Richard Stöss

TRADE UNIONS AND RIGHT-WING EXTREMISM IN EUROPE

FRIEDRICH EBERT STIFTUNG
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Contents

The upsurge of right-wing extremism and populism poses an increasing challenge to trade unions. However, this is not a novel problem. At least since the 1990s it has been recognized that the electoral triumphs of far-right parties have been due partly to the voting behavior of union members. The German Trade Union Federation understood that it needed to take action and empaneled a commission on right-wing extremism that issued its final report in 2000. It states that xenophobic attitudes on the part of trade union members had "to a certain extent become fashionable," reflecting the spread of similar outlooks in the majority political culture.

Since that time certain initiatives have been launched and a great deal accomplished, particularly when it comes to the trade unions' educational and youth work. Still, the problems connected to right-wing extremism have lost none of their urgency. In November of 2016, the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung, via the Dietz Verlag, issued one of its "middle studies" entitled (in English translation) *The Divided Middle – Hostile Conditions*. The study revealed that, at least in some cases, trade union members were actually more likely than non-union members to hold hostile views toward people unlike themselves. These findings show once again that prejudice, discriminatory thinking, and social imbalances are problems that affect the broad middle of society, which of course includes employees organized in trade unions too.

The Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung continually revisits these phenomena at various points in its work on political education. Thus, for example, its "Anti-right-wing extremism" project organized an international conference in Bonn in November, 2015, devoted to the issue of "Trade union educational work directed against right-wing extremism." Over one hundred trade union representatives as well as experts and publicists from Germany, Poland, Hungary, and Greece took part.

They discussed ways in which trade unions all across Europe might counter the rise of far-right extremism and populism. The results of their deliberations have been woven into the essay presented here.

The Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung is delighted to have recruited Richard Stöss as the author of this volume, which will appear in both German and English. As a political scientist and expert on right-wing extremism, he has had many years of experience confronting the concrete issues connected to this topic. In the following pages he describes the conditions that affect both the existence and the success of right-wing extremism, especially in the world of work and among union members. He goes on to summarize the goals and impacts of right-wing extremism and offers suggestions for practical steps that unions might take to counteract the influence of the far right on their membership.

The present volume should be seen as a manual or guide for the educational work carried on as part of the trade unions' political initiatives. Thus, it constitutes a contribution to the unceasing confrontation with right-wing extremism and the threat it poses to our democratic society.

Berlin, May, 2017

Dr. Ralf Melzer
Head, Project on Combatting Right-wing Extremism
Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung/Forum Berlin

PREFACE

The German Trade Union Federation (DGB), which I chaired for twelve years, is expressly committed to the principle of a unified union and thus aspires to represent the interests of workers regardless of their political and religious convictions. However, such nonpartisanship should not be confused with indifference when it comes to adopting an unambiguous stance toward the right. It is especially important for the trade union movement to draw a clear line against right-wing extremist as well as right-wing populist parties and movements, since they call into question and/or actively oppose the foundational values of our democratic, pluralistic, rights-based society. In this context we should remember that trade unions were among the first victims of the Nazi regime.

As deputy chair of the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung I am particularly concerned with the struggle against the radical right in all of its manifestations. It is clear that the rise of the right-wing populist Alternative for Germany has brought with it a host of new challenges that the DGB and its member unions will have to confront. The same holds true for our colleagues in other countries, because right-wing populism is a Europe-wide – indeed even a global – phenomenon.

The social problems that emerge from globalization and digitalization, and from an ever more complex, speeded-up world are real enough. But we must deal with them and stand up for social justice without turning social conflicts into ethnic ones. Forces on the radical right capitalize on people's feelings of insecurity, exploiting their fears and worries for their own ends. Sometimes, they probably do ask the right questions. But they offer simplistic and false answers to these difficult questions.

The slogan of the far right is "Only the nation can solve social problems." The truth is just the opposite: social problems can only be solved internationally! And

precisely for that reason it is crucial that workers should not allow anyone to play them off against one another. To the contrary, in the globalized world of work there has to be a fair balancing of interests. When I was president of the International Trade Union Federation, that was always my guiding idea. Trade union members should close ranks as far as possible in opposition to the dehumanizing principle of the right wing: "it's us against them." We have to have free, strong unions for there to be a social dialogue in which participants negotiate as equals. Likewise, we need free, strong unions that take competent, committed positions on the most important social and political issues. For that to happen, there must be an intensive exchange of experiences of the kind promoted by the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung-sponsored international conference in November of 2016 on "trade union educational work against right-wing extremism."

I would like to thank the author. Richard Stöss and the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung project "Against right-wing extremism" for making this publication available. I hope it will be widely disseminated and intensively used in the work of political education and in the struggle against right-wing extremism and populism.

Berlin, May, 2017

Michael Sommer
Deputy Chair of the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung
Chair of the German Trade Union Federation (DGB) from 2002–2014

ISSUE

The political climate in Europe is veering dramatically towards the right, in a trend that permeates all areas of society, including the world of work. The trade unions are doubly affected by this development. Not only are they actors in the democratic confrontation with right-wing extremism, but they are also the targets of right-wing extremists. Some-times they come into the crosshairs of certain far-right groups; in other cases, their members are attracted by far right ideological, programmatic, and policy blandishments.

Although well-developed programmes of research into right-wing extremism exist in Germany and several (western) European countries, trade unions are only rarely the subject matter of this research. Social-scientific studies of right-wing extremism still tend to focus somewhat narrowly on the world of work, which is of course also the primary field of activity of the trade unions. Such research identifies socio-economic transitions as well as changes in employment and industrial relations as key causes of the right-wing-extremist success. However, the relationship between trade unions and right-wing extremism tends to be studied only to the extent that the former are marked by their socio-economic and political-cultural environment. What receives less attention is the way in which their policies can help to shape this environment.

The relationship between trade unions and far right extremism has been the subject of an intensive discussion in the Federal Republic of Germany (FRG) since the end of the 1980s. The unions consistently have been at the forefront of the battles against both historical fascism and right-wing extremism since the Second World War. They fought passionately against the influence of former National Socialists and far-right organisations and trends. During those struggles, right-wing extremism was always seen as something external, against which the unions themselves were considered immune. When a new wave of right-wing extremism emerged in the FRG and many western European countries in the

1970s and 1980s and it became clear that their positions also were attractive to some trade union members, the unions finally started dealing with right-wing extremism within their own ranks. In 1990 Ernst Breit, the then-Chairman of the German Trade Union Confederation (Deutscher Gewerkschaftsbund, DGB), wrote:

> *Although the DGB has always drawn attention to a noteworthy far-right and xenophobic potential [...], we cannot claim that we were prepared for the new situation. We need to acknowledge that membership in a trade union does not provide immunity against infection by the far-right.*[1]

As it became ever more apparent that the successes of far-right parties were in part attributable to the votes of trade union members, the 16th Ordinary Federal Congress of the DGB (Ordentlicher Bundeskongress) commissioned the DGB's national committee (Bundesvorstand) in 1988 "to analyse the development of right-wing extremism in the Federal Republic from a trade-union viewpoint and to draw up prospective actions for the trade unions". A commission for right-wing extremism was constituted; its final report, which came out in March of 2000, contains a comprehensive review of the research outcomes and an extensive section on areas of activity. The section entitled "Gewerkschaften und Rechtsextremismus" (trade unions and right-wing extremism) contains a forward-looking formulation that applies not only to Germany, but to all European states:

> *The realisation that xenophobic and racist attitudes are... virulent among trade union members is neither new nor particularly surprising. Trade unions do not exist in a vacuum; they breathe the same air enriched with prejudice and xenophobic slogans as the rest of society. [...] To that extent the xenophobic attitudes of trade union members are in line with current trends and reflect the expansion of such orientations in the mainstream political culture.*[2]

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1 Richard Stöss, Die Republikaner. Woher sie kommen – Was sie wollen – Wer sie wählt – Was zu tun ist, second revised and expanded edition (Köln: Bund-Verlag. 1990), p. 9.
2 Deutscher Gewerkschaftsbund – Bundesvorstand: Schlussbericht der Kommission Rechtsextremismus, ed. Dieter Pougin (Berlin, 2000), p. 32 ff.

The finding that its members' attitudes reflect those of the larger society reinforces the duty of the trade unions to campaign doggedly for democracy and against nationalism and ethnocentrism.

In order for trade unions to engage successfully with far-right tendencies in their own ranks and in the world of work – and, in particular, with racial discrimination in companies and public authorities – two central questions must be addressed:

Who joins the far right? What does the far right want?

It is virtually impossible to develop and implement countermeasures in the absence of precise knowledge of the far right's world view and the objectives and origins of right-wing extremism.

> *Effective strategies against right-wing extremism require knowledge. We need more extensive knowledge of the extent of extreme attitudes within the population [...]. This subject requires additional research. It is equally necessary to develop good definitions in order to comprehend the phenomenon in a more thorough and nunced way. Both of these, in turn, are prerequisites for the development of suitable counter-strategies.*[3]

The main concern of the following study is to assess the conditions for the existence and success of right-wing extremism especially in the world of work and among trade union members (chapter 1); to demonstrate the influence and objectives of European right-wing extremism (chapter 2); and to provide suggestions for trade-union practice (chapter 3).

Although the extreme right in the European Union (EU) is the focal point of the research presented in these pages, this movement obviously does not exist in a vacuum. Rather, it is part of a broader right-wing fringe that also includes **right-wing conservatism** and has links to established Christian and secular conservatism. For that reason, we will return repeatedly to this political/ideological environment.

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[3] Lars Gule, "Der Rechtsextremismus und die Gegenstrategien," in Frank Decker, Bernd Henningsen, and Kjetil Jakobsen (eds.), Rechtspopulismus und Rechtsextremismus in Europa (Baden-Baden: Nomos, 2015), p. 331.

1. CAUSES OF THE SUCCESS OF RIGHT-WING EXTREMISM IN EUROPE

The analysis of European right-wing extremism necessarily begins with the definition of some terms (section 1.1). The foci here are on both right-wing extremism in the narrow sense and its political-ideological environment. The causal analysis will be performed in two steps. We will start by considering the significance of globalisation for right-wing extremism in general and in the world of work (section 1.2). Section 1.3 examines the susceptibility of employees – and especially trade union members – to right-wing extremist appeals. This section looks at academic explanatory concepts and party/political developments in individual European states as well as the voting behaviour of workers and trade union members. Finally, the findings of a research project on far-right attitudes of trade union members in Germany will be discussed. The chapter closes with an interim conclusion (section 1.4).

1.1 THE RIGHT FRINGE: RIGHT-WING EXTREMISM, RIGHT-WING CONSERVATISM, AND RIGHT-WING POPULISM

In what follows, the political spectrum in Europe is arranged along the conventional left-right axis. The seating arrangement of the groups in the European parliament will serve as an illustration (see Figure 2, p. ! [51]). A distinction is made between the centre, the left, and the right. The centre is occupied by the Social Democrats, the Greens, the Liberals, the Christian Democrats and the Conservatives. The left is made up of the Socialists/Communists. On the right we find the right-wing conservatives, and on the outer right fringe are the right-wing extremists.

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- **Right-wing extremism** signifies ethnically-focused nationalism in respect to attitudes and/or actions. Its aim is to achieve an ethnically homogeneous national community in a hierarchically structured national state with an authoritarian constitution. Right-wing extremism is deemed to exist if the ethnic and nationalist components are both prominent and complementary (two sides of the same coin, one could say) in a more or less consistent ideology. The term **"extreme right"** also will be used as a synonym for right-wing extremism in this analysis.

- The **nationalist component** means that national identity is declared to be an overriding concern, while the preservation and strengthening of the sovereign nation is treated as the goal to which all other (democratic) values and objectives are subordinate. Nationalism is not necessarily linked to imperialist aspirations in the sense of territorial or hegemonic claims.

- The **ethnic component** means that one's own ethnicity (or culture) is placed at the heart of action and thought, even as other ethnicities (cultures) are discriminated against (ethnocentrism). A distinction is made here between two variants:
  - **Racism** explicitly or implicitly disparages other ethnicities (cultures) as such, opposing them to one's own ethnicity (culture). That is, the former are said to be different, underdeveloped, or inferior.
  - **Xenophobia** refers to the disadvantaging or exclusion of individual groups of other ethnicities (cultures) without disparaging those ethnicities (cultures) as such.

The boundary between racism and xenophobia is not always clear cut, especially given that right-wing extremists typically seek to mask their actual intentions for legal reasons.

In analysing institutionalised right-wing extremism, the following essay distinguishes between **moderate right-wing extremism**[4] and **orthodox right-wing extremism.** The former seeks to assert its demands within the existing political order and distances itself (though often just verbally or half-heartedly) from historical fascism.

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[4] Within the category of moderate right-wing extremism, early publications by the author distinguished between system-compliant (right-wing extremism "lite") and system-critical varieties.

The latter openly acknowledges its hostility to the political system, tolerates or supports violent behaviour, and cites historical precedents in support of its own programme.

The right fringe of the political spectrum in general is often equated with right-wing extremism. This point of view is not particularly useful analytically (or thus also practically) because it overlooks the significance of **right-wing conservatism as a political position per se** on the left/right axis between established conservatism and right-wing extremism. To combat right-wing extremism successfully, it is essential that you know your opponent. Countermeasures must target the mentalities and political orientations of individual persons or the objectives and propaganda of organisations and other groupings. For that reason, it makes sense to distinguish between "national" and "nationalist" outlooks or between "xenophobic" and "racist" attitudes. Criticism of the EU should not be confused with rejection of it. The distinction between right-wing extremism and right-wing conservatism is appropriate for a further reason: If right-wing conservative ideas or objectives are portrayed as belonging to the extreme right wing, that would amount to a trivialisation of right-wing extremism.

In this analysis, organisations or groupings that reject the ideology of ethnic nationalism and neither oppose the basic principles of democracy nor the existing constitutional order in general are described as being **right-wing conservative.** They support the high-lighting or strengthening of conservative values, a strong and largely sovereign nation-state, and national identity, peace, order and security, and they seek to curb, or even reverse, developments that they deem undesirable, such as tendencies toward democratisation and liberalisation in certain spheres of society, multiculturalism, or European integration. Sometimes observers speak of **national conservatism** in this context. However, such a description showcases only the national aspect and thereby downplays the often powerful xenophobic aspect of this ideology.

From the perspective of economic and social policy, there is no fundamental distinction between right-wing conservatism and right-wing extremism. However, **neoliberal concepts** are found more frequently in right-wing conservatism than in right-wing extremism, whilst the **social question** tends to be addressed more by right-wing extremism (often in terms of a national socialism) than by right-wing conservatism. It is almost always right-wing extremists, not right-wing conservatives, who offer up a **critique of capitalism.**

In both the academic literature and the press, moderate **right-wing extremism** and right-wing conservatism are often referred to en bloc as right-wing populism because both oppose the establishment, elites, and the ruling parties, and both invoke the (supposed) will of the people or the silent majority. In the interests of analytic rigor, the concept of right-wing populism will not be employed in this study.

1.2 THE SIGNIFICANCE OF GLOBALISATION FOR RIGHT-WING EXTREMISM IN SOCIETY AND THE WORLD OF WORK

The socio-economic and political-cultural developments that are linked to globalisation offer ideal points of contact for the extreme right in Europe.

Globalisation is an unstoppable process in which economy, politics, law, culture and communication are linked together as a result of the worldwide expansion of unfettered capitalism. Above all, globalisation stands for the loss of sovereignty of nation-states and the dissolution of national borders, the liberalisation of the economy, and the deregulation of industrial relations.

In terms of economic and social policy, globalisation has enhanced the significance of the ideology of **neoliberalism.** In the mid-1970s a fundamental conflict in almost all western European countries superseded the broad consensus on socio-political issues that had existed until then ("social democratic century"). At that time a **broad-gauged anti-statist and monetarist critique of social democratic reformism** spread. The latter had gotten itself into a difficult predicament during that era due to then-prevalent tendencies toward stagnation and inflation and – as a result of both – increasing mass unemployment. According to the neoliberals, extravagant welfare-state policies had overburdened public budgets, weakened the market's powers of self-regulation, and inhibited entrepreneurial initiative, thereby severely compromising economic competitiveness. To get the economy back on track, they claimed, it needed to be freed from its bureaucratic fetters. Concurrently, state investment must be scaled back to the absolute minimum and the national debt resolutely reduced. When it came to solving social problems, citizens were seen to be primarily responsible for their own lives; hence, government benefits should be granted to them only in cases of hardship.

With the formation of neoliberal and neoconservative governments under Margaret Thatcher in the United Kingdom (1979) and Ronald Reagan in the USA (1980), whose manifesto can be abbreviated as "a free economy plus a strong state", the social democratic parties of Europe came under severe political pressure. But they were not alone. In light of the intensifying economic and financial crises in Western industrial societies, the bourgeois parties also lost support. They too were hit by social change, technological modernisation, a shift in values, and growing environmental awareness. **Dissatisfaction with the establishment grew,** generating burgeoning demands for participation and fostering not only the emergence of new parties on the right fringe, but also alternative green trends, which gave rise to environmental parties. Insecurity likewise was spread by political and social upheaval in Eastern Europe and the dissolution of the East-West dichotomy.

There were additional causes for the fact that, in the 1980s, conditions in all Western European nations began to favor right-wing extremist parties and groupings even more. On the one hand, low economic growth, mass unemployment, the fall in wage levels, increased competition between business and industrial locations, and predatory competition on employment markets all bolstered the cause of the far right. On the other hand, the rising tide of migration and increasing preoccupation with issues relating to asylum seekers and refugees did their part, as well.

Processes of social and political disintegration intensified with increasing social inequality and the associated social fragmentation, as employment conditions became more precarious and the dismantling of social standards continued apace. Insecurity, dissatisfaction, and fear arose in the world of work, in particular. The alleged need for protection against supposed or real external and internal threats such as dependence on the global market, meddling by European bureaucrats, "inundation of foreigners" due to immigration, crimes committed by foreigners, and social abuse apparently grew more pressing and formed a good sounding board for nationalist and racist offerings. **Overall, right-wing extremism seemed poised to succeed in making the ethnically homogenous nation-state palatable to the losers of globalisation and modernisation as an antidote to the undesired side-effects of those processes.** With this criticism of globalisation, the nationalist and the ethnic components of right-wing extremism are combined seamlessly with the increasingly urgent "social question".

The **critique of capitalism** expressed in this context refers above all to finance capital which is seeking to take over the world, allegedly under Jewish control ("eastern seaboard of the USA"). Typical of this world view is the invocation of the initiative "Future instead of Globalisation" (Zukunft statt Globalisierung)[5], in which the following quotation appears:

> *Globalisation as a whole is the expansion of the capitalist economic system across the globe under the aegis of big money. Although it is inherently nomadic and without ties to place, it does have a politically and militarily protected location, above all on the eastern seaboard of the USA. Even though capitalism was no better in earlier times – it was still linked to ethnocultural, political and social conditions of the country in which it operated – with its development into a globalized phenomenon it has freed itself from such limitations. Free-floating global capital blurs the boundaries between the political authority of one state and another, robs nations of their autonomy in taking decisions and acting, and leads to forms of capitalist governance without a government elected by the people. By attacking key principles of nation-states such as territoriality, sovereignty, and legality, globalisation destroys the only conceivable geo-political spaces of popular government for the benefit of anonymous, supranational power structures. This is at the same time a programme of political disenfranchisement and economic exploitation of peoples. [...] Unbridled capital pays no heed to territory, people and standards. This fact harbours within it the prospect that, if this development continues, there can only be a future for unscrupulous profiteers and mere alms for the people suffering from this trend, who are at risk of dissolution.*

In the view of right-wing extremism, **immigration** poses the greatest risk to people, race and nation. The aim of the fight against multicultural societies is to generate or reinforce fundamental fears that the majority society is becoming a victim of proponents of unlimited immigration and as such is losing its identity. Immigration is dramatised as a universal threat that is supposedly responsible for all economic, social, political and cultural ills. According to this perspective, the solution to all such problems is to end immigration and to return immigrants to

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5   The Internet page from which this quote was taken, http://www.antikap.de/, no longer exists.

their countries of origin, thereby restoring the status quo ante of a supposedly ethnically homogenous society ("Deutschland den Deutschen", "les français d'abord", "eigen Volk eerst").

