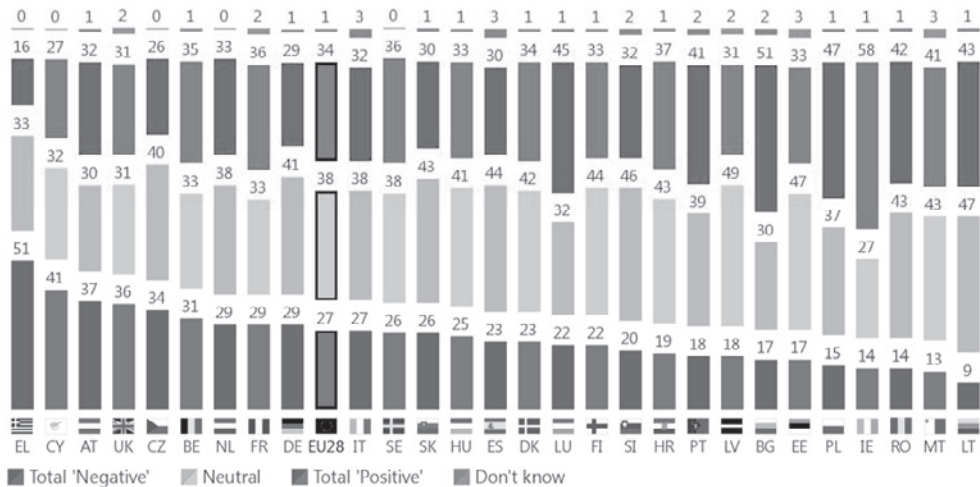
QA8a.9 I would like to ask you a question about how much trust you have in certain institutions. For each of the following institutions, please tell me if you tend to trust it or tend not to trust it.

The European Union (% - EU)



Source: Eurobarometer EB85 – 2016.

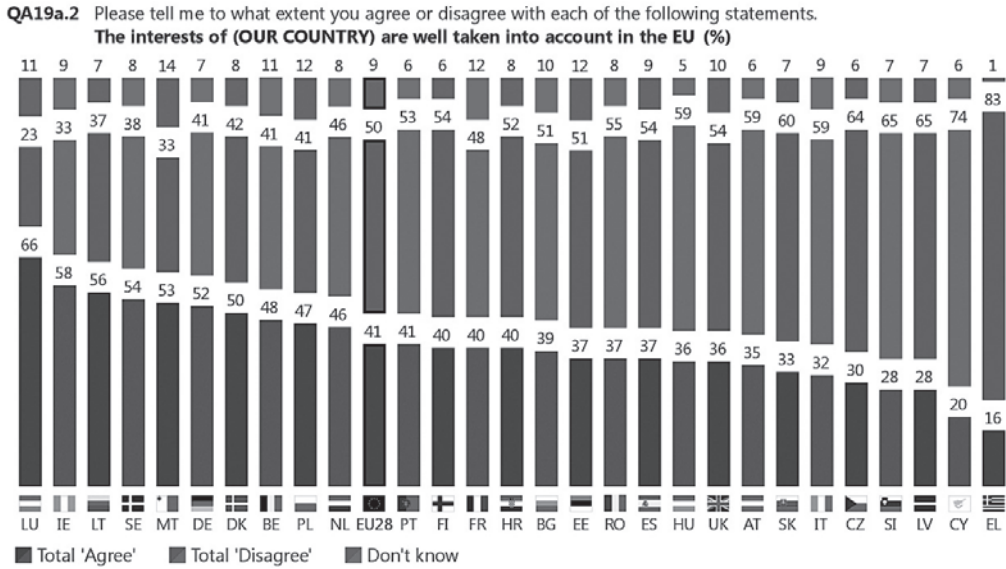
QA9 In general, does the EU conjure up for you a very positive, fairly positive, neutral, fairly negative or very negative image? (%)



Source: Eurobarometer EB85 – 2016.

opposing European Union membership, and reformist Euroscepticism, that supports its existence and EU membership, but opposes further integrationist European policies and the idea of a federal Europe showing concerns on one or several European supranational policy

Graphic 2. How European citizens think national interests are taken into account in the European Union.



Source: Eurobarometer EB85 – 2016.

areas. There is a sense that national interest is currently at odds with the EU’s project and trajectory.

While the member parties of Europe of Freedom and Direct Democracy Group and Europe of the Nations and Freedom Group could be considered representatives of the first category of Euroscepticism, the European Conservatives and Reformists Group and the European United Left-Nordic Green Left Alliance could be included in the second category. But it is important and necessary to stress the specific attitudes of the right-wing populist parties analysed as well as the shifts in their positions and stances regarding the process of European integration.

During the 1990s, the Austrian FPÖ’s opposition to the European Union grew stronger. The party not only opposed Austria’s membership in the referendum held in 1994, but also promoted a popular initiative against the replacement of Austrian Schilling with the Euro in 1998, and reiterated its opposition to the Turkey’s accession to the Union. This reinforced Euroscepticism after the end of the Cold War was reflected by its shift from pan-Germanism to Austrian patriotism. The Dutch PVV supports the withdrawal from the European Union and the return to the Guilder, the old Dutch currency, the abolition of the European Parliament and no cooperation in any European Union activity. The party is against future enlargement to Muslim-majority countries like Turkey, and was one of the political leaders in the campaign against the European Constitution, which was finally rejected by Dutch voters by 62% in June 2005. The *Vlaams Belang* was the only major Belgian party that opposed Belgium’s membership of the European Union, as well as the idea of a federal Europe itself but defended a con-federal Europe based on sovereign culturally homogenous

Table 2. Right-wing populist parties and European Parliament’s Group affiliation.

ALLIANCE OF EUROPEAN CONSERVATIVES AND REFORMISTS	 European Conservatives and Reformists Group
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Finns Party (Finland) 	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • National Alliance (Latvia) 	
EUROPE OF FREEDOM AND DIRECT DEMORACY	 EFDD Europe of Freedom and Direct Democracy Group in the European Parliament
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Alternative for Germany (Germany) 	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Sweden Democrats (Sweden) 	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Uk Independence Party (United Kingdom) 	
EUROPE OF NATIONS AND FREEDOM	 ENF Europe of Nations and Freedom
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Freedom Party of Austria (Austria) 	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Flemish Interest (Belgium) 	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • National Front (France) 	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Northern League (Italy) 	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Party for Freedom (Netherlands) 	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Congress of the New Right (Poland) 	
NON-ATTACHED MEMBERS	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Golden Dawn (Greece) 	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • JOBBIK (Hungary) 	

nation-states. The Slovak People’s Party Our Slovakia party sees the European Union and NATO as undermining the sovereignty of the Slovak nation and wants to leave those two organizations to give Slovakia full sovereignty and liberate the country from the slavery of foreign bankers. The French National Front’s policy shifted dramatically from the 1980s to the 1990s. During the 1980s the party favoured the European Union, but in the 1990s turned against it. In 2002 presidential elections, Jean-Marie Le Pen campaigned on pulling France out of the European Union and out of the Eurozone re-introducing the Franc as national currency. Afterwards, the party also denounced the Schengen, Maastricht, and Amsterdam treaties, rejected the accession of Turkey, backed France’s 2005 rejection of the Treaty for a European Constitution, and opposed dual citizenship. The Finns Party also has maintained its opposition to the EU, to the admission to NATO and advocates a significant reduction in foreign aid. A similar position has the Slovak People’s Party Our Slovakia party. It wants Slovakia to leave the European Union, the European Monetary Union, and NATO.

Under the new leadership of Matteo Salvini, the Italian Northern League embraced a very critical view of the European Union, advocating the abandonment of the Euro, which

he described as “a crime against mankind” and started to cooperate with Marine Le Pen, leader of the French National Front, and Geert Wilders, leader of the Dutch Party for Freedom. Umberto Bossi criticized this new stance regarding Europe. In the 2014 European Parliament election, the party ran on the “Basta Euro / Stop the Euro” ticket, emphasized Euroscepticism and obtained 6,2% of the vote and 5 seats. So the party often criticises the European Union and opposes what it calls the European super-state favouring instead a Europe of the Regions. Since the formation of Jobbik, the party had a strongly critical stance towards the European Union, and considered the accession of Hungary a failure as the European supranational entity doesn’t serve the interests of the Hungarians. Indeed, its leader Vona said that “*Hungarians became slaves because the European Union had only wanted Hungary to enter because of its cheap workforce*”. However, after the *Brexit* referendum and negotiations and the intense debate on the future of the Union, the party instead of defending, as they did before, the idea of a radically reformed European confederation, now the party has reassessed its views on Europe and emphasizes the need to adopt reforms that could transform it into a advantageous organization for the European nations. The party supports that Hungary should join the Eurozone as soon as possible. In a interview in 2017, Márton Gyöngyösi, deputy leader of the party’s parliamentary group pointed out that Jobbik seeks for the constructive reform of the European Union and that some national competences, such as labour conditions and wage regulations should be reconsidered. During the electoral campaign of 2014 parliamentary election in Hungary, Jobbik’s leader. Vona, said that the party would initiate a referendum on protecting Hungarian land and on amending Hungary’s European Union accession Treaty.

Alternative for Germany was originally founded on opposition to Germany’s financial support –bailouts- of Southern European countries such as Greece, so the party has a clear tendency towards soft Euroscepticism. Being generally supportive of Germany’s European Union membership, the party has advocated the abolition of the Euro currency, and called for Germany to cede no further elements of its sovereignty without approval via a referendum. In its 2017 party Congress, a new platform was approved urging Germany to leave the European Union if Berlin fails to retrieve national sovereignty from Brussels. The Danish People’s Party opposes any further cession of Denmark’s sovereignty to the European Union, wants to maintain the Danish krone and opposes the accession of Turkey, as well as the Danish government’s plan to recognise the independence of Kosovo advocating the territorial integrity of Serbia.

The Latvian National Alliance held an anti-federal, soft Eurosceptic position, as it was the only centre-right party to have flirted with opposing membership of the European Union before Latvian accession, but in March 2003 it changed to supporting membership fearing that voting “No” would cause the country to lose support for economic reforms and security policy. Sweden Democrats rejects joining the Economic and Monetary Union, opposes the accession of Turkey to the European club, and wants to renegotiate Swedish membership in the European Union. The Norwegian Progress Party officially adopted in 2016 a position





against Norwegian membership in the European Union which contrast with its strongly pro-Atlanticism and pro-Globalization, while the Swiss People's Party has always advocated a firm defence of Swiss neutrality in foreign affairs and a clear opposition to European Union membership.

