# RISE OF POPULISM IN THE EU

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# POPULISM

- From "populus", the people

- **Who**: political parties in the EU + charismatic leader

- **What**: ideology, political philosophy based on the protection of a specific people

- **Why**: Result of a democratic regime – 3 types of government (according to Plato): **autocracy** (totalitarian dictatorship, absolute monarchy, constitutional monarch), **oligarchy, democracy** (direct or not).

- **When**: periods of crisis: cultural, financial, social…

- **How can the EU face the national movements of populism in Europe?**

France

- Boulangisme (1885-1891)

- Dreyfus (1894/1906)

- Pierre Poujade (1950's)

- Jean-Marie Le Pen (1970's)



Le Petit Journal
SUPPLÉMENT ILLUSTRÉ
DIMANCHE 13 JANVIER 1895

LE TRAITRE
Dégradation d'Alfred Dreyfus

# HISTORICAL EXAMPLES

- **1933-1944: 3rd Reich in Germany**
  - **Adolf Hitler**
  - **Nazi Parti**
- **1922-1945: Italian Fascim**
  - **Duce Benito Mussolini**
  - **National Fascist Party**
- **1940-1944: Vichy Regime**
  - **Marshall Philippe Pétain**
  - **State collaboration with Germany**
- **1940-1944: Romania**
  - **Ion Victor Antonescu Conducator of Romania**
  - **State collaboration with Germany**
- **1939-1975: Spanish Dictatorship**
  - **Francisco Franco y Bahamonde**
- **1943-1980: Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia**
  - **Josip Broz Tito**
- **1965-1989:, GS of the Romanian Communist Party**
  - **Nicolae Ceaucescu**
- **1967-1974: Greek Junta**
  - **Georgios Papandreou**
- **1989-2000: Socialist Republic of Serbia**
  - **Slobodan Milosevic**

- Dictatorship with one charismatic leader

- *Coup d'état* through elections and force ➔ change of regime

- Authoritarianism

- Nationalism

- Militia and strong military control

- Segregation and discrimination against specific cultural and political communities
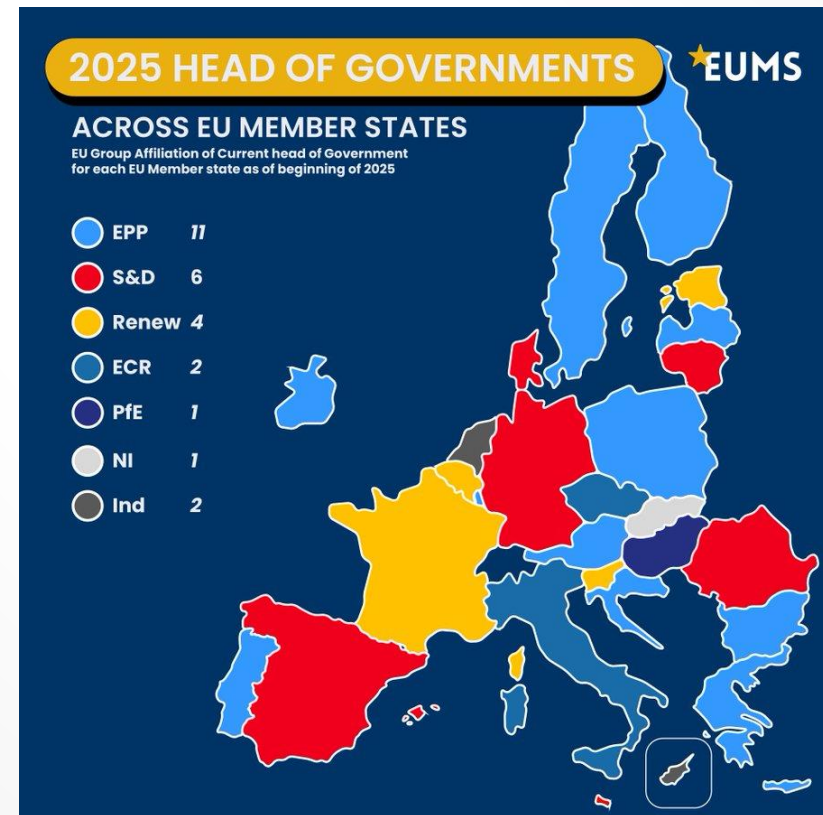
- Closing borders toward third countries

