

## ATTACHMENT E.3. NATIONALISM, POPULISM, LIBERALISM, POST-LIBERALISM

### E.3.a. Nationalist Parties and Movements [brief inventory, Feb. 2017]

See below brief descriptions of selected nationalist, populist and related parties and movements now active in Europe and elsewhere. Most would be considered right-wing but several left-wing parties are identified as well. Analysis is in preparation. See Discussion Notes 174-186 for more.

**ARMENIA: *Armenian Revolutionary Federation* (ARF)** - is a civic nationalist, democratic socialist, left-wing party, with roots in the struggle against the Ottomans. Received 5.7% of the popular vote in 2012, and has seats in the legislature and the cabinet.

**AUSTRIA: *Freedom Party*** - Nationalist, populist, wants stronger borders, stronger army, limitations on benefits for immigrants, job preference for native Austrians, traditional families. Holds 40 of 183 seats in the National Council. Presidential candidate Norbert Hofer was front-runner with 35% of the vote in first round of national elections in Apr. 2016, but lost in the runoff to Alexander Van der Bellen of the Greens, by 0.6%. Hofer challenged the results, but in the re-vote held in Dec. 2016, Van der Bellen increased his winning margin. The Freedom Party has 4 seats in the European Parliament. Current party chair is Heinz-Christian Strache.

**AZERBAIJAN: *New Azerbaijan Party*** – Nationalist, secularist, built from old soviet communist party structures. A cult of personality has been built around current party leader and President Ilham Aliyev.

**BELARUS:** President Alexander Lukashenko has been in office since 1994 and self-describes his rule as “authoritarian.” Belarus has retained much of the form and style of governance, commerce and culture that prevailed during its years as a soviet socialist republic.

**BELGIUM: *New Flemish Alliance*** - Center-right, civic-nationalist, separatist Flemish party. Largest party in Belgium. 4 members in the European Parliament.

**BULGARIA: *National Front for the Salvation of Bulgaria*** – formed in 2011, received (as part of a united front coalition) ~ 7% of the popular vote. Euroskeptic. ***IMRO - Bulgarian National Movement*** – A conservative, patriotic, Orthodox Christian Party. Wants Bulgaria and Macedonia to unite. Opposed to Bulgarian Turks, Roma and other non-Bulgarians.

**CYPRUS: *National Popular Front (ELAM)*** – Opposed to migrants and to Turkish Cypriots. Affiliated with Greek Golden Dawn. In May 2016 it secured two seats in parliament, following the island's acute financial crisis of 2013.

**DENMARK: *Danish Peoples' Party (DPP)*** – Eurosceptic, opposes multiculturalism. In 2015 DPP came in second with 21% of the vote, and is part of the current coalition government. It has implemented tough immigration rules: benefits for migrants have been cut, police can seize valuables from refugees to cover housing & food costs. In 2014 it won 27% of the vote for the European Parliament.

**ESTONIA: *Conservative People's Party (EKRE)*** – Eurosceptic, anti-immigrant, nationalist-conservative party. Has an identitarian youth wing, *Blue Awakening*, that holds torchlight marches. Formed in 2012 as a merger of nationalist and agrarian parties, received 8% of the vote.

**FINLAND: *Finns Party*** - A nationalist party advocating strict immigration controls and arguing that Finns should have priority in social and healthcare benefits. Came in second in 2015 general election, formed coalition government. Party leader Timo Soini is Finnish Foreign Minister. Roots are in rural Finland and it supports populist welfare policies. Two members in European Parliament.

**FRANCE: *National Front*** – Nationalist, anti-immigration, anti-EU, favors protectionist trade policies and reduced benefits for immigrants, including health care. Started in 1972. Founder Jean-Marie Le Pen and other founders were former Nazi & Vichy collaborators and sympathizers. Le Pen's daughter Marine Le Pen is the current FN leader, trying to soften Party image: expelled her father, is hiring gay staff, etc. In Dec. 2015, FN won a 27% plurality of the national vote. Le Pen is a

candidate in the 23 Apr 2017 presidential election. Unlike many nationalist parties FN supports secularism rather than religious renewal.

**GERMANY: *Alternative for Germany (AfD)*** - Anti-establishment, anti-euro, anti-EU. Platform: "Islam does not belong in Germany," calls for a ban on the construction of mosques. Started in 2013. Has won up to 25% of the vote in state elections. Leader: Frauke Petry, 41, has a PhD in chemistry and founded and runs a small chemical products firm.