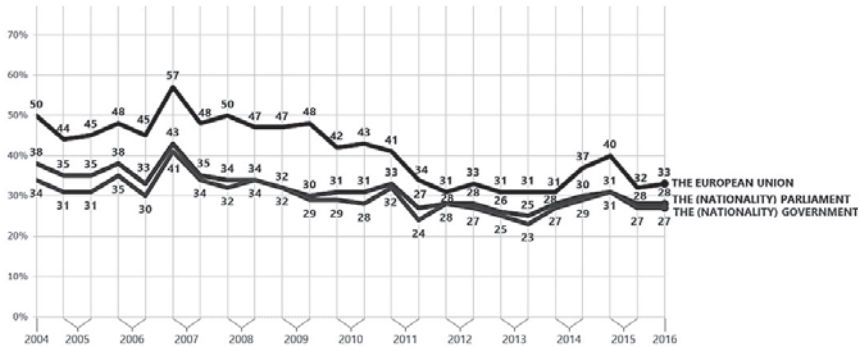
Another common, or at least extended, position of right-wing populist parties in Europe is to seek closer relationship with Russia and a call to lift the international sanctions against Russia after the conflict in Ukraine, such is the case of the Hungarian Jobbik, the Greek Golden Dawn, the Austrian Freedom Party, and the French National Front. Marine Le Pen described Vladimir Putin as a defender of the Christian heritage of European civilization, denounced anti-Russian feelings in Eastern Europe, the submission of Western Europe to NATO's interests, and the new cold war launched by the US against Russia. In November 2014, Marine Le Pen confirmed that the party had received a 9 million Euro loan from the First Czech Russian Bank (FCRB) in Moscow, what shows the growing Russia's attempt to influence the internal politics of the European Union to a new level.

5.2 POPULISM AND DEMOCRACY.

Taking advantage of the clear apathy of the general public to mainstream politics and traditional governing parties and politicians and exploiting the damage caused by the countless cases of corruption and other scandals⁸⁾, far-right populism advocates for a rather different understanding of democracy and national and European politics and for a clearly anti-establishment position. These parties present populism as a noble ideology seeking to empower the people. Populism claims that people should govern themselves and intermediary actors of our representative democracies, like parliaments, and political parties, should be secondary instruments, as they have become potentially obstacles for true democracy. The established and corrupt political elite, with a particular agenda that exclusively satisfy their own individual or party self-interests, has betrayed the trust of the people, forgotten their democratic mandate, and ignored citizens' concerns and demands (Mény and Surel, 2000; 2002). Right-wing populism asks for a new political system with a direct citizens involvement in the decision-making process, a new democratic order where people have more direct power, have a greater role in politics through increased use of plebiscitary tools of Swiss-style direct democracy, such as referendums, citizens' initiatives and recall⁹⁾. The representative democracy has created frustration, disillusion and disappointment among those segments of society that do not feel sufficiently represented. Then, the new expressed political goals of far-right populism are not anymore centralized totalitarianism but small government, a functioning state free of corruption in the public sphere and administration, combined with more direct democracy. In summer of 2016, the president of the Hungarian Jobbik party, Gábor Vona, declared a new style of politics, called "modern conservatism" with the aim to exceed the pointless debates between the right and the left wing and to induct cooperation among Hungarians with different political backgrounds leading to more social cohesion and to a more democratic political functioning state. Another common

Graphic 3. Citizens ‘trust in Supranational and national political institutions.

QA8a I would like to ask you a question about how much trust you have in certain institutions. For each of the following institutions, please tell me if you tend to trust it or tend not to trust it.
(% - EU - TEND TO TRUST)



Source: Eurobarometer EB85 – 2016.

feature of most of these analysed parties in this paper in their populist crusade against the political establishment and for a healthy and functioning democracy is their demand to reduce, decrease the total number of seats and members of parliament (from 150 to 100 seats in the case of the Slovak People’s Party Our Slovakia; from 300 to 180 members in the case of the Greek Golden Dawn, and similar demand was voiced by the Polish Congress of the New Right).

So right-wing populist parties creating an emotional identification with the people, identify themselves with the common and ordinary people, as their true representatives voicing



their concerns and defending their demands, against an illegitimate and corrupt elite that seems to be responsible for corruption, mass migration, Europeanization, Globalization, and for the painful austerity measures adopted to face the economic and financial crisis. For instance, to distinguish themselves from the mainstream political establishment, the UKIP uses a populist rhetoric describing its

supporters as the “people’s army”, and in the same terms Jean-Marie Le Pen, former leader of the National Front, presented himself as the representative of the people against the “gang of four” (RPR, UDF, PS, Communist Party).

A rather particular case is the Austrian FPÖ. During decades Austrian voters became highly disaffected with the consociational nature of Austrian political system where the two main political parties, the Social-Democrats SPÖ and the Conservatives ÖVP, monopolized political power as they jointly ruled the country basically since the end of the Second World War. The Freedom party, FPÖ, presented itself as the only political formation which could seriously challenge the two parties ‘control and advocated the replacement of the Austrian Second Republic by a Third Republic with a radical transformation from a party state to a citizens ‘democracy. It supported a new political and democratic order based on more

referendums, a directly elected President, a significant reduction of federal ministers and local councils.

5.3 POPULISM AND ETHNO-NATIONALISM.

As it was mentioned before, right-wing populism claims to speak on behalf of the people, and is rooted in the assumption that the “people” do exist. In their policies and rhetoric, they consider and advocate the existence of an ethnically and culturally homogeneous entity or society, and speak of a mythical nation, of a sovereign community that exists through time and is tied to certain space or geography. But the problem is their definition of the *demos*, who does and who doesn't belong to the people, who is included and excluded from their narrow definition. Right-wing populist parties ignore, overlook and reject traditional differences and cleavages based on class, generation, language, ideology or gender, within the people and societies. By contrast, their mythical nation is constructed in the negative, by opposing it to out-groups, and the people they are speaking for are defined by the exclusion of others. So, ethnically-based nationalism lies at the heart of right-wing populism. Their campaigns usually are accompanied by explicit xenophobic, racist or anti-Semitic propaganda in their respective nation states.

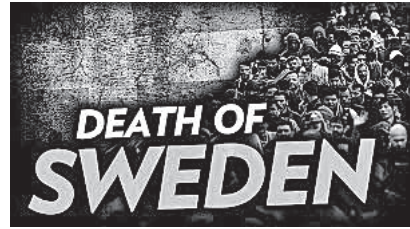
The ethno-nationalist populism shares an agenda aiming at the rejection of the cultural diversity and at the exclusion of or discrimination against sub-societies or different social groups. Today the enemy against whom right-wing populist movements and parties mobilized is no longer a one-party regime, but a foreign enemy that succeeded in breaking into the fortress of the nation state, an ethnically, culturally and religiously foreign or defined other. The definition of the “other” is rather mutable according to the national scenario analysed. Their exclusionary, discriminative and aggressive discourse is directed against the



Turks in Germany, the Roma in Central and Eastern Europe, the Jews in Britain, Austria, and Hungary, the Russian speakers in the Baltic countries such as Estonia or Latvia as a consequence of the massive demographic shifts provoked by the large-scale immigration of Russian speaking industrial workers during the Soviet era, or the French-speakers in Belgium.

Right-wing populism has transformed immigration into a major political issue of the national agenda and public debate calling for a stop to immigration or at least a much more restrictive immigration policy and tougher integration in order to protect the cultural identity and social peace. They hold that Europe doesn't consist of naturally countries of immigration, don't accept a multi-ethnic transformation of societies, and reject multiculturalism, described as a “national disaster”¹⁰. For these populist movements and parties, the answer to the increasingly complex and pluralistic societies is not multiculturalism, as was proposed by Will Kymlicka, that denationalize one's own nation, deconstruct one's own people, and endanger the cultural and political values of the nation-state and European Christian civilization. They believe in pure nations of homogenous peoples, so right-wing populism rejects meaningful forms of interaction between segments, and opposes social

integration of marginalized groups asserting exclusionary essentialist boundaries. According to this logic, all that is alien must be firstly identified and ruled out, excluded from popular democracy, and have their rights limited, and called to return to their own fatherlands in order to ensure the nation's/people's survival. The *Vlaams Blok*, the predecessor



of the *Vlaams Belang*, proposed in 1984 an initiative in the Chamber of Representatives to offer cash incentive for immigrants to return to their native countries, and in 1987 general election the party campaigned with the slogan "Own people first" (*Eigen volk Eerst*).

This exclusionary and discriminatory ideology draws on a self-image of a party of the silent white majority community that has gradually lost voice, status, privilege, rights and welfare at the expense of foreign segment. Ethnic identities are transformed into legitimate political topics leading to the *ethnicization* of national politics and social relations. Their discourses on immigration and cultural identity have become central to their ideologies even though they reject generated accusations of racism and xenophobia. For instance, in 2002 the European Commission against Racism and Intolerance firstly denounced the Italian Northern League for using racist and xenophobic propaganda.

In 1993, the Austrian FPÖ, following the increasing importance of immigration as a political issue, decided to launch the "Austria First" initiative calling for a referendum on immigration restrictions and asserted that "Austria is not a country of immigration". As a matter of fact, under the leadership of Strache, the FPÖ has focused on describing itself as a *Heimat* and social party, what means the guarantor of Austrian cultural identity and social welfare. In the early years of the French National Front, the party called for immigration to be reduced and the exclusion of non-European immigrants¹¹. Recently, as part of the moderation campaign launched, the party has softened the image and statements on immigration no longer calling for the systematic repatriation of legal immigrants, but still supporting the deportation of illegal, criminal or unemployed immigrants. The Danish People's Party stated clear goals in its manifesto including the need to protect freedom, the rule of law, the family, the Monarchy, the Evangelical Lutheran Church, the cultural heritage of the Danish people, as well as to work against Denmark becoming a multicultural society by limiting non-Western immigration and promoting cultural assimilation of admitted immigrants as a moral responsibility to the people of Denmark to "keep Denmark Danish". Their support of the Liberal-Conservative coalition during the first decade of the 21st century resulted in the adoption of strong restrictions in immigration, preventing Danish citizens and others from bringing a foreign spouse into the country unless both partners were aged 24 or above, passed a solvency test showing the Dane had not claimed social security for 12 months and could lodge a bond of 60,011 kroner. Mechanisms were adopted to prevent arranged marriages, the number of family reunification permits granted dropped considerably, social benefits for refugees were also cut by 30-40% during their first seven years in the country, and ordinary unemployment benefits were replaced by a reduced start-up aid.