# I. POLITICAL STATEMENT ON POPULISM IN EUROPE

**A. Political overview on populist parties in the EU Member States**

1) Populism in the western countries

2) Populism in the eastern countries

# AUSTRIA



- FPÖ: Freedom Party of Austria/Freiheitliche Partei Österreich

- Increase of the FPÖ in 1990's ➔ Jorg Haïder (1986/2000)

- 1999 legislative election = 26,9%

- Part of the government in **2000-2005= Coalition with ÖVP** (conservatives)

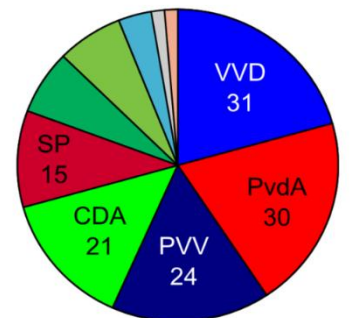➔ Attempt to EU sanctions based on Art. 7 EU

- Legislative elections Sept. 2013 (leader: Heinz-Christian Strache): 21,51% still in the opposition

- National Council= 40/183 – Federal Council = 9/62 – EP = 4/19

➔ 2014 = coalition SPÖ/ÖVP (Chancellor: Werner Faymann)

➔ 2016: Sensitive presidential elections ➔ Alexander Van der Bellen (new president)

➔ 2017: New government led by S. KURZ, coalition with ÖVP

# NETHERLANDS

- Multi-party system, three political families:
  - Christian Democratic Appeal (CDA)
  - Labour Party (PvdA)
  - People's Party for Freedom and Democracy (VVD).

- 1994: "purple" cabinet formed by VVD, D66, and PvdA.

- **2002** Rise of the LPF (Lijst Pim Fortuyn), **new political party around Pim Fortuyn**.

- 9 June 2010, confirmed on 12 September 2012:
  - VVD became the largest party with 31 seats (now only 12), closely followed by the PvdA with 36 seats.
  - **Big winner was Geert Wilders' PVV**: VVD-led minority government in coalition with CDA, supported by PVV.
  - The **Party for Freedom (PVV):** right-wing populist party, founded by **Geert Wilders** in 2004 (limit taxation, eurosceptic, limit immigration) ➔ Campaign on stop the "**Islamisation of the Netherlands**".

VVD 31
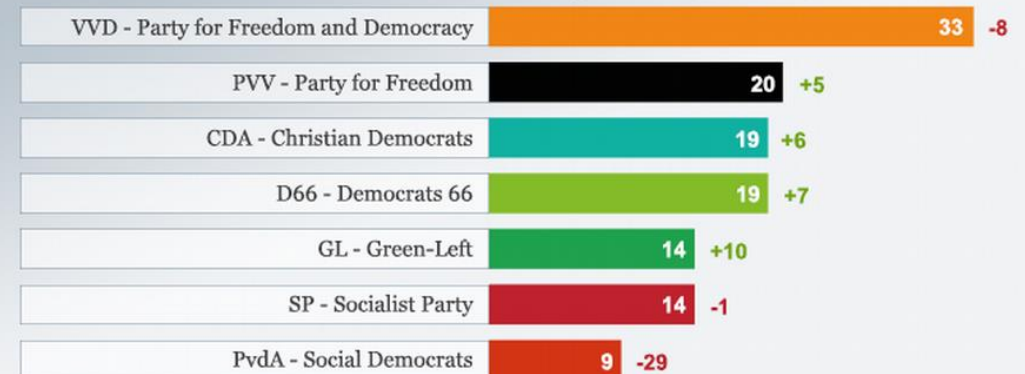PvdA 30
PVV 24
CDA 21
SP 15
D66 10
GL 10
CU 5
SGP 2
PvdD 2