**GREECE: *Golden Dawn*** - Neo-fascist, violent, extreme anti-immigrant, anti-EU, favors a defense agreement with Russia. Is planning protests against "Islamization of Greece." Founded in 1980. In 2012 won 18 seats in Parliament, now 3<sup>rd</sup> largest party. Golden Dawn chief Nikos Michaloliakos and other party leaders have been arrested following murders and other criminal acts against immigrants. ***Syriza*** – was formed by the merger of a large number of democratic socialist and other left parties. Presently has the most seats in parliament; its chair, Alexis Tsipras, is currently Greek Prime Minister. It came to power on a platform stressing anti-austerity, tax hikes for the wealthy, increased services and support for the poor, working and lower middle classes, nationalization of strategic industries, and other populist measures.

**HUNGARY: *Fidesz*** – Hungary's largest party, originally more liberal, now firmly nationalist conservative. Prime Minister Victor Orban has called for creation of an "illiberal democracy." Skeptical of neoliberalism, supports strong state. ***Jobbik*** - Further to the right than Fidesz. More strongly populist, protectionist, anti-immigration, anti-EU, anti-gay, anti-Semitic, opposes "Zionist Israel's efforts to dominate Hungary and the world." Got 20% of vote for parliament in 2014. Now Hungary's 3<sup>rd</sup>-largest party (after the Socialist Party). Leader Gabor Vona may try to remove most extreme elements before 2018 presidential race.

**IRELAND: *Sinn Fein*** – The well-known left-wing (democratic socialist) Irish nationalist party. Long association with the Provisional IRA. Gerry Adams is head. 2<sup>nd</sup> largest party in Ireland. Supports secessionists elsewhere in the UK/Europe.

**ITALY: *Northern League*** – Anti-immigration, Euroskeptic, has advocated creation of a second northern state, called Padania, combining Veneto, Lombardy, other areas, or at least more autonomy, and fewer national taxes. Power base is in Venice. Strong electoral showing in 2015 in response to immigration crisis. Five members in European Parliament.

**LATVIA: *National Alliance*** – Founded in 2010 as a merger of coalition of conservatives, Latvian ethno-nationalists, economic liberals. Opposed to further immigration to Latvia. Electorally successful, has seats in the Latvia parliament.

**LITHUANIA: *Party of Order and Justice*** – Right-wing, Euroskeptic, socially conservative. Formed in 2002, 7% vote in last popular elections.

**MACEDONIA: *Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization – Democratic Party for Macedonian National Unity (VMRO-DPMNE)*** – The party describes itself as Christian Democrat but outside observers say its most prominent ideological element is its nationalism.

**NETHERLANDS: *Party for Freedom*** - Anti-EU, anti-Islam. Wants to close all Islamic schools, record ethnicity of all Dutch citizens. Leader: Geert Wilders. In 2016 it rejected an EU trade deal with Ukraine. PF holds 15 seats in Parliament.

**NORWAY: *Progress Party*** – Identifies as "classical liberal" and "libertarian populist." Not part of the broader European reactionary New Right, although it is strongly anti-immigrant. Received 13% of popular vote in 2013 and now shares power with the Conservative Party.

**POLAND: *Law and Justice Party*** - Founded in 2001 by brothers Lech & Jaroslav Kaczynski. Was initially free-market and Western-oriented, but is now protectionist, socially conservative, and cool to the West. In 2010 Lech K. died in a plane crash in Russia. The party won 39 percent of the national vote in 2015 and has a majority in the Parliament. Jaroslav is now party head and is leading it rightward.

**RUSSIA: *United Russia*** - Currently holds 75% of all seats in the Duma and is the party built around Vladimir Putin. It is strongly nationalist & socially conservative, although its rhetoric and messaging is sophisticated rather than bombastic. There are more than a dozen additional, smaller nationalistic parties in Russia. ***Liberal Democratic Party of Russia*** – Economically/fiscally leftist, authoritarian, opposes both Communism and Neo-Liberalism. Centered on charismatic leader Vladimir Zhirinovskiy, who espouses an "imperial re-conquest" to rebuild "Great Russia." Won plurality of vote to the Duma in 1993; lesser votes since then but still a factor.

**SERBIA: *Serbian Progressive Party (SNS)*** - founded in 2008 by former Serbian Radical Party members and is led by Tomislav Nikolić. The SNS won plurality in 2012 elections and is now the senior party in the Serbian government. “Russophilic.” Has declared it’s ideological alignment with United Russia and with Austria’s Freedom Party.