The ideological foundation of these programmes is the **concept of ethnopluralism,** as developed in the early 1970s. The term refers to the acknowledgment of cultural difference, pluralism of ethnicities (peoples), their autonomous development, and thus also their separation from one another in order to protect groups from mutual interference. Ethnopluralism is presented as an alternative to "universalism" or "egalitarianism" and represents a declaration of war against the principles of the Enlightenment and human rights. The exponents of this concept advocate a "total attack [...] against all totalitarian manifestations of the teaching of equality", against the kraken that "eats peoples from within by [replacing] their soul with the fraudulent security of material affluence". A key demand is the "basic right to be different":

> *This is because, by blending races, cultures and world views, egalitarianism not only eradicates the most fundamental concepts of respect and tolerance, but beyond that the freedom and the basic right to be different [...]. In the name of tolerance the teaching is guilty of the greatest conceivable intolerance, which consists in systematically destroying difference, originality and specificity wherever they don't submit to the egalitarian grinder.*[6]

The thing that is new about ethnopluralism is that race is no longer understood in the traditional biological sense and the value of races is no longer a factor. What matters instead is the heterogeneity of cultures and the supposed right of a people to its identity. The **Identitarian movement (IM),** which is active in some European countries, also invokes this idea:

> *To set itself clearly apart from and to move beyond the Old Right (nationalists, racists, neo-Nazis, etc.) the IM bases itself on the concept of ethnopluralism: the acknowledgment and respect of each ethnicity and culture and its sovereignty over its traditional, historical territory. For us that applies to the people and tribes in Asia or Amazonia just as much as*

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[6] Pierre Krebs, Die europäische Wiedergeburt. Aufruf zur Selbstbestimmung (Tübingen: Grabert, 1982), p. 25 ff.

it does to the peoples of Africa or Europe. [...] Our demands are as simple as they are obvious: We demand that the actual diversity of the world, namely that of the peoples and cultures, should be retained. For that reason we resolutely reject the mass immigration that is currently occurring in Europe.[7]

With the dissolution of the Soviet empire and the systemic changes in **Eastern Europe,** far-right structures arose there as well. Nationalist, racist, and anti-Semitic attitudes are blossoming in Eastern Europe, and there, too, fascist, nationalist and separatist subcultures, movements and organisations are active. At the same time, there are **fundamental differences between the manifestations of right-wing extremism in Western and Eastern Europe,** which have less to do with ideology, programmes, and objectives than with the material conditions that prevail in each region and the circumstances enabling such movements to succeed.

Whilst right-wing extremism in the West reflects a **systemic shift** from industrial societies to post-industrial societies and globalisation, right-wing extremism in Eastern Europe grew out of a **systemic transformation** from state socialism to democracy and the market economy. The nation-states of Western Europe long have been consolidated on a democratic basis. Conversely, the process of nation-building in Eastern Europe has not been completed anywhere. In many cases, consensual conceptions about national identity are lacking, as is the existence of a broad middle class that could act as social agents of democratic structures and cultures. Eastern European right-wing extremism feeds mainly on unresolved national issues – or national issues that are regarded as unresolved – as well as on fundamentally anti-Western attitudes, which usually have a historical or cultural basis. Above all, it rejects the direction, speed, actors, and profiteers of the systemic transformation from a centrally planned to a market economy and political democracy.

However, in addition to the economic systemic transformation noted above, which in itself represented an epoch-defining upheaval, the states of Eastern Europe were also drawn into the maelstrom of globalisation. This fact drastically

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[7] **Self-portrayal of the Identitarian Movement, available online at http://www.identitaere-bewegung.de/ idee-tat/ (28 May 2016).**

accelerated social differentiation, the gulf between rich and poor, and the absolute deprivation of large parts of the population in those countries. For that reason, there is a widespread desire for solidarity and social cohesion in the countries of Eastern Europe, and the state continues to be regarded as a responsible ordering structure and significant redistributive agent. It is hardly surprising that nostalgia for communist society thrives under these conditions.

A key and perhaps central component of the campaigns of all current European right-wing extremists, whether in the West or the East, is **anti-Muslim discourse.** In all likelihood, the trigger for this prevalence of this type of discourse was the 11 September 2001 terrorist attack by Islamic fundamentalists in the USA. Since that time, Islamophobia has developed into a new version of racism. What counts now is no longer the recognition of cultural differences of various ethnicities ("ethnopluralism"), but a war of cultures: the defence of the Christian West against the onslaught of supposedly uncivilised Muslims (anti-Muslim racism). The protagonists of this campaign are not content to spread doom, gloom, and a mood of apocalypse; they actually go so far as to cast themselves as bulwarks of democracy, depicting Islam as inherently misogynistic and homophobic, authoritarian and violent. In sum, this new form of racism invokes democratic values and claims to be fighting to uphold them.

Anti-Islamic racism is likely an important reason that the far right has found widespread resonance among the populations of Europe. For a long time now, established political and cultural elites have joined in debates about headscarves and burkhas, mosques and minarets. Measures to deflect the supposed Islamic crusade directed against Western civilisation are universally demanded (and to an extent also indulged by political leaders). Such measures have as their ultimate objective discrimination against all members of that religious community, irrespective of either their willingness to integrate or their actual conduct.

Given that European countries differ greatly in terms of their constitutional and governmental systems, political cultures and traditions, and not least their social and economic situations, statements about contemporary right-wing extremism are possible only as extraordinarily sweeping generalisations, if at all. What the various types of right-wing extremism largely have in common are the following elements.

- A **nationalism** that generally does not aim at imperialist aspirations or expansionism, but instead is intent on restoring, retaining or strengthening autonomous nation-states ("Europe of the fatherlands") and, connected to this ambition, bolstering the national identity of the indigenous populations.[8]

- **Racist,** or at least xenophobic, **attitudes** that shore up one's own ethnicity against external cultural influences and fend off, or substantially reduce, immigration or the presence of foreigners in one's own country. The prevailing concept here is anti-Islamism. In Western Europe, ethnocentrism is more pronounced than nationalism in some cases.

- An **authoritarian politics of "law and order"** that usually is linked to a significant anti-establishment polemic. The established political powers allegedly do too little to safeguard internal security, and – so it is said – are especially lax about addressing crimes committed by foreigners

- Neoliberal concepts of economic policy have now become less influential. As a rule, although right-wing extremists have recognised the significance of the **social question** for their adherents, they reject the social-democratic model of the welfare state, especially if foreigners benefit from it. For that reason, a pronounced **anti-trade union attitude** prevails on the far right.

1.3 ON THE SUSCEPTIBILITY OF WHITE-COLLAR EMPLOYEES AND TRADE UNION MEMBERS TO RACISM AND NATIONALISM

1.3.1 EXPLANATORY SCHEMES

The **dissatisfaction theorem** represents the starting point for many explanations of right-wing extremism. Dissatisfaction means the discrepancy between aspiration and fulfilment, expectation and reality. In other words, the theorem focuses on frustrating social experiences that provoke a loss of trust in the existing order, protest, rejection, opposition and/or resistance. Popular dissatisfaction is usually one of the consequences of lasting economic (cyclical and structural) crises, of radical societal and political change as well as profound modernisation

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[8] That said, expansionist goals can be found in Hungarian, Polish, and Serbian right-wing extremism.

processes. Such dissatisfaction, combined with pessimistic expectations for the future, engenders the feeling that one is disadvantaged, disconnected, and marginalised. Such sentiments in turn stoke prejudices against foreigners and the weak and give rise to a desire for authoritarian solutions: community, safety, security, a sense of orientation, peace and order.

Relative deprivation is an important trigger of dissatisfaction. Dissatisfaction that favours right-wing extremism usually is not caused by absolute deprivation (destitution due to unemployment, poverty etc.), but rather by relative deprivation. It refers to inequalities or asynchronicities in development or disparities in the future prospects of different social classes, groups, regions, economic sectors, and so forth. In particular, people who consider themselves in jeopardy due to **loss of status** – people whose status is lower than the usual or expected one – accordingly are inclined to support the extreme right. Status-related fears extend not only to economic relationships; they also may relate to ideological resources (educational prospects, cultural aspirations, etc.) and prestige.

Some explanations of right-wing extremism highlight **social change.** According to these theories, rapid social change increasingly results in insecurity, feelings of helplessness and status-related fears. In particular, **structural change in industrialised societies** gives rise to disparities between more traditional and more future-oriented sectors of the economy, between "modern" and "traditional" professions or activities. Because of the dwindling economic significance of the primary sector and even some parts of the secondary sector, specific educational, age. and professional groups are said to be threatened by decline in their social status and by the devaluation of their qualifications. In short, such people seem to face dimming future prospects, while the growth industries of the secondary and tertiary sectors frequently still can offer their core workforce relatively secure jobs and rather high-level professional qualifications. At the same time, further unwelcome developments are either on the horizon for or have already become reality in certain sectors: dissolution of the standard employment relationship or the employment relationship per se in favour of (pseudo) self-employment, increasing precariousness and the intensification of competitive pressures within the workplace. What these tendencies have in common is that they jeopardise or even destroy the certainties of economic activity. At the very least, they are perceived as a threat. This fact gives rise to the **contradiction between the winners and losers of modernisation,** which has been considered a primary

cause of the rise of the "new" right-wing extremism in the post-industrial so-
cieties of (western) Europe since the 1980s. The tendencies toward economic
and political globalisation fuel dissatisfaction and fears among the supposed or
actual victims of this development, who then begin to oppose the processes of
modernisation.

Reasons for the rise of right-wing extremism also can be sought in the transfor-
mation of i**ndustrial relations and the world of work.** Here, "social segmen-
tation" is a common buzzword. The modernisation of capitalist production is said
to give rise to distributive problems that have reshaped the structures of social
inequality. In contrast to the shift model of the old industrial society, today hori-
zontal social differentiations tend to prevail, including those that affect regional,
ethnic, gender-specific or socially-marginal groups. Surveys of young employees
have shown that it is not the disadvantaged who are particularly inclined towards
right-wing extremism or xenophobia, but rather the winners in modernisation: in
other words, young people with an acceptable situation in life, a safe apprentice-
ship or job, and enough prosperity for them to be satisfied consumers. Two
factors have been identified as an explanation for this **modernisation-winner
theory:** conventionalism and performance orientation.

> *The development of work within society, based on technological innova-
> tion, increasingly requires creativity, mobility, flexibility, commitment and
> social communication. [...] To an extent young people may even have an
> advantage as they are able to master new challenges [...] more easily
> and as part of their initial qualification, whilst adults (need to) undergo
> a difficult process of reorientation. [...] This can result in a kind of rivalry
> in adapting to prevailing norms and requirements in that conventionalistic
> orientations are taken to extremes for the purposes of adaptation.
> Young people are able to identify the "signs of the times", the "new
> trends", more precisely and are also able to adjust more easily.*[9]

A report for the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung on **precarious work** states that the
erosion of normal working relationships has caused gainful work gradually to
lose its "integrative and simultaneously identity-forming function". The central

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[9] Josef Held, Hans-Werner Horn, and Athanasios Marvakis, Gespaltene Jugend. Politische Orientierung
    jugendlicher Arbeitnehmer (Opladen: Leske + Budrich, 1996), p. 68.

finding of the study is "that the declining social cohesive power of 'standard work' regulated by the social state is the motivation for a search for alternative offers of and strategies for integration". For that reason, the respondents developed "exclusionary integration concepts" as a result of their experiences at work. In this context the authors of the report refer to **"reactive nationalism".**

> *The centre of reactive nationalism that provides its meaning is the notion of "Germany as an affluent island" that needs to be protected from illegitimate foreign claims. Access to this island needs to be made difficult and strictly controlled so that the cake does not have to be shared with too many. Preferred exclusionary criteria are (economic) "usefulness" and "culture". As a rule, it is a foreign, unknown, non-white, non-European 'culture' that is rejected, and whose attributed features are at the same time naturalised.*[10]

Eight typical beliefs were identified among the respondents that could "serve as subjective bridges to right-wing populism":

(1)   "Immigration is destroying German culture and needs to be stopped".
(2)   "Foreigners are taking Germans' jobs".
(3)   "If we need to save money, then we should start with the welfare spongers".
(4)   "German history should no longer be a burden".
(5)   "We want to be proud of Germany (but aren't allowed to be)".
(6)   "Politicians are untrustworthy; some are gangsters. The whole system needs to be changed".
(7)   "A bit less democracy can't do any harm".
(8)   "Far-right parties are too extreme, but they address the right topics"[11].

[10]   Ulrich Brinkmann, Klaus Dörre, Silke Röbenack, Klaus Kraemer, and Frederic Speidel, Prekäre Arbeit. Ursachen, Ausmaß, soziale Folgen und subjektive Verarbeitungsformen unsicherer Beschäftigungsverhältnisse, edited by Wirtschafts- und sozialpolitischen Forschungs- und Beratungszentrum der Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung, Abteilung Arbeit und Sozialpolitik (Bonn: 2006), pp. 76, 82 ff.
[11]   Ibid., p.68 ff.

In the opinion of the sociologist Klaus Dörre, the principal investigator of this study, "reactive nationalism" is not an inherently right-wing extremist point of view, because it is connected to justified social aspirations and the desire for a good job and a good life. However, it takes only a small amount of escalation to make reactive nationalists receptive to the messages of right-wing extremism.

A similar explanatory scheme was advanced by the political scientist Christoph Butterwegge. He observed an "ideological convergence of (neo-)conservatism and right-wing extremism in terms of the critique of bureaucracy and the social state". A **locational nationalism** acts as a "spiritual connection" among those who hold such views. Here "the traditional 'concern about the German fatherland' joins forces with the neoliberal fetish of 'international competitiveness'".

> *Instead of adhering to notions of ethnicity, the right wing today is dominated by a locational nationalism that is based on the following considerations: As a major economic power and global political player, Germany again is able to make world history if it is conceived as a company, governed by approaches taken from the world of business and managed using the latest management techniques. Because of its adoption of neoliberal ideologemes, right-wing extremism today has a "modern" programme which, for the first time since 1945, largely fits into the societal mainstream, harmonises with the interests of influential groups and meshes with the strategic approaches of political and economic elites.*[12]

In order to protect the country's economic "homefield advantage", national companies, production sites and jobs should take precedence over international competition. The temptation to sidestep the social problems that arise as a result of the predatory competition between native and migrant workers by issuing "rallying cries to the population's national sentiment"[13] grows among politicians and companies.

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[12] Christoph Butterwegge, "Abschied vom Sozialstaat: Standortnationalismus und Wohlstandschauvinismus als geistig-politische Anknüpfungspunkte des Rechtsextremismus", in Wolfgang Gessenharter and Helmut Fröchling (eds.), Rechtsextremismus und Neue Rechte in Deutschland. Neuvermessung eines politisch-ideologischen Raumes? (Opladen: Leske + Budrich, 1998), pp. 147, 152, 154.

[13] Ibid., p. 158.

The literature frequently suggests that people with low educational and income levels are attracted to right-wing extremism, i.e., people from the **lower social strata** who have experienced the negative side of immigration and multiculturalism, specifically because they have competed with immigrants for work, housing, and education and consequently have feared falling behind. Their nationalism is thus aimed at self-protection and keeping what they have acquired.[14]

The theory of the **ethnologisation of social relationships** also deserves mention in this context. The theory states that social conflicts surrounding the distribution of wealth have been reinterpreted as conflicts among nations, ethnicities and cultures. "Ethnic origin, your self-allocation and allocation by others increasingly determine social status and the extent of prospects for social, cultural and material gratification"[15]. The willingness to share supposedly diminishes as the privileges of the affluent island decline.

Such **affluence chauvinism** indicates that it is not only relatively deprived people, the "losers" of modernisation or the lower classes, who are susceptible to right-wing extremism. Frequently, nationalism and racism also can be found among the wealthy, the "winners", and the privileged strata. Affluence chauvinism is directed not only against foreigners, but to an extent also against compatriots. For instance, although right-wing extremism in Belgium is thriving especially in the European growth region of Flanders, it fares less well in Wallonia, which is marked by the decline of the coal and steel industries. Transfer payments for the benefit of Wallonia are rejected by nationalist Flemish parties. The latter now call for the secession of Flanders, or at least the conversion of Belgium into a confederation. A similar north-south conflict also exists in Italy, where many rich northerners prefer not to share with their poorer counterparts in the south. The far-right Lega Nord (LN), which currently advocates autonomy for the industrialised north and/or the federalisation of Italy, previously had demanded the political separation of the two regions.

14 Jörg Flecker, "Die populistische Lücke. Umbrüche in der Arbeitswelt und ihre politische Verarbeitung", in Christoph Butterwegge and Gudrun Hentges (eds.), Rechtspopulismus, Arbeitswelt und Armut. Befunde aus Deutschland, Österreich und der Schweiz (Opladen & Farmington Hills: Budrich, 2008), p. 88 ff.

15 Hans-Gerd Jaschke, Rechtsextremismus und Fremdenfeindlichkeit. Begriffe – Positionen – Praxisfelder (Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag, 1994), p. 184.

The **EU research project SIREN**[16], which was carried out between 2001 and 2004 in eight European countries, investigated the significance of **changes to the world of work** for the spread of right-wing extremism (or right-wing populism). According to that study, attraction to right-wing extremism is caused mainly by feelings of insecurity, injustice, disadvantage and overload as well as the fear of downward social mobility. In particular, the respondents are reported to have cited frequent changes in work routines, the devaluation of their existing skills in the face of constantly increasing new requirements, and the inexorable increase in the pressures of work.

> *We can conclude from the interview results that socio-economic change is forcing many people to review and reevaluate their position in the social world. The changes can result in a situation in which proffered material and symbolic rewards are no longer perceived as adequate compensation for the exertions and sacrifices of working life. That perception may have its foundations in experiences of the world of work – so, for example, in the increasing pressures of work, lack of recognition, or precarious employment – but it may also be caused by the threat to economic standards due to an increased cost of living. Both of these factors have an effect on how people interpret their working life and the extent to which they can come to terms with physical and psychological working conditions.*[17]

Insecurity and powerlessness can generate authoritarian and exclusionary attitudes and make people feel as though they lack effective political representation. Some respondents were said to complain that politicians, and even trade unions, could no longer provide any protection for them. They yearned for strong leaders. In this context **criticism** was also directed **at the social democratic and socialist parties as well as trade unions** because they "are no longer per-

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16 **"Socio-Economic Change, Individual Reaction, and the Appeal of the Extreme Right". Participating countries were Belgium, Denmark, Germany, France, Italy, Austria, Switzerland and Hungary. The Austrian institute FORBA was in charge of coordination; the final reports can be found on its web page, http://www.forba.at/de/forschung/view/index.html?id=10/ (28 April 2016). More than 300 intensive interviews were conducted.**

17 **Gudrun Hentges and Jörg Flecker, "Die Sirenen-Gesänge des europäischen Rechtspopulismus", in Peter Bathke and Susanne Spindler (eds.), Neoliberaismus und Rechtsextremismus in Europa (Berlin: Karl Dietz, 2006), p. 133.**

ceived as a force that fights for the interests of working people"[18]. Disillusion-ment with trade unions was specified as one cause of respondents' attraction to far-right or far-right populist parties, although that sentiment also could lead them simply to abstain from voting.

1.3.2 POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS ON THE RIGHT FRINGE

In the 1970s and '80s, the conditions for the success of right-wing extremism improved in many Western European counties in response to changes in the nature of industrial society, accelerated globalisation and modernisation. New, relatively moderate far-right parties sprang up, and occasionally also right-wing conservative parties on the fringes of political systems. Existing parties underwent a noticeable lurch to the right.

In Austria during the mid-1980s, the previously more liberal **Austrian Freedom Party (Freiheitliche Partei Österreichs, FPÖ)** drifted towards the extreme right under the leadership of Jörg Haider. Under the influence of Christoph Blocher, the tradition-steeped **Swiss People's Party (Schweizerische Volkspartei, SVP)** steered a clear course to the right in the 1990s. Newly founded parties at the time included the French **National Front (Front National, FN,** 1972), which achieved its first electoral success in the 1980s, and the Belgian **Flemish Bloc (Vlaams Blok, VB[19],** 1979). The early 1990s witnessed the incipient rise of the Norwegian **Progress Party (Fremskrittspartiet, FrP)** and then of the **Danish People's Party (Dansk Folkeparti, DF)** in the middle of the decade. The **Sverigedemokraterna (Sweden Democrats, SD)** have existed since 1988, but have been represented in the Swedish parliament only since 2010. Italy's **Northern League (Lega Nord, LN)** was launched in 1991. The only far right organisation that could demonstrate any continuity was the initially orthodox fascist **Movimento Sociale Italiano (Italian Social Movement, MSI)** founded in 1946, which failed to achieve double-digit electoral success until the 1990s, when it reemerged as the more moderate far-right **National Alliance (Alleanza Nazionale, AN)** under Gianfranco Fini.[20] In western Germany, the **National**

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18 **Ibid., p.137.**

19 **Since 2004, Flemish interests (VB).**

20 **In 2009 the AN merged with Silvio Berlusconi's Forward Italy (Forza Italia, FI) to create the right-wing conservative Il Popolo della Libertà (The People of Freedom, PdL).**

Democratic Party of Germany (Nationaldemokratische Partei Deutschlands, NPD), founded in 1964, dominated the right fringe until the foundation of **The Republicans (Die Republikaner, REP)** in 1983. In the late 1990s, the NPD evolved from moderate to orthodox right-wing extremism. Initially the REP could be classified as a relatively moderate exponent of right-wing extremism, but it now has become a right-wing conservative splinter party. Unlike in many Western European states, far-right parties in Germany so far have not played a role at the national level. Any successes they managed were both sporadic and confined to individual federal states. However, this could change with the **Alternative for Germany (Alternative für Deutschland, AfD),** founded in 2013, the majority of whose adherents are likely still right-wing conservatives.

