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IDEOLOGY OF RIGHT-WING EXTREMISM AND EUROPEAN MIGRATION CRISIS

IDEOLOGIA PRAWICOWEGO EKSTREMIZMU I EUROPEJSKIEGO KRYZYSU MIGRACYJNEGO

Summary: The author analyzes the correlation between ideology of the contemporary right-wing extremism and the European migration crisis. Basic hypothesis states that contemporary mass migrations from the Middle Eastern region greatly affect the expansion of right-wing extremism in Europe. Even though the extreme right-wing in Europe is of a diversified character, it manifests a sequence of mutual characteristics which are best seen in its ideology: Islamophobia, xenophobia, racism, fascism, violence, discrimination, etc. The purpose of this paper is to show how the extreme right-wing ideology can generate political violence and a vast security problem for Europe and the entire world.

Keywords: extremism, terrorism, violence, right-wing extremism, migrations, ideology, identity.

Streszczenie: Autor analizuje korelację pomiędzy ideologią współczesnego prawicowego ekstremizmu i europejskiego kryzysu migracyjnego. Podstawowa hipoteza brzmi: współczesne migracje z regionu Bliskiego Wschodu znacząco wpływają na ekspansję prawicowego ekstremizmu w Europie. Chociaż ekstremizm prawicowy w Europie ma zróżnicowany charakter, to posiada wspólne cechy, które są najlepiej widoczne w jego ideologii: Islamofobia, ksenofobia, rasizm, faszyzm, przemoc, dyskryminacja, itd. Celem artykułu jest pokazanie, jak ekstremistyczna prawicowa ideologia przedstawia program generujący polityczną przemoc i stanowi ogromny problem dla bezpieczeństwa Europy i całego świata.

Słowa kluczowe: ekstremizm, terroryzm, przemoc, prawicowy ekstremizm, migracje, ideologia, tożsamość.

Contemporary migrations as a security problem

Essence of the contemporary migration crisis is in the conflict of geopolitical interests of major world powers which dictate the flows of international events, and whose victims are, as a rule, always innocent civilians. The migration crisis emerges as a consequence of conflict of interest between migrants and the accepting states. While migrant intent to find a better place for living, at the same time running away not only from war but also from poverty, the European countries accepting them fear security problems,

changes in their national and cultural identity, but also the potential illnesses migrations might carry with them.

According to Dragan Simeunović, the main anomaly of European policy towards the migration crisis is the fact that, by forbidding migrants to cross the borders, “we violate the global principle of freedom of movement of people, goods and ideas, on which the concept of European Union is based (Симеуновић, 2015, s. 2–3) adding that in Europe, which propagates democracy, the rights of migrants to become naturalized are not respected, and that “due to anti-migration attitude, such states resemble a teacher who teaches others the lesson he himself yet hasn’t learned” (Симеуновић, 2015, s. 2–3). The key event and a potential step forward towards resolving the problem with migrants which overflow Europe is an Accord that EU has signed with Turkey¹, and which is being applied since March 20, 2016. In this way, EU tries to protect its external borders, with Turkey being the mayor player which, as a reward, managed to open the long-expected Chapter 33 on the accession to the EU, and additional financial funds for taking care of migrants² If Turkey fulfills its obligations by June 2016, it will be given visa liberalization, by which it will practically become a member of Schengen. By signing this Accordance, Turkey would become a key factor in solving the migration crisis, so that it might to a great extend also dictate the migration policy of the EU.

It is unclear if Europe can trust Turkey, since this Euro-Asian county plays a double role in the Syrian war. What is clear is that these new events regarding the migration crisis will even more fan the flames of the frenzied spirits of Nazism and fascism, and even strengthen the contemporary extreme right-wing; while on the other hand it will create a wide range of possibilities for criminals working in the field of human trafficking and travel documents counterfeit³. If we add to all of this a possibility of easy infiltration of Islamic extremists and terrorist in the lines of real refugees, we end up with a chaos in which Europe is right now, and whose dissolution is not apparent on the horizon.