The Sweden Democrats continued to use the "Keep Sweden Swedish" as a slogan in their political discourse. They believe that the current Swedish immigration and integration

policies have been a complete failure. They oppose integration because they believe that integration involves “meeting in the middle” and do not think that the indigenous Swedish people should have to bear the burden of what they see as a reckless immigration policy. This situation with a large number of immigrants living in cultural enclaves is not beneficial for the country. They argue that immigrants themselves are rootless, that they have been raising antagonistic tensions between various population groups, and the immigration itself has caused social and economic strains on the country. They consider Sweden has had too much immigration in recent years, which it claims has seriously threatened national identity and societal cohesion. Sweden Democrats wants to reinstate a common Swedish national identity, rejects the policy of multiculturalism, but a multi-ethnic society where cultural assimilation is promoted, defends to restrict immigration, and the return of refugees to their countries of origin as Sweden is better able to help them in their own nearby locations. Sweden Democrats advocates a cultural policy that would stop funding multicultural initiatives and immigrant cultural organizations and festivals but strengthen support for traditional Swedish culture. Another interesting case is the Norwegian Progress Party. While from the second half of the 1980s the party focused on the economic and welfare aspects of immigration policy, during the 1990s the party shifted to focus more on cultural and ethnic issues and conflicts. The party defended a stricter immigration policy, and a reduction of accepted asylum-seekers.

The Dutch Party for Freedom calls for a halt to immigration especially from non-Western countries, and a strong assimilationist stance on the integration of immigrants into Dutch society. The party fielded a controversial motion in the 2007 general deliberations on the immigration budget, calling for a stop to immigration from Muslim countries. And the same time, in 2012 the party launched a controversial website named Reporting Centre on Central and East Europeans to receive complaints about Central and East European immigrants in the Netherlands. Alternative for Germany, describes Germany national identity as under threat both from European integration and from the presence and accommodation of immigrants and refugees. In its 2017 party Congress a new platform was approved urging Germany to close its borders to asylum applicants, end sanctions on Russia, as well as to amend the constitution to allow people born to non-German parents to have their German citizenship revoked if they commit serious crimes. In 1992, the Flemish Interest established the party’s comprehensive immigration program, titled the 70-points plan that included closing the borders towards non-European immigrants, a gradual repatriation of those immigrants already in the country, and the adoption of an “own people first” principle in all policy areas, even though this last controversial proposal was officially discarded in 2000. Similarly controversial legislative initiatives were proposed by the French National Front since the party obtained parliamentary representation for the first time in the 1980, such as restoring the death penalty, expelling foreigners who proportionally committed more crimes than the French, restricting naturalization policy, introducing a national preference, or imposing taxes on the hiring of foreigners by French companies. Later on, in the mid 1990s after obtaining 12,7% of the vote in 1993 legislative elections and almost 15% of the vote in 1995 presidential election and the mayorship in three cities in the same year -Toulon, Marignane and Orange- the party reinforced its anti-immigration stance advocating

significant reduction of subsidies for multicultural associations, and interventionist policies with regards to the culture in towns. This aggressive rhetoric explains that in the 1997 legislative elections, the National Front obtained its best-ever result with 15,3% of the vote confirming its position as the third most important force in France.

The Northern League takes a tough stance on crime, illegal immigration, especially from Muslim countries and terrorism. It supports the promotion of immigration from non-Muslim countries in order to protect the “Christian Identity” of Italy and Europe, which according to party officials should be based on Judaeo-Christian heritage. The Finns Party emphasizes limiting humanitarian immigration, family unification to proven direct relatives, deporting those immigrants guilty of serious or recurrent crimes, hardening naturalization, imposing the acceptance by immigrants of Finnish cultural norms and ending positive discrimination. The party advocates teaching healthy national pride in schools, the removal of the obligatory character of the second official language –Swedish-, also opposes using public funds to advance multiculturalism, as well as the common European asylum policy, and the refugee quota. In Norway, after asking for a referendum on the immigration policy during the electoral campaign of 1989 general election, the Progress Party obtained 13% of the vote and became the third largest party in the national parliament. The Greek Golden Dawn demanded the expulsion of all illegal immigrants who have entered Greece.

A particular case in Central and Eastern Europe is the anti-Roma rhetoric of these extremist political parties. In Hungary, after the riots provoked in 2006 when Roma people lynched a Hungarian teacher in an Eastern village, a political debate opened regarding the failure of Roma integration and the inability of Hungarian police to maintain law and order in the Hungarian countryside. The leader of JOBBIK, Gábor Vona, in June 2007 founded and registered the organisation called *Magyar Gárda* – “Hungarian Guard”, that according to its deed of foundation intended to become part or core of a national guard to be set up to strengthen national defence and maintain public order¹²⁾. The People’s Party Our Slovakia describes the un-integrated groups of Romani people as being a drain on the social security system, describing the “Gypsy extremists” as a social parasites and extremists that steal, rape and murder. But this anti-Roma rhetoric does not mean the lack of references to immigrants and refugees. They define non-European immigrants coming from third world countries as invaders who are supported by globalists to destroy the European continent. The party is against the acceptance of even a single refugee. On the contrary, in the Baltic countries, the far-right populist parties, such as the Latvian National Alliance/For Fatherland and Freedom/LNNK or the Estonian Independence Party, opposed initially the naturalization of the large ethnic Russian population that live in the region due to the large-scale immigration of industrial workers and managers during the Soviet era and strongly advocate for a stronger role of their own languages in the public space.

Another common feature of all these populist groups is the strong emphasis placed, not only on lowering immigration and rejecting multiculturalism, but also on what they call the “islamization” of Europe accompanied by an overt and blunt anti-Islam rhetoric. The growing concerns over Islamic fundamentalism and their anti-Islam stance appeared in the late 1980s and early 1990s with the *fatwa* against Salman Rushdie, the 1989 *affaire du foulard* in France, and were aggravated with the jihadist terrorist attacks in the first half of the

2000s in United States (2001), Spain (2004), and the United Kingdom (2005). Their campaigns are full of negative stereotypes presenting Islam as an totalitarian ideology, as a violent religion that try to take over the rest of the world, as a omnipresent threat not only to the Western liberal democracy, national traditions, customs and values, but also to the headlined Christianity and secularism, using an undercover cultural jihad consisting of mosques, minarets, burkhas and sharia councils.

At its party Congress in mid 2016, Alternative for Germany adopted a policy platform based upon the opposition to Islam, calling for the ban of Islamic symbols including burkhas, minarets and the call to prayer using the slogan “*Islam is not part of Germany*”. Similarly, the current leader of the Danish People’s Party, Kristian Thulesen Dahl, declared and defined recently the party as an anti-Islam party, while the leader of the Sweden Democrats, Jimmie Akesson, expressed concern that what he described as Islamization of Sweden will eventually lead to the rights of sexual minorities being violated. The Flemish Interest not only blamed Turks and Moroccans for criminal activity in the 1980s when immigration became an important issue considered to be a threat to the Flemish ethnic community, but reinforce its anti-Islam position when in its 1993 program regarded Islam and a “doctrine which preaches holy war, assassination, forced conversions, oppression of women, slavery and extermination of infidels”. The Dutch Party for Freedom has also proposed banning the Quran and shutting down all mosques in the Netherlands. The short film, *Fitna*, produced by Geert Wilders argued that Islam encourages acts of terrorism, anti-Semitism, violence against women and homosexuals. In Central European countries, this aggressive Islamophobia is also promoted by right-wing populist parties. Massive street demonstration were organised in those countries to prevent the “hordes of Muslim immigrants” from coming to Poland, Hungary or Slovakia and to protect Christianity and European culture.

This nativist prejudice *vis-a-vis* Muslim communities in Europe, has provoked that during the last years a prominent number of European radical right-wing populist parties have seek proximity to the state of Israel, excluding anti-Semitism from their rhetoric, recognising the holocaust and the right of Israel to secure its borders. In February 2017, the leader of Jobbik, announced a radical change in the party’s position regarding Israel. While in the beginnings the party opposed Zionism, Gábor Vona stated that he has never questioned Israel’s existence and that the party supports a two-state solution to Israel-Palestine conflict. There has been a huge difference concerning the holocaust and Jews between Marine Le pen and her father. While Jean-Marie Le Pen stated that the German occupation of France was not inhumane and referred to the Nazi gas chambers as “a point of detail of the history of the Second World War”, and Bruno Gollnisch said that he doesn't question the existence of concentration camps but historians could discuss the number of deaths in 2004, Marine Le Pen has distanced herself from his father position affirming Israel’s right to

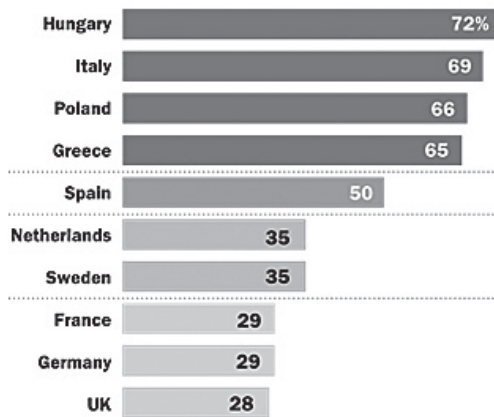


secure itself from terrorism. Equally interesting is the Austrian FPÖ. Under Strache leadership, the party became also friendlier towards Israel. Indeed he visited Israel in December 2010 and he issued the Jerusalem Declaration, which affirmed Israel’s right to exist and defend itself, particularly against Islamic terror. But probably the most extreme case in this respect is the Norwegian Progress Party. It is the party that has shown the strongest support for Israel. It has supported its right to defend itself against rocket attacks from Hamas, but went much further being the only party in Europe which openly backed Israel through the Gaza war (2008-09), and advocates to relocate the Norwegian embassy in Israel from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem. It is rather surprising the extremely negative perception and image of Muslims in Central and Eastern European, the aggressive anti-Islam discourse in countries with practically and virtually no Third-World immigration, and the fierce opposition to the quotas established by the European Union to host Arab refugees.