In Eastern Europe, intermediary structures and thus extremist right-wing organisations could emerge only in the wake of the systemic changes noted earlier. To cite a few examples, electoral successes in the orthodox far-right field were achieved at the national level by the Bulgarian party **Attack (Ataka),** the **Movement for a Better Hungary (Jobbik),** the **Greater Romania Party (PRM),** the **League of Polish Families (LPR),** the **Slovak National Party (SNS),** and the Czech **Republican Party (SPRRSČ).** Far-right conservative parties that at least advocate an outspoken nationalism have been more successful than right-wing extremists. In pole position is the Hungarian party **Alliance of Young Democrats/ Hungarian Civic Alliance (Fidesz/MPSZ)** led – with a brief interruption – by Viktor Orbán since 1993. Fidesz was founded as a liberal party in 1988, but then moved increasingly towards the right. After initially chalking up some poor electoral results, by 1998 the Alliance had become the second-strongest force in the Hungarian parliament. Since 2010, it has been the strongest. Orbán was the Prime Minister from 1998 to 2002. In 2010 he was reelected to that office, which he has held ever since. The Fidesz MEPs in the European Parliament are members of the European People's Party (Christian Democrats, EPP) bloc, to which Germany's CDU/CSU also belongs.[21] Additionally, the **Law and Justice (PiS)** party, founded in 2001 by brothers Lech and Jarosław Kaczyński, is worthy of note. As early as 2005 it became the strongest party in Poland and led the government coalition for two years. In the 2015 elections PiS gained an absolute majority and since then has been the sole governing party under Prime Minister Beata Szydło. However, Jarosław Kaczyński is considered the éminence grise.[22]

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[21] The blocs in the European Parliament are discussed in chapter 2.
[22] His brother Lech, President of Poland from 2005 until his death, died in a plane crash in 2010.

Far-right parties in particular have made **gains among the lower echelons of society,** often attracting them away from their left-wing competitors.[23] The move of lower-class voters from left to far right has been documented mainly in Western European countries, as detailed below.

Austria. The Austrian political scientist Anton Pelinka speaks of a "dramatic shift" among FPÖ voters since 1986. He states that the FPÖ "changed from a small, rustic 'bourgeois' party of dignitaries into a workers' party".[24] In the National Council elections in 2013, the FPÖ – which ended up as the third-strongest party – enjoyed above-average popularity among unskilled and skilled workers and groups with the lowest educational attainment.[25] The election-day survey conducted by the SORA Institute showed that more workers voted for the FPÖ than the Social Democratic Party of Austria (Sozialdemocratische party Österreichs, SPÖ) with 33 percent and 24 percent, respectively.[26]

Denmark. In 2011 the adherents of the moderate far-right Danish People's Party (DF) included an above-average number of workers and tradesmen as well as unemployed people, pensioners, and people in early retirement. Additionally, the DF clientele exhibited the lowest educational level of all Danish Parties.[27]

Finland. In the 2015 Finnish parliamentary elections, the moderate far-right True Finns (PS) became the second-strongest party. They present themselves as the party of workers and the "little people". In actual fact, many of their voters classify themselves as members of the working class. This election, too, saw voters migrate from social democracy to the PS.[28]

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23 Cf. Daniel Oesch, "Explaining Worker's Support for Right-Wing Populist Parties in Western Europe: Evidence from Austria, Belgium, France, Norway, and Switzerland", in the International Political Science Review (2008), vol. 29, no. 3, p. 349 ff.

24 Anton Pelinka, "Die FPÖ: Eine rechtspopulistische Regierungsparty zwischen Adaption und Opposition", in Susanne Frölich-Steffen and Lars Rensmann (eds.), Populisten an der Macht (Wien: Braumüller 2005), p. 93.

25 David M. Wineroither and Gilg Seeber, "Die österreichische Nationalratswahl vom 29. September 2013: Das Ende großer Koalitionen in Sicht", in Zeitschrift für Parlamentsfragen, vol 45, no. 1 (2014), p. 166 ff.

26 http://www.sora.at/themen/wahlverhalten/wahlanalysen/nrw13.html/ (30 April 2016).

27 Clemens Wirries, "Populismus und Pragmatismus. Genese und Etablierung der Dänischen Volksparty", in Decker et al., op. cit.(footnote 3), p.141 ff.

28 Sven Jochem, "Die Parlamentswahl 2015 in Finnland", in Zeitschrift für Parlamentsfragen, vol. 47, no. 1 (2016), p. 110.

Norway. Supporters of the Progress Party (FrP) come from three main groups: self-employed business owners, workers, and the losers of modernisation. During the 2009 parliamentary elections 41 percent of unemployed recipients of welfare benefits voted for the Progress Party, which at the time was the second-strongest in the field, with just under 23 percent of the vote. Among workers it even finished ahead of the Workers' Party (AP) despite its more liberal economic policies. For that reason the FrP is also known as the "party of those who have lost out in education".[29]

Sweden. In the 2014 parliamentary elections the Sweden Democrats (SD) won a landslide victory (12.9 percent). It benefited "above all from votes from the conservative camp – but to a significant extent also from Social Democracy and the classical trade union milieu".[30]

Germany. In western Germany analyses of voter support for the Republicans (REP) showed for the first time that the percentage of workers among the voters for the far-right was disproportionately high. For the most part, these voters were "workers" in the strict sense or else white-collar employees with low educational levels; however, pro-far-right voters also included some skilled workers as well as the unemployed. In 1989 the REP scored some successes, particularly in urban areas and industrial conurbations, and in a number of cases made deep incursions into the traditional strongholds of German social democracy. A study initiated by the trade union IG Metall drew the following conclusion.

> *From a socioeconomic perspective the Republicans are a party of the "little people". They achieve above-average resonance in service centres and in urban regions (including regions featuring small and medium-sized towns) that are largely characterised by modern industries, economic prosperity, significant social change, high mobility, and weakening ties to one's milieu. For the most part the CDU/CSU has pursued an extraordinarily successful modernisation policy. However, the predomi-*

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29 Kjetil A. Jakobsen, "Aufstand der Bildungsverlierer? Die Fortschrittsparty auf dem norwegischen Sonderweg", in Decker et al., op. cit.(footnote 3), p. 156 ff.

30 Sven Jochem: "Die schwedische Reichstagswahl vom 14. September 2014: Regierungswechsel und Regierungskrise im Minderheitsparlamentarismus", in Zeitschrift für Parlamentsfragen, vol. 46, no. 3 (2015), p. 498.

nantly male REP-followers are not usually among the beneficiaries of this policy. Instead, these people tend to come from the bottom third of society, who suffer from the negative side-effects of modernisation, see no job or future prospects for themselves, and feel abandoned by the governing parties, mostly by the parties of the CDU/CSU. They often live in bleak workers' districts neglected by city governments and planners, in which buildings are shoddily constructed and the infrastructure is crumbling. Whilst the regions as a whole are inhabited by a broad middle class with fairly high income levels, the Republicans' supporters suffer from high prices, rising rents, and the threat that their housing will be privatised. The attractiveness of the urban regions draws in job seekers, foreigners, and asylum seekers who settle in low-rent neighborhoods and contribute to the further deterioration of conditions there. Thus, the primary factor that helps explain the electoral success of the Republicans is their supporters' relative rather than absolute deprivation (disadvantaging), and not poverty and social hardship per se. In other words they were deeply affected by the unequal life chances enjoyed by the "modernisation losers" and "modernisation winners".[31]

The fact that far-right parties were able to achieve success among the lower social strata was not least a result of their internal "modernisation". The economic and social policy aspects of the programmes of many far-right parties were initially neoliberal; the "little people" were at most an afterthought. These parties' turn to **social issues** and their critique of capitalism or globalisation began mainly during the 1990s. The corresponding course-correction of France's National Front (FN) in 1995, which was mocked as a "proletarianisation", attracted a good deal of attention. During the 2002 presidential election the FN and Jean-Marie Le Pen benefited especially from the support of workers, although more from skilled than unskilled workers. However, about a third of workers failed to turn out in that election. Even though there was a comparatively strong commitment to the far-right party by the unemployed, their support did/does not mean that the FN was predominantly a party of the lower class, because a substantial proportion of business owners, managers, tradesmen, and craftsmen also vote for the FN. At the same time, however, the literature speaks of a "decoupling between class affiliation and the options championed historically by the political and trade-

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31   Stöss, op. cit.(footnote 1), p. 106.

union-focused left."[32] It is said that the FN is seeking to strike root in the world of work, in companies, in trade unions and professional associations, partly in order to create its own structures as an association and by doing so to combat the influence of the trade unions.[33]

As mentioned at the outset, the fact that **trade union members** develop **sympathies for far-right parties,** has been seen in the Federal Republic of Germany since the end of the 1980s. According both to their programmes and self-conceptions, German trade unions are dedicated opponents of right-wing extremism. That has always been the case, and remains so today. Antifascism has been a consistent feature of the union movement since the end of the Second World War in 1945. For a long time trade union members were also immune to the slogans of the extreme right. It was rare to find them among the adherents of far-right parties, and they initially appeared resistant to far-right attitudes as well. However, this fact started to change with the rise of the Republicans (REP), founded in 1983. Since then, membership in a trade union in Germany has no longer been a barrier keeping union members from voting for a far-right party.

!! We started by looking at the report of the DGB commission on right-wing extremism and cited the statement that the political orientation of trade union members mirrors trends in the broader society (see p. ! [5] above). This **mirror thesis** broadly still applies. In the last nationwide election in Germany, the 2014 European Parliament election, only one party on the right fringe was successful enough to be taken into account in the analyses of the polling institutes: the right-wing conservative AfD, with 7.1 percent of the vote. Six percent of union members voted for them, as did seven percent of unionised employees.[34] The voting behaviour of trade union members was therefore roughly the same as the average across the population. That pattern was maintained also in the three

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32 Elisabeth Gauthier, "'Front National', flexibler Kapitalismus und Krise der Politik", in Joachim Bischoff, Klaus Dörre, and Elisabeth Gauthier (eds.), Moderner Rechtspopulismus (Hamburg: VSA, 2004), p. 56 ff., quotation at p. 59. See also Jean-Yves Camus, "Die extreme Rechte in Frankreich: Es ist zu erwarten, dass die Landkarte neu gezeichnet werden wird", in Nora Langen-bacher and Britta Schellenberg (eds.), Ist Europa auf dem „rechten" Weg? Rechtsextremismus und Rechtspopulismus in Europa (Berlin: Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung, 2011), p. 100 ff. Available online at http://library.fes.de/pdf-files/do/08337.pdf/.

33 Ibid., p. 66 ff.

34 European election. Eine Analyse der Wahl vom 25.5.2014 (Mannheim: Berichte der Forschungsgruppe Wahlen), p. 98.

regional elections of March, 2016 (in Baden-Württemberg, Rheinland-Pfalz, and Sachsen-Anhalt) for the totality of trade union members. However, if only the industrial workers among trade union members are considered, then **substantially above-average sympathies for the AfD** in all three federal states can be identified: In Baden-Württemberg and Sachsen-Anhalt the AfD was actually the majority party among the voters from organised labor. In Sachsen-Anhalt 30 percent of them voted for the AfD, 17 percent for the Left Party, and 12 percent for the SPD (the CDU managed 27 percent).[35] In these three cases, the industrial workers among trade union members therefore did not represent a mirror-image of society, but in fact formed a **significant voter pool for the AfD.**

As already discussed, far-right parties in Germany so far have been successful only in certain Federal States, and there only sporadically.[36] For instance, in the reunited Germany the orthodox NPD was able to overcome the five-percent electoral hurdle only in Saxony in 2004 and 2009 and in Mecklenburg-Vorpommern in 2006 and 2011. In the regional election held in Saxony in 2014, both the NPD (result: 4.9 percent) and the AfD (result: 9.7 percent) fielded candidates. Although the voting behaviour of trade union members for both parties generally confirmed the mirror-image theory, the unionised workers voted almost twice as often for the NPD than the average for the general population (8 percent compared to 4.9 percent), whilst the corresponding ratio for the AfD was 12 percent, compared to 9.7 percent. Overall the NPD was supported by workers and the unemployed, whereas AfD voters came from all occupational and professional groups more or less equally.[37]

35 Election in Baden-Württemberg. Eine Analyse der Landtagswahl vom 13.3.2016 (Mannheim: Berichte der Forschungsgruppe Wahlen), p. 50; Wahl in Rheinland-Pfalz. Eine Analyse der Landtagswahl vom 13.3.2016 (Mannheim: Berichte der Forschungsgruppe Wahlen), p. 34; Wahl in Sachsen-Anhalt. Eine Analyse der Landtagswahl vom 13.3.2016 (Mannheim: Berichte der Forschungsgruppe Wahlen), p. 32.

36 An exception to this pattern is provided by the European elections of 1989, where the Republicans achieved 7.1 percent and six seats.

37 Election in Saxony. Eine Analyse der Landtagswahl vom 31.8.2014 (Mannheim: Berichte der Forschungsgruppe Wahlen), p. 80.

In short, there does not appear to be a substantial difference in the voting behaviour of German trade union members in favour of far-right and right-wing conservative parties. In principle, the mirror-image theory should apply, although in individual cases certain parties may have a particular attraction for unionised workers.

There is also evidence of this pattern in other European states.

Since the 2008 National Council elections in **Austria,** trade union membership there no longer has afforded immunity against right-wing extremism. This fact was also clear in the **2016 presidential election.** In its first round, 32 percent of trade union members voted for the FPÖ candidate Norbert Hofer, who was able to secure 35.1 percent of the vote. The second choice among trade union members, with 26 percent, was Rudolf Hundstorfer, the representative of the Social Democratic Party of Austria (SPÖ) and an official of the Austrian Trade Union Association (Österreichischer Gewerkschaftsbund, ÖGB), who only managed to garner 11.3 percent of the vote overall. Seventy-two percent of all workers opted for Hofer and ten percent for Hundstorfer.[38] In the run-off vote of May, 2016 (which was subsequently declared void) between Hofer and the Greens' candidate, Alexander van der Bellen, as many as 86 percent of industrial workers opted for Hofer. Of trade union members, 45 percent voted for Hofer and 55 percent for van der Bellen.[39]

In **Sweden,** the Sweden Democrats (SD) tallied 19.9 percent support in a survey held in November, 2015. Among female trade union members the support level was just 14.4 percent, but it was as high as 32 percent among their male counterparts.[40]

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[38] http://www.sora.at/themen/wahlverhalten/wahlanalysen/bpw16.html/ (29 May 2016).

[39] http://www.sora.at/themen/wahlverhalten/wahlanalysen/bp-stichwahl16.html/
(29 May 2016). The run-off election is scheduled to be held in December, 2016.

[40] Christian Krell, "Klare Kante gegen Rechtspopulismus", in Gegenblende, 30 September 2016. Available
online at http://gegenblende.dgb.de/artikel/++co++fafe4a16-86eb-11e6-b817-525400e5a74a/
(13 October 2016). Additional information provided by the author.

Similarly, during the **French regional elections in December of 2015,** trade-union sympathisers ("proximité syndicale") frequently voiced their support for the National Front (FN). Overall, that brought the FN a plurality of 29 percent in the first round: the party attracted 26 percent of the pragmatically orientated CFDT (Confédération française démocratique du travail), 27 percent of the more communist-focused CGT (Confédération générale du travail), and even 34 percent of the FO (Force ouvrière), which describes itself as politically neutral.[41] In the second round, several trade unions – including the CGT, but not the CFDT or the FO – joined forces with youth, highschool, and university student groups to carry on a campaign against the ideology and policies of the right-wing extremists.

1.3.3 FAR-RIGHT ATTITUDES AMONG GERMAN TRADE UNION MEMBERS

Whilst some information is available about the degree of attraction evinced by white-collar employees, blue-collar workers, and trade union members for far-right or right-wing conservative parties, we lack studies about far-right attitudes among trade union members. The only study known to the author with representative findings at the national level was completed more than ten years ago – in Germany.

To establish whether members of trade unions actually should be regarded as a mirror-image of society, analyses of the political attitudes of trade union members and non-members were conducted in 2003 and 2004 at the Freien Universität Berlin with support of DGB and IG Metall. This study involved group discussions with 58 trade union functionaries as well as a representative survey of 2,000 trade union members and 2,000 non-unionised German citizens. Since no more recent and comparably detailed information is available, the following

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41 The information applies to the first voting round and relates to employees who feel bound to one of the stated trade unions. The FN achieved a total of 28.4 percent, with 32 percent among employees and as much as 55 percent among workers. Datenbasis (30 May 2016), available online at http://www.ifop.com/?option=com_publication&type=poll&id=3229/ and http://de.slideshare.net/OpinionWayTVOpin- ionW/le-point-la-sociologie-du-vote-au-premier-tour-des-lections-rgionales-2015-par-opinionway- decembre-2015/. See also Bernhard Schmid, "Der Front National und die Gewerkschaften in Frankreich", in Gegenblende. Das gewerkschaftliche Debattenmagazin (6 January 2016). Available online at http:// gegenblende.dgb.de/artikel/++co++8a6d5394-b48e-11e5-8ed3-52540066f352/   (14 October 2016).

analysis is based on the findings of that study. Although those findings relate to the situation in Germany, they also might apply to other countries in Europe, at least in part.[42]

In principle, this study confirms that **far-right attitudes among trade union members are just as widespread as among non-members;** 19 percent of the unionised and 20 percent of the non-unionised were shown to have far-right attitudes.

However, more detailed analysis also revealed **clear differences** between trade union members and non-members. It was particularly striking that unskilled workers had far-right orientations twice as frequently if they belonged to a trade union than unskilled workers who were not members (34 percent compared to 18 percent). This finding applied accordingly, albeit to a lesser extent, to unionised employees in positions of responsibility. Conversely, ordinary white-collar employees appeared to be less susceptible to far-right appeals irrespective of whether they were a member of a trade union (10 percent) or not (12 percent). **The mirror-image theory was therefore generally confirmed in regard to far-right attitudes. However, on closer inspection it turned out that certain member groups were particularly susceptible to right-wing extremism, while others were almost immune.**

In order to establish the key differences between trade union members and non-members, respondents were divided into three groups based on their income and education: lower segment (low educational level and low income, 44 percent of all respondents), middle segment (medium educational level and medium income, 32 percent) and upper segment (high educational level and high income, 24 percent). This process was described as **objective segment assignment.** The three segments represent groups that are extraordinarily fertile for analysis because levels of education and income largely determine social status in post-industrial societies.

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42 Richard Stöss, Michael Fichter, Joachim Kreis, and Bodo Zeuner, Abschlussbericht „Gewerkschaften und Rechtsextremismus, unpublished manuscript (Berlin: December, 2004). Available online at http://www. polsoz.fu-belin.de/polwiss/forschung/oekonomie/gewerkschaftspolitik/materialien/GEWREXSCHLUSS/ index.html/. See also Bodo Zeuner, Jochen Gester, Michael Fichter, Joachim Kreis, and Richard Stöss, Gewerkschaften und Rechtsextremismus (Münster: 2007).

- The **lower segment** of participants in the study has comparatively low levels of unionisation. Approximately a third of all trade union members belong to this stratum. Typically, people who fall into the lower segment are unskilled workers, the unemployed, and pensioners.

- The **middle segment** is highly unionised. Almost half of all trade union members fall into this category. To those who belong to the middle segment, membership in a trade union is clearly highly attractive. Typically, the stratum consists of skilled workers and employees in positions of responsibility.

- The **upper segment** of the study is unionised to a "normal" level. About a fifth of trade union members belong to this stratum. Typical members of the upper segment are employees in positions of responsibility, and civil servants.

Figure 1: **Far-right attitudes among trade union members and non-members as per the objective segment allocation in 2003 (in percentages)**
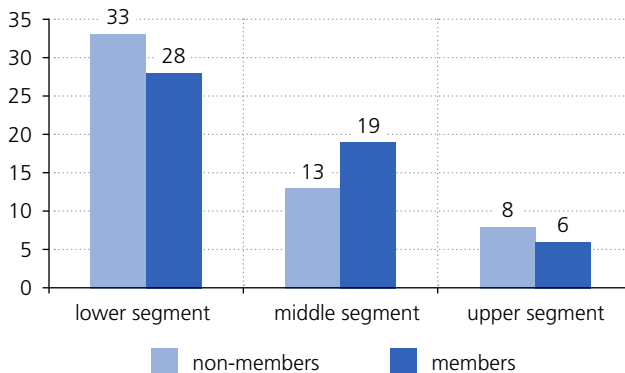
Legend: Far-right attitudes characterize 28 percent of trade union members who belong to the lower segment; 19 percent of members who belong to the middle segment; and 6 percent of those who belong to the upper segment. The average value for all members is 19 percent, and it is 20 percent for non-members.