# NETHERLANDS

- 150 seats in the House of Representatives of Nederlands.
- Coalition government: VVD-led government in coalition with CDA.
➔ Mark Rutte (VVD): 14 years as PM

Forecast: Dutch elections 2017

Voter turnout: 77.7%

Seats in parliament (150 in total)

| Party | Seats | Change |
|-------|-------|--------|
| VVD - Party for Freedom and Democracy | 33 | -8 |
| PVV - Party for Freedom | 20 | +5 |
| CDA - Christian Democrats | 19 | +6 |
| D66 - Democrats 66 | 19 | +7 |
| GL - Green-Left | 14 | +10 |
| SP - Socialist Party | 14 | -1 |
| PvdA - Social Democrats | 9 | -29 |

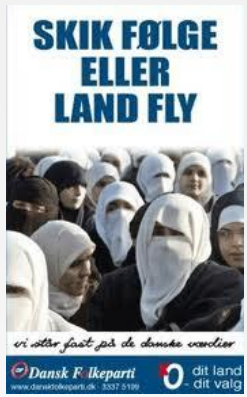Source: NOS | Data correct as of 16.03.2017, 05.36

© DW

# FINLAND



- 200-member unicameral Parliament

- Proportional vote in multi-seat constituencies

- Cabinet (the Finnish Council of State) exercises most executive powers

- Prime minister: Alexander Stubb (National Coalition Party).

- Until June 2014, Jyrki Tapani Katainen was PM & chairman of the Finnish National Coalition Party (Kokoomus) and the Finance and Deputy Prime Minister of Finland: to cut corporate taxes, raise the retirement age, promote nuclear power.

- 2011: True Finns had an exceptional success, rising its representation from 5 to 39 seats and thus surpassing the Centre party.

- **Finns Party** (Finnish: Perussuomalaiset, PS): populist and nationalist political party founded in 1995. Head of the movement: Timo Soini.  ➔ 19.1% of votes, third largest party in the Finnish Parliament.

- Confirmed in 2015, they became part of the governmental coalition

- 2023 ➔ part of the coalition with National Coalition Party, Christian Democrats and Swedish People's Party of Finland

- Parliament: 46/200 - EP: 2/14 - Municipalities: 1351/8.859

# DENMARK

- **Folketing**: **179 members**, proportional majority, (+2 from Greenland and Faroe Islands).

- Mette Frederiksen: Prime Minister ➜ coalition between Social Democrats, the Venstre and the Moderates

- **Danish People's Party** (Danish: Dansk Folkeparti, DF): right-wing populist, led by **Morten Messerschmidt** (protection of **cultural heritage of the Danish people**, including the family the Monarchy and the **Church of Denmark**, to work **against Denmark becoming a multi-ethnic society by limiting immigration and promoting cultural assimilation of admitted immigrants...**

- Parliament: 7/179 - EP: 1/15 - Regional councils: 4/205 - Municipal councils: 62/2.436

# BELGIUM

- **Vlaams Belang** ("Flemish Interest"): **far-right political party** (**strict limits on immigration**, strengthening the **Flemish culture and language**).

- Ideology: Flemish nationalism, immigration/minorities, law and order, economy

- Leader: Tom Van Grieken



- Chamber of representatives: 20/87

- Senate: 7/35

- Flemish Parliament: 31/124

- Brussels Parliament: 2/17



- EP: 3/13

# GERMANY

- **National Democratic Party of Germany – The People's Union** (German: *Nationaldemokratische Partei Deutschlands – Die Volksunion*, NPD): far right German nationalist party, founded in 1964, described as a neo-Nazi organization.

- Represented in two of Germany's sixteen state parliaments with no seats at the federal level.