**SLOVAKIA: *Kotleba People’s Party/Our Slovakia*** – Far Right populist/nationalist: Anti-Roma, anti-immigrant, anti-American, anti-Semitic; nationalist, wants to leave EU and eurozone. Wants guaranteed jobs & national healthcare. Three pillars: “Christianity, Nationalism, Socialism.” Links to WW2 fascist leadership. Won 8% of the vote in March 2016 elections, got 14 of 150 seats in Parliament. Leader Marian Kotleba has called NATO a “criminal organization.” ***Slovak National Party*** – even further right than Kotleba.

**SPAIN: *Unidos Podemos*** – is a left-wing populist party, formed from a coalition of many left parties and organizations. It is the third largest party in Spain, following the Center-Right *People’s Party* and the Center-Left *Spanish Socialist Workers Party*. Podemos is committed to Internationalism, feminism, environmentalism, and social and economic justice.

**SWEDEN: *Sweden Democrats*** - Anti-immigrant, opposes Turkey joining EU, seeks referendum on its own EU membership. Roots in white-supremacist movement, but has disavowed these. Won 13% of national vote in 2014, got 49 of 349 seats. Mainstream parties won’t form coalitions with SD, so Sweden is governed by minority coalition of Social Democrats and Greens.

**SWITZERLAND: *Swiss People’s Party (SVP)*** – It wants tough immigration controls, including a cap on total numbers. Got 29% of the vote in Oct. 2015 national elections, giving 65 of 200 seats in the parliament. Switzerland is not in the EU, but is part of EU’s Schengen free-movement area and has been receiving many immigrants, and wants limits.

**TURKEY: *Justice and Democracy (AKP)*** began as a moderately Islamic, modernizing Party supportive of free trade and EU membership. In recent years it has become decidedly more socially and economically conservative. Now the largest party in Turkey; Its former chief, Recep Erdogan, is Turkey’s President. Erdogan no longer seeks EU membership and has expressed desire for stronger ties with Russia. Critics say Erdogan of authoritarianism. After the July 2016 coup attempt, Erdogan moved quickly to purge opponents and to centralize political and economic decision-making.

**UNITED KINGDOM: *UK Independence Party (UKIP)*** - Was founded in 1991 as a single-issue Euroskeptic party, mostly of academics, business and professionals, but has since broadened as a general conservative working class party, concerned about immigration, jobs, etc. It had a big win with Brexit. Most prominent leader has been Nigel Farage. The ***Scottish Nationalist Party (SNP)*** is an exemplary *left-wing* nationalist party and is pro-EU. Brexit may revive drive for secession.

#### IN PROCESS:

ALBANIA	CZECH REPUBLIC	KOSOVO	PORTUGAL
BOSNIA AND	GEORGIA	LUXEMBOURG	ROMANIA
HERTZOGOVINA	ICELAND	MOLDOVA	SLOVENIA
CROATIA	KAZAKSTAN	MONTENEGRO	UKRAINE

#### MAJOR NON-EUROPEAN NATIONALIST ETC. PARTIES/MOVEMENTS:

**CHINA, INDIA, JAPAN, BRAZIL, OTHER LATIN AMERICA et al.:** in preparation

**UNITED STATES:** The ideological mentality of President Trump and portions of his inner circle has been described as *populist*, as *nationalist*, as *authoritarian*, as *nativist*, as *Jacksonian*, as *far-right* and *alt-right*, as hyphenated combinations of these (e.g., *populist-nationalist*, *nationalist-populist*) and as many other things. More soon.

**ISLAM** and nationalism: Noted Islamic scholars have taught that for Muslims, nationalism is *haram* (forbidden), as it divides the *Ummah* (the community of all Muslims) against itself, pitting Muslim against Muslim. Rather than aspire after the socially constructed and artificial concept of *nation*, which was invented by the West to fill the spiritual vacuum left when it severed church and state after the French Revolution, Muslims should aspire to the restoration of the Islamic *Caliphate*. This is a complex topic. More soon.

Sources: excerpted and condensed from *New York Times* (2016), Aisch et al. (2016), *BBC News* (2016), Judis (2016) and assorted websites.

### E.3.b. WHY NATIONALISM, NOW? (preliminary notes)

New or newly energized parties and movements in Europe and elsewhere have been characterized as nationalist, neo-nationalist, populist, authoritarian, nativist and more. Most are considered right-wing but some are clearly left-wing and others are not easily classified as either. Political identification is in flux and different labels are used by different authors to mean different things. In some countries participants in these parties and movements are of working class backgrounds and until recently identified with Labor, Social Democratic and Socialist parties. In other countries the participants are mostly of white-collar and professional backgrounds. Some parties are strongly associated with particular ethnicities and/or religions while others are not. In some countries the urban/rural divide is important. Why are these new parties and movements arising now, and what commonalities and differences define and distinguish them? Some preliminary notes are shown below; further discussion soon.