Figure 1 demonstrates the following:

- Respondents from the **lower segment** are particularly susceptible to right-wing extremism. That finding applies equally to trade union members and non-members. The difference between them is negligible.

- Respondents who belong to the **upper segment** are practically immune to far-right appeals. That finding applies equally to trade union members and non-members. The difference is again negligible.

- Although trade union members from the **middle segment** only have average levels of far-right attitudes (19 percent), they are one-and-a-half times more likely to reveal far-right proclivities than non-members of this stratum. This fact constitutes the most **prominent difference between the unionised and non-unionised.**

According to the study, trade union members from the lower segment were thus the most receptive to far-right ideas. This result was to be expected. Surprisingly, **members of the middle segment** had significant tendencies towards right-wing extremism, as well. These individuals were mainly skilled workers and senior employees who enjoy a relatively good income and a comparatively high level of education and thus do not actually belong to the category of "losers" due to modernisation and globalisation. This member segment was crucially important within the trade union world, and not only because of its size. The study revealed that 43% of union officials came from this group. It thus constituted a **significant pillar of trade union work.**

In the survey, union members of the middle echelon turned out to be extremely dissatisfied with current socio-economic and political conditions and were inclined to lash out at the system. The authors hypothesized that this hostility was due to their changed role within industrial relations. The respondents were likely to consider themselves as having been pillars of their unions (functionaries, works council representatives) and winners of a successful wage and employment policy as well as beneficiaries of economic prosperity. This enhanced status appeared to be in serious jeopardy as a consequence of globalisation, modernisation, deregulation, and competition to undercut wages. Not only were they threatened by substantial **losses of status and probably also of privileges** (e.g., through the reduction of benefits going beyond collective bargaining agreements), but

they also had to watch as the earlier accomplishments of trade-union policy – i.e., their own successes – were being dismantled piece by piece as the power of the trade unions was steadily rolled back. The unionised middle segment interpreted these losses and defeats in a characteristic manner: They thought that supporting nationalist and ethnocentric policies was the only way to guarantee that they would hold onto previous gains.

The obvious fact that the labor unions today are less resistant to right-wing extremism than they used to be could be due to the increase in the susceptibility of their middle segment members, especially, over the past thirty to forty years. The members of this category are particularly affected by radical economic changes not only from an economic and social perspective, but also as key actors in trade-union politics.

In the **causal analysis** of right-wing extremism, the study showed that the influence of socio-economic factors – including education, income, unemployment, segment affiliation, modernity of the workplace, and precariousness of the employment relationship – is significantly overestimated in the literature. **Although it is generally true that far-right attitudes increase in line with risks to one's social status, the determining factor is how the problems resulting from fragile or declining social status are subjectively processed.**

In this context the authors of the study identified **two opposing processing patterns** that either favour or deflect the spread of right-wing extremism:

- Authoritarian convictions combine authoritarian personality traits, authoritarian values, and restrictive concepts of democracy. The stronger the authoritarian convictions of the respondents, the greater their susceptibility to right-wing extremism. The effect was amplified if authoritarian convictions were combined with socio-economic and/or political dissatisfaction to produce system-critical orientations.

- Democratic convictions represent a combination of political self-awareness, libertarian values, and democratic attitudes. The more strongly such convictions were apparent among the respondents, the lower their susceptibility to right-wing extremism. However, that susceptibility tailed off further if democratic convictions were bound up with a more left-wing self-awareness and a strong need for the representation of one's interests by a trade union.

The authors of the study drew the following **conclusions for trade-union practice.**

- Trade unions can be effective against right-wing extremism only if they clearly conceive of themselves as **communities of values** – i.e., not only as job-market cartels or even as service companies for the individual promotion of their members – and strive to make this fact clear in their internal and external communications.

- Nationalism and racism should not be branded simply as inhumane; they should also be regarded as the response of helpless and hopeless people to globalisation, social change, and the transformation of the world of work. As an alternative, the collective, solidarity-based and democratic **commitment for greater compassion, justice, and tolerance** should be promoted.

- Nothing works better to keep employees and trade union members away from far-right interpretations and temptations than the experience of **affecting, achieving, or changing something in the company, trade union, or political realm through their own actions and participation.**

- Especially in respect of the Europeanisation of the markets and the need for their political regulation, **cross-border collaberation** increasingly will become important in dealing with challenging issues such as the resurgence of right-wing extremism.

1.4 INTERIM CONCLUSION

Globalisation has effects similar to those of the emergent industrialisation in the 19th century: namely, almost revolutionary changes to the socio-economic and political-cultural circumstances in all the states of the EU. The social-democratic century with its promises of welfare is being replaced by an era of neoliberal politics that is accelerating the global expansion of capitalism, but at the same time is compounding social inequality, contributing to the reduction of social standards, causing employment relationships to become precarious, fostering high (youth) unemployment, and ultimately causing old-age poverty.

The gulf between modernisation's winners and losers is growing dramatically. The fear of downward mobility long since has spread from the lower segment (which is in any event more disadvantaged by globalisation) to the lower middle segment of society, and is amplified by growing migration movements and the rise of asylum and refugee issues. The growing need for protection, security, and justice is not adequately addressed by established politics, and in particular not by the political left, which has lost substantial levels of trust among its followers as a result.

This vacuum is being filled increasingly successfully by far-right and right-wing conservative forces that have an apparently plausible response to the alleged external and internal threats: the return to the sovereign and ethnically homogenous nation-state. The programmes of right-wing extremist groupings, especially, have begun to put much greater emphasis on social issues. As a result of that new orientation, right fringe movements and parties have increased their appeal substantially.

Above all on account of socio-economic change in the world of work, the lower strata of society – but not only they – expect to find a solution to or alleviation of their problems in nationalism and ethnocentrism. **The fact that this rightward drift affects particular employees as the primary reference group of trade unions and even trade union members ("mirror-image theory") means that the trade unions are subject to a special level of responsibility in confronting the extreme far-right. This is because these forces also shake the very raison d'être of the trade unions by weakening their function as an important ordering force of industrial relations and calling into question their competence to represent the interests of dependent employees.** The pattern is apparent not only in European countries, but also in the European institutions, as is shown in the following chapter.

It is incumbent on trade unions at both the national and international levels to take suitable measures to disarm the forces on the right fringe.

This chapter aims to clarify two issues. First: the 2014 European elections saw a dramatic shift to the right, blurring the boundaries between right-wing extremism and right-wing conservatism (section 2.1). Second: the parties and groups on the right fringe are fighting against European integration with populist manifestos at both the European and the national levels. The trade unions' resistance should be directed primarily at the common core concern of all those with right-wing inclinations: namely, the strengthening of nationalism and ethnocentrism as an alleged protection against undesirable side effects of globalization (section 2.2).

2.1 THE EXTREME RIGHT AND ITS ENVIRONMENT IN THE EUROPEAN ELECTIONS OF 2014

It is well known that European elections do not take place in the EU, but rather in the – still – 28 member states of the EU. Parties or their candidates stand in the individual countries for seats in the European Parliament. For that reason, it makes no sense to present the vote totals of the individual parties compared to the total votes cast in the EU (absolute/relative). As over 300 parties are said to have contested the 2014 European elections, an overview of that type would also be quite unwieldy.

Table 1 contains the national share of the votes of all parties that won seats in the 2014 European elections and that have been deemed EU-sceptical and rightist in both the academic literature and selected print media immediately after the elections. Here they will be described generally as "EU-sceptical to EU-hostile".[43]

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[43] There are significant differences between the terms "Europe-scepticism", "EU-scepticism" and "Euro-scepticism". Here we are dealing with scepticism concerning the European Union.

Table 1: National vote shares and seats of rightist EU-sceptical to EU-hostile
parties in the European elections of 25 May 2014

Country	Party	Share	Seats
Belgium	VB	4.1	1
Bulgaria	BBT et al.	10.7	2
Denmark	DF	26.6	4
Germany	AfD	7.0	7
Germany	NPD*	1.0	1
Finland	PS	12.9	2
France	FN*	25.0	24
Greece	XA	9.4	3
Greece	ANEL	3.5	1
United Kingdom	UKIP*	26.8	24
Italy	LN	6.2	5
Latvia	NA	14.3	1
Lithuania	TT	14.3	2
The Netherlands	PVV*	13.3	4
Austria	FPÖ	19.7	4
Poland	KNP*	7.2	4
Sweden	SD*	9.7	2
Czech Republic	SSO*	5.2	1
Hungary	Jobbik*	14.7	3
Country total: 17	**Total parties: 19**	**Total seats: 95**	

English names can be found in the list of abbreviations.

* EU-hostile parties (demanding exit from the EU), according to Niedermayer.[44]

Sources: http://www.ergebnisse-wahlen2014.eu/de/country-results-be-2014.html
(20 June 2014)/ and especially SPIEGEL.DE (29 May 2014), reference "EP/dpa", and SZ (27 May 2014), p. 6 ff.

[44]   Oskar Niedermayer, "Die Europawahlen 2014 und ihre Auswirkungen auf die Zusammensetzung des
Europäischen Parlaments", in Gesellschaft. Wirtschaft. Politik, vol. 63, no. 3, pp. 351-364.

The following findings can be distilled from the election results.

- A total of 182 parties (= parliamentary parties) in 28 countries won 751 seats at the 2014 European elections. Among them were 19 rightist, primarily EU-sceptical to EU-hostile parties in 17, countries with a total of 95 seats.[45]

- Rightist EU-sceptical to EU-hostile parties thus won 13 percent of seats in the European Parliament.

- If we only consider the eight EU-hostile parties with their 63 seats in the European Parliament, these would make up eight percent of the seats.

- Of the total of 182 parliamentary parties, ten percent can be classified within the group of rightist EU-sceptical to EU-hostile parties and four percent as EU-hostile parties.

At first glance, it appears that the significance of the parties considered here is rather highly exaggerated in both academia and the media in describing the balance of power in the European Parliament. On closer examination, however, it appears that the rightist forces have gained huge influence.

Table 2 (below) classifies the parties listed in Table 1 in accordance with the typology of political ideologies on the right fringe set out earlier. Of the 19 parties, eight can be assigned to one of two types – "right-wing conservative" or "moderately far-right" parties – whilst the remainder fall under the category of "orthodox far-right" parties. The latter have a total of seven seats in the European Parliament, whereas the moderate right-wing extremists have 46 and the right-wing conservatives have 42. **The right-wing hardliners thus play no part. The conformist right-wing extremists and the right-wing conservatives share about half of the seats on the right fringe.**

Table 2: Typology of the parties on the right fringe in the 2014 European elections (in parentheses: number of seats at the start of the electoral term)

Right-wing conservative parties	Moderate far-right parties	Orthodox far-right parties
AfD (7)	DF (4)	Jobbik (3)
ANEL (1)	FN (24)	NPD (1)
BBT et al. (2)	FPÖ (4)	XA (3)
KNP (4)	LN (5)	
NA (1)	PS (2)	
SSO (1)	PVV (4)	
TT (2)	SD (2)	
UKIP (24)	VB (1)	
Total seats: 42	**Total seats: 46**	**Total seats: 7**

English names can be found in the list of abbreviations.

Table 3 compares the results of the elections to the European Parliament in 2009 and 2014. In 2014 the orthodox far-right parties lost just under half of the seats they held in 2009 (five out of twelve). The main reason for this is that the Bulgarian Ataka, the British National Party (BNP), and the Greater Romanian Party (PRM) were no longer represented in the European Parliament after 2014. **Overall, it can be noted that the weighting among the far-right camp has shifted further in favour of moderate right-wing extremism.** These parties almost doubled the number of their seats as compared to 2009 (from 26 to 46). The outlier is the National Front (FN) in France, which increased its representation from three seats to 24. The Danish People's Party (DF), the True Finns (PS), the Austrian Freedom Party (FPÖ), and the Sweden Democrats (SD) also experienced gains. However, two parties of this type (VB and LN) lost ground, and others are no longer represented in the parliament at all (LAOS and SNS). Between 2009 and 2014, right-wing conservative parties almost tripled their seats, from 15 to 42. Most parties of this type were only founded during the electoral term. Exceptions are the Lithuanian Party of Order and Justice (TT), which is stagnating with two seats, and Britain's UKIP, which went from 13 to 24 MEPs.

Table 3: Seats of the parties on the right fringe in the 2009 and 2014 European elections (2014 seats in parentheses, 2009 seats in brackets, at the start of each electoral term)

Right-wing conservative parties			Moderate far-right parties			Orthodox far-right parties		
AfD	(7)	[0]	DF	(4)	[2]	NPD	(1)	[0]
ANEL	(1)	[0]	FN	(24)	[3]	XA	(3)	[2]
BBT et al.	(2)	[0]	FPÖ	(4)	[2]	Jobbik	(3)	[3]
KNP	(4)	[0]	LAOS	[0]	[2]	Ataka	(0)	[2]
NA	(1)	[0]	LN	(5)	[9]	BNP	(0)	[2]
SSO	(1)	[0]	PS	(2)	[1]	PRM	(0)	[3]
TT	(2)	[2]	PVV	(4)	[4]			
UKIP	(24)	[13]	SD	(2)	[0]			
			SNS	[0]	[1]			
			VB	(1)	[2]			
Total:	**(42)**	**[15]**	**Total:**	**(46)**	**[26]**	**Total:**	**(7)**	**[12]**

English names can be found in the list of abbreviations.

As this chart shows, the moderate approach of the far-right parties in everyday life paid off at the last European elections. Radical positions, such as those represented by the orthodox far-right parties, have only a limited resonance – at least in the EU average. **The (often tactical) moderation of right-wing extremism is not the only innovation on the right fringe; another is the sudden strengthening of the right-wing conservative sector. Additionally, EU-sceptical positions within the established Christian and secular conservatism have increased.**

In order to illustrate these developments, which are also relevant for the practice of the trade unions, a detailed account of the formation of groups in the European Parliament is needed. The final outcome of European elections is generally considered to be the strength of the groups to which the parliamentary parties in European Parliament belong. In principle, these groups are constituted along ideological lines, although sometimes strategic political considerations play a role. For that reason the groups can be depicted along a left/right axis (see Figure 2), which also corresponds to the seating arrangement of the parliament.[46]

46 Non-attached members (non-inscrits) are officially positioned on the right fringe, although not all should be classified as being far-right. At the start of June, 2016, these constituted eleven of the total of 16 non-inscrit members.

GUE/NGL   S&D   Green/EFA   ALDE   EPP   ECR   EFDD   ENF   NI

Left   ⟵──────────────────────────────⟶   **Right**

As of march, 2016.
English names can be found in the list of abbreviations.

The placement of parties in accordance with their ideology is a common and proven method of classification, especially in international comparative political science. It is based on the relevant socio-economic and political-cultural lines of conflict of modern industrialised nations. The fact that the European Parliamentary parties or the elected MEPs can exert political influence only by joining together to form groups (which are furnished with ample resources and rights) requires no further explanation. The tension between ideological consistency and strategic partnering can be illustrated particularly clearly in the formation of groups in the European Parliament. **That process of strategic group affiliation often results in a blurring of the borders between right-wing extremism and right-wing conservatism.**

Currently, in order for a group to be formed, 25 MEPs from seven EU countries need to join together. Groups can be formed, changed, or dissolved at any time. It is also not uncommon for individual MEPs (sometimes even parties) to switch groups, or to leave a group in favour of being non-inscrit. For example, in early June of 2016, the Parliament consisted of only 749 members, because 41 departed parliamentarians were replaced by just 39 MEPs.

Table 4: Seats of the EU-hostile parties in the European Parliament in 2014 and 2009 (at the start of each electoral term)

	EE 2014	EE 2009	Party type
Ataka (Bulgaria)	-	2	Orthodox far-right
BNP (United Kingdom)	-	2	Orthodox far-right
FN (France)	24	3	Moderate far-right
Jobbik (Hungary)	3	3	Orthodox far-right
KNP (Poland)	4	-	Right-wing conservative
NPD (Germany)	1	-	Orthodox far-right
PVV (Netherlands)	4	4	Moderate far-right
SD (Sweden)	2	-	Moderate far-right
SSO (Czech Republic)	1	-	Right-wing conservative
UKIP (United Kingdom)	24	13	Right-wing conservative
Total	**63**	**27**	

English names can be found in the list of abbreviations.

Parties or MEPs do not always form a common group even if their political objectives are aligned. Table 4 shows that since 2014, the EU-hostile parties clearly have met the requirements for the formation of a group. However, their ideological differences are so great that institutionalised collaboration is out of the question. EU-hostility exists in all tendencies on the right fringe, from right-wing conservatives through moderates and up to orthodox right-wing extremists. However, not all right-wing conservatives or right-wing extremists are hostile to the EU, a fact that provides cooperation opportunities for both sides.

The characteristic "EU-scepticism" is far too diffuse to be useful as a common platform for a political coalition in the European Parliament. As Table 5 shows, the MEPs of the EU-sceptical to EU-hostile parties are instead spread across three different groups and the non-inscrits. Similarly, none of the three party types on the right fringe constituted along ideological and programmatic lines was able to form a group with the others due to the difficulty of cooperation across types.

Thus, immediately after the 2014 European elections the **group of European Conservatives and Reformists (ECR),** which has existed since 2009 and has a majority affiliation to established (secular) conservatism, accepted seven MEPs of the right-wing conservative AfD, although German Federal Chancellor and Chair

of the CDU Angela Merkel is said to have told the leader of the British Conservative Party (CP), David Cameron, that she would not tolerate its accession to the CDU/CSU's parliamentary grouping. Some Tories clearly voted for the inclusion against Cameron's will, which the CDU regarded as an affront. The German Conservative Union considers the AfD to be undesirable competition, and for its part the AfD celebrated its inclusion in the ECR as a kind of recognition by established conservatism.

Table 5: Seats of rightist EU-sceptical to EU-hostile parties in the European elections on 25 May 2014 and their affiliation with groups in the European Parliament (as of 2 June 2016)

Party	Seats	Group
AfD	7	ECR 5 (ALFA)* ENF 1 EFDD 1
ANEL	1	ECR
BBT et al.	2	ECR
DF	4	ECR
FN	24	ENF 20 EFDD 1 NI 3
FPÖ	4	ENF
Jobbik	3	NI
KNP	4	ENF 2 EFDD 1 NI 1
LN	5	ENF
NA	1	ECR
NPD	1	NI
PS	2	ECR
PVV	4	ENF
SD	2	EFDD
SSO	1	EFDD
TT	2	EFDD 1 ALDE 1
UKIP	24	EFDD 22 ENF 1 ECR 1
VB	1	ENF
XA	3	NI

* After the Alliance for Progress and Renewal (Allianz für Fortschritt und Aufbruch, ALFA) split from the AfD in July of 2015, five of the seven AfD MEPs defected to the new party.

The ECR also includes MEPs of the moderate far-right Danish People's Party (DF) and the True Finns (PS), which are considered to be moderate far-right. During the previous electoral term, these were members of the majority right-wing conservative group Europe of Freedom and Democracy (EFD), which was dominated by Britain's UKIP under Nigel Farage. The fact that the DF and PS joined the ECR was interpreted as a victory of Cameron over Farage, his archrival. **As of 2 June 2016, 73 MEPs of the ECR, 15 (20 percent) come from parties that can be classified as being on the right fringe:** six from far-right[47] and nine from right-wing conservative[48] parties. Positions close to right-wing conservatism are also represented by British Conservatives (CP; 20 seats)[48], the two MEPs of the Czech ODS, and more recently also by the Polish party Law and Justice (PiS; 15 seats). Since becoming the sole governing party in Poland in 2015, PiS generally should be assigned to the right-wing conservative camp.

The more right-wing conservative **group Europe of Freedom and Direct Democracy (EFDD)** was founded after the 2014 European elections as a successor to the group Europe of Freedom and Democracy (EFD). Twenty-two MEPs of the right-wing conservative British UKIP under Nigel Farage and the 17 representatives of Beppe Grillo's Italian Five Star Movement (M5S), which is more of a liberal protest movement, are currently (as of 2 June 2016) setting the tone. This also includes an MEP elected for the Polish Congress of the New Right (KNP), MEPs of the moderate far-right Sweden Democrats (SD) and one representative each of the Czech Party of Free Citizens (SSO) and the Lithuanian Party of Order and Justice (TT). Additionally there was a former MEP of the French FN (Joëlle Bergeron) and Beatrix von Storch (AfD), who left the ECR group in April of 2016. **With 46 persons from eight member states, the ideologically heterogeneous EFDD just barely meets the minimum requirements for a group in the European Parliament.** For that reason, the question arises as to how long two parties that are as different as UKIP and M5S (which is not classified on the right-wing spectrum here), with such different personalities as Nigel Farage and Beppe Grillo at their helms, will be able to tolerate each other. Other members could also bring the group to its knees. For that reason many deputies on the right fringe would like to see cooperation between EFDD, the far-right ENF group and parts of the ECR group.