Graphic 4. Views of Muslims in Europe.

Views of Muslims more negative in eastern and southern Europe

Unfavorable view of Muslims in our country



Note: In Poland, question was asked of a subsample of 686 respondents.

Source: Spring 2016 Global Attitudes Survey, Q36c.

PEW RESEARCH CENTER

Source: Pew Research Center, Spring 2016.

Nevertheless, ambivalence about anti-Semitism still exists in their statements and rhetoric in particular cases such as Germany, Belgium, Latvia, or Hungary. Since its creation in 2013, Alternative for Germany has been focused on German nationalism, and on reclaiming Germany’s sovereignty and national pride, especially in repudiation to Germany’s culture of shame with regard to its Nazi past. One of its founders, Björn Höcke, in a speech given in Dresden in January 2017 about the Holocaust memorial in Berlin, said that “Germans need to make a 180 degrees change in their politics of commemoration”. A member of the Belgian

Flemish Interest, Roeland Raes, was forced to resign when in a TV interview conducted in 2001 doubted on the scale of the holocaust. Much more evident is the allegations of anti-Semitism among members of the Hungarian Jobbik. Judit Szima, in a newsletter published by a group calling itself “The trade union of Hungarian police officers prepared for action”, declared that Hungary should be prepared for armed battle against the Jews. Zsolt Baráth commemorated in Spring 2012, the 1882 blood libel against the Jews in Parliament. Márton Gyöngyösi, while evaluating the news on the Israeli military action in the Gaza strip, stated in Parliament “*I think such a conflict makes it timely to tally up people of Jewish ancestry who live here, especially in the Hungarian Parliament and the Hungarian government, who, indeed, pose a national security risk to Hungary*”. Tibor Ágoston, the deputy chairman of Jobbik’s Debrecen and Hajdú-Bihar County organization, referred in 2014 to the Holocaust as the “Holoscam”. Similar controversies came in May 2013, when the party organised a rally against the gathering of the World Jewish Congress in Budapest claiming the protest was against a Jewish attempt to buy up Hungary¹³⁾, and in November 2013, when Jobbik members lead by Márton Gyöngyösi, unveiled a bronze bust of Miklós Horthy, the regent of Hungary from 1920 to 1944 who was consider to be a Nazi collaborator complicit in the murder of half a million Hungarian Jews in the Holocaust in Hungary. Regarding the Latvian National Alliance, some of its members pay public homage to the Latvian-SS Legion, which fought against the USSR and alongside Nazi Germany in the Second World War.

5.4 LAW AND ORDER AND THE SUPPORT OF TRADITIONAL VALUES.

Right-wing populist parties in Europe also advocate zero tolerance approach to law and order issues. This approach includes tougher punishments for crimes such as rape, violence, sexual abuse, or reckless driving, some of them demand for extremely violent crimes to instate the possibility of life without parole (National Front and the Finns Party) or even the death penalty (Jobbik, Congress for the New Right), repatriation or expel of foreign citizens found guilty and convicted of serious crimes (Sweden Democrats, Progress Party), opposition to any incorporation of *sharia* law into judicial practices (National Front), and more resources for police and prosecutors. The Slovak People’s Party Our Slovakia demands the creation of a home guard to protect the people where the normal police forces are not adequate at stopping “Gypsy extremists” who steal, rape and murder the “honest people”. In 2002, the National Front campaigned on a law and order platform of zero-tolerance, harsher sentencing, increased prison capacity, and a referendum on re-introducing the death penalty, something that Marine Le Pen abandoned but instead announcing support for imprisonment “in perpetuity” for the worst crimes in February 2017. Particularly interesting was the proposal of the Danish People’s party to abolish the blasphemy and hate speech clause in the Danish criminal code.

Likewise, they promote lifestyles according to the Christian-conservative morality and traditional values supporting the traditional family and opposing modern feminism, same-sex marriages, and any government sanctioned adoption and *in vitro* fertilization given to same-sex couples and single women¹⁴⁾. They regard the traditional nuclear family to be the natural, necessary and basic element in a free society, and the preferred option to raise

children, as well as a carrier of traditions, culture and values of European societies. In April 2012, Jobbik introduced a bill into the Hungarian parliament to amend the constitution in order to protect public morals and the mental health of the young generations by banning the popularization of sexual deviancy targeting homosexuality, sex changes, transvestism, bisexuality and paedophile behaviour.

5.5 POPULISM AND GLOBALIZATION AND ECONOMIC POLICY.

Another declared enemy of right-wing populism, along with the political *elites* and the defined others according to their ethnic, cultural or religious background, is globalization. Right-wing populist parties present themselves as advocates for the common and ordinary people. They search the support of those voters and citizens who are considered to be the modernization losers, those who feel threatened by globalization and the loss of national sovereignty, those who believe that socio-economic trend is directed against their social status, and the less privileged segments of European societies. Right-wing populism tends to be pro-state, criticizing the decline and dismantlement of social policy, and welfare state, and supporting a stronger role of the government on the realm of the economy. This rhetoric, traditionally associated with the left-wingers, explains the outstanding performance of these parties among lower middle-class, unskilled workers, and blue-collar voters articulating their fears, protest and anger. Human and labor mobility associated with the globalization and the perceived negative impact on employment and wealth as well as the progressive social and economic marginalization of the working class in post industrial states, has become another central element of their official discourse and media appearance. But the stance of each one of this wide range of political formations is particular and specific and would require a deeper analysis because not all of them describe themselves as economically libertarian and promote liberal economic policies.

One singular case is the Hungarian Jobbik. At its beginnings, the party rejected globalised capitalism and the influence of foreign investors in Hungary, particularly the aggressive Israeli investment. Now the party defends a more competitive national economy to take advantage of the opportunities offered by the global economy. Similarly, the Latvian National Alliance shifted its position from advocating interventionism to supporting free market economics such as liberalization and full privatization. The Congress of the New Right calls for lowering taxes and reducing the national debt by cutting down social programs and allowing the economy to flourish. The Norwegian Progress Party regards itself to be a liberal people's party and its ideology to be classical liberalism or conservative liberalism. The party is strongly individualistic and advocates market liberalism, a significant reduction in taxes, duties and government intervention, a downsizing bureaucracy and public sector, attacks many aspects of the Norwegian welfare state and supports the privatization of medical care, education and public-owned enterprises. The Northern League opposes statism and supports lower taxes as well.

In contrast to the previous cases, the Slovak People's Party Our Slovakia openly defends paternalism on economic issues, interest-free national loans, nationalize all strategic industries such as power stations, steel manufacturing or public transport, and the replacement of the euro currency with the Slovak Koruna. An extreme and unique case is the French

National Front. The party has moved from anti-capitalist heritage of *Poujadism* to defend an extremely market liberal and anti-statist program advocating lower taxes, deregulation, phasing-out of the welfare state, reducing state intervention and dissolving the bureaucracy during the 1980s. But again in the 1990s and particularly with Marine Le Pen the party has moved from neoliberalism to economic protectionism criticizing globalism and capitalism and defending that the government takes care of health, education, transportation, banking and energy. The Austrian FPÖ, from the late 1980s and through the 1990s, supported a liberal stance proposing tax reduction, less state intervention and more privatization. But in the late 2000s, the party has taken a more populist stance combining this position with open support for the welfare state. Similar changes and positions could be mentioned and described among right-wing populist parties in Europe like the Finns Party. The Golden Dawn Party supported nationalization of natural resources and banks that received state loans.

A significant number of right-wing populist parties analysed in this paper have combined left-wing economic policies, for instance progressive taxation or the re-institution of the wealth tax in fiscal affairs, strong support for the welfare state, healthcare, social service, elderly care and protectionism, with conservative social-cultural values, coupled with aggressive ethnic nationalism, anti-immigration and Euroscepticism. This effective political and electoral strategy has resulted in drawing support not only from left-wing parties 'voters but also from right-wing parties 'sympathizers and a self-proclaimed centrist label.

5.6 POPULISM AND TRANSNATIONALIZATION.

Another major feature of current right-wing populism in Europe is the attempt to transform itself into an all-European populist movement or party. They have created a complex web of connections among individuals, groups, and parties forming alliances across borders. This transnational phenomenon, along with the exploitation of new mass media, allows that radical ideas or successful initiatives adopted in one context prove highly contagious and truly infectious, travelling easily and effortlessly crossing boundaries, accessing diverse social audiences, receiving new adherents, attracting public attention and spreading further and faster serving as a kind of inspiration for a larger transnational project designed to unite the European populist right under a common banner. Good examples of initiatives that were reproduced as a domino effect style across other European countries were the Swiss initiative to ban on minaret construction in 2009, and the Belgian and French restriction/ban on wearing the burkha in public spaces in the first half of 2010. Another example of transnationalization of European populist views was launched in early 2008, the European project Cities against Islamization, with the aim of serving as an ideological foundation and justification for campaigns against mosques, minarets and other Islamic symbols. Equally remarkable was the creation of the Alliance of European National Movements in Budapest on 24 October 2009¹⁵.



A particular aspect of this complex web of connections and interactions among right-wing

populist parties was the economic support received by the Sweden Democrats party for the 1998 general election from the French National Front.

