History of the European far right parties` international cooperation

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European cooperation of far right parties: two opinions

- 1) European cooperation is rising; visible signals that something as "European ideology" is creating
- 2) Perceiving European far right as homogenous actor is not correct (limited institutionalization, limited skills to create official, strong and working structure)
- Nevertheless, the EU / European space as a motivation for cooperation – why???

Motives for cooperation

- <u>Ideological</u> and <u>pragmatic</u> reasons for cooperation
- European level as POS (European parliament)
- Chance to get more visibility, stronger position than on national level (usually when not being successful on national level they try it on international one)
- Getting more political relevance when cooperating louder voice
- Another way how to enter political arena and policy making process
- Small far right parties search for larger ones joining networks brings them strong partners
- Finances (national budget when winning seats in the EP, EU budget on political factions and political parties; sharing costs on campaigns)

Factions and political parties of the European Parliament

- Faction (group) min. 25 members from 7 countries
- Europarty at least one quarter of the Member States (usually made up of national parties, not individuals)

Financed from the EU budget

Political parties	2017
Alliance of Conservatives and Reformists in Europe (ECR group)	2.468.649 EUR
Movement for a Europe of Nations and Freedoms (ENF group)	1.696.660 EUR
Alliance for Direct Democracy in Europe (EFDD group)	1.102.643 EUR

Common interest

- Rejection or critique of the EU, international institutions and economical globalisation
- Importance of national self-definition
- Ethnic and cultural homogenity in national states related to stop of immigration and asimilation attempts
- Protection of European Christian roots and represive measures towards Islam
- Rejection of Turkish joining the EU
- Defence of traditional understanding of family, marriage, rejection of abortion
- Critique of homosexuality
- No tolerance to corruption
- Yes for death penalty
- Economy based on support of small and medium size businesses, traditional handcrafts and agriculture
- Social welfare policy

- → critique of the EU
- → immigration and islamophobia
- → globalisation
- → defence of the European civilisation

History of cooperation

Group of European Right (faction of the European parliament)

Period	1984-1989
Members	National Front (France), National Political Union (Greece), Italian Social Movement (Italy), Ulster Unionist Party (Northern Ireland)
Leadership	National Front (Jean Marie Le Pen)

Technical Group of the European Right (faction of the EP)

Period	1989-1994 (in fact earlier)
Members	FN, Republicans (Germany), Vlaams Block (Belgium)
Leadership	FN

EURONAT (European National Union)

Period	1997-2006 (last activity on web)
Members	At the end: FN (France), BNP (GB), National Democratic Party (Sweden), MS-FT (Italy), National Democrats (Spain), New Right (Netherlands)
Leadership	FN
Profile	Rejecting of the EU and NATO Rejecting Europe as a unit with one government Europe of national states

European National Front

Period	2003 - ??? (2010 still existing)
Members	Forza Nuova (Italy), NPD (Germany), La Falanga (Spain), Renouveau Francais (France), Nuova Drepta (Romania)
Profile	Europe of independent nations – European Identity Against immigration Against Turkish EU membership Against American imperialism Against globalization

Identity, Tradition, Sovereignty (faction of the EP)

Period	January 2007-November 2007
Members	ATAKA (Bulgaria), Greater Romania Party, FPÖ (Austria), Vlaams Belang (Belgium), FN (France), MS-FT (Italy), Azione Sociale (Italy)
Leadership	Chairman Bruno Gollnisch "project of FPÖ"
Profile	Confederation of nation-states Rejecting Turkish EU membership Against immigration Against islamisation of Europe Against American imperialism

Alliance of European National Movements (European political party)

Period	October 2009 – ongoing???
Members	Jobbik (Hungary), Valloon National Front (Belgium), FN (France), MS-FT (Italy), National Democratic Party (Sweden); BNP(GB); Svoboda (Ukraine); Republica social movement (Spain)
Leadership	Project of Jobbik and BNP
Profile	Opposition to the EU Opposition to globalization Against islamisation Against American imperialism

AENM

- Dominance of BNP, Jobbik and FN
- 2011 Marine Le Pen announced her withdrawal (she entered new Europarty Alliance for Freedom)
- 2013 rest of FN members left
- Le Pen wanted to de-demonize the party (connection with BNP and Jobbik was not helping, "She looks for more moderate partners")
- Ukraine Svoboda withdraw in 2014 several members supported Russian military intervetion in Ukraine (Jobbik supports Russia)
- Jobbik cut off in 2016
- Not recognized as Europarty anymore

European Alliance for Freedom (EAF)

- Established in 2010
- 2011 recognized as Europarty
- FPÖ, Flemish Interest, FN, Dutch Party for Freedom and other smaller parties (with short history of membership in the EAF)
- Unofficial leaders: Marine Le Pen and Geert Wilders
- After EP election in 2014 attempt to build group in the EP (failer, enough seats but not enough member states)
- October 2014: Marine Le Pen announced withdraw EAF is practically dead
- End in 2016

Marine Le Pen continues

 Europarty Movement for a Europe of Nations and Freedom (MENF) – FPÖ, Lega Nord

- June 2015: announcing "Europe of Nations and Freedom" group
- With former UKIP MEP (now as independent), FN, PVV, FPÖ, Lega Nord, Flemish Interest, Polish Congress of the New Right, Romanian independent MEP, AfD (one MEP joined on 1 May 2016)

Identity and Democracy

- Political group launched in June 2019 (rebranded Europe of Nations and Freedom) by Marine Le Pen (Identity and Democracy Party)
- League (Italy), National Rally (FR), AfD (Germany), Finns Party (Finland), FPO (Austria), Freedom and Direct Democracy (CZ), Danish People's Party (Denmark), Conservative People's Party of Estonia (EST), Flemish Interest (Belgium)
- 76 seats
- Chaired by Marco Zanni (League)
- PVV out of the game (without seats) after Brexit, Geert Wilders got one seat

Alliance for Peace and Freedom

- European political party, founded 2015
- NPD, Golden Dawn, New Force, Kotleba People's Party Our Slovakia, British Unity Party, Flanders Identitists, Nation Movement (BE), Workers' Party of Social Justice (CZ), Party of the Danes (DN), National Democracy (ESP)
- APF keeps contacts to Russia and supports policy of Vladimir Putin
- March 2015, AFP representatives arrived to the International Russian Conservative Forum in St. Petersburg
- Budget of 400 000 euros for year 2017 (after that without EU finances, nor recognized by the EU anymore)

Limits and barriers for cooperation

- 1) Historical issues (e.g. parties of middle Europe)
- 2) Nationalism
- 3) Question how the Europe should look like Europe of nations or states? What degree of integration? Which policy should be solved together and which should belong to national level?
- 4) Element of leadership
- 5) Issue of who is too extremist (marketing issue)