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47 DF has four MEPs and PS has two.

48 ALFA has five MEPs; ANEL one; BBT et al. have two; NA has one.

49 After the national elections in 2014 – 15, the CP shifted farther to the right because of UKIP's successes.

The **development of the far-right parties in the European Parliament** since 1979 shows us two things. First, the presence of such parties has increased significantly (see Figure 3). Second, the special national interests represented by the far-right parties have made it very difficult for them to work together.**50**

- 1979 to 1984: no groups.

- 1984 to 1989: Group of the European Right, consisting of the FN (10 seats), MSI (5), and EPEN (1).

- 1989 to 1994: **Technical Group of the European Right**[51] (no commitment, voting freedom), consisting of the FN (10 seats), REP (6), and VB (1).

- 1994 to 1999 and 1999 to 2004: no groups.

- During the 2004 to 2009 election term, the **Group of Identity, Tradition, Sovereignty (ITS)** existed from January to November of 2007 with 23 MEPs from seven countries: VB (with 3 seats), Ataka (3), FN (7), AS (1), MSFT (1), FPÖ (1), PRM (5) and one non-inscrit each from the UK and Romania. When Benito Mussolini's granddaughter Alessandra Mussolini, the MEP of the neo-fascist Italian Social Alternative (AS), made disparaging remarks about Romanian Roma in Italy, five MEPs of the Greater Romanian Party (PRM) left the group, which then no longer satisfied the minimum requirements for group formation at the time (twenty MEPs from six member states).

- 2009 to 2014: no groups.

After the European elections in 2014, it initially looked as though five moderate far-right and two right-wing conservative parties under the aegis of Marine Le Pen (FN) and Geert Wilders (PVV) would succeed in forming a group of their own. On 12 June 2014, the press reported that 44 MEPs from seven counties were on board: the French FN (with 24 MEPs), the Italian LN (5), the Belgian VB (1), the

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50 Cf. Richard Stöss, "Zur Vernetzung der extremen Rechten in Europa," paper presented at the DVPW Conference 2000 in Halle as part of the "Political Sociology" section on October 4, 2000, Arbeitshefte aus dem Otto-Stammer-Zentrum, no. 5 (Berlin, April of 2001), p. 25 ff. Available online at http://www.polsoz. fu-berlin.de/polwiss/forschung/systeme/empsoz/schriften/Arbeitshefte/ RexDVPW.pdf?1367710536/.

51 The MSI was not involved, due to a conflict over the South Tirol question.

Dutch PVV (4), the Austrian FPÖ (4), the Polish KNP (4) and the Lithuanian TT (2). However, the registration deadline expired on 23 June 2014 without a corresponding group being registered. Wilders subsequently reported that collaboration with the Polish KNP had not been possible due to the homophobic, anti-Semitic, and misogynistic positions of that party's leader, Janusz Korwin-Mikke. Because the two MEPs of the Lithuanian TT were registered at the same time as members of the EFDD group,[52] there is a clear suspicion that Wilders was concealing additional reasons for the failure of a far-right alliance, including possible differences with Marine Le Pen.

Figure 3: **Seats of far-right parties at European elections 1979 to 2014 (at the start of each electoral term)**
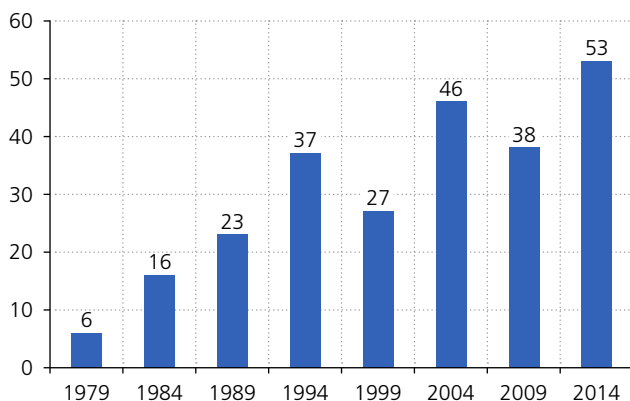
The fact that no far-right group came about in the first instance was not due to the reservations of Geert Wilders, nor was it solely a result of the fact that the representatives of moderate right-wing extremism did not want to cooperate with parties of orthodox right-wing extremism. A further key cause has to do with the fact that, as previously mentioned, the established conservatives assembled in the ECR group successfully had integrated two parties from the area of moderate right-wing extremism, the Danish DF and the Finnish PS, into their group.

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52   One MEP finally joined the ALDE group.

Although the five cooperating moderate far-right parties (the FN, FPÖ, LN, PVV and VB) had enough MEPs to form a group with 34 seats, the MEPs did not satisfy the requirement of coming from at least seven countries. When the two remaining MEPs of the Polish KNP and the MEPs Janice Atkinson (elected for Britain's UKIP) and the former Social Democrat Constantin-Laurentiu Rebega (elected for the Romanian Conservative Party, or PC) subsequently joined, the **group Europe of Nations and Freedom (ENF)** was established on 15 June 2015. In June of 2016, Marcus Pretzell (AfD) also joined, having previously been excluded from the ECR group. The group chairs are Marine Le Pen (FN) and Marcel de Graaff (PVV).

Members of the ENF group (as of 2 June 2016):

Belgium	Flemish Interests (VB)	1
Germany	Alternative for Germany (AfD)	1
France	National Front (FN)[53]	20
United Kingdom	formerly UKIP	1
Italy	Lega Nord (LN)	5
The Netherlands	Party for Freedom (PVV)	4
Austria	Austrian Freedom Party (FPÖ)	4
Poland	Congress of the New Right (KNP)	2
Romania	formerly Conservative Party (PC)	1
	Total	**39**

As of 2 June 2016, sixteen MEPs of the European Parliament are without a group: three members each from the Movement for a Better Hungary (Jobbik), Greece's Golden Dawn (XA), and the French National Front (FN)[54], as well as one MEP each from the National Democratic Party of Germany (NPD)[55] and Poland's Congress of the New Right (KNP)[56]. These eleven persons are likely far-right hardliners. There are five further MEPs who are not classified as right-wing extremists.

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[53] Of the original 24 elected MEPs, one is a member of the EFDD group and three others are without a group.

[54] Aymeric Chauprade (formerly FN), Bruno Gollnisch, Jean-Marie Le Pen.

[55] The former (1996 to 2011) NPD Chair Udo Voigt.

[56] Janusz Korwin-Mikke (formerly KNP).

Tabelle 6: Groups in the European Parliament at the end of the 7th electoral term (6 May 2014) and in the 8th electoral term (2 June 2016) (absolute number of seats and difference between 2016 and 2014)

		2014	2016	Difference 2016 to 2014
Left fringe	GUE/NGL	35	52	+17
	Total	**35**	**52**	**+17**
Centre	S&D	196	189	-7
	Green/EFA	57	49	-8
	ALDE	83	70	-13
	EPP	274	215	-59
	ECR	57	73	+16
	Total	**667**	**596**	**-71**
Right fringe	EF(D)D	31	46	+15
	ENF	0	39	+39
	NI	33	16	-17
	Total	**64**	**101**	**+37**
Total		**766**	***749**	**-17**

* Of the original 751 MEPs, 41 have departed but only 39 have joined to replace them (as of 2 June 2016).

Overall, the following shift in the balance of power has taken place in the European Parliament: the **number of far-right MEPs has increased significantly,** from six in 1979 to 53 in 2014 (see Figure 3 above). Within the far-right spectrum there has been a **shift in weighting from orthodox to moderate right-wing extremism. Right-wing conservative parties have gained significance** (see Table 3). Table 6 shows that both the left and right fringes have been strengthened, with the latter having won almost twice as many seats as the former.[57] Centrist groups have suffered losses, with the exception of the ECR group, which to an extent can be classified on the right fringe due to its right-wing conservative (above all CP, ODS, PiS) and far-right (DF, PS) tendencies. It has grown roughly as much as the left fringe. Finally, the right-wing tendencies in the Christian Democratic EPP group need to be included in the analysis. Here we will mention merely the Hungarian Fidesz Party of Prime Minister Viktor Orbán and the Italian

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[57]   It should be noted that not all non-inscrits are attributable to the right fringe.

party Forward Italy (FI) of former Prime Minister Silvio Berlusconi, which is represented in the European Parliament by the aforementioned Alessandra Mussolini, among others.

Not only the right fringe but also nationalist and xenophobic tendencies on the right flank of the centre (ECR, EPP) have strengthened substantially. For that reason it is by no means an exaggeration to speak of a dramatic swing to the right in the European Parliament.

One also should note that group formation, which often occurs along tactical lines, frequently sees the blurring of boundaries between right-wing extremism and right-wing conservatism. The trade unions therefore need to tackle not only right-wing extremism, but also nationalist and xenophobic positions in the (right-wing) conservative area.

2.2 IDEOLOGY, MANIFESTOS, AND OBJECTIVES

The groups on the right fringe largely pursue the same goal, albeit with varying intensity: All fight against European integration. This they do with the aid of the considerable funds with which they are provided by the EU. To that end, MEPs also founded political parties at the European level that also have been funded by the EU since the 2009 European elections.

According to a publication by the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung, the EU is "not only the most important reference space for modern right-wing populism. It has become a key material resource for right wing parties and politicians."[58] In 2012, 2013, and the first half of 2014, the groups ECR, EFD, and the non-inscrits together received a total of € 19 million, before taking account of MEPs' salaries, allowances for political work, office equipment and staff of the individual MEPs. Since 2010, the European parties AENM, EAF, MENL, and ACRE received an additional € 10 million.[59] Thus, when confronting right-wing extremism and right-wing conservatism, trade unions need to be aware that they are dealing with

[58] **Thilo Janssen, "Geliebter Feind. Rechtsaußenparties und die Europäische Union" (Brussels office: Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung, 18 February 2016), p. 31. Available online at http://de.rosalux.eu/publikationen/ geliebter-feind/?L=0/(23 May 2016).**

[59] **Ibid., pp. 31, 33.**

well-funded organisations that are amply endowed by the EU, including for the fight against European integration in their home countries.

The Alliance of European National Movements (AENM) was founded in October, 2009 at the initiative of the French FN, at that time still under the leadership of Jean-Marie Le Pen ("Patriotes de tous les pays, unissez-vous!"). It included representatives of various moderate and orthodox far-right parties from several European nations, including members of the short-lived ITS group in the European Parliament (see p. ! [57]). Although its political declaration was moderately worded, it contained all the important elements of ethnic nationalism, from ethnopluralism through a Europe of the fatherlands up to a critique of capitalism and globalisation. It read:[60]

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- *Conscious of our common responsibility for the European peoples and the diversity of cultures and languages they represent,*
- *Mindful of the inalienable values of Christianity, natural law, peace and freedom in Europe,*
- *Recognizing the numerous threats that powerful forces of globalization pose to this priceless heritage,*
- *Representing the national parties and movements in Europe, we demand:*

1. The creation of a Europe of free, independent and equal nations in the framework of a confederation of sovereign nation states, refraining from taking decisions on matters properly taken by states themselves;
2. The rejection of any attempt to create a centralized European Super State;
3. The promotion of the freedom, dignity and equal rights of every citizen, and opposition to all forms of totalitarianism;
4. The primacy of direct votes by the people or their elected representatives over any administrative or bureaucratic body;
5. The effective protection of Europe against new threats, such as terrorism and religious, political, economic, or financial imperialism;

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[60] Thilo Janssen, "Die Europäisierung der rechten EU-Gegner. Rechte europäische Parteien und rechte Fraktionen im Europäischen Parlament vor den Europawahlen 2014"(Eine Studie im Auftrag der Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung: January 2013), p. 7ff. Available online at http://www.rosalux.de/publication/38359/was-macht-die-politische-rechte-im-europaeischen-parlament.html/(23 May 2016).

6. A peaceful and humane settlement of immigration problems through, among other measures, international cooperation aiming at development and self-sufficiency of third world countries;

7. Strong policies in favour of families, aiming at solving the demographic deficit in Europe and promoting traditional values throughout society;

8. The preservation of the diversity of Europe that results from the variety of our identities, traditions, languages and indigenous cultures;

9. A common fight of the European peoples against social dumping and the destructive effects of globalization.

After the election of Marine Le Pen as the leader of the FN in January of 2011, the party embarked on a moderate course and rejected cooperation with the forces of the orthodox far-right. Jean-Marie Le Pen had to leave the AENM, which currently (as of 2 June 2016) consists exclusively of far-right hardliners and has only three MEPs left in the European Parliament: the three representatives from Jobbik.

In 2012, Marine Le Pen joined the European party **European Alliance for Freedom (EAF),** founded in 2010, which operates on a very simple alliance scheme. Individual persons from different parties of the right fringe can become members without their original parties having to sign a joint manifesto. The group members are expressly guaranteed voting freedom. In content terms, the EAF steers a decidedly respectable course and, in the run-up to the 2014 European elections, sought programmatic proximity to the EFD group. The EAF's more right-wing conservative political platform declared the following:[61]

> *Freedom and prosperity can only be sustained as long as constitutional democracy is preserved, and this can only happen as long as parliaments in Member States are relevant to the lives of the people they represent. In the understanding that "a single European people" – a European demos – does not exist and cannot be created through forceful or legislative means, the European Union can only naturally exist as a non-centralised, flexible, cooperation framework where free European peoples coordinate their efforts towards their mutual benefit in accordance with mutually agreed common standards.*

61 http://www.eurallfree.org/?q=node/326/ (11 June 2016).

This framework alone ensures the preservation of constitutional democracy in Europe, where democratic and free society can flourish diversely within a European family of free nations.

As no joint group of the right fringe came about after the 2014 European elections, Marine Le Pen set up the European party **Movement for a Europe of Nations and Freedom (MENL)** in October of 2014 that – unlike the EAF, which still existed at the time – represented an alliance of parties. Members include (as of 2 June 2016) the Belgian VB, the French FN, the Italian LN, and the Austrian FPÖ. The thirty MEPs of these four parties form the core of the ENF group set up in June 2015.

The **Europe of Nations and Freedom group (ENF),** which, according to press reports, receives an annual grant of somewhere around € 3 million for its work and a further € 4.4 million for its foundation,[62] still has no prepared manifesto. On its website Co-Chair Marcel de Graaff (PVV) explains:

Our European cultures, our values and our freedom are under attack. They are threatened by the crushing and dictatorial powers of the European Union. They are threatened by mass immigration, by open borders and by a single European currency: One size does not fit all. Nation states must be able to establish their own budgets, draw up their own laws, take control over their own borders, protect their own languages and cultures and have their own currencies.[63]

Similarly, the programmatic declaration of the ENF, which comprises just five points, demands above all a return to a Europe of sovereign nation states, alongside a commitment to democracy and human rights. Ethnocentrism is only indirectly present, under the point "Identity":

The parties and individual MEPs of the ENF Group base their political alliance on the preservation of the identity of the citizens and nations of Europe, in accordance with the specific characteristics of each popula-

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62 http://www.euractiv.de/section/eu-innenpolitik/news/rechtsextreme-grunden-fraktion-im-eu-parlament/.
63 http://www.enfgroup-ep.eu/#1804de5e44a8209d8/(23 May 2016).

tion. The right to control and regulate immigration is thus a fundamen-
tal principle shared by the Members of the ENF Group.[64]

Whilst the manifesto of most member parties primarily refers to their home coun-
tries, the FPÖ's five-point concept "FOR a positive turnaround of current EU pol-
itics" has comparatively clear nationalist and ethnocentric ideas about the future
of the EU, which also take into account economic, welfare and social policy.[65]

1. FOR the retention of national sovereignty, against Brussels centralism
and a mushrooming EU bureaucracy. We do not want a centralized feder-
ation of states like the Unites States, but rather a European confederation
of sovereign national states with strong direct-democratic legitimation.

2. FOR the retention of the cultural identity of the European peoples and
thus AGAINST mass migration, Islamisation, the accession of Turkey to the
EU and the creation of a multicultural society in Europe. We want to retain
and develop the diversity of Europe's advanced cultures on the cultural
basis of the West and the values of Christianity.

3. FOR the retention of national economies, against the diktat of multina-
tional companies and the poorly designed euro single currency. We want
a restructuring of the Eurozone and the opportunity for independent eco-
nomic and monetary policy that does not rule out a return to national
currencies or the creation of a currency based on an alliance of economies
of a similar strength.

4. FOR the retention of our national solidarity-based systems and our
social networks, but AGAINST mushrooming globalisation, wage dump-
ing and the diktat of the international financial markets. We want social
security and justice in all member states.

5. FOR the retention of the traditional family, against gender madness,
decadence and hedonism. We want a pro-birth family policy that assures
the future of the European peoples with their own children.

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64   http://www.enfgroup-ep.eu/charter/ (23 May 2016).
65   http://www.enfgroup-ep.eu/austria-freiheitliche-partei-oesterreichs/ (23 May 2016).

On the FPÖ's EU website, the party's European election manifesto can even be found in "easy-read format" (see box, below).

In September of 2014, the right-wing conservative EFDD group founded the **Alliance for Direct Democracy in Europe (ADDE)** as a European party. The ADDE is controlled by the MEPs of Britain's UKIP. Programmatically, it has little to offer; its aim is to combat the domination of the EU over the member states. Additionally, it seeks to promote direct democratic processes and limit uncontrolled immigration. Similarly, the narrow manifesto of the **Europe of Freedom and Direct Democracy group (EFDD)** advocates a Europe of sovereign nation states and direct democracy. There are no references to explicit ethno-centrism in the manifesto.

> *Peoples and Nations of Europe have the right to protect their borders and strengthen their own historical, traditional, religious and cultural values. The Group rejects xenophobia, anti-Semitism and any other form of discrimination. Furthermore the group subscribes to the concept of direct democracy believing it to be the ultimate check on political elites.*[66]

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[66] http://www.efddgroup.eu/about-us/our-charter/(23 May 2016).

Manifesto of the FPÖ for the European Parliament elections, 25 May 2014[67]

- The Austrian Freedom Party (FPÖ) wants all European peoples to have the right to govern themselves in their country.
- Each country should be able to make its own laws.
- The FPÖ wants all Austrians to be able to decide what is important for Austria.
- The FPÖ wants Austria to pay just half of its previous contributions to the EU.
- Austria is a neutral country.
  The FPÖ wants Austria to be able to advise other countries that have problems with one another and mediate in the event of conflicts.
- Farming receives subsidies from the European Union (EU).
  However, the application process is very difficult.
  The FPÖ wants farmers to be able to receive these subsidies more easily.
- The European Parliament alternates between Strasbourg in France and Brussels in Belgium.
  Moving the Parliament is very expensive.
  The FPÖ wants the European Parliament to sit in Strasbourg only.
- Most countries in the European Union no longer have any border controls between them.
  Travelers are no longer checked at the old border crossings.
  This means that it is very easily for people who want to commit crimes to enter Austria.
- The FPÖ wants all Austrians to vote on whether Austria still wants to keep its borders as open as this or not.
- The FPÖ wants Austria's border crossings to be video-monitored.
- A lot of people come to Austria from countries with problems such as war or poverty.
  These people need to complete an asylum application in order to stay in Austria.
  Many of these people apply in several countries.
- The FPÖ wants it only to be possible to make an application in one country of the European Union.
- The FPÖ wants the police to get more money to make Austria safer.
- The FPÖ does not want Austria to pay for the debts of the other EU countries.
- The FPÖ does not want money in Austria to be constantly worth less.
- Some heads of banks perform very badly and that causes a lot of money to be lost.
  The FPÖ wants such people to be punished.
- The FPÖ demands that politics be dominated by frugality and honesty.
- The FPÖ wants Austrians not to be monitored, for instance, for telephones not to be tapped.
- The FPÖ does not want the EU to be able to decide or prohibit everything in Austria.

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67 http://www.fpoe.eu/dokumente/programm/ (23 May 2016).

- Working people's wages are constantly falling.
  People can afford to buy less and less.
  Rents are also always increasing.
  The FPÖ want Austrians to be better off again.
- There are a lot of unemployed people in the EU.
  The FPÖ wants Austrians to get jobs first in Austria.
- The FPÖ above all wants Austrians to get social benefits (family allowance, nursing allowance and so on).
  Other people who live in Austria should only be given what they would get in their countries of origin.
- Austria is a Christian country. However, many people in Austria are of the Islamic faith.
  The FPÖ wants Austria and Europe to remain Christian.
- The FPÖ does not want Turkey to become a member of the European Union.
- The FPÖ wants the culture of Austria and Europe to be preserved.
- Austrians who live in other countries such as South Tirol should be protected by Austria.