5.7 OTHER AGENDAS.

Once analysed their common rhetoric regarding the European integration, immigration, Islam, Globalization and law and order, each one of those right-wing populist parties has specific political agendas. Initially the main goal of Golden Dawn was to promote the idea of a Greater Greece through the expansion of Greek territory into southern Albania, the Republic of Macedonia and Southern Bulgaria, and ultimately Greece's reconquest of Constantinople and Western Anatolia, the expulsion of Northern Greece's last remaining Slavo-Macedonian speaking minority and the Turkish-speaking Muslim minority of East Macedonia and Thrace. The UKIP promotes a British unionist and national agenda, encouraging a unitary British identity in opposition to growing Welsh and Scottish nationalisms. The Northern League advocates the transformation of Italy into a federal state, fiscal federalism and greater regional autonomy expressing resentment against Rome's centralism and stereotyping southern Italians as welfare abusers and criminals. Indeed, after its huge success at the 1996 general election, its best result ever, 10,1% of the vote, 59 deputies and 27 senators, the party announced that it wanted the secession of Northern Italy under the name of Padania. Since the foundation of *Vlaams Blok/Vlaams Belang*, its crucial goal was preserving the ethnic community, so worked for an independent Flemish state. As a large Hungarian population live outside of Hungary as ethnic minorities, Jobbik demands minority rights for these groups in accordance with the Western European standards as well as the establishment of territorial autonomy in the Székely land in Romania and make Carpathian Ruthenia an independent Hungarian district. Also promotes in foreign policy, more pragmatic cooperation aiming to reach common goals with the Central European countries and nations in the institutions of the European Union, through the framework of the Wage Union European Citizens Initiative. The Polish Congress of the New Right calls for more regional autonomy and for establishing a presidential system of government.

6. RIGHT WING POPULIST PERFORMANCE.

Without a coherent ideological framework but with an effective mixed set of beliefs, fears, stereotypes, attitudes and programmes based on a unique combination of exclusionary, chauvinist, nativist ideologies, neo-fascist ideas, anti-immigrant feelings, and ethno-nationalist sentiments, right-wing populist parties have obtained amazing performances in free and democratic elections gaining significant seats in decision-making assemblies to voice their demands and influence the decision-making process.

Due to the limited space available in this paper, I will focus on their electoral performance in National and European Parliament elections, but their influence and presence in regional and local politics should not be underestimated or neglected. To reflect this fact, the percentage of vote obtained by Alternative for Germany in recent State parliamentary elections held in 2016, 24,2% of the vote in Saxony-Anhalt, 15,1% in Baden-Württemberg, 12,6% in Rhineland-Palatinate, 20,8% in Mecklenburg-Vorpommern, and 14,2% in Berlin, etc.-.

Equally impressive have been the electoral results of the Austrian FPÖ in Vienna City Council. In the 2010 Vienna elections, the FPÖ obtained 25,8% of the vote, the second time in the post-war era that the Social-Democratic Party, SPÖ, lost its absolute majority. But in the 2015, increased its vote to 30,8%. In the case of Italy, the Northern League has achieved outstanding performance in regional elections, particularly in Northern regions such as Veneto, Lombardy, Emilia-Romagna and Tuscany. In the 2010 election for local councils, the Dutch PVV won in Almere obtaining 21% of the vote, and came second to the Labour Party in The Hague.

From an exclusively electoral perspective, the results of the most recent election to the European Parliament in June 2014 manifest a significant growth in right-wing extremist and populist parties that cannot be explained exclusively by the specificity of European elections and their second-order elections' status. Analysing the aggregate results and the electoral behaviour of European voters in the direct elections to the European Parliament, we can clearly observe that, not only, turnout in European elections is much lower than in national elections, and governing national political parties are systematically punished and consequently obtain worse results in European elections than in national elections, but also, that new, smaller, and relatively marginal political parties located at both extremes of the ideological spectrum increase their percentage of the vote in European elections as compared to previous national elections. These hypotheses would result in lower turnout, sincere voters, first-order preferences and strategic voters. All the above would lead to a discrepancy in voting behaviour in European and national elections, where there would be no fear of protest votes against governing political parties or of wasted votes in European Parliament elections to support small and extremist parties (Marsh, 2007).

The behaviour of new, marginal, and extremist parties, which reap better results in European elections, is a particularly paradigmatic case of that empirical fact. Voters perceive that there is "less to lose" in European elections and that election results will not determine the composition of the European government. Therefore, they feel freer to express their preferences and are more likely to vote sincerely –with their hearts– compared to national elections, where the strategic calculations of the voters –voting with their heads– do make a difference (Schmitt, 2005: 151-152). The absence of strategic calculations in European elections makes it more likely that voters will express their true, first preferences for parties without fear of incurring in a wasted vote. This explains why the large political parties, which are the most decisive political actors in the national electoral landscape, lose part of their voters' support in European elections due to a sincere or expressive vote, as Reif and Schmitt describe it. The loss of votes occurs despite the fact that the large parties may have benefited from insincere or strategic votes in national elections by voters who preferred smaller or new political parties. Many studies provide evidence that political parties at both ends of the ideological spectrum tend to take a more anti-European position and obtain better results at the expense of centrist parties who support European integration (Hobolt et al. 2009; de Vries and Edwards, 2009).

The 2014 European elections showed a peculiarity concerning the ideological profile of the parties that benefited from the transfer of votes. The extreme-right Eurosceptic and populist parties were the main winners in 2014 European elections in several European countries.

Table 3. Percentage of vote / seats obtained in European Parliament Elections.

COUNTRY	PARTY	1989	1994	1999	2004	2009	2014
AUSTRIA	FPÖ		27,5 / 6	23,4 / 5	6,3 / 1	12,7 / 2	19,7 / 4
BELGIUM	VB		7,8 / 2	9,4 / 2	14,3 / 3	9,9 / 2	4,3 / 1
DENMARK	DF			5,8 / 1	6,8 / 1	15,3 / 2	26,6 / 4
FINLAND	SP'IP					9,8 / 1	12,9 / 2
FRANCE	FN	11,7 / 10	10,5 / 11	5,7 / 5	9,8 / 7	6,3 / 3	24,9 / 24
GERMANY	AfD						7,1 / 7
GREECE	LS -CA						9,4 / 3
HUNGARY	JOBBIK					14,8 / 3	14,7 / 3
ITALY	LN	1,8 / 2	6,6 / 6	4,5 / 4	5,0 / 4	10,2 / 9	6,2 / 5
LATVIA	NA/TB/LNNK				29,8 / 4	7,5 / 1	14,3 / 1
NETHERLANDS						17,0 / 4	13,3 / 4
POLAND	UPR/KNP				1,9 / 0	1,1 / 0	7,2 / 4
SLOVAKIA	LsNS						1,7 / 0
SWEDEN	SD			0,2 / 0	1,1 / 0	3,3 / 0	9,7 / 2
UNITED KINGDOM	UKIP			6,5 / 3	16,2 / 12	16,5 / 13	27,5 / 24
UNITED KINGDOM	BNP			1,0 / 0	4,9 / 0	6,2 / 2	1,1 / 0

Source: Elaboration of data from ParlGov Database http://www.parl.gov.org/static/static-2014/stable/documentation/table/view_election.html

The UKIP in Britain (27,5% of the vote and 24 of UK's 73 seats), the National Front in France (24,86% of the vote and 24 of France's 74 seats), and the People's Party in Denmark (26,6% of the vote and 4 of the Denmark's 13 seats) became the best performing parties, while JOBBIK in Hungary (14,7% of the vote and 3 of the Hungary's 21 seats) and the National Alliance in Latvia (29% of the vote and 4 of Latvia's 9 seats) became the second best. In the Southern European countries, it was the extreme left anti-establishment populist parties who made a stellar appearance on Europe's political stage –the Greek Syriza, the Cypriot Progressive Party of Working People, and the Spanish Podemos-.

Table 4. The rise of anti-establishment parties in the European Parliament 2014.

Country	Party	Political Group	Seats	% Vote
Austria	Freedom Party of Austria	NA	4	19.72%
Belgium	Flemish Interest	NA	1	4.26%
Cyprus	Progressive Party of Working People	UEN/NGL	2	26.98%
Czech Republic	Communist Party of Bohemia and Moravia	UEN/NGL	3	33.89%
	Civic Democratic Party	ECR	2	
	Party of Free Citizens	EFDD	1	

Germany	The Left	UEN/NGL	7	15.46%
	Alternative for Germany	ECR	7	
	National Democratic Party of Germany	NA	1	
Denmark	Danish People's Party	ECR	4	34.7%
	People's Movement against the EU	UEN/NGL	1	
Greece	Syriza: Coalition of the Radical Left	UEN/NGL	6	45.53%
	Golden Dawn	NA	3	
	Communist Party of Greece	NA	2	
	Independent Greeks	ECR	1	
Spain	United Left	UEN/NGL	5	20.09%
	Podemos	UEN/NGL	5	
	The peoples Decide	UEN/NGL	1	
Finland	Finns Party	ECR	2	12.9%
France	National Front	NA	24	31.47%
	French Communist Party	UEN/NGL	4	
Croatia	Croatian Party of Rights	ECR	1	
Hungary	Jobbik	NA	3	14.67%
Ireland	Sinn Féin	UEN/NGL	3	19.5%
Italy	Five Star Movement	EFDD	17	27.30%
	Northern League	NA	5	
Lithuania	Order and Justice	EFDD	2	14.25%
Latvia	For Fatherland and Freedom	NA	1	14.3%
Netherlands	Party for Freedom	NA	4	36.6%
	Socialist Party	UEN/NGL	2	
	Dutch Reformed Political Party	ECR	2	
	Green Left	Greens/EFA	2	
Poland	Law and Justice	ECR	19	38.93%
	Congress of the New Right	NA	4	
Portugal	Portuguese Communist Party	UEN/NGL	3	17.25%
	Left Block	UEN/NGL	1	
Sweden	The Green Party	Greens/EFA	2	31.57%
	Sweden Democrats	EFDD	2	
	Centre Party	ALDE	1	
United Kingdom	United Kingdom Independence Party	EFDD	24	50.45%
	Conservative Party	ECR	19	
	Democratic Unionist Party	NA	1	

Source: Elaboration of data from http://www.europarl.europa.eu/pdf/elections_results/review.pdf and <http://www.results-elections2014.eu/en/election-results-2014.html>.