Ideology of right-wing extremism in the times of the migration crisis

Popularity of contemporary extreme right-wing in Europe can be compared to the popularity of Nazi and fascist parties immediately before the Second World War begun. As then, today the right-wing extremism represents a response to the crisis of human society, implying “easy solutions during difficult times”. Economic crisis, arrival of migrants, collapse of multiculturalism, wars in the North American region and Islamic terrorism are just some of many factors that predispose a whirlwind rise of the extreme

¹ According to data provided by UNHCR, Turkey accepted 1.888.930 migrants in total in 2015, and most of them were from Syria (1.700.000). Source: 2015 UNHCR country operations profile – Turkey, z: www.unhcr.org/cgi-bin/texis/vtx/page?page=49e48e0fa7f&submit=GO.

² This is about additional 3 billion euros, which would amount 6,5 billion euros in total that EU would donate to Turkey. z: www.blic.rs/vesti/svet/cenkanje-ljudskim-zivotima-sta-predvida-sporazum-turske-i-eu-o-razmeni-migranata/hztvsg4.

³ At this time, among the migrants in Europe, most counterfeited passports are Syrian passports, due to the fact that nationals of this country have the best chances of gaining the asylant status.

right-wing. What can be seen as an alarm is the fact that the extreme right-wing is not found only in the civil sector anymore, but it conquers political parliament too, of which testify the success of “National front” in France, “Golden Dawn” in Greece, “Jobbik” in Hungary, “Alternative for Germany”, “Freedom parties of Austria” etc.

At a first glance, the means of the extreme right-wing ideology is evident, however, a thorough analysis might show that various political groups, parties and organizations which have their own specifics due to the country they appear in, might fall into extreme right-wing. Even though European extreme right-wing represents a conglomerate of various parties, movements and groups, there is a strain of mutual characteristics which connect all its actors in a unique whole. Above all, those are xenophobia, violence, Euroscepticism and vigilantism, which we will analyze further on.

Violence as a basic method of action is *differentia specific* of every type of extremism, including right-wing extremism, due to the simple fact that violence is effective and often gives much faster solutions than any other forms of so-called soft power⁴.

Xenophobia in this moment divides European society at the most vulnerable seams, creating a distinction between “us” and “them”. Extremists of the right-wing ideology blame migrants for economic crisis, weakening of the country’s reputation and within xenophobia, as a special category, Islamophobia can be distinguished⁵. “Fear” of Muslim population arriving to Europe in increasing numbers (as well as animosity towards Muslims) appeared above all as fear of different culture, mores and race.

Euroscepticism is a phenomenon that is getting stronger and stronger, and not only among extremists, but also among moderate political options. Migration crisis put the survival of the Schengen zone to test too, since many members of the EU have begun closing the borders, putting up walls and barbed fences before the lines of migrants, while, for example, Croatia even started a “customs war” with Serbia without any cause. The *Daily Telegraph* researches show that at this moment 45% of British nationals agree with Britain stepping out of the EU; on the other hand, 47% of responders were for Great Britain to remain a part of the European family(www.srbijadanas.com/clanak/hoce-li-britanija-napustiti-eu-broj-britanaca-koji-su-za-izlazak-povecao-se-za-dva-odsto-15).

When speaking of vigilance, it is a major part of extreme right-wing ideology, since right-wing always “watches over” the group, ethnicity or race to which it belongs, in order to protect it from potential enemies.

At this moment, Germany is most overwhelmed by the burden of migration crisis, since only during the year of 2015, more than a million individuals applied for asylum in this country (www.iom.int). According to data provided by IOM, in 2015, 14, 88% of total habitants of Germany were immigrants(www.iom.int). At the same time, Germany is also one of the European countries that are suffering from a real threat of expansion of right-wing extremism. No matter that for a long time after the Second World War did Germany work on denazification, the tradition of extreme right-wing ideology is still

⁴ Ex. Negotiation.

⁵ Islamophobia was most explicitly expressed among European extreme right-wingers in the attack of Anders Breivik in 2011 in Norway.

strong and firmly grounded in the pores of German society. To this testifies a vast number of formal and informal extreme right-wing groups that belong to civil sector, but at this time, "Alternative for Germany" (AfD) represents one of the most serious political players on the German political scene. Behind the success of AfD stands migration crisis and "open door" policy that is propagated by the current government. Leader of this party, Frauke Petry, well-known by her extremist attitude in which she emphasizes that fire should be open on illegal migrants and that they should be banned from entering Germany. If "Alternative for Germany" should repeat its success during the federal elections, which are planned for 2017, then it would be the first openly extreme right-wing party after Second World War to enter the assembly of the FR of Germany.