Shortly after the foundation of the **European Conservatives and Reformists Group (ECR)** in 2009, the group's members set up the **Alliance of European Conservatives and Reformists Group (AECR)** as a European part of the ECR group. In comparison to the Christian Democratic EPP, the founding fathers of the ECR/AECR alliance came from the ranks of the British Conservatives and the Czech ODS, with more of a national and Europe-sceptical orientation. They criticised the pro-integration policies of the EPP and the attempts at a European social policy. The leader of the British Conservative Party (CP), David Cameron, was primarily concerned with preserving the special role of the United Kingdom in the European integration process without calling the EU as a whole into question (rejection of the Lisbon Treaty of 2007 and the Fiscal Pact of 2011). The principles of the group were set down in the "Prague Declaration" of 2009. The urgent need to reform the EU on the basis of "Eurorealism", openness, responsibility, and democracy was flagged. The sovereignty of the nations should be respected and economic recovery, growth and competitiveness promoted. Principles included:[68]

68   http://ecrgroup.eu/policy/the-prague-declaration/(23 May 2016).

- *Free enterprise, free and fair trade and competition, minimal regulation, lower taxation, and small government as the ultimate catalysts for individual freedom and personal and national prosperity.*
- *The importance of the family as the bedrock of society.*
- *The overriding value of the transatlantic security relationship in a revitalised NATO, and support for young democracies across Europe.*
- *Effectively controlled immigration and an end to abuse of asylum procedures.*

Overall, the parties and groups on the right fringe oppose European integration with varying intensity. Although the parties come from countries with special historical developments and political cultures, they all broadly face the same problems. However, if we also include the right-wing conservative trends in the ECR group, the following caveat applies:

> *The EU opponents and critics are linked by a common aversion towards the EU, towards the scope of its legislative competence, the way in which decisions are made, and certain decisions themselves, but the motives for opposition to the EU are just as varied as its intended objectives. (...) As far as the right-wing EU opponents are concerned, the European Union is first and foremost an unacceptable intervention in national self-determination. They want to dissolve the Union either in full or in part or demand the exit of their country from the EU or at least from the eurozone. They fear a loss of prosperity as a result of standardised regulations in economic and financial policy across Europe and criticise the current practice of immigration and asylum policy as well as the costs of the EU institutions themselves.*[69]

Within this consensus **ideological and programmatic differences** exist, as the following examples show.

- **Example of the national question.** Whilst the majority support a more centralist nation state – the outlier being the French FN – the Belgian VB pursues Flemish separatism, ultimately also the destruction of the nation-state, and the Italian LN even advocates a "Europe of the Regions and Peoples".

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[69] Karsten Grabow and Torsten Oppelland, Ich will die EU zerstören. EU-Gegner im 8. Europäischen Parlament. Eine Jahresbilanz (Sankt Augustin/Berlin: Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung, 2015), p. 9 ff. Available online at http://www.kas.de/wf/de/33.41374/ (15 June 2016).

- **Example of the EU.** Concerning the future of the EU, notions vary from complete rejection or exit (EFDD, ENF) through to a more or less intensive dismantling (ECR).

- **Example of economic and social policy.** Neoliberal positions are represented above all in the ECR group, and also by Britain's UKIP (EFDD) and the Dutch PVV (ENF). Demands include the liberalisation of markets, the deregulation of industrial relations, and the reduction of social standards. British Conservatives (CP), above all, would like to see the function of the EU reduced to the establishment of a common single market. This viewpoint stands in contrast to the idea of "national-social protectionism"[70] – for instance among the French FN, the Hungarian Jobbik, the German NPD, and to an extent the Austrian FPÖ. The aim of this scheme is to protect the national job markets and frequently also the domestic economy as well from undesirable foreign competition. In this context, especially, arguments are advanced about affluence chauvinism and locational nationalism. Sometimes one also hears fierce critiques of capitalism. The demand to provide social benefits primarily for the native population or even exclusively for the members of one's own ethnicity is also present among the parties of the EFDD group. The Italian LN occupies a special position in advocating a local protectionism primarily for mid-sized businesses.

- **Example of target group strategy**: Two approaches can be observed when it comes to target-group strategy. System-hostile, ethnic-nationalist opposition is directed against a section of the public marked by significant alienation from existing socio-economic and/or political-cultural circumstances. Conversely, a moderate and respectable approach is aimed at the middle classes, who – although they may be wholly or partly dissatisfied with their own lot – do not reject the system as a whole. The conflict between negation and change, between rebellion and reform, is common to all parties on the right fringe, albeit with a different focus and shape: i.e., not only the far-right, but also the right-wing conservatives. Orthodox right-wing extremists constitute a significant but lone exception, since they embody uncompromising opposition. The behaviour of the moderates remains strategically motivated.

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70   Janssen 2013, op. cit. (footnote 60), pp. 28, 36.

The differences described are responsible for the limited impact of the far-right or right-wing conservative parties at the EU level. However, they are likely to have more success in **combatting the EU in their home countries.**

> *The greatest threat to the European Parliament and the EU therefore does not come from the opponents of the EU within its own institutions, but from the effect that they have back home. The opponents of the EU will continue to demand that their governments place national interests ahead of European rules in the council of Europe. This makes it harder to reach a pro-European consensus. A populist re-nationalisation in Europe cannot be ruled out. In those terms the opponents of the EU would indeed achieve their aim. There are increasing numbers of signs to indicate this[71].*

Along similar lines:

> *Right-wing populist parties can be politically effective above all at national level. Direct participation or toleration by the government is not always necessary. The pressure from demoscopic [marketing research; ed.] successes of the right-wing fringe parties alone is now sufficient to result in an overall shift in politics to the right.[72]*

2.3 CONCLUSIONS FOR TRADE-UNION PRACTICE

There are certain broad implications for the trade unions that follow from the analysis presented thus far, to wit:

➜ The first chapter described the distress that has emerged in the world of work, now beset by the forces of modernisation and globalisation: insecurity, dissatisfaction, and anxiety. All these sentiments are linked to slow economic growth and mass unemployment, the increasing precariousness of employment relationships, and the lowering of social standards. The manifestos and populist propaganda of the far-right and right-wing conservative parties

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[71] Grabow and Oppelland 2015, op. cit. (footnote 75), p. 69.
[72] Janssen 2013 op. cit (footnote 60), p. 24.

skillfully tap into these concerns. Supposed or actual threats are interpreted one-sidedly, exaggerated, and presented in alarmist fashion. Far-right spokespersons exploit and amplify existing fears by distorting reality to such an extent that the call for authoritarian solutions grows ever louder. The protagonists of this kind of politics should not be dismissed as outsiders or cranks; instead, they need to be taken seriously as a fundamental threat to a humane and democratic social order and as such must be combatted by the trade unions both at the European level and in the nation-states.

→ The trade unions' resistance should not fixate on the ideological and programmatic differences of the groupings on the right fringe, but on the common core concerns of these groupings. Theseconcerns relate to the strengthening of nationalism and eth-nocentrism as supposed protection against undesirable side-effects of globalisation. The key desideratum, therefore, is to deliver a critique of the ideologies of ethnic nationalism, especially by foregrounding universal human rights as the bedrock of social cohesion. It is not enough to dismiss right-wing extremists and right-wing conservatives as racists or nationalists. The trade unions also need to make clear what they are fighting for.

→ Although in everyday discourse a fundamental distinction must be made between right-wing extremists and right-wing conservatives, the boundaries between them are fluid, as has also been seen repeatedly in this chapter. Essentially, racism is only an intensification of xenophobia. Often the denigration of entire ethnicities or cultures is systematically veiled in manifestos or speeches with spurious arguments. The specific task facing the trade unions is to condemn and prohibit open and hidden racial discrimination in the world of work.

→ Trade unions are not only actors in the fight against nationalist and ethnocentric trends; they are also affected parties, because their members or addressees are susceptible to the appeals of fringe right-wing groups. To take the wind out of the sails of the fringe right-wing groups, the trade unions – as representatives of employees' interests – need to tackle the economic and social problems caused by modernisation and globalisation. Above all, they also need to engage critically with the economic and social policies in Europe and their own countries. The critique of capitalism and globalisation must not

be left to the far right. However, social justice and social security cannot be achieved by reactionary and inhumane measures such as nationalist separation and racist exclusion, but only by a liberal-minded and socially conscious politics that respects human rights.

→ The authors of the previously-mentioned study by the Freie Universität Berlin on far-right attitudes among trade union members (see p. ! [37 ff.]) conclud-   **!!**
ed that sympathy for right-wing extremism has less to do with threats to a person's social status than with how the problems resulting from uncertain social status are subjectively processed. From this observation, the authors developed conclusions that are consonant with the findings presented here: Trade unions should regard themselves as a community of values which, as an alternative to nationalism and racism, propagates the collective, socially conscious, and democratic commitment to greater compassion, justice and tolerance.

→ Overall this analysis produces two main areas of action for trade-union practice: commitment to human rights and the fight for social justice and social security.

3. RECOMMENDATIONS FOR ACTION

"Europe is an idea. This idea is different from ideas in other regions of the world. Europe is the idea of an open, tolerant, socially conscious and democratic society where no one is left behind and in which unity can exist despite cultural diversity. Our European social model is based upon this idea. It is to be protected with all our strength against every attack by right-wing extremists and right-wing populists."[73]

3.1 PRELIMINARY NOTE

The relevant literature offers a wealth of recommendations concerning how best to respond to ethnic nationalist attitudes and behaviour in the EU. For the most part, they consist of broad references to possible strategies or rather possibilities for action regarding the enforcement of fundamental rights in general and the struggle against racist discrimination in particular. Concrete proposals with identified areas for action are rarer, while specific measures are suggested only in exceptional cases. In such recommendations, the trade unions and the workplace are of treated (at best) as matters of secondary importance. This pattern holds true even though it is emphasised time and again that racism in the workplace is widespread, and that we witness the

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[73] Martin Schulz, "Ein gemeinsames Europa der Vielfalt gegen Rechtsextremismus und Rechtspopulismus," in Ralf Melzer and Sebastian Serafin (eds.), Rechtsextremismus in Europa. Länderanalysen, Gegenstrategien und arbeitsmarktorientierte Ausstiegsarbeit (Berlin: Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung, Forum Berlin, 2013), p. 386. Available online at http://library.fes.de/pdf-files/dialog/10030.pdf/. English-language version entitled Right-Wing Extremism in Europe: Country analyses, counter-strategies, andlabor-market-orientes exit strategies (Berlin: Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung, 2013).

emergence of labour markets that are segmented according to ethnic or national origin. Migrant or ethnic minority workers are disproportionately grouped in the lowest occupational categories within the least prestigious employment sectors.[74]

An earlier report by the European Monitoring Centre on Racism and Xenophobia (EUMC), even states that:

Most acts of discrimination have been found to take place in the labour market and in workplaces.[75]

The latest Fundamental Rights Report of the EU also denounces discrimination.

Although the Framework Decision on Racism and Xenophobia and the Racial Equality Directive are in force in all EU Member States, members of minority groups as well as migrants and refugees faced racism and ethnic discrimination in 2015, namely in education, employment and access to services, including housing.[76]

Therefore, one focus of the trade unions' analysis of nationalist and ethnocentric trends should be on racist or xenophobic discrimination in the workplace. In addition, there are other courses of action that trade-union practice might adopt to combat right-wing extremism, as detailed below. At the same time, one should bear in mind that the applicable EU standards and values must be implemented in the member states. European institutions, such as the European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights (FRA) and the European Trade Union Confederation (ETUC), can push for compliance with such standards and values, provide expertise, and make recommendations. However, they are unlikely to be able to implement the targeted measures on their own. The member states have primary responsibility to carry out that agenda.

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74 European Monitoring Centre on Racism and Xenophobia (EUMC), "Racism and Xenophobia in the EU Member States – trends, developments and good practice", Annual Report 2005, part 2 (Vienna: 2005), p. 10.

75 European Monitoring Centre on Racism and Xenophobia (EUMC), "Diversity and Equality for Europe," Annual Report 2000 (Vienna: 2001), pp. 15, 82 ff.

76 European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights (FRA), Fundamental Rights Report 2016 (Vienna, 2016), p. 92. Available online at http://fra.europa.eu/sites/default/files/fra_uploads/fra-2016-fundamental-rights-report-2016-opinions_de.pdf/ (22 July 2016).

The subject of this chapter is the trade unions' measures against xeno-phobic or racist discrimination in the workplace. Here we will review suggestions for practical political activities, primarily in everyday working life. We then will examine the implications for trade-union educational work.

To begin, general standards and values are outlined as the basis for all measures to be taken against right-wing extremism or against the manifestations associated with it, such as nationalism, racism or xenophobia (Section 3.2). Trade unions should ensure compliance with these values and standards, especially within the workplace, and if necessary they should push aggressively for such compliance. Naturally, they must also adjust their own practices to make sure the latter conform to those standards.

In Section 3.3, general recommendations will be presented. These are the result of private and professional experience in approaching right-wing extremism in Europe. The recommendations will be followed by a short list of possible areas for action (Section 3.4). Section 3.5 includes specific measures against racial discrimination in the workplace. The accords reached by the European social partners on the prevention of racial discrimination in the "Florence Declaration" (Florenzer Erklärung) are found in Section 3.6. The corresponding regulatory areas of collective agreements follow in Section 3.7. Additional deliberations on trade-union educational work against right-wing extremism form the conclusion (Section 3.8).

Initially, the general situation will be described, then specific cases will be discussed. The description is confined intentionally to **suggestions** for trade-union practices in the workplace and educational policy. Which of these suggestions are suitable for the fight against right-wing extremism must be decided on a case-by-case basis.

3.2 STANDARDS AND IDEALS THAT INFLUENCE ACTION

The **Charter of Fundamental Rights of the European Union**[77] provides the starting point in the struggle against right-wing extremism. It encompasses both universal rights – i.e., rights that can be invoked by everyone who is resident in the EU – and the rights to which EU citizens are entitled by virtue of their civic status. Human rights establish the primary basis of all activities against right-wing extremism because the principles of "universality" and "equality" that underlie them are diametrically opposed to ethnic nationalist thinking.

While ethnic nationalism asserts the superiority of a person's own ethnicity and discriminates against, suppresses, or (in extreme cases) annihilates other ethnic groups, the idea of human rights assumes that all people possess inherent, inalienable rights. These include freedom and equality as well as entitlement and participation rights. While ethnic nationalism aspires to maintain a community as ethnically homogeneous as possible within a hierarchical and authoritarian nation state, human rights are an integral component of a society characterised by democracy, the rule of law, pluralism, the protection of minorities, peace, international cooperation, equal rights, and national self-determination.

The preamble to the Charter of Fundamental Rights, which came into force on 1 December 2009, states:

> *Conscious of its spiritual and moral heritage, the Union is founded on the indivisible, universal values of human dignity, freedom, equality and solidarity; it is based on the principles of democracy and the rule of law. It places the individual at the heart of its activities, by establishing the citizenship of the Union and by creating an area of freedom, security and justice. It is based on the principles of democracy and the rule of law. It [...] ensures free movement of persons, services, goods and capital, and the freedom of establishment [in the Union].*

The fifty-four articles of the Charter form a comprehensive catalogue of human rights and civil rights based on the fundamental value judgment that "Human

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[77] Official Journal of the European Union, 53rd year, C 83, p. 389 ff.

dignity is inviolable"[78]. This sentence is already diametrically opposed to far-right thinking and, as Martin Schulz put it, "is the best policy against racism, anti-Semitism and hatred of minorities"[79]. Alongside **human dignity, freedom of religion** (Article 10) and **freedom of assembly and association** in political, trade-union and civic matters (Article 12) are guaranteed. Paragraph 1 of Article 21 prohibits **discrimination.**

> *Discrimination, in particular due to sex, race, colour, ethnic or social origin, genetic features, language, religion or belief, political or any other opinion, membership in a national minority, property, birth, disability, age, or sexual orientation, shall be prohibited.*

In Article 18, the **right to asylum** is laid down. In this regard, Article 19, paragraph 2 specifies that:

> *No one may be removed, expelled or extradited to a State where there is a serious risk that he or she would be subjected to the death penalty, torture or other inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment.*

These fundamental rights, which are binding on all EU member states with the exception of Poland and the United Kingdom, can be put to good use as an argumentative basis in the fight against right-wing extremism. Thereby, the **European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights (FRA)**[80], which seeks to contribute to ensuring "that the fundamental rights of people living in the EU are protected", may provide help. For this purpose, it collects information on the situation of fundamental rights in the EU, drafts recommendations for improving the situation, and annually publishes the Fundamental Rights Report.[81] The FRA recommendations could also serve as important source materials to advocate the protection and strengthening of fundamental rights in the member states. In this context, the **Handbook on European Non-discrimination Law**[82] deserves to be singled out, as it also covers the relevant case law of the European Court of Human Rights and the Court of Justice of the European Union.

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78   This legal principle also is enshrined in Article 1 of the Basic Law (Grundgesetz) of the Federal Republic of Germany and in the constitutions of many European states.

79   Melzer and Serafin 2013, op. cit. (footnote 73), p.388.

80   http://fra.europa.eu/de/.

81   http://fra.europa.eu/de/publication/2016/grundrechte-bericht-2016-fra-stellungnahmen/ (14 July 2016).

The most important policymaking body for European trade-unions is the **European Trade Union Confederation (ETUC).** Established in 1973, the ETUC currently encompasses 89 national federations of trade unions from 39 countries with approximately 60 million members[83]. In its constitution, the ETUC, among its other commitments, pledges to work toward the following goals[84]:

- the extension and consolidation of political liberties and democracy;
- the recognition of human rights and trade-union rights;
- the elimination of all forms of discrimination based on sex, age, colour, race, sexual orientation, nationality, religious or philosophical beliefs or political opinions; and
- a society free from exclusion and based on the principles of freedom, justice and solidarity.

At the ETUC's 13th conference, held in Paris during the autumn of 2015, the **"Paris Manifesto"** was passed, along with a motion on the refugee crisis in Europe. The manifesto proclaims its commitment in solidarity to high "quality jobs, workers' rights and a fair society in Europe" and in this context also demands the "fair and equal treatment for all workers, without discrimination"[85]. The following quotations from the motion on refugees underline that ETUC champions not only for the material interests of workers in Europe but also universal human rights:

> *The ETUC strongly condemns any measures that endanger their human dignity, human rights or physical integrity. [...]*

82 Handbook on European Non-Discrimination Law (Luxembourg: The Publications Office of the European Union 2011), available online at http://fra.europa.eu/sites/default/files/fra_uploads/1510-FRA-CASE-LAW-HANDBOOK_DE.pdf/ (15 July 2016). See also Martina Benecke, Rechtsvergleich der europäischen Systeme zum Antidiskriminierungsrecht (Berlin: Antidiskriminierungsstelle des Bundes, 2010). Available online at http://www.antidiskriminierungsstelle.de/SharedDocs/Downloads/DE/publikationen/Expertisen/Expertise_Rechtsvergleich_europ_Systeme_zum_AntidiskrRecht.pdf?__blob=publicationFile/ (15 July 2016).

83 https://www.etuc.org/composition-and-organisation/(15 July 2016).

84 https://www.etuc.org/sites/www.etuc.org/files/publication/files/ces-congrecs_2015-statuts-uk-ld-def_0.pdf/ (15 July 2016).

85 https://www.etuc.org/sites/www.etuc.org/files/publication/files/ces-congrecs_2015-manifesto-d-ld-def.pdf/ (15 July 2016).

The ETUC supports the fundamental European values of respect for human life and dignity, and opposes populist and xenophobic attitudes. [...]

All people have the right to safety, economic security, religious and political freedom and access to [high] quality health services and [high] quality education within a society which protects those freedoms. [...]

With its 60 million members, the trade-union movement in Europe remains a bulwark against all forms of intolerance and will continue to press for humanitarian responses to a humanitarian crisis. Where refugees are able to work, unions will recruit and represent them[86].

In an interview, **Peter Scherrer, the Deputy Secretary of the ETUC since 2015,** confirmed that his organisation is focusing on social justice and human rights as its two main objectives. Previously, Scherrer had held a management position for the German union IG Metall in the field of international trade-union work. The interview quotes him as follows:

It is clear to all trade unions in Europe that the right to asylum is an inviolable fundamental right, and it must remain so. We must help people in need of protection; the human tragedy in the Mediterranean must never be repeated. Broad shoulders must bear more than weaker shoulders; however, everyone must make a suitable contribution. The principle of solidarity must also apply in regard to the integration of asylum seekers in Europe. We need a common, a truly European asylum policy immediately. Trade unions can and will contribute towards [ensuring] that the people who are fleeing war and persecution are not betrayed again by life by becoming cheap competitors on the labour market. [...] We, the European trade unions, are the players that can arrange precisely this solidarity. As European workers, we will not let ourselves be divided. That is what ETUC stands for. ETUC continues to fight for a social Europe. "Social Europe" is not just a watchword, but is a definite policy. The austerity programmes increase social injustice. And if under the pretext of reduc-

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86 http://www.etuc.org/sites/www.etuc.org/files/document/files/emergency_motionrefugees_trilingual.pdf/ (15 July 2016).

ing bureaucracy, workers' rights, and also health and safety, environ-mental and social standards go to the dogs, then the European trade unions are needed to defend what they have hard won. If bailing out banks is of greater importance than combating youth unemployment, that is also not socially responsible. Politicians speak of strengthening the social dimension of Europe. The new team in ETUC will fight so that this dimension becomes reality. Europe is either socially responsible or it does not exist[87].