At national level, probably the most remarkable electoral achievement were in 2002 when the National Front candidate, Jean-Marie Le Pen, bypassed the socialist candidate and reach the second round challenging Jacques Chirac, like happened in 2017 when her daughter, Marine Le Pen, reach the second round as well. Equally remarkable was the victory of the NO vote to the referendum on the Constitutional Treaty of the European Union in 2005. Similar performances were obtained in Switzerland, where the Swiss People's Party obtained 29,4% of the vote in 2015, the best electoral result of any Swiss party since 1919. In Norway, the Progress Party obtained 23% of the vote in 2009, becoming the second largest party in Norwegian parliament, a position that was held for the first time in 1997 and subsequently in 2005¹⁶⁾. In Finland, the Finns Party won 19,1% of the vote in 2011 general elections, while in Denmark, the Danish People's Party became in 2015 the second largest party after receiving the 20,6% of the votes. In Sweden, Sweden Democrats won 13% of the vote in 2014 election and secured the third position in Swedish parliament and party system, after obtaining parliamentary representation in Swedish *Riksdag* for the first time in 2010 general election (20 seats and 5,7% of the national vote). In the Netherlands, the Party for Freedom won 20 seats (out of 150) in the 2017 Dutch general election becoming the second-largest party in the House of Representatives.

But certainly not less impressive was the electoral results recently obtained by the Austrian Freedom Party in 2017 general elections, 26% of the vote, Jobbik, 20% in 2014 general elections¹⁷⁾, the Czech ANO lead by Andrej Babis, 29,6% of the vote in 2017 general elections, and finally the Greek Golden Dawn, when in 2012 entered the Greek parliament for the first time after receiving 6,97% of the national vote and making them the third largest group¹⁸⁾.

Table 5. Right-wing populist parties (%vote / seats) in National Parliamentary elections.

COUNTRY	PARTY	1990	1994	1995	1999	2002	2006	2008	2013	2017
AUSTRIA	FPÖ	16,6 / 33	22,5 / 42	21,9 / 41	26,9 / 52	10,0 / 18	11,0 / 21	17,5 / 34	20,5 / 40	
BELGIUM	VB	1991	1995	1999	2003	2007	2010	2014		
		6,6 / 12	7,8 / 11	9,9 / 15	11,6 / 18	12,0 / 17	7,8 / 12	3,7 / 3		
DENMARK	DF			1998	2001	2005	2007	2011	2015	
				7,4 / 13	12,4 / 22	13,3 / 24	13,9 / 25	12,2 / 22	20,6 / 37	
FINLAND	SP'P	1991	1995	1999	2003	2007	2011	2015		
		4,8 / 7	1,3 / 1	1,0 / 1	1,6 / 3	4,1 / 5	19,1 / 39	17,7 / 38		
FRANCE			1993	1997	2002	2007	2012	2017		
			12,4 / 0	15,0 / 1	11,3 / 0	4,3 / 0	13,6 / 2	13,2 / 8		
GERMANY	AfD							2013	2017	
								4,7 / 0		
GREECE	LS-CA					2012	2012	2015	2015	
						7,0 / 21	6,9 / 18	6,3 / 17	7,0 / 18	
HUNGARY	JOBBIK						2006	2010	2014	
								16,7 / 47	20,2 / 23	
ITALY	LN	1992	1994	1996	2001	2006	2008	2013		
		8,7 / 55	/ 117	10,1 / 59	/ 30	4,5 / 26	8,3 / 60	4,1 / 18		
LATVIA	NA/TB/LNNK		1998	2002	2006	2010	2011	2014		
			14,7 / 17	5,4 / 7	6,9 / 8	7,8 / 8	13,9 / 14	16,6 / 17		
NETHERLANDS	PVV					2006	2010	2012	2017	
						5,9 / 9	15,5 / 24	10,1 / 15	13,1 / 20	
NORWAY	Fr	1993	1997	2001	2005	2009	2013	2017		
		6,3 / 10	15,3 / 25	14,7 / 26	22,1 / 38	22,9 / 41	16,3 / 29			

POLAND	UPR/KNP	1991	1993	1997	2005	2011	
		2,3 / 3	3,2 / 0	2,0 / 0	1,6 / 0	1,1 / 0	
SLOVAKIA	LsNS				2010	2012	2016
					1,3 / 0	1,6 / 0	8,0 / 14
SWEDEN	SD			2002	2006	2010	2014
				1,4 / 0	2,9 / 0	5,7 / 20	12,9 / 49
SWITZERLAND	SVP-UDC	1991	1995	1999	2003	2007	2011
		11,9 / 25	14,9 / 29	22,5 / 44	26,7 / 55	28,9 / 62	26,6 / 54
UNITED KINGDOM	UKIP			2001	2005	2010	2015
				1,5 / 0	2,2 / 0	3,1 / 0	12,7 / 1

Source: Elaboration of data from ParlGov Database <http://www.parlgorv.org/>

Despite the fact suggested by elector researchers that these parties ‘voters are reluctant to reveal their support for their party to pollster what explains the under-representation of these parties in opinion polls, their electoral performance can be also explained by the declining importance of the economic cleavage, and the alienation felt by many working class voters from traditional socialist and social democratic parties. Political cleavages of European societies have changed over recent years and decades. Western European democracies were characterized by two major cleavage dimensions: the economic cleavage dimension, which pits workers against the capital, and which concerns the degree of state involvement in the economy, and the social-cultural cleavage dimension, which is about issues such as immigration, law and order, abortion, and so on.

It is certainly worthy to recognise their electoral performance taking into consideration the frequent splits within those parties during the last years, when the party hardened their stances and positions on topics such as immigration Islam or the European Union or in some cases when the new leadership adopted moderation campaigns and softened their images and rhetoric. In the Swiss People’s Party a group of moderates, once Blocher failed to win re-election as a Federal Councillor by the Federal Assembly, split of forming the Conservative Democratic Party (BDP) in 2007. In 2001, the most extreme faction of the Sweden Democrats was expelled from the party, leading to the formation of the more radical National Democrats. Similarly, other openly extremist members were expelled during the 2000s when in 2003 the party declared the Universal Declaration of Human Rights to be the cornerstone of its policies and when in 2006 the party changed its logo from the controversial torch to one featuring an Anemone hepatica flower. In Poland, the party’s leader, Janusz Korwin-Mikke, along with some members of Parliament, split into Liberty. In Norway, during the early 1990s many libertarian members of the Progress Party, including Pal Atle Skjervengen and Tor Mikkel Wara, left the party before 1993 election and some members of the libertarian wing in the parliament broke off as independents. These libertarian members who left the party tried to establish a political party, Free Democrats, but without success. Another turmoil surrounding the party took place in the late 2000 and early 2001, when the leader of the party forced the suspension, exclusion or leave of the most controversial immigration opponents in the parliamentary party, the so-called “gang of seven”¹⁹⁾. In the Flemish Interest, a major split occurred in the party in December 1988, when a group, led by Geert Wouters, who opposed the Dewinter leadership for side-lining the Flemish questions and giving priority to the immigration question, left the party. In the Finns Party,

a major split took place in 2017, when over half of the party's members of parliament, including Soini and all cabinet members, left the parliamentary group and were expelled from the party membership, creating the New Alternate, latter renamed as Blue Reform, that still supports the government while the Finns party went into opposition.

Since the foundation of the Dutch PVV, several members have quit the party –Hero Brinkman in March 2012, Marcial Hernandez and Wim Kortenoeven in July 2012, Roland van Vliet and Joram van Klaveren in March 2014, etc.-, in most of cases citing the lack of democratic structure within the party and the Wilders' autocratic leadership. The day after the 2017 parliamentary election in Germany, when the AfD obtained representation for first time, the leader of the party, Petry, announced that she would participate in the Bundestag as an independent due to the extremist statements done by some members and the internal dissent in the party. Indeed in May 2015, the party showed clearly the existence of two factions, one lead by Lucke and his core economic policies and another group led by Petry, which favoured an anti-immigration approach. The result was that Lucke's faction left to found a new party, the Alliance for Progress and Renewal, later named the Liberal Conservative Reformers in November 2016. In Austria things were not better. After the controversial proposals "Austria First" calling for a referendum on immigration in 1993, some members of the Austrian FPÖ, including Heide Schmidt, closer to the liberal faction broke away from the party and founded the Liberal Forum. In 2005, internal disagreement in the FPÖ led Haider and several members to defect and form the Alliance for the Future of Austria, BZÖ, which replaced the FPÖ as government partner. In June 2015 the main party of the federal party section of Salzburg split of and formed the Free Party Salzburg.

Internal divisions and disagreements also showed up in the Italian Northern League. After the 1996 election, the differences between those who supported a new alliance with Berlusconi and those who preferred to enter Romano Prodi's Olive Tree re-emerged and a total of 15 deputies and 9 senators left the party to join either centre-right or centre-left parties. After the huge setback at the 1999 European Parliament election, the party de-emphasised demands for independence in order to rather focus on devolution and federal reform, paving the way for a return to coalition politics. In France, in the 10th National Front's party Congress, Bruno Mégret and Bruno Gollnisch, favoured cooperation with a weakened centre-right following the socialist victory but Le Pen rejected that proposal and they and their followers left the party in January 1999 and founded the National Republican Movement

Success is a word used to describe the rise of the radical populist right in contemporary Europe and can't be measured exclusively taking into account the electoral success of extremist parties in local, regional, national or European elections. Beyond their electoral performance, they have translated their poll ratings into stronger political and sociocultural influence. In some countries, such as Austria, the Netherlands, Finland, Latvia, Denmark, Slovakia, Italy, Switzerland, and Czech Republic those parties have become power broker, supporting, participating and in some cases leading government coalitions. Their participation in national, regional or local government, their parliamentary representation, and their permanent presence in the media, allowed them to play an important role in influencing both public debates and policy interventions on issues such as immigration, multicultural

policies, foreign affairs, and integration strategies.

The most astonishing case is the Swiss SVP, which has been part of the Swiss federal government since 1929. The Austrian FPÖ, after its incredible performance in 1999 national elections, obtaining 27% of the vote, its best ever result in national elections, entered the Austrian Federal government in 2000 as the coalition partner of the Conservative Party ÖVP under the premiership of Wolfgang Schüssel. Even though, the electoral support fell sharply in the 2002 legislative election, in which it obtained only 10,0% of the vote, they agreed to continue the coalition with the ÖVP, that provoked EU sanctions. This coalition agreement has been reproduced again after the 2017 general election. In Slovakia, the leftist mainstream party, the Social-democratic SMER, welcomed two smaller far-right parties, the SNS –National Party- and the HZDS –Movement for a Democratic Slovakia- in the coalition government in 2006.