1. The primary concerns motivating growth of these parties in Europe might be said to fall into three somewhat overlapping clusters:

#### A. Immigration, Refugees, Race, Ethnicity

- concern over lack of assimilation of many immigrants, especially Muslims.
- concern over crimes believed to have been committed by immigrants and refugees.
- concern over economic impact of immigrants and refugees, especially on jobs and on public sector spending.
- concern over the possibility of radical jihadist terrorism, by both native Europeans and immigrants/refugees.
- concerns raised by tensions between Roma communities and others.

#### B. Economic and Political-Economic Concerns

- concern over the growth of economic disparities and the continued lack of economic opportunity.
- concern over lack of a political mechanism to ensure fiscal responsibility among all EU members.
- concern about the remoteness and lack of accountability on the part of EU bureaucrats.
- concern over loss of sovereignty as neoliberal trade/economic policies empower multinational corporate dominance.

#### C. Cultural, Familial, Religious and Related Concerns

- concern that traditional values and institutions are being compromised in the interest of European community-wide integration.
- concern about continuing low fertility rates.
- some interest in reviving religious heritage and practice.

2. Many authors offer particularly useful insights:

- **Heino (2016)** constructed an index of what he calls *populist authoritarianism* in European political parties. The index appears to track closely what we're provisionally calling *nationalism* in these notes. His index distinguishes *authoritarian right* and *authoritarian left* parties. He shows that support for authoritarian right parties has increased steadily since 1980. Support for authoritarian left parties *decreased* steadily between 1980 and 2010, although after that date has shown an increase. On balance, however, authoritarian right currently prevails over authoritarian left.

- **Wodak (2014)** says that the new right-wing nationalist parties generally share nativist, anti-elitist and Euro-skeptic positions, but otherwise **differ in notable ways:**

- \* Some have direct links to past fascist or Nazi parties from which some but not all are seeking to distance themselves. These latter include parties in Austria, Hungary, Italy, Romania and France.
- \* Some focus their message on a perceived threat to their national identities from minorities across the board, both native or immigrant. These includes parties in Hungary, Greece, Italy and the UK.
- \* Some focus their message specifically on the perceived threat of Islam to Europe's future. These include parties in Denmark, The Netherlands, Poland, Sweden and Switzerland.
- \* Some are committed to promoting/reviving a fundamentalist Christian conservative or even reactionary vision. These include parties in Poland, Bulgaria, Ukraine and Russia.

- **Hirsch** (2016) calls attention to the roles played by both U.S. Democrats and Republicans in pushing policies that helped generate nationalist reaction in other countries. He cites "...the Clinton administration's relentless efforts to bring what used to be the Soviet block countries – and post-Soviet Russia itself – into the Western sphere. That policy started with the high-handed (and mostly failed) economic advice Washington gave to Moscow about free-market economics in the early '90s – the era of "privatization" (ordinary Russians called it "grabitization"), which led directly to the reign of the hated oligarchs."

- **Shapiro** (2016) argues that the rise of nationalism is a response to "tectonic shifts" in fundamental political, social and economic relations that are generating real insecurity and instability. He says that while nationalism is often accompanied by a rise of authoritarianism, bigotry, xenophobia and chauvinism, this is not *necessarily* the case, and we should avoid talking and acting as if it is. "The world is built on nation-states. Take out the nation and you're left with a house of cards."

- **Nodia** (2017) notes that nationalism has long been regarded by educated liberals, most academics and much of the governing class as a temporary phase through which people pass before they emerge as rational secular cosmopolitans. He says that many liberals are puzzled as to why nationalism has not only persisted but has deepened and spread. Nodia suggests that such liberals have long held to two dogmatically simplistic beliefs that impede understanding. One is **economic determinism**. On this view, nations and nationalism arose primarily to allow production of increasingly greater quantities of economic output, and thus will decline in importance as output approaches a level of satiation fairly distributed. The other simplistic belief is that **human nature is constructed**, i.e. that the mind is a blank slate that can be straightforwardly reconfigured through proper education and socialization. Nodia says that people lived in proximity and shared language, religion, custom and ancestry, i.e., a deep sense of commonality, long before nations, nationalism and capitalism evolved. Further, he says that the blank slate metaphor of the human mind is no longer supported by the scientific evidence; we are far from being deterministic automatons, but we are *predisposed* in myriad ways. He suggests that liberals don't have to reject their commitments to the importance of economic growth and the autonomy of the human person; rather, they need to nuance these commitments. Nodia suggests, for example, that liberals should affirm the Scottish/British Enlightenment teachings regarding religion (that it is benign if kept in its proper place and should be encouraged) rather than the French Enlightenment teaching (that religion is harmful superstition and should be abolished). Such nuanced amendments would let liberals embrace a principled nationalism that accords with the sentiments of large swaths of humanity.