In the conflict with right-wing extremism, trade unions can invoke these European fundamental rights and take advantage of assistance from the FRA. Furthermore, they can count on the support of the ETUC, which emphasizes the two areas that the previous chapter identified as the most crucial elements in the fight against right-wing extremism: namely, economic and social policy and human rights.

3.3 GENERAL RECOMMENDATIONS FOR ACTION

The following section summarizes both private and professional experiences in confronting right-wing extremism. Drawing on various projects as well as national and international conferences organised by the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung, Nora Langenbacher has developed seven theories about how best to oppose right-wing extremism and defend democracy in Europe. They are presented with quotations (in italics) and summaries below[88].

- *Effective policies and pro-democracy activities in Europe will succeed only if all European social stakeholders cooperate. A European strategy against right-wing extremism is overdue!*

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87 http://www.dgb.de/themen/++co++869969da-62c5-11e5-80cf-52540023ef1a/(15 July 2016).

88 Nora Langenbacher, "Sieben Thesen zum Abschluss: Gemeinsam in Europa gegen rechts!," in Nora Langenbacher and Britta Schellenberg (eds.), Europa auf dem „rechten" Weg? Rechtsextremismus und Rechtspopulismus in Europa (Berlin: Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung, Forum Berlin, 2011), p. 335 ff. Available online at http://library.fes.de/pdf-files/do/08337.pdf/.

In order to combat the right-wing effectively, a European political strategy and a coordinated and coherent stand against all manifestations of right-wing extremism in Europe are needed.

- *Use the law against the right-wing – exhaust all legal and repressive means!* Consistent prosecution of far-right offences by the competent authorities is necessary. At the same time, a uniform approach in Europe is overdue. In the legislation, clear signals against discrimination and exclusion should be sent.

- *[New] media play an important role in the fight against the right-wing! Enlightened journalists and media skills are needed.* The media must take their social responsibilities seriously when reporting on right-wing extremism. The Internet increasingly must be used as a "counter platform" for anti-racist work.

- *It comes down to the municipalities!* Since right-wing extremists appear to be most active at the municipal level, that is the main arena in which civic resistance must take place.

- *Culture and sport are important and rewarding areas of work for democracy!* Sports figures, actors, and musicians can set important examples for young people by publicizing their commitment to fight right-wing extremism.

- *Strengthen and involve minorities and marginalised people – combat anti-Semitism, Islamophobia and anti-Roma prejudices!* Minority rights should be strengthened in Europe, special victim protection programmes should be established, and the integration of immigrants should be facilitated.

- *Education – Europe-wide protection factor No. 1.* Good education forms an important bulwark against far-right influences. Democratic standards and values should have been learned already in nursery schools and practiced should be practiced from there on up.

As a further example of how far-right extremism might be opposed, let us consider some suggestions offered by **Beate Winkler.** From 1998 to 2007, she was the director of the European Monitoring Centre on Racism and Xenophobia

(EUMC) and from March to July, 2007, she served as the acting director of the European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights (FRA), the EUMC's successor. Winkler condenses her many years of experience into a report that names eight areas that, in her opinion, deserve even greater commitment and exhibit exceptional creativity. They are enumerated below with appropriate quotations (in italics) and summaries[89].

1. *We need a change of perspective: from threat scenarios to a vision for the future. Cultural diversity ensures our future.*
   For ethnic, demographic, and economic reasons, the EU is dependent on immigration. However, immigrants are still discriminated against and in many member states an increase in racist violence has been recorded. Public discussion about immigration and integration generally has emphasized their negative manifestations. Politicians and the media should communicate the positive side of immigration more successfully. Although problems should not be concealed, "problems and opportunities should at least be given the same attention".

2. *We need to confront our feelings, projections and prejudices more competently, That is particularly true of emotions like fear, envy and hatred.*
   The issue of "multicultural society" is profoundly influenced by projections, fears, and prejudices. The image that people have of foreigners is much more negative than their personal experiences with people who have an "immigrant background". Therefore, when we develop policies against racism, we must pay special attention to the images we have of foreignness.

3. *Establish new forms of collaboration between the most varied social groups and professions, and seek closer cooperation with the media.*
   Since immigration and interaction affect all realms of society, expertise from the most varied spheres of life (politics, media, science, NGOs, immigrants, ethnic minorities) should be combined and used in commissions, advisory

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89 Beate Winkler, "Lösungen für die Zukunft: Europas vielfältige Gesellschaft im Wandel. Empfehlungen für Politik, Medien und Gesellschaft" (July, 2007). Available online at https://www.google.de/url?sa=t&rct=-j&q=&esrc=s&source=web&cd=1&ved=0ahUKEwiCv-vWu_vNAhXLXRoKHeidCoUQFggjMAA&url=http%3A%2F%2Fbeate-winkler.net%2Fdateien%2Floesungen-fuer-die-zukunft.pdf&usg=AFQjCNGDs-5Fmm5s6DtSbZmQf7HvVtm7waQ&cad=rja(20 March 2016).

panels, or even at "integration summits" on both local and national levels. In this endeavour, collaboration with the media is of special importance, because its representatives need to be informed about expert views of immigration, and because such cooperation would both acquaint journalists with expert opinions and raise their consciousness about issues of immigration.

4. *In our projects and initiatives, publications and public statements, we must work and argue in a much more solution-driven manner.*
It is important not just to identify problems but to try to solve them. Examples of good practices are not communicated and implemented well enough throughout Europe. Active intervention and lasting changes are required.

5. *More energy, creativity and tenacity in the follow-up stage are required in order to reinforce the implementation of action programmes, suggestions and recommendations.*
Despite an abundance of recommendations, there are still considerable deficiencies in their implementation. Therefore, regular reporting on the relevance to practice and implementation of recommendations is useful.

6. *Increased participation and involvement of minorities and immigrants themselves in all our strategic, conceptual and democratic processes is desirable.*
Such participation opportunities also provide a chance to deconstruct parallel life-worlds and to give entire groups the feeling of belonging.

7. *We need a broad public discussion on what kind of society we want to create for ourselves and what our social identity should be.*
It is necessary to have a broad societal debate on the issues of immigration and integration. In the course of such a debates, the causes of xenophobia (globalisation, loss of jobs, lack of prospects) also should be highlighted. The problems that accompany multi-cultural societies should not be concealed. However, we must acknowledge the fact that, for economic, political and cultural reasons, we are dependent on exchange with people from other cultures and that there has never been an ethnically or culturally homogeneous society in Europe. At the same time, one must emphasize that the fundamental values and standards of our society are binding across all cultural divides.

8. We need a joint "vision" for our society that reconciles the rights of the individual with the need for a just, responsible and compassionate order – a culture of human rights in the European Union, which is experienced in daily life.

3.4 POSSIBLE AREAS FOR ACTION

At an event in December of 2015 that was organised by the Vienna Chamber of Labour (Arbeiterkammer Wien), the Austrian Trade Union Federation (Österreichischer Gewerkschaftsbund), and the German trade union IG Metall, the social scientist Alexander Häußler cited the following approaches by trade unions against right-wing extremism[90]:

- *discuss and present alternative notions of coexistence;*
- *address trade-union values more intensively;*
- *collect and publish anti-union statements by right-wing populists;*
- *better represent socially precarious workers;*
- *[recognize] socially just policies as the best preventive measure against the right-wing.*

The fight against right-wing extremism is a task for all of society, one that requires the participation of the trade unions, but also extends beyond the workplace. The involvement of the trade unions must cover a wide spectrum that ranges from universalistic aims, such as the democratisation of state and society and the creation of just and humane working and living conditions to very specific measures against ethnic nationalism. This involvement includes the following:

→ participation in roundtables and broad social alliances, such as the European Network Against Racism (ENAR)[91];

→ participation in civil rights activities, for example against far-right demonstrations and rallies;

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90 Alexander Häußler, in "Rechte Politik in Europa oder Gefahr von Rechtsaußen. Gewerkschaften für ein offenes und solidarisches Europa", Proceedings of the Conference held from December 2-4,2015 in the Bildungszentrum der Arbeiterkammer Vienna [Vienna: Austrian Trade Union Federation Press (Verlag des Österreichischen Gewerkschaftsbundes), 2016], p. 13. Available online at http://bildung.gpa-djp.at/files/2015/12/Dokumentationsbroschuere_Rechte_Politik_in_Europa_WEB-2.pdf/ (15 July 2016).

91 http://enar-eu.org/.

→ implementation of campaigns;
→ public relations work (posters, flyers, leaflets, open letters, infomation stands, exhibitions).

Information from works councils

Information from works councils presents a good opportunity to address right-wing extremism. The following is a text that Honeywell's works council members addressed to the company's workers in March of 2012, on the occasion of the International Weeks against Racism (Internationale Wochen gegen Rassismus):

Now, of course there are also problems among us – also along the lines of origin, language, religion, gender and nationality. [...] When working together in a company, the common ground we share should and must be more important than the differences that separate us. The goal should be to develop more respect for one another and to further strengthen collegial cooperation. This is a task for everyone who works here!
[...] We should not only collectively strengthen and further develop mutual respect here in the company; we should also collectively practice it outside the company.
[...] There is no place for any type of racism, xenophobia and right-wing extremism in the company. We want a society and living conditions in this country where everyone can live without fear[92].

3.5 AGAINST RACIAL DISCRIMINATION IN THE WORKPLACE

At bottom, the fight against unjustified discrimination against persons or groups is necessary for three reasons. First, the fair distribution of property and opportunities are fundamental goals in the formation of any society. Second, the applicable laws must be respected. Third, a company structure that focuses on equal treatment, diversity and respect ("Diversity" strategy) is widely regarded as economically advantageous. Many company agreements

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92 **Arbeit und Leben DGB/VHS Hamburg e.V. (ed.), Rechtsextremen nicht auf den Leim gehen. Ein Ratgeber für den betrieblichen Alltag (Hamburg: Mobiles Beratungsteam gegen Rechtsextremismus Hamburg, January 2013) p. 11. Available online at https://hamburg.arbeitundleben.de/img/daten/D197241585.pdf/ (7 March 2016).**

emphasise the win-win situation that a partner-like approach in the workplace ideally generates: lower costs caused by fewer absences due to illness, an atmosphere favourable to creativity and innovation, less control with more room for manoeuvre for the employees. Occasionally, it can be assumed that additional groups of buyers are reached by presenting the organization as liberal-minded and tolerant[93].

> **"Those affected should be emboldened to make a stand against such attacks and to find solutions for the situations that burden them."**[94]

In general, a distinction should be drawn between direct and indirect racial discrimination. **Direct** (or open) **discrimination** occurs when a person "receives less favourable treatment than a peer experiences, has experienced or would experience" on the grounds of his or her ethnic origin. **Indirect discrimination** is a matter of apparently neutral regulations that have a particularly unfavourable effect on persons from an ethnic minority group. "Such discrimination is then prohibited if it is not objectively justified"[95].

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93 Detlef Ullenboom, Toleranz, Respekt und Kollegialität. Analyse und Handlungsempfehlungen. Series: Betriebs- und Dienstvereinbarungen (Frankfurt a. Main: Bund-Verlag, 2012), p.13

94 Volker Roßocha,Bekämpfung von Rechtsextremismus und Fremdenfeindlichkeit: Strategien, Bündnisse und Initiativen auf der betrieblichen Ebene (Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung, Digitale Bibliothek, 2000). Available online at http://library.fes.de/fulltext/asfo/00659007.htm#E9E8/(13 July 2016).

95 Strategien gegen rassistisches Mobbing und Diskriminierung im Betrieb. Handreichung für Betriebsräte und Gewerkschaften, 2nd edition (Berlin: Antidiskriminierungsstelle des Bundes 2015), p. 10 ff..Available online at http://www.antidiskriminierungsstelle.de/SharedDocs/Downloads/DE/publikationen/Handreichung-Betriebsraete/Handreichung-Betriebsraete.pdf?__blob=publicationFile/ (22 July 2016).

Examples of discrimination by managers

Example 1.
The director of the Belgian garage door manufacturer "Feryn" said in public that he wanted to employ fitters, but not fitters of a particular ethnic origin because his customers have concerns about letting them into their homes during installations. The Court of Justice of the European Union ruled that such a public statement constituted clear discrimination during recruitment.

Example 2.
The human resources manager of [...] a cosmetic product company was dismissed because he opposed the instructions of the managing director to "not employ any more Turks, please." The human resources manager filed a suit against the dismissal and won the case and a settlement on appeal[96].

Racial discrimination may happen at work at the hands of managers or colleagues[97]. Discrimination by managers often relates to the apportionment of tasks, the granting of holidays, and even dismissals. It is not rare that racial discrimination is downplayed or even ignored by managers. In the case of racial discrimination among the workers, it is mostly a case of harassment – i.e., vilification, insults or slights, over a long period of time.

Three strategies were cited to combat racial discrimination effectively[98]:

- *ensure equal treatment;*
- *compensate for inequalities; and*
- *do not let inequalities arise.*

96 Diskriminierung im Betrieb. Was kannst Du dagegen tun? Eine Handlungshilfe, ed. by IG Metall executive board, youth work and youth policy department (IG Metall Vorstand, Ressort Jugendarbeit und politik: Frankfurt a. Main, 2008), p. 21. Available online at https://www.igmetall.de/docs_0147061_DISKRIMINI-ERUNG_2_0a3ca8f6373dc8843c96e870eb843376b3bf1614.pdf/ (1 October 2016).

97 In this regard and on the following, see ibid, p. 12 ff.

98 Lena Hipp, "Ungleichheiten und Diskriminierung auf dem Arbeitsmarkt", in Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte (APuZ), vol. 66, no. 9 (2016), p. 45 ff.

Prevention, intervention and **conflict management** occur in five areas according to Roßocha. They are as follows[99]:

- *company human resources and welfare departments. These can be charged with preventing discrimination in recruitment and promotion as well as considering cultural and religious differences in the design of the facilities;*
- *company training and continuing education programmes;*
- *the company's information system,*
- *change in the organization of work; and last but not least,*
- *taking action to modify the company's environment.*

The following **catalogue of possible measures** by the trade unions against racist discrimination in the workplace can be derived from this list.

(a) Hold employers to their obligations (see section 3.7 on works agreements):
➜ create a company structure free from discrimination, and establish codes of conduct;
➜ establish joint committees for immigration, integration and equality as well as bodies to hear complaints;
➜ implement anonymised application procedures[100];
➜ recognise foreign qualifications and educational achievements;
➜ integrate educational objectives, such as diversity, respect, and equality of treatment in vocational training.

(b) Promote the integration of employees with an immigration background or from ethnic minorities:
➜ inform, advice, and support those affected in discrimination cases;
➜ deal with or arbitration of conflicts;
➜ remove racist graffiti (e.g., in the toilets);
➜ in the case of elections to employee representation bodies, select candidates according to the principle of alternation;

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99 Roßocha 2000, op. cit. (footnote 94).
100 Antidiskriminierungsstelle des Bundes (ed.), Pilotprojekt „Anonymisierte Bewerbungsverfahren" – Abschlussbericht (Berlin:2012). Available online at http://www.antidiskriminierungsstelle.de/SharedDocs/Downloads/DE/publikationen/AnonymBewerbung/Abschlussbericht-anonymisierte-bewerbungsverfahren-20120417.pdf? blob=publicationFile/ (15 July 2016).

→ review collective wage agreements and collective agreements on discriminatory practices;

→ review job postings for discriminatory wording.

(c) Promote mutual understanding between local and foreign workers:

→ draft company internal equality reports;

→ report on discrimination, solutions to problems and exemplary practice at works meetings;

→ provide training, continuing education and special debate preparation for members of trade unions and, in particular, officials charged with publicizing union views;

→ conduct anti-racist and intercultural educational activities for all employees, establish model lines of argument against ethnic nationalist ideologies, develop programmes and demands, and provide handouts on those topics;

→ communicate the values and objectives of the trade unions using suitable forms of public relations work, and promote an understanding approach to refugees and asylum seekers;

→ connect companies, training bodies, national and municipal authorities, employment agencies, chambers, players in civil society, etc.

When implementing measures against racial discrimination in the workplace, the trade unions also can call on the agreements of the European social partners in the "Florence Declaration," which is discussed below.

3.6 THE FLORENCE DECLARATION

For the territory of the EU, the social partners agreed in the Florence Declaration to cooperate collectively in order to **prevent or eliminate discrimination on the basis of ethnic origin.** In October of 1995, ETUC, the Union of Industrial and Employers' Confederation of Europe (UNICE), and the European Centre of Employers and Enterprises providing Public Services (CEEP) signed "a joint declaration on the prevention of racial discrimination and xenophobia and also the promotion of equal treatment in the workplace" in Florence, Italy[101]. The following principles, among others, met with full agreement:

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101 http://www.migration-online.de/data/modul_8_florenzer_erklrung.pdf/(29 September 2016).

- *Regarding employment and education, nobody may be treated worse due to his or her actual or supposed race, religion, ethnicity, nationality, or skin colour.*
- *Nobody may be disadvantaged by unfair practices or hidden discrimination. The latter occurs when a policy that seemingly concerns everyone in an organization disproportionately harms members of a specific ethnic group.*
- *Everyone must know about procedures to fight discrimination and no one may be persecuted for raising a complaint about racial discrimination.*
- *If possible, members of racial, ethnic or national minorities that were subject to racism or discrimination must receive training or appropriate support in order to apply for a position or a promotion under the same conditions as others.*

It also may prove useful to appoint a person within the company who would have the authority to monitor the agreed measures. Furthermore, it is advantageous to include employees' representatives, the ethnic minorities and the works council in drafting and implementing the measures and to construct a detailed action plan that also includes information on how outcomes should be evaluated.

AREA FOR ACTION: THE FIRM
In the firm, it is above all a matter of developing strategies that counter right-wing populism and right-wing extremism.

Approaches to solutions and examples include the following:
- **Strengthen basic structure on site.** A stable structure for committed persons and activists in the company is needed.
- **Speak in clear language.** Counter-arguments against right-wing populist statements must be communicated in the company in a clear language.
- **Increase courage and trust.** Often there is uncertainty about other people's opinions. Therefore, it is important to strengthen trust and to have the courage to express one's opinion. [...]
- Discuss the **tasks and objectives of the trade unions.**
- Increase **awareness of history.**
- **"Pick up" employees.** What issues are important for these employees? Where are they? That is where they are to be picked up.
- **Try new things.** For example, one company undertook to sponsor refugees and to organize a joint Christmas punch event. New discussion opportunities and experiences arose from this exchange.

- **Develop new platforms for in-depth discussions.** Discussions about right-wing extremism and right-wing populism in companies may provoke fear and anxiety. Platforms that allow open and in-depth discussion are needed.
- **Make "cultural" conflicts understandable.** In companies with a large proportion of immigrants, intercultural conflicts sometimes occur. Often German workers have trouble understanding their foreign-born colleagues. That fact generates insecurity and fuels populist opinions. Strategies are needed to make complex issues understandable in non-populist ways[102].

The Florence Declaration also offers a number of more detailed recommendations.

→ In order to prevent discrimination during the recruitment phase, job postings should state expressly that the company or public institution in question is an equal-opportunity employer.

→ As far as possible, qualifications and experience gained abroad should be recognised.

→ If sufficient need arises, it may be useful to organise prevocational training courses, work placements, or language courses for ethnic or national minorities in order to prepare them for selection tests and job interviews.

→ If necessary, company managers and decision makers – including those responsible for appointments, the allocation of work, or disciplinary procedures – should be made aware of the importance of guaranteeing equal opportunities and insuring equal treatment through appropriate training.

DEFINITION OF RACIAL DISCRIMINATION UNDER THE FLORENCE DECLARATION

[It] Is understood as any distinction, exclusion, restriction or preference based on a person's real or perceived race, religion, ethnic or national origin or colour, which has the effect of nullifying or impairing equal treatment in employment or occupation. This includes direct discrimination: where a person is treated less favourably on the grounds of his or her real or perceived race, religion, ethnic or national origin or colour. It also includes indirect discrimination: unjustifiable practices which, although applied without distinction, adversely affect more people of a particular race, religion, ethnic or national group than those not of that group.

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102 **Rechte Politik in Europa, op. cit.(footnote 99), p. 25.**

Regarding the approach to discrimination, agreement was reached on the following points.