In Norway, since the foundation of the Progress Party, the rest of political parties had consistently refused any formal governmental or electoral cooperation with it due to party's position on immigration issues. But after a long period of work to unite the political right in the Nordic country, helped by Siv Jensen devising a more moderate liberal leadership, the party finally entered into a coalition with the Conservative Party, which from 2013 makes up the current Norwegian government. Previously the party influenced national politics and the government composition from the back seats of the parliamentary opposition. With only 26% seats in parliament after obtaining 14,6% of the vote in 2001 parliamentary election, the party contributed to unseat the Labour Party government of Jens Stoltenberg and replaced it with a three party coalition led by Christian Democrat Kjell Magne Bondevik. The Progress Party tolerated this coalition, as it promised to invest more in defence, open more private hospitals and open more competition in the public sector. In the 2005 parliamentary election, the party became again the second largest party in the parliament with 22,1% of the votes and 38 seats, and forced the fall of Bondevik cabinet following his consistent refusal to formally include the Progress Party in government. In 2009, the Progress Party obtained 22,9% of the vote, the best election result in the party's history, becoming again the second largest party in Norway. In coalition with the Conservative Party, the party won the 2013 parliamentary election and helped form its first ever government, the Solberg's Cabinet, although the Progress party lost seats and votes, being the third largest party instead of the second largest.

The Latvian National Alliance of All for Latvia/for Fatherland and Freedom/Latvian Independence Movement entered the governing centre-right coalition after obtaining 14 seats in the Saeima in 1995 general election. After the merging with the Latvian National Independence Movement in 1997, the then leader, Guntar Krats, became primer Minister from 1997 to 1998, but remained in government until 2004, and again from 2006, when it only gained 8 seats. And recently, after its remarkable electoral performance in 2010 elections joined the government again in 2011.

In Italy the *Lega Nord* participated several times in the Italian central government. The party fought the 1994 general election in alliance with Berlusconi's *Forza Italia* within the Pole of Freedoms coalition, along with *Forza Italia*, National Alliance and the Christian Democratic Centre, obtaining 8,4% of the vote but 117 deputies and 56 senators. After

softening its position on the independence of Padania, the *Lega Nord* became part of Berlusconi's House of Freedoms in the 2001 general elections, obtaining only 3,9% of the vote and joining the government again from 2001 to 2006²⁰. In 2008, the centre-right was reo-organised by Berlusconi as the People of Freedom obtaining the *Lega Nord* 8,3% of the vote and 60 deputies and 26 senators.

Table 6. Participation of right-wing parties in national governments.

COUNTRY	PARTY	1983	1986	2000	2002	2003
AUSTRIA	FPÖ	Sinowatz	Vranitzky	Schuessel 1	Schuessel 2	Schuessel 3
BELGIUM	VG	—	—	—	—	—
DENMARK	DF	—	—	—	—	—
FINLAND	SPiP	1983 Sorsa 6	1987 Holkeri 1	—	—	2015 Sipilae 1
FRANCE	—	—	—	—	—	—
GERMANY	AfD	—	—	—	—	—
GREECE	LS-CA	—	—	—	—	—
HUNGARY	JOBBIK	—	—	—	—	—
ITALY	LN	1994 Berlusconi 1	2001 Berlusconi 2	2005 BERLUSCONI 3	2008 BERLUSCONI 4	—
LATVIA	NA/TB/LNNK	1997 KRASTS 1	1998 KRASTS 2	1998 KRISTOPANS 1	1999 KRISTOPANS 2	1999 SKELE 3
	2000	2002	2006	2007	2009	2010
	BERZINS	REPSE	KALVITIS 3	GODMANIS 2	DOMBROVSKIS 1	DOMBROVSKIS 2
	2011	2014	2014	2016	—	—
	DOMBROVSKIS 4	STRAUJUMA 1	Straujuma 2	Kucinskis	—	—
NETHERLANDS	PVV	—	—	—	2013 Solberg	—
NORWAY	Fr	—	—	—	—	—
POLAND	UPR/KNP	—	—	—	—	—
SLOVAKIA	LSNS	—	—	—	—	—
SWEDEN	SD	—	—	—	—	—
SWITZERLAND	SVP	In the Federal Council since 1929 and being the leading ruling party since 2003?				
UNITED KINGDOM	UKIP	—	—	—	—	—
	BNP	—	—	—	—	—

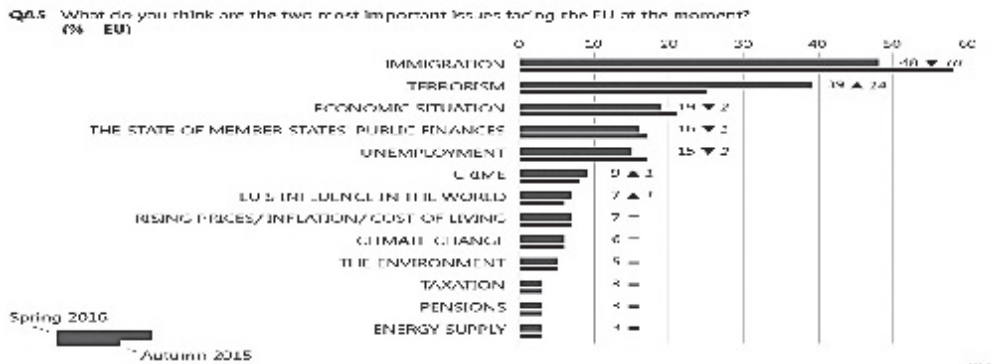
Source: Elaboration of data from ParlGov Database <http://www.parlgorv.org/>

But their influence on the policy-making and the public policy doesn't necessarily require their presence in the national government, and the Danish case is a good example. The Danish People's Party provided parliamentary support from 2001 to 2011 for the former Liberal/Conservative government led by Anders Fogh Rasmussen. Without being part of the Danish government, the party cooperated closely with it and received in exchange key political concessions such as stricter policies on immigration when the new immigration law was established in May 2002 and also concessions related with welfare policies. A similar case is the Netherlands. The Dutch PVV agreed to support, or better said, tolerate the minority government led by Prime Minister Mark Rutte without having ministers in the cabinet in 2010, when the party obtained 24 seats and winning over 15% of the vote, making it the third-largest party in parliament. During the difficult cabinet formation, the party emerged as a prominent player in a proposal for the new minority government and influenced the policy making during its duration.

Another type of influence or performance is related with the pragmatic concessions made by the so-called mainstream parties (centre-left and centre-right) in order to lure, appease and neutralize their far-right government or parliamentary partners and achieve short-term government stability in some cases, or in some other cases, to compete with those parties acting as safeguards against voter alignment to extremist parties. This strategy has resulted in the gradual appropriation and accommodation of far-right taboo ideas, attitudes, programs and discourses by political agents of the so-called political mainstream, traditional political parties and broad sectors of the society like the media. These gradual agenda-setting concessions by mainstream actors provoke basically two things: in first place, considerable evidence reveals that these extreme ideas, that were originally considered taboo, now become more legitimized and acceptable to a wider audience. And in second place, the normalization –banalization- of extreme agenda and rhetoric allows those right-wing populist parties to emerge as a credible political force without the negative stigma often attached to radical right parties in Europe.

In 2009, the Berlusconi government, pressured by the Northern League, introduced, not only a bill favouring the path towards fiscal federalism that was finally approved by the Senate and the Chamber, but also hardened the immigration policy, in particular on illegal immigration. Another clear case of accommodation of populist demands happened in the United Kingdom. The outstanding electoral performance of UKIP in the 2013 local election, 2014 European election, and 2015 general election, as well as the pressure exerted by the UKIP on the national government led by David Cameron, is widely regarded as one of the main reasons for the 2016 *Brexit* referendum. In the case of Denmark, the Danish People’s Party, which from 2001 to 2011 provided parliamentary support for the former Danish Liberal/Conservative government, in return obtained a tightening of Danish immigration policy and stricter naturalization laws. During the ÖVP-FPÖ coalition government, many amendments were introduced to tighten the country’s immigration policies and the total

Graphic 5. The most important concerns facing the European Union.
PUBLIC OPINION IN THE EU EB85- 2016



Source: Eurobarometer EB85 – 2016

Graphic 6. The most important concerns facing the countries of the European Union.



Source: Eurobarometer EB85 – 2016

number of new asylum applications was reduced significantly.

Another way to measure their performance has been the results of the opinion polls and surveys conducted these last years. The attitude of European citizens suggests that right-wing populist parties positions and ideas resonate and coincide with a significant segment of the public opinion when it comes topics such as immigration policy, European integration, and Islam. The greatest achievement of far-right parties is the broad public support for these controversial measures and simplistic diagnoses that reveals a surprisingly high degree of social demand and the legitimation of their agendas across the public policy landscape.

8. CONCLUSION.

The effectiveness of those political and electoral strategies and their political performance have created an intense debate within political institutions as well as in civil society how best to develop strategies for responding to the growth of extreme right and racist movements and parties. The need of effective actions is required once that the general opinion that in Europe after the events that took place between the two great wars, the continent would be immune to these ideologies has shown wrong. Even if they don't enjoy a great deal of good reputation as well as developments in political culture make it difficult for the radical-right to become widely acceptable political players in many European countries, a set of mechanisms and instruments should be put in place to protect the achievements of Europe since the Second World War in terms of institutional consolidation, social inclusion and cultural tolerance, from such a threat.

The first kind of proposals is about establishing institutional obstacles or barriers against the proliferation of right-wing populist parties and making it more difficult for them to have access to parliamentary representation. A relatively high threshold of 5% of the national vote, adopted in Estonia and Germany, or the new electoral system of two-round voting introduced for the 2004 regional elections in France, in part in an attempt to reduce the National Front influence in regional councils, are good and effective examples of institutional barriers. Another institutional instrument is the national legislation and parties regulation. In Germany, the German Constitutional Court has the power to prohibit and outlaw

any party or group that exhibit a relationship to National Socialism whether in writing, speech, symbols or structure²¹). The strategically softening adopted recently by many right-wing populist parties cannot hide the fact that many leaders and members of those parties in Germany, Britain, Greece or Belgium have been regularly accused or convicted of offences of Holocaust denial, xenophobia and racism, etc.