- Holger Apfelas (2011-now) ; Udo Voigt (1996-2011)

- Bundestag: 0/709

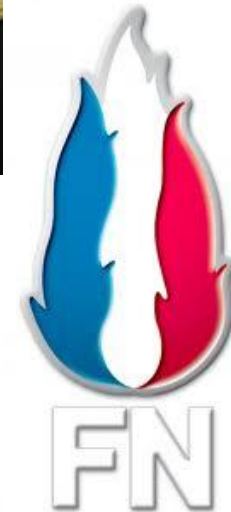- Regional Parliaments: 0/1821

- EP: 0/96

# UK

- Conservative Party (1834): ex-Tory. PM Rishi Sunak.

- Liberal Democrats (1988): Coalition in the government. Nick Clegg: Deputy Prime Minister of the UK, Lord President of the Council and Minister for Constitutional and Political Reform.

- ➔ **British National Party (BNP)**: far-right political party formed from the National Front by John Tyndall in 1982 (anti-discrimination).

- ➔ **United Kingdom Independence Party (UKIP)**: eurosceptic, populist and conservative, led by Nigel Farage.

- House of Commons: 1/650

- House of Lords: 3/754

- EP: 24/73

- No seat in regional assemblies.

- Local government: 368/20.565



SAY NO to paying the EU £40 MILLION a day. He'd get our money back! VOTE UK INDEPENDENCE PARTY ON JUNE 4TH ukip.org

# FRANCE

- The *National Front* (Front national, FN): far-right and nationalist political party, founded in 1972 by Jean-Marie Le Pen.

- Ideologies: eurosceptism, nationalism, protectionism, social conservatism, anti-immigration…

- National Assembly: 116/577

- Senate: 3/348

- Regional councils: 242/1.758

- EP: 30/81 (2014: 24.86% of the vote)

# ITALY

- Lega Nord: federalist and regionalist political party, founded in 1991, right-wing populist party.

- Leader: Umberto Bossi / Matteo Salvini (from 2017)

- Ideologies: populism, federalism, euroscepticism, anti-globalisation, racism, xenophobia

- Chamber of deputies: 67/400

- Senate: 29/200

- EP: 8/76

- Regional councils: 127/896

# ITALY



- Leader: Beppe Grillo

- 2009: Creation of the Five Star Movement (MoVimento Cinque Stelle, M5S)

- **2013:** Legislative elections ➔ 25.55% of the vote, *i.e.* **109/630 deputies (now 104)** entered in Chamber of Deputies (54/315 in the Senate, now 39) + **17/73 in EP**

- Idelogies: populist, ecological, anti-particracy promoting the direct participation, theories of degrowth, eurosceptical…

- Italian Government in 2013: Grand coalition government: centre-left Democratic Party, centre-right People of Freedom and the centrist Civic Choice

# 2023 SPAIN GENERAL ELECTIONS



**General Election Results in Spain**

PP and Vox secured a total of 169 seats in the right bloc, while PSOE and Sumar claimed 153 seats in the left bloc
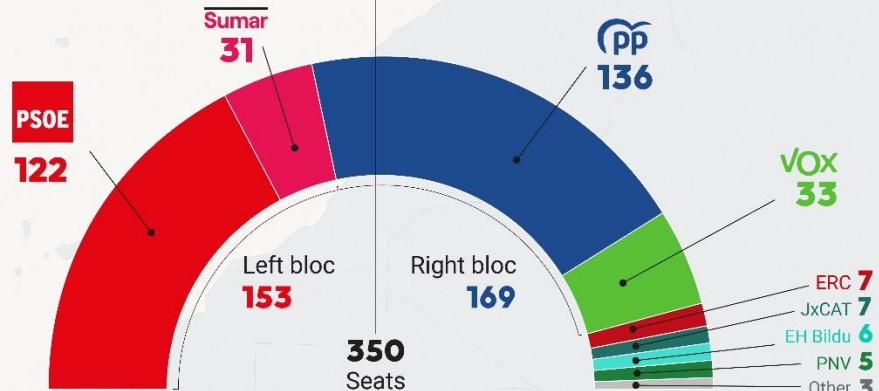
**ELIGIBLE VOTERS**
37.5M