→ *To combat racial discrimination effectively, it may prove necessary to introduce formal procedures to protect complainants and those against whom complaints are made. The companies and organizations should ensure that these procedures are known and understood by managers and employees. If necessary, specific conduct is to be expressly prohibited in the disciplinary code.*
→ *Discriminatory acts, the pressuring of subordinates, and conduct that provokes racism, insults, and harassment, including the bullying of persons who have been discriminated against, all must be regarded as serious violations of the disciplinary code.*
→ *Company managers must be aware of the different types of discrimination and slights that certain acts may signify.*
→ *If they are contemplating disciplinary measures against an employee, the company managers first must examine whether racially-based provocations, communication difficulties or cultural differences may have influenced the employee's behaviour.*

3.7 COLLECTIVE AGREEMENTS

Admittedly, the legal equality of all employees regardless of their nationality or ethnicity and religion is mandated by law in many contexts. However, considerable deficits still exist regarding equal treatment in the workplace. The Florence Declaration provides for partnership agreements between employers and the employees for confronting racial discrimination. Collective agreements[103] are agreements concluded between the employer and the employee on a voluntary basis, which are binding for all employees in the company or office.

> *Agreements against discrimination strengthen the position of foreign workers. They offer a broad framework within which to advocate equal opportunities. Furthermore, even against the backdrop of an increasingly*

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103 In public services: collective agreements.

globalised world they give companies the chance to commit in public and to make use of the potential arising from the diversity of their employees[104].

In the EU member states to date, there has not been much experience with the practical implementation of collective agreements. In Germany, the Hans Böckler Foundation (Hans-Böckler-Stiftung), the charitable foundation of the German Trade Union Confederation (DGB) maintains the **Collective Agreement Archive[104]**, which contains more than 16,000 collective agreements covering all subjects. The aim of this online resource is to "show collective regulations practices, reveal trends, give advice on drafting agreements and therefore provide hands-on support for workers' representation bodies". The online resource includes an exemplary search function and provides interesting case studies, reports on trends, and research results. Although the documented agreements are agreements of companies that are based in Germany, the data bank includes a wealth of information that could serve as aids and suggestions for similar agreements in other countries.

Collective agreements generally should address the following regulatory areas:[106]

- principles/objectives;
- scope/definition of terms;
- procedure on the violation of the content of the agreement;
- measures to promote equal opportunities;
- measures to promote anti-discrimination behaviour in vocational training;
- implementation;
- final provisions.

104 Semiha Akin, Michaela Dälken, and Leo Monz, Integration von Beschäftigten ausländischer Herkunft. Analyse und Handlungsempfehlungen. Series: Betriebs- und Dienstvereinbarungen (Frankfurt am Main: Bund-Verlag, 2004), p. 10.

105 http://www.boeckler.de/index_betriebsvereinbarung.html/.

106 DGB Bildungswerk – Bereich Migration & Qualifizierung: Module für Chancengleichheit und gegen Diskriminierung, Modul 14: Betriebsvereinbarungen für Chancengleichheit. Available online at http://www.migration-online.de/beitrag._aWQ9NjczNQ_.html/(1 October 2016).

A detailed table on drafting agreements is found at the end of this section. But it must be acknowledged that the signing of a collective agreement is only the first step.

> [T]he conclusion of the agreement only represents the first measure: the implementation of the agreement is pivotal. In that phase, the emergence of a culture of open discussion is of great importance. Equal opportunities and anti-discrimination must be emphasized repeatedly and must become part of everyday culture[107].

Detlef Ullenboom,
TABLE FOR DRAFTING COLLECTIVE AGREEMENTS
Tolerance, respect and collegiality[108]

This list of key points provides comprehensive tips on drafting collective agreements on this subject. It includes different viewpoints that are to be considered when structuring and organising them. It is not a finished template for immediate use but a full catalogue of suggestions. In this way, companies can continue to carry on their own deliberations, taking into consideration internal company requirements.

Introduction/Preamble/Subject Matter and Objectives

- description of the objectives: equal treatment, partnership, suitable social interaction, positive working environment, collegial behaviour, company structure, diversity, health protection, client loyalty, attracting clients, patient safety, protection against claims for compensation, using all company resources, atmosphere of mutual recognition, respect, deference to other cultural conventions, etc.
- definition of the very different issues, e.g., partner-like behaviour, discrimination, sexual harassment, bullying, equality, conflict, equal opportunities, compliance
- background/reason for the planned measure(s)

Scope

- personnel: all employees, managers, trainees, temporary workers, interns, employees of other companies that are working in the company, customers
- spatial: specific companies or parts of companies/locations, whole group/corporation

107 **Akin, Dälken, and Monz 2004, op. cit. (footnote 115), p. 59.**
108 **Ullenboom 2012 (footnote 93), p. 127 ff.**

- specific groups of people: non-German trainees, severely handicapped persons, persons with an immigration background
- reasons for the respective regulation

Subject matters of the regulation

- avoid bullying, discrimination and sexual harassment: i.e., strengthen a collegial and trusting company structure
- promote the development of the organization (company structure, general principles), development of personnel (increase the proportion of specific groups of employees), and skill acquisition (conflict handling, mediation)
- resolve disputes fairly, use conflicts productively (for innovations), improve immediate working conditions (e.g., by reducing stressful situations)
- promote equality, integration, equal opportunities, advertise positions in different languages, recognise qualifications (e.g., of immigrants), develop programmes to support women
- expand training/educational activities: e.g., approach applicants, make trainers aware; treat/anchor the subject of partner-like behaviour in the training
- intensify and expand continuing education and further training (access, methods)
- inform and enlighten staff, e.g., in works meetings and seminars, clarify the role of managers, trainees, colleagues in conflicts; explain rights and obligations
- mediation, offer supervision for bullying/conflict officers, works councils
- raise the awareness of the staff and works council members regarding forms of inequality (e.g., in seminars or information events)
- refer to and explain the right to complaint; stages of raising complaints, reference to laws and further agreements
- establish and strengthen or publicise points of contact: joint commissions, mediators, contact persons, conflict officer, women's officer, human resources department, etc.
- define (tiered) sanctions: instruction, expulsion, transfer, warning, dismissal, fine
- monitoring: reporting system, evaluation, success monitoring, determine dates, review improvements and if applicable set new objectives, recognise undesirable developments
- determine the term of the agreement; adjustment/further development after the test phase
- remind everyone of the necessity of acceptance by all members of the staff

General framework

- refer to other agreements that are connected to the regulation in question
- refer to legal provisions or collective wage agreement provisions

- formalities: make the agreements public, if applicable, translate into the languages used in the company, entry into force, time limitation, termination, continuance of effect, severability clause

Participation

- clarify participation rights (rights of information, hearing, consultation, inspection, participation, initiative and approval) of the workers' representation body: How does the works council receive information? Who has a right to inspect files? When must the management obtain the approval of the workers' representation body?
- establish joint commissions (with the human resources department) that if possible also work in a preventative manner; communicate with the human resources department
- demand and incorporate initiatives from the youth and trainee representation body
- evaluate the reports from the various offices, arbitration boards and similar committees
- participation and consultation of the groups of people affected (process of complaint procedures)

3.8 TRADE-UNION EDUCATIONAL WORK AGAINST RIGHT-WING EXTREMISM

The suggestions cited here for a trade-union offensive against ethnic nationalism in the workplace ideally should be embedded in ongoing, comprehensive educational work that imparts the necessary knowledge for confronting right-wing extremism. Two fundamental **educational objectives** for trade-union pedagogy, regardless of the form and method of learning, emerge from the previous chapters 1 (origins) and 2 (objectives):

➡ Understand the essence of right-wing extremism!
➡ Recognise the causes of the success of right-wing extremism!

However, trade-union education should do more than communicate knowledge and awareness of problems. It should also effect **changes in behaviour,** in particular strengthening democratic participation.

Trade-union education is always political education. It creates a basis for an active stand against inhuman ideologies and world views. It is our job to communicate democratic values to the participants of our seminars and to support them in becoming confident and responsible trade unionists who are prepared to represent their interests together with others[109].

Values are understood as very general visions of a desirable society. From the point of view of trade unions, it is vital that these visions correspond to established democratic and human rights standards, consequently also including cultural and ethical diversity. However they are still not fully present in all member states of the EU.

Non-racist educational work[110]

Why? Our objectives
For justice and equality: an analysis of behavioural patterns with an eye to changing them.

We analyse society in order to change it. Justice and equality are our guiding principles in doing so.

Racism and anti-Semitism are not the result of individual prejudices; rather, they emerge above all from the reality of inequality that has pervaded our society for so long as if it were a matter of course. We do not want to individualise or psychologise racism but to analyse attitudes and experiences in their social context. Toward that end, we examine the structure of society, the state and economy.

Another world is possible!

We insist that nothing must remain as it is. We regard interest in the seminars as an interest in understanding the world better and becoming more capable of acting in it. We build on the development of the social and political creativity of the individual in order to cultivate what is possible. We want to encourage imagination and utopian thinking and foster the tenacity to make wishes and ideas real.

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109 **Ulrike Obermayr and Brigitte Daumen, in Rechte Politik in Europa, op. cit. (footnote 99), p.16.**
110 **DGB-Bildungswerk Thüringen, Baustein zur nicht-rassistischen Bildungsarbeit, A. Einführung: Idee, Hintergrund, Konzeption – Unser Konzept. Available online at http://www.baustein.dgb-bwt.de/A/UnserKonzept.html/ (10 October 2016).**

Racism pervades all areas of society. It should be possible to develop opportunities to influence many spheres of activity even when one is a non-specialist. Everywhere that racism exists, action can be taken against it. Education plays an important role in how people interpret the world and their place in it, and in what direction they want to effect change.

The trade unions' ideals extend beyond this goal, in that they also embrace economic, social and ecological issues. Unions want to shape the future of their societies by opposing not only right-wing extremism, but right-wing conservatism as well.

Educational objective: Understand the essence of right-wing extremism!

Trade-union education must of course supply information about the different manifestations of right-wing extremism, criticise its programmes and objectives, and provide training for decoding far-right statements. But in day-to-day conflicts, it must also tirelessly point out that right-wing extremism poses a real threat to democracy. Ethnic nationalism constitutes a massive attack on humanism. It is a conflict between two opposing world systems: freedom, justice and solidarity versus nationalism, ethnocentricity, and authoritarianism. In their counteroffensive against right-wing extremism, the trade unions therefore will be defending their own value system and also the basis of their existence.

Educational objective: Recognise the causes of the success of right-wing extremism!

Right-wing extremism profits from economic and/or political crises or situations of radical change. In such situations, dissatisfaction and insecurity among the population understandably increase and collective fears emerge. Right-wing extremism exploits these fears for its own purposes by dramatising existing problems and thereby intensifying them. It spreads an apocalyptic atmosphere ("decline of the West") through crude distortions of reality, identifies those responsible for the alleged catastrophic situations, and then appoints itself as the saviour of the people in their utmost need.

The successes of right-wing extremism also should be attributed to the fact that the movement harps on the worries and hardships of the population. Therefore, an important task of trade-union education must be to expose the actual intentions of right-wing extremism. In particular, the following characteristics of its agitation must be observed:

- The fight against right-wing extremism is made more difficult because **crises or situations of radical change actually exist. Rght-wing extremism does not create the fears but finds them and makes use of them.** Unquestionably, such fears must be taken seriously, be it in trade-union seminars, in conversations in the workplace or at works meetings. In principle, fear is a reasonable reaction to actual or potential dangers. People who, rightly or wrongly, feel threatened by unemployment, social decline, criminality, and immigration also should be able to articulate these feeling in a repression-free environment. It is crucial that the trade unions offer solutions to problems according to their own ideals and that they consistently reject the ethnic-nationalist proposals of right-wing extremism.

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111 Rechte Politik in Europa. Conference proceedings, August 6-8, 2014 in Essen, IG Metall executive board and the trade-union educational work department (IG Metall Vorstand und dem Fachbereich Gewerkschaftliche Bildungsarbeit: Frankfurt am Main, 2014), p. 18 ff.

- **Due to their simplicity, the proposals of right-wing extremism have a certain appeal to parts of the population and even to members of the trade unions.** Right-wing extremists entrap their public with simple solutions for complex problems. Thus, they use their propaganda for an ethnically homogeneous national community to paint the image of an organically evolved union of people, who are connected to one another by fate and who act in harmonious concert. This results in friend/enemy thinking that in turn forms the basis for discrimination, exclusion, and devaluation. Citizens are supposed to be convinced by this ideology that only ethnic nationalism is capable of guaranteeing security, order, and direction in times of crisis or radical change. Trade-union educational work must reveal this unrealistic, distorted picture as anti-democratic because far-right extremism disputes that modern societies are complex systems with sophisticated social structures, conflicts of interest, and divisions. Therefore, with its collectivist ideology it opposes the pluralism of parties, associations, trade unions, and civil rights initiatives. Once again, it becomes clear that the commitment of trade unions to battle right-wing extremism ultimately serves to ensure their own existence.

- **Right-wing extremism's critique of existing economic and social conditions is not always completely incorrect.** As has been stated several times, right-wing extremism hitches its ethnic nationalism to its critiques of capitalism and globalisation, thus also addressing issues of justice and security. Trade-union educational campaigns must underscore that this criticism refers above all to "money-grubbing capital," i.e., to the financial capital that is supposedly in Jewish hands and threatens the existence of the national state. At the same time, union educators must make clear that the international trade-union movement believes global capital transactions can be channeled and controlled so that national or political institutions regain trust.

- This point leads to another: **that criticism of the political establishment is particularly popular and goes far beyond the sphere of influence of right-wing extremism (and also that of right-wing conservatism).** Right-wing extremism presents itself indeed as the custodian of democracy by denouncing the aloofness, megalomania, and egotism of the political class and the omnipotence of the parties, and it speaks out in favour of direct democracy in all political areas. It is the task of trade-union education to unmask this deceptive manoeuvre. In reality, right-wing extremism reveres the

antiquated model of an authoritarian political system that recognises only the people and the state as legitimate actors. In the far-right political view, if it is necessary for people to influence government policy directly, they can do so through referenda. In contrast, developed democracies are charac-terised by an intermediate system that consists of associations, interest groups, trade unions, social movements and civil rights initiatives. Theoretical accounts of that pluralist system depict the conflict structures and conflicts of interest of modern societies and show how different positions and concerns get aggre-gated in a public opinion-shaping process ultimately geared towards parlia-ment and government. However, according to right-wing nationalism, inter-mediate institutions obstruct the stability and continuity of government activi-ty and therefore contradict its vision of an inwardly and outwardly strong state. In this context, it should be emphasized that the far right's demand for more direct democracy is not aimed at the democratisation of state and so-ciety, but rather solely at improving its own power prospects. By attacking the established parties and threatening to curb their alleged omniscience by call-ing for referenda, right-wing extremists intend to weaken its rivals in the competition among parties.

The large trade unions in Europe are committed to the European Union. All of them are aware that a failure of the EU would maximise existing economic problems and would have negative consequences on jobs and working conditions. Ultimately, that would also lead to a weakening of the trade unions[112].

The standard repertoire of right-wing extremism includes criticism of the EU, in particular of the European Economic and Monetary Union. There is also much agreement with this criticism among the population. Trade-union educational work must face this not always unjustified criticism, while at the same time mak-ing it clear that the age of sovereign nation states is coming to an end with the advance of globalisation. The trade unions reject a "Europe of nation states" as conceived by the far-right or right-wing conservatives. They work for a social and democratic Europe, whereby Europe stands for the idea of an open, tolerant, socially conscious, economic community based on shared values.

112 Ulrike Obermayr, in Rechte Politik in Europa, op. cit. (footnote 99), p. 8.

Bring about changes in behaviour!

The study by Freie Universität Berlin (see p. **!** [37 ff.]) cited in the first chapter **!!** reaches the conclusion that the susceptibility to right-wing extremism is particularly low when democratic convictions are linked with democratic participation. The fundamental concern of trade-union educational policy therefore should consist of qualifying and motivating the participants to stand up against nationalism, racism, and xenophobia. It is not enough to be against it; one also must act accordingly!

> In order clearly to confront right-wing tendencies with a democratic alternative, trade-union structures and values, such as solidarity, respect and recognition, must be strengthened [...] The trade-union worker's representation body shall communicate democratic values to young people more intensively again. The participants also plead for the maximum possible participation of young workers and trainees in trade-union organizations[113].

Willingness to engage in political action depends, among other things, on recognising that it is necessary and choosing measures that have been judged to be effective on the basis of previous experiences. If political conduct appears unsafe or even dangerous, it is best to carry it out together with colleagues or like-minded people. Trade-union educational work therefore should support and deliberately energize the participants' personality and self-confidence so that they are prepared to assume responsibility and, if necessary, also to demand opportunities to participate.

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113 Rechte Politik in Europa, op. cit. (footnote 99), p. 21.

List of abbreviations for national and european parties and delegations in the european parliament
(Official abbreviation, name in English and country of origin or European party or European Parliament)

ADDE	Alliance for Direct Democracy in Europe	European party
ACRE	Alliance of Conservatives and Reformists in Europe	European party
AENM	Alliance of European National Movements	European party
AfD	Alternative for Germany (Alternative für Deutschland)	Germany
ALDE	Alliance of Liberals and Democrats for Europe	European Parliament
ALFA	Alliance for Progress and Renewal (Allianz für Fortschritt und Aufbruch)	Germany
AN	National Alliance	Italy
ANEL	Independent Greeks	Greece
AS	Social Alternative	Italy
Ataka	Attack	Bulgaria
BBT u.a.	Bulgaria Without Censorship	Bulgaria
BNP	British National Party	United Kingdom
CDU	Christian Democratic Union of Germany (Christlich Demokratische Union Deutschlands)	Germany
CP	Conservative Party	United Kingdom
DF	Danish People's Party	Denmark
DUP	Democratic Unionist Party	Northern Ireland
EAF	European Alliance for Freedom	European party
EF(D)D	European Freedom and Direct Democracy Group (since 1 July 2014, Europe of Freedom and Direct Democracy Group)	European Parliament
ECR	European Conservatives and Reformists Group	European Parliament
ENF	Europe of Nations and Freedom Group	European Parliament
EPEN	National Political Union	Greece
EPP	Group of the European People's Party (Christian Democrats)	European Parliament
FI	Italy Go	Italy
Fidesz/MPSZ	Alliance of Young Democrats/Hungarian Civic Alliance	Hungary
FN	National Front	France
FPÖ	Freedom Party of Austria (Freiheitliche Partei Österreichs)	Austria
FrP	Progress Party	Norway
Greens/EFA	Group of the Greens/European Free Alliance	European Parliament

GUE/NGL	Confederal Group of the European United Left - Nordic Green Left	European Parliament
ITS	Identity, Tradition and Sovereignty Group	European Parliament
Jobbik	Movement for a Better Hungary	Hungary
KNP	Congress of the New Right	Poland
LOAS	Popular Orthodox Rally	Greece
LN	Northern League	Italy
LRP	League of Polish Families	Poland
M5S	Five Star Movement	Italy
MENL	Movement for a Europe of Nations and Freedom	European party
MSFT	Social Movement – Tricolour Flame	Italy
MSI	Italian Social Movement	Italy
NA	Coalition of National Alliance	Latvia
NI	Independents	European Parliament
NPD	National Democratic Party of Germany (Nationaldemokratische Partei Deutschlands)	Germany
ODS	Civic Democratic Party	Czech Republic
PC	Conservative Party	Romania
PdL	People of Freedom	Italy
PiS	Law and Justice	Poland
PRM	Great Romania Party	Romania
PS	Finns Party	Finland
PVV	Freedom Party	The Netherlands
REP	The Republicans (Die Republikaner)	Germany
S&D	Group of the Progressive Alliance of Socialists and Democrats in the European Parliament	European Parliament
SD	Sweden Democrats	Sweden
SPR-RSC	Coalition for Republic – Republican Party of Czechoslovakia	Czech Republic
SNS	Slovak National Party	Slovakia
SPÖ	Social Democratic Party of Austria (Sozialdemokratische Partei Österreichs)	Austria
SSO	Party of Free Citizens	Czech Republic
SVP	Swiss People's Party (Schweizerische Volkspartei)	Switzerland
TT	Order and Justice	Lithuania
UKIP	United Kingdom Independence Party	United Kingdom
VB	Flemish Bloc; Since 2004 Flemish Interest	Belgium
XA	Golden Dawn	Greece
ZZS	Union of Greens and Farmers	Latvia

Abbildungs- und Tabellenverzeichnis

About the author

Prof. Dr. Richard Stöss ist Politikwissenschaftler und lehrte bis zu seiner Emeritierung 2009 an der FU-Berlin. Bei der Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung erschien u. a. „Rechtsextremismus im Wandel" (3., aktualisierte Auflage, Berlin 2010). Das Thema Rechtsextremismus und Gewerkschaften gehört seit langem zu seinen Arbeitsschwerpunkten.

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