In some other cases, like Sweden, France, Belgium, the Netherlands, and now Germany, mainstream parties had established a joint strategy of isolating the right-wing populist parties and avoiding any debate with them and excluding them from electoral or executive alliances, a *cordon sanitaire*, which means that they won't collaborate with them in any way or at any level of government, and won't accept any anti-immigration rhetoric or political program. The case of Sweden Democrats is extremely particular. It is not only that the party remains isolated in the *Riksdag* because the other parties are still maintaining their decision of refusing any political or electoral cooperation with them, but also it has often complained about difficulties buying advertising space due to the media banning the party from advertisement, which has been criticized by free speech organizations. So in June 2006, *Nyheter* and *Svenska Dagbladet* decided to stop their boycott. But the evidence shows, like in the case of Sweden, that in those municipalities where other parties formed coalitions to exclude Sweden Democrats, afterwards this party was electorally more successful.

In Belgium, the isolation of the Flemish Interest was explicitly agreed and signed. The *cordon sanitaire –hygienic barrier–* was signed in May 1989 by the presidents of all major Belgian parties to exclude the *Vlaams Blok* (now *Vlaams Belang*) from any political or electoral agreement, to block it from entering any level of government, and to compromise not to make immigration a political issue. But initially the evidence showed that the agreement in reality gave room for the strong electoral surge for the party during the 1980s and 1990s. In the 1991 general election, the *Vlaams Blok* surpassed for the first time the People's Union obtaining 12 seats in the Chamber and 5 in the Senate. In the 1994 European Parliament election, the party doubled its seats with 12,6% of the vote. And in 1999 elections, for both houses of Federal parliament and the European Parliament, the party won the position of third largest Flemish party winning more than 15% of the vote in all elections. In the 2004 Flemish Parliament election, the party finally became the single largest party group in parliament but the *cordon sanitaire* agreement prevented from taking government responsibility.

In France, when Jean-Marie Le Pen bypassed the Socialist candidate, Lionel Jospin, and reach the second-round of the 2002 presidential election, the implicit compromise among French parties to isolate National Front explained not only that Jacques Chirac did not even have to campaign in the second round, due to the wide-spread anti-Le Pen protests and demonstrations and the refusal of Chirac to debate with Le Pen in the traditional televised debate, but also the electoral support obtained by the centre-right candidate, 82,21% of the national vote. In the Netherlands, the isolation of the PVV became effective not only at the national level, as before the 2017 Dutch general election all major parties announced that they would not form a government coalition with the party, but also at the local level. In March 2010, the PVV gave up trying to form a coalition in Almere, even though the party was the largest party in the city council, when the rest of parties refused to accept the their

essential issues and demands.

Some other analysts and scholars propose to embrace them and give them the opportunity to assume government responsibilities, as there is evidence that populist parties can only exist in the opposition. Few right-wing populist parties have survived if elected into government because they lack the necessary programmes, strategies, and skills and professional abilities to fulfil the expectations and needs of its voters as a coalition partner. A clear example was the coalition between the ÖVP and the FPÖ in Austria or the coalition in the Netherlands with the participation of Pim Fortuyn in May 2002, how they returned back to the opposition but evidence also shows that their electoral support grows quickly again there. But the Swiss case, where the Swiss People's Party has been in the federal council for decades seems to contradict this theory, as it has become the largest party in the federal parliament.

What underlies in this topic is the weakening of traditional parties and politics, which have apparently lost touch with the larger portions of the society and are not capable anymore of responding to both local and global tendencies and changes in the social environment, and that situation provides a fertile ground for right-wing populist movements. The emergence of populism is a clear indication that voters have demands that have not been significantly considered by the established political parties, parties that have been less sensitive and not open to the electorate's demands and making easy for these parties to win political influence. The challenge of populism requires that established parties handle this democratic dilemma. The best long-term strategy would be to extinguish the preconditions of contemporary populism, by satisfying the needs and fulfilling the demands of those who are potential electorate of the far right: the dissatisfied, frustrated and angry voters, articulating their socio-economic interests and improving their standard of living and specially the social security, and bringing security and stability to the labour market. As long as significant segments of society can be tempted by populist simplifications, by xenophobia rhetoric, by prejudices creating scapegoats, right-wing populism will play a significant role in democratic politics. The decisive answer to the challenge of populism has to come from the people, the citizens and the voters. The most effective solution will require more democracy, more responsiveness and effectiveness, or in other words more and better good governance.

Notes

- 1) Gustaf Ekström was a Waffen-SS veteran and had been member of the National Socialist party, Svensk Socialistisk Samling, in the 1940s.
- 2) In August 2010, a video was released where the Sweden Democrats MP, Erik Almqvist, is shown arguing with comedian Soran Ismail and referring to Sweden as "my country, not your country", once the party leader Akesson had instated a zero-tolerance policy towards racism in the party one month before. The members of the party involved in that affair, Erik Almqvist and Kent Ekeröth, were forced to step down.
- 3) In November 2012, Lars Isovaara resigned for falsely accusing two people of foreign origin of stealing his bag. In march 2013, 12 individuals were thrown out of the party for their involvement in neo-Nazi or other extremist movements. In November 2013, the then vice party leader,

Jonas Akerlund, called immigrants “parasites” during a broadcast on SD’s own radio station in 2002. In September 2014, the party chairman of the local Stockholm, Christoffer Dulny, resigned for posting mocking comments about immigrants calling them “shameless liars”. In October 2016, Oscar Sjöstedt was forced to resign for making anti-Semitic jokes. In October 2016, Carina Herrstedt resigned for sending a racist, anti-Semitic, homophobic and anti-romanyist email to her then spouse in 2011. In December 2016, Anna Hagwall, resigned for using anti-Semitic arguments to argue for a bill intended to reduce concentration of media ownership in Sweden. In September 2017, 14 active or former municipal representatives of the party had supported the Nordic Resistance Movement, a neo-Nazi organization, etc.

- 4) After talks for deeper cooperation with the Austrian FPÖ in February 2016 and controversial remarks by party leaders about shooting immigrants, the European Conservatives and Reformists Group began the procedure to expel it. In April 2016, it was integrated in the Europe of Freedom and Direct Democracy.
- 5) In 1988, the new French President, Jacques Chirac, reinstated the two-round system of majority voting for the next general election.
- 6) After 2011 general election, negotiations began aiming to form a coalition cabinet including the National Coalition Party, the Social Democrats and the Finns party, but finally the party refused to abandon his promise to suspend the EU bailouts and remained in the opposition.
- 7) In October 2000, the Centre for Equal opportunities and Opposition to Racism registered a complaint against three non-profit organisations connected to the *Vlaams Blok* for having violated the 1981 anti-Racism law. In their publications, where the party’s election agenda and party platform was included, there were passages where the party called for a separate education system for foreign children, a special tax for employers employing non-European foreigners, and a restriction of unemployment benefits and child allowances for non-European foreigners.
- 8) A particular turning point in Belgium and in the performance of *Vlaams Belang*, formerly called *Vlaams Blok*, were the political scandals which flourished in 1990s including corruption, pedophile scandals -Marc Dutroux affair-.
- 9) The Slovak People’s Party Our Slovakia seeks to give the general public the power to abjure and renounce any member of the parliament. The Greek Golden Dawn proposes repeal members of parliament’s immunity to criminal prosecution, arrest, and detention while in office, and dissolve any existing plutocracy.
- 10) Pia Kjaersgaard, former leader of Danish People’s Party.
- 11) During the Arab Spring revolts, Jean Marie Le Pen campaigned on halting the migration of African and Middle East countries and proposed a net legal immigration rate of 10.000 in France per year.
- 12) In July 2009, the Metropolitan Court of Appeal disbanded the Hungarian Guard Movement as the activities of the organization were against the human rights of minorities guaranteed by the Constitution of Hungary.
- 13) Gábor Vona declared “The Israeli conquerors, these investors, should look for another country in the Word for themselves because Hungary is not for sale”.
- 14) If the Norwegian Progress Party opposed in 2008 the legalization of same-sex marriage, its position was changed in 2013.
- 15) Among its founding members were the France’s National Front, the UK’s British National Party, Italy’s Tricolour Flame, Sweden’s National Democrats, Belgium’s National Front and Hungary’s Jobbik, but this last one quit it years later.

- 16) In 2013 election, the Progress Party dropped to the third place.
- 17) The true first test of JOBBIK was the 2009 European Parliamentary election, when the party sent three MEPs to Strasbourg coming close to equal in number of votes with the governing Hungarian Socialist Party and becoming the nation's third largest party.
- 18) Before that, its best electoral results was in 2010 when the party obtained the first municipal council seat in Athens after receiving 5,3% of the vote.
- 19) Among those members of the parliamentary party were Vidar Kleppe (the alleged "leader"), Dag Danielsen, Fridtjof Frank Gundersen, as well as Jan Simonsen. Some of them formed a new party called the Democrats, with Kleppe as chairman.
- 20) During those 5 years, the government passed an important constitutional reform, which included federalism and more powers for the Prime Minister, but was finally rejected, in the 2006 constitutional referendum.
- 21) Two political parties have been outlawed in Germany, the *Sozialistische Reichspartei* –SRP- in 1952, and the *Kommunistische Partei Deutschlands* –KPD- in 1956.

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ヨーロッパにおける右翼的ポピュリズム

ヨーロッパにおいて近年、右翼ポピュリズムの際立った兆候が見られる。右翼ポピュリズムには一貫したイデオロギーと実現可能な政策的オプションが欠けている。とはいえ、それはエスノナショナリズムの物語に対する不変性やヨーロッパ懐疑主義、イスラムフォビア、反エリート主義、経済的保護主義、法と秩序の諸問題への厳しい罰則主義型アプローチ、自由移民への反対、ナショナルな文化・アイデンティティ・価値への確固とした防衛と保全、こうした特徴に基づいた政治的レトリックを共有している。それらの特徴は、社会的ネットワークや現代メディアの民主主義により与えられた広範な可能性を利用する点で成功してきた。また、移民やグローバル化、ヨーロッパ統合のような特殊な政策に向けられた極めて単一な 이슈を有効な言説やアジェンダとして推進し、それらに代わるものを提起している。さらにヨーロッパ社会の重要な構成要素を動員し、それを永続的な政治的行為者や公式な議論や影響力あるアジェンダとして設定するために戦っている。

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