**VOTER TURNOUT**
70%

SPAIN
Madrid

**ACCORDING TO UNOFFICIAL RESULTS**

Neither of the blocs managed to win 176 seats required to form a coalition government

Sumar
31

PSOE
122

PP
136

VOX
33

Left bloc
153

Right bloc
169

350
Seats

ERC 7
JxCAT 7
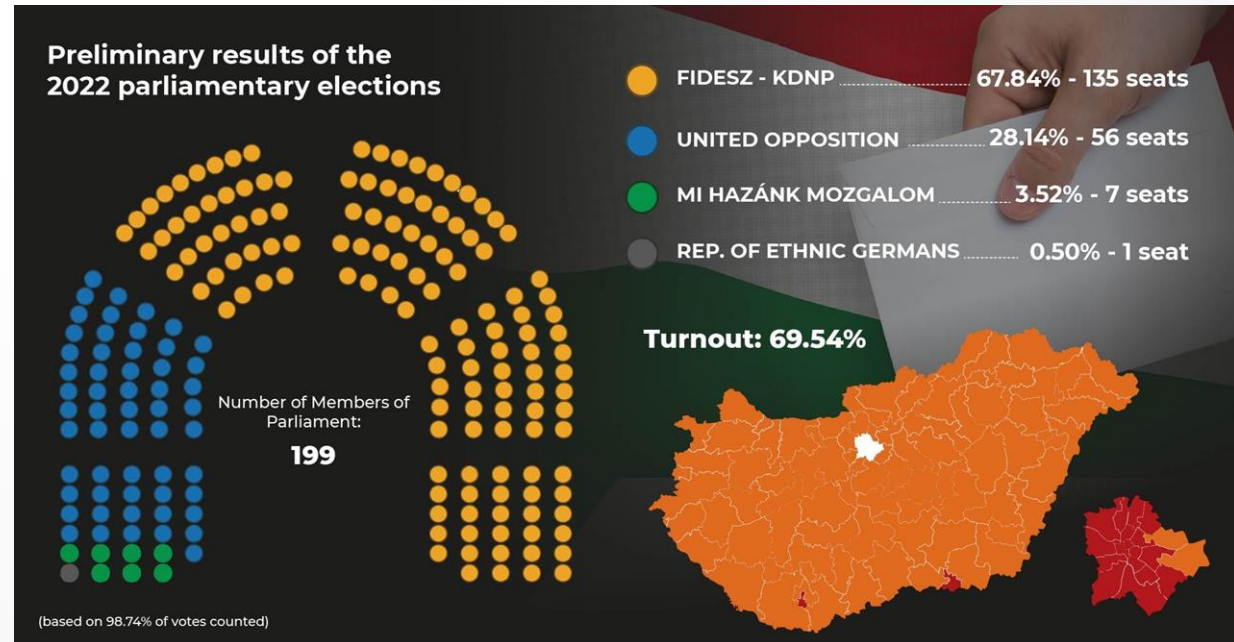EH Bildu 6
PNV 5
Other 3

July 24, 2023

# HUNGARY

- **Conservative Fidesz– Hungarian Civic Union**:
  major conservative party

- 2010 election: Fidesz-KDNP won a two-thirds majority of seats (Fidesz 227, KDNP 36).

- **Jobbik, Movement for a Better Hungary**:
  radical right political party.

- Leader: Adorján Béla

- National assembly: 8/199

- EP: 0/21



**Preliminary results of the 2022 parliamentary elections**

- FIDESZ - KDNP ............ 67.84% - 135 seats
- UNITED OPPOSITION ....... 28.14% - 56 seats
- MI HAZÁNK MOZGALOM ... 3.52% - 7 seats
- REP. OF ETHNIC GERMANS ...... 0.50% - 1 seat

Number of Members of Parliament:
**199**

**Turnout: 69.54%**

(based on 98.74% of votes counted)