According to informal data, Germany holds today about 10 000 registered extreme right-winger (Ђориф, 2014, s. 277). It is considered that that number is much higher in reality. One of most dangerous organizations that has been active in the period from 2000 to 2007, and which is responsible for murdering dozens of people of Turkish origin and one policewoman is hidden under the name *National-Socialist Underground* (NSU). After their arrest, German authorities decided to make a registry of neo-Nazi organizations, based on the registry Americans made regarding terrorist organizations after the terrorist attack on September 11, 2001. Many informal extreme right-wing groups are active in Germany, among which are *Autonomous Nationalists*, *Resistance Movement in South Brandenburg*, *Young Vikings*, *Immortals* etc. Also, we shouldn't leave out the basic ideology – anti-Islamism under the acronym PEGIDA (*Patriotische Europäer gegen die Islamisierung des Abendlandes*).

Among the countries of the so-called Visegrad group, Hungary definitely showed the biggest resistance towards migrants. This country acted most restrictive among all the European countries towards the migrant crisis from the mere beginning, openly stating that it is not ready to accept migrants according to the European quota arrangement. Anti-migrant attitude of the Hungarian government is the aftermath of the turning point of the political scene towards right since 2010. In this context, we should especially have in mind the popularity of the *Jobbik* extreme party, which has been growing stronger and stronger during the last few years. Hungary overthrew some of the basic legislations of the EU and implemented series of repressive measures and so-called non-lethal force⁶ towards migrants, with the support of the Visegrad group countries.

Extreme right-wing was strong in Hungary even before the migrant crisis, which is not surprising, given its fascist past during the Second World War, when *Arrow Cross party* was active. Today, *Jobbik* party is the "umbrella" which shelters other extreme right-wing organizations, such as *Hungarian Guard Movement*, which was banned in 2009 by the decision of the Constitutional court. "Jobbik" is a party whose ideology, apart from racism (anti-Roma⁷ and anti-Semitist forms) also expresses anti-Islamism, which is generated by migrant crisis.

⁶ This implies usage of shock grenades, rubber bullets, etc.

⁷ *Human Rights Watch* has criticized Hungary many times for discrimination towards Roma population and racial segregation in schools.

Arrival of migrants of Arabic origin to Europe brings out a series of security implications, which do not imply only the danger of spreading of extreme right-wing, but also bear a new security problem, which is Islamic funded terrorism. France and Belgium are among the first countries in Europe that have felt on their own skin horrific consequences of a new, hybrid form of terrorism represented by the so-called *Islamic State*. Since every action causes a reaction, Islamic terrorism was the main trigger of increase in animosity against Muslims in France and intensification of popularity of the extreme right-wing. After a series of terrorist attacks⁸ in Paris during 2015, National front, led by Marine le Penn, gains increasing number of supporters, which will be seen at the presidential elections planned for year 2017.⁹ Under the “roof” of National front are numerous informal extreme right-wing organizations such as *Generation identity*¹⁰, *Renouveau français*, etc. All these organizations have a pronouncedly Christian profile (due to Islamophobia) and a vigilant approach to migrant crisis.

Terrorist attacks in Brussels on March 22, 2016, carried out by the so-called *Islamic state*, showed that Europe does not have clear and unique security strategy for fighting terrorism. Contemporary Europe is not only threatened by the jihadists, but also by extreme right-wing groups, since extremism bears extremism. Videlicet, Islamist attack will even more enrage right-wingers, already resentful of newly arrived migrants and affect the growth of popularity of extreme right-wing.

The solution to the migration crisis lays in treating the cause, and not the consequences. That would mean adjusting the political interests of the major world powers and joint work on destroying the so-called *Islamic state*. Until that happens, Europe will be drowning in the fight of “extremism against extremism” (Ђорић, 2012, s. 45–63); one side will be held by extreme right-wing, and the other by jihadists, while, as always, innocent civilians will be collateral damage.

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⁸ On November 13, 2015, terrorists affiliated with the ISIS attacked Paris on seven different locations. Before that, in January, a horrific terrorist attack was carried out on the editorial staff of the French paper “Charlie Hebdo”.

⁹ In the parliamentary elections held in 2015, “National front” won in the first round, only to fall back in the second round of elections. 6,5 millions of French voted for National front, which is a record for this party. Z: balkans.aljazeera.net/vijesti/nacionalni-front-stranka-koju-francuzi-vole-da-mrze.

¹⁰ This organization is connected with the Stormfront movement.

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