- Notes on **Hazon** (2018b) in preparation.

3. Nationalism is figuring prominently as a growing political and cultural force in major countries **outside Europe**. Here are brief notes on why this is happening at this time, in selected major countries:

**RUSSIA:** Humiliation over the defeat and break-up of the Soviet Union; subsequent and continued slow economic growth; Anger at and fear of further takeover of Russian national resources and commerce by domestic and foreign "oligarchs;" lack of experience with civil society/democratic governance and long experience under autocracy. Totten (2017) says that Russia hasn't been fully European since the 1240 Mongol invasion of Rus and its 200-year incorporation into the Golden Horde Empire. He says that Russians see themselves as *Eurasian* rather than European. "Putin crafted the **Eurasian Economic Union**—which includes Belarus, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan and Armenia—as an authoritarian crony state-capitalist competitor to the liberal democratic West..." Totten says that Putin will never "dump that project and align himself as a junior partner with the European Union and NATO, not when he's the undisputed one-man boss of an entire continent-spanning alternative."

**CHINA:** Faced with rapid growth and rapidly growing inequality, corruption and other challenges, and with loss of faith in Socialism/Communism as ideology, China needs a compelling story of what it is all about and why. In 2013 President and party chief Xi Jinping initiated a major effort to articulate "The Chinese Dream" and what it means to be Chinese. Also, fear of attempts by the U.S., Japan, South Korea, Southeast Asia et al. to constrain China's rise. After centuries of division and oppression at the hands of foreign powers, China is on the verge of re-establishing itself, under the Mandate of Heaven, as the Middle Kingdom to which all other nations must pay tribute.

**INDIA:** Despite formal legal equality, social and economic inequality remains deeply embedded in Indian life. Hindu nationalists have 1) promoted economic growth and development in general, while 2) working to ensure that the lower

castes receive generous material assistance and support, while also 3) promoting Hinduism as a sophisticated, organic system in which each caste has an honorable role, while also 4) seeking to correct a system of laws that they believe gives non-Hindus (mostly Muslims, but also Jains and Christians) undue advantages in Indian society. The net effect is to increase solidarity among Hindus, and to promote economic growth/reduce poverty, while simultaneously reinforcing caste-based hierarchies and reviving long-standing but dormant inter-communal grievances, sometimes resulting in violence. P. M. Narendra Modi leads the Hindu nationalist *Bharatiya Janata Party* (Indian People's Party), and spent much of his career as an activist within its mass organization, the *Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sanghand* (National Patriotic Organization). See Fradkin (2016).

**JAPAN:** Japan has suffered economic malaise for close to two decades. This has been attributed to a rapid aging of its population (due to rapidly declining fertility rates) and to a general lassitude of initiative, will and ambition. These, in turn, have been attributed to the belief that Japan's post-WWII pacifist and meliorist socio-political mentality runs strongly against the grain of Japan's historically martial, aggressive mentality. Nationalists propose reaffirming this martial mentality to revive Japan's economy, confidence and population while still, however, restricting overt military action to self-defense. Long-standing grievances against China, South Korea and the United States are being dusted off and prepared anew as just cause for defensive action.

**UNITED STATES:** Donald Trump prevailed in 2016 by, among other things, appealing to anger on the part of the white working class at continuing poor economic prospects and at their perceived displacement from the center of American culture and regard, as minorities continue to rise in numbers, accomplishment and recognition. The new American nationalism is in major part a *white* nationalism and thus dangerously divisive.

**PHILIPPINES:** In preparation (Rodrigo Duterte et al.)

**BRAZIL:** In preparation (Jair Bolsanaro et al.)

## 5. COMMENT

The topics touched on in these brief notes need extension and development before much more can be said. But here's a question: how is it that despite the very different concerns and situations facing the many countries and communities identified above, *nationalism* in particular should be such a frequent common response? One answer is that the commonality of response is illusory, that is, that we're using the single term *nationalism* misleadingly to cover a very diverse set of responses. Another answer is that there is perhaps some deeper commonality underlying the many tensions and controversies noted here, and that nationalism properly understood is a rational and legitimate response to this. Again, more discussion soon.