# POLAND





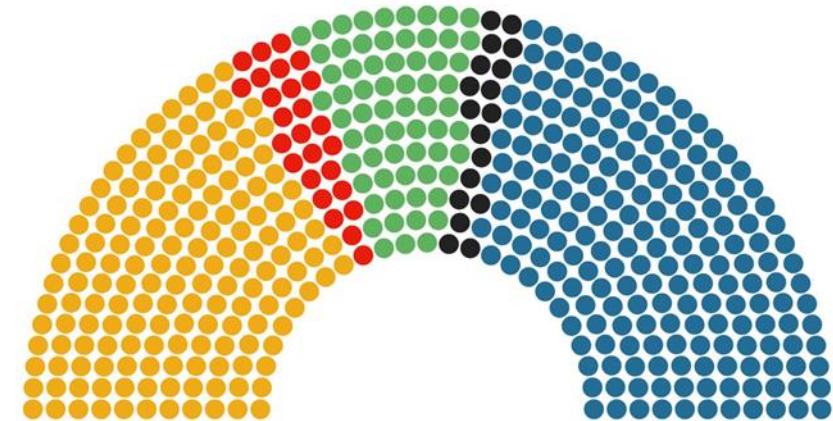Since 2015 ➔ President: Andrzej Duda

2015/2023: PiS party led the government

Since Nov. 2023: PM Donald Tusk



Polish general election, Oct 2023
Seats in parliament

| Party | Seats won 2023 | 2019 |
|---|---|---|
| Civic Coalition (KO) | 157 | 134 |
| The Left | 26 | 49 |
| Third Way (PSL) | 65 | 30 |
| Confederation | 18 | 11 |
| Law and Justice (PiS) | 194 | 235 |

Source: National Election Commission

BBC

## B. Problems raised by populism

### 1) Immigration and protection of national culture

27.3 million citizens of non-member countries in the EU ➜ 6.1 % EU population

Germany (12.3 million), Spain (6.1 million), France (5.6 million) and Italy (5.1 million).

13.9 million persons living in one of the EU Member States from an other EU Member State.

Source: Eurostat 2023

➜ Mix-up between legal and illegal immigration

### 2) Economy and social protection

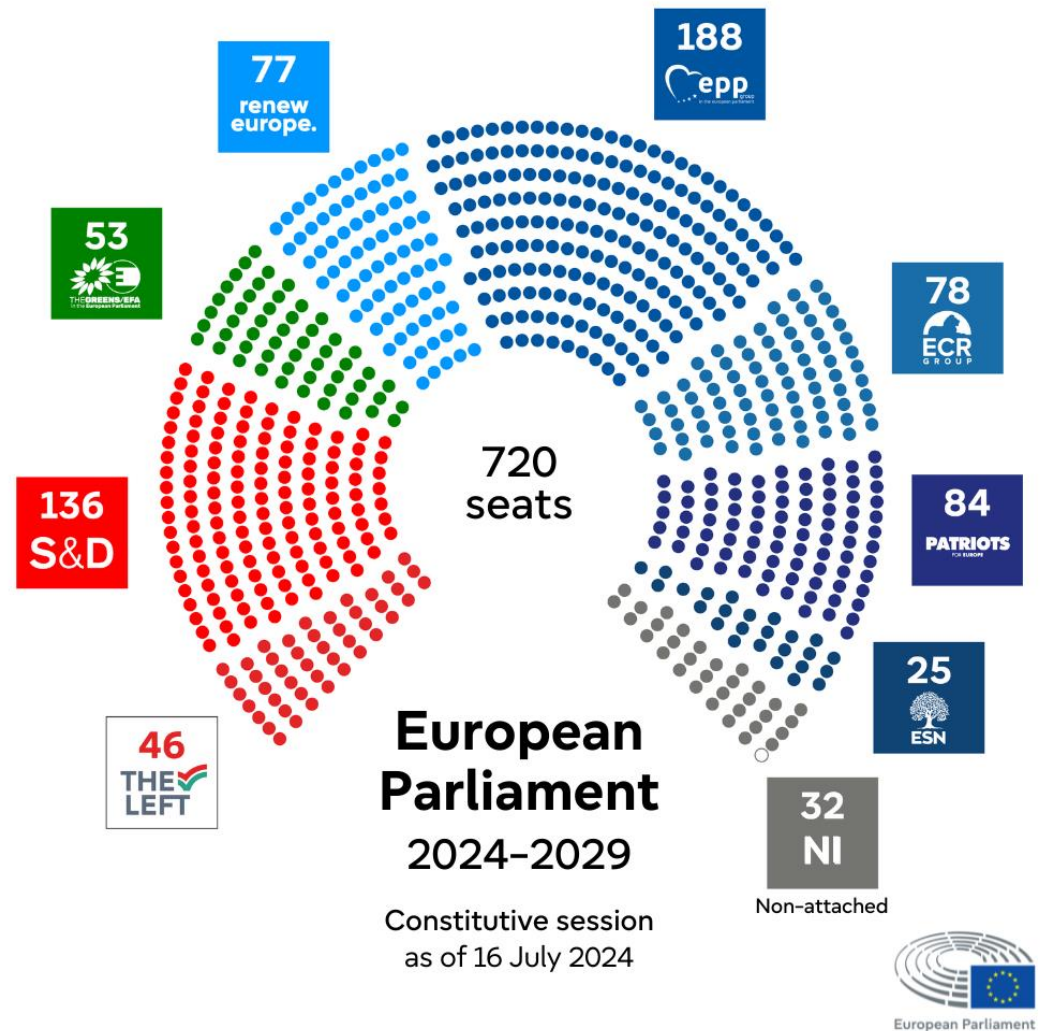2008: financial crisis ➜ austerity measures

2020: Covid crisis

2022: Inflation crisis



People refused entry in the EU
**141 060**

People found to be illegally present in the EU
**1 081 200**

Non-EU citizens subjected to immigration law enforcement in 2022

People ordered to leave an EU Member State
**422 400**

People returned following an order to leave
**96 795**

"Refused entry": data not available for Czechia, Latvia and Portugal, so 2021 data was used. As a result, the EU aggregate is an estimate.
"Found illegally present": data not available for Czechia, Latvia and Romania, so 2021 data was used. As a result, the EU aggregate is an estimate.

eurostat

**II. Populist problematic at the EU level**

A. **EU representation of the populist parties**

- EU Political group
  needs 23 MEPs from at
  least 7 EU states

# THE PATRIOTS (FORMER ID)

- Creation: 2024
- Chaired by: Jordan Bardella
- Members: 86 from 13 MS
- Ideology: Euroscepticism, national conservatism



- FPÖ: 6

- Vlaams Belang: 3

- ANO 2011: 7 - Přísaha Civic Movement 1 - Motorists for Themselves 1 (CZ)

- Danish People's Party: 1

- **Rassemblement national: 30**

- Voice of Reason: 1 (G)

- **Fidesz: 10 + KDNP: 1**

- Lega: 8

- PVV: 6

- Vox: 6

- Latvia first: 1

- National Movement (PL): 2

- Enough (P): 2

# EUROPEAN CONSERVATIVES AND REFORMISTS

- Creation: 2009

- Chaired by: Nicola Procaccini (FI) & Patryk Jaki (PiS)

- MEPs: 80 from 18 MS (FI (24), NVA, Finns Party, Danish People Party, Polish PiS (20…)

- Ideology: Conservatism, Economic liberalism, Euroscepticism, Atlanticism

- French representative: Marion Maréchal Le Pen

# ALLIANCE OF EUROPEAN NATIONAL MOVEMENTS (AENM)

- Creation: 2024

- Chaired by: René Aust (AFD) and Stanisław Tyszka (PL)

- Members: 26 MEPs from 8 MS (AFD 14…)

- Ideology: ultranationalism and far-right parties

- Only French representative: Sarah Knafo



**RECONQUÊTE!**



**ESN** EUROPE OF SOVEREIGN NATIONS

**B. EU solutions to face populism**

1) Economic policies

2) Social programmes

3) Cultural programmes

4) Protection of Human Rights

5) Control of the borders (Schengen and Frontex)