CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background: The Upsurges of Far-Right Movement in the European Union Countries

1.1.1 European Union and the Recent Problems of Far-Right Movement

The European Union, a supranational institution around most of Europe, has been identified commonly as the further process of European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC) embryo growth on 1951. More than a half century of development, recently the European Union has recognized as the ideal concept of regional integration. It has been the boldest in conception, the most developed and the most successful cooperation ever for European states. Today cooperative structure does not working at the governmental level merely, but engages the society within also. In the words of the Preamble of Maastricht

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1 This is the spirit of Jean Monnet, one of the founding father of the European Union, whom disliked intergovernmentalism concept of cooperation (only in governmental level).
2 Recently is about 27 member states around Europe, which the latest enlargement at 2007. See on “Members of EU”, Bureau of Public Affairs, Department of State, United States of America, retrieved on May 7, 2011. (http://www.state.gov/p/eur/rt/eu/c12191.htm).
3 This is a debate between integration dimension as “process” or “result”. Functionalist and Neo-functionalist see this as a process, when each unit tries to compromise and shifting their loyalties, expectations and political activities towards greater system, or what called as supranational. See on Ambarwati, Aplikasi Teori Integrasi dalam Hubungan Internasional: Eropa dan Asia Timur, in Asrudin and Mirza J. S. (ed.), “Refleksi Teori Hubungan Internasional dari Tradisional ke Kontemporer”, Graha Ilmu, Yogyakarta, 2009, p. 128.
Treaty, it was designed to achieve ‘an ever closer union among the peoples of Europe where decisions are taken as closely as possible to the citizens’.  

**Figure 1. Map of European Union**

The social necessary point in the European Union unification then influences highly on its structural development. Since the people voices are accommodated fairly, this scheme does not only determining member-states

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integration in European Union\textsuperscript{8}, but moreover has a direct command over the union reins through European Parliament.

The European Parliament (EP) was constructed under Treaty of Rome, 1957, together with three other main institutions of European Union recently: the Commission, the Court of Justice and the Council of Ministers. This institution is representing the people of Europe, and achieves more legitimacy after direct elections mechanism of MEPs (Members of the European Parliament) at 1979.\textsuperscript{9} In the end, the EPs power is going to be enlarged such a conventional parliament, which is influencing the key of legislation and other bodies work (included the Commission).\textsuperscript{10} This mechanism potentially accommodate the voice of domestic resistant groups, such as far-right movement, directly to the European level.

Far-right movement, or what is known as Neo-Fascism, is a recent phenomenon in European countries. This trend in the upsurge of neo-fascism has been mirrored in many countries, as witnessed by a widespread increase in extreme nationalist groups and racial violence against ethnic minorities, immigrants, and asylum seekers. Although racism and fascism are not synonymous, many of these movements do possess a core fascist ideology, based

\textsuperscript{8} For example, the accession of new member-state into European Union is depends on domestic referendum. The member stances upon European Union integration process also depend on their demands in domestic politics.

\textsuperscript{9} Ibid., p. 81.

\textsuperscript{10} Ibid., p. 121-122.
on promoting national identity and pride, and on singling out racial scapegoats for any social and economic difficulties.\(^{11}\)

This is actually a reincarnation of fascism in Italy (under Benito Mussolini) and Germany (Adolf Hitler). Soon after Mussolini and Hitler’s annihilation, they develop new ideas and strategies, and emerge as a significant influence in many European countries. The first instance of this re-emergence, known as neo-fascism, occurred as early as December 1946, when former members of Mussolini’s regime developed the Italian Social Movement (ISM) which, in the 1948 general election, secured six seats in the Chamber of Deputies. In recent years many neo-fascist movements have infiltrated extreme right-wing—or far-right—groups in an effort to gain wider support and increased influence.\(^{12}\)

Since 1945 no country has yet experienced a replica of the conditions which predisposed both Italy and Germany to the rise of fascism, but with the end of the Cold War and the collapse of the Soviet Union have there has been a negative effect on the political stability of recent decades. In the 1990s there has been an increase in the support of neo-fascist movements and political parties with extreme nationalist agendas.\(^{13}\) Several far-right parties and anti-immigrant won significantly in 10 European Union member-states. As a sample, 3 far-right parties won at Austria, which uphold anti-immigrant campaign program.\(^{14}\)

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\(^{12}\) Ibid.

\(^{13}\) Ibid., 108.

This far-right threats may deteriorate the European Union\textsuperscript{15} level of integration.

1.1.2 The Scandinavians Far-Right Political Parties

As what concerning in this paper, the far-right parties in 3 Scandinavian countries have showing an escalation pattern of popularity, which measured by the growing number of vote elections.

In Finland, the dramatic improvement of the far right in elections at 17 April 2011 was happened, which surely threatens European stability as its eventual entry into a coalition government with the conservative party won the bailout could cripple the countries of the eurozone\textsuperscript{16}. At the end of the election, the Conservative Party Kokoomus the Finance Minister Jyrki Katainen, won 20.4\% of the vote and 44 of the 200 seats in the Eduskunta (parliament), six fewer than in previous elections. However, the real winner in these elections was the far-right group 'Perussuomalaiset' (True Finns) Nationalist MEP Timo Soini, who with 19\% scored 39 deputies and became the third political force in Finland. Thanks to his charisma and his populist rhetoric, Soini has achieved the greatest

\textsuperscript{15} The European Union will be seen in neo-functionalism view. In neo-functionalism, the politicization (one of important intervening variable in regional integrative configuration) is planned well before the accession, not automatically figured as the functional cooperative continuance (technocratic spill-over). Based on that assumption, the European Union reputed likes a modern industrial state with several interest groups, who are motivated by self-group interest, not for seeking the common goods. If those interests cannot be accommodated well, it may for each group to be prudent and deteriorated in the unification process. See on Asrudin and Mirza J. S., \textit{op. cit.}, p. 134 & 146.

\textsuperscript{16} The eurozone, officially the euro area, is an Economic and Monetary Union (EMU) of 17 European Union (EU) member states that have adopted the euro (€) as their common currency and sole legal tender. The eurozone currently consists of Austria, Belgium, Cyprus, Estonia, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Ireland, Italy, Luxembourg, Malta, the Netherlands, Portugal, Slovakia, Slovenia, and Spain.
progress of a match in the history of Finland by multiplying by eight the number of seats, taking advantage of popular discontent over economic crisis and voter dissatisfaction with the traditional parties.\(^{17}\)

As well as Finland, in the 2010 general election, the Sweden Democrats as far-right party in Sweden for the first time crossed the four percent threshold necessary for parliamentary representation. This increase in popularity has been compared by international media to other similar anti-immigrant movements in Europe. The party polled 5.7\% and won 20 parliamentary seats. According to the February 2011 poll of United Minds, SD reached 8.5\%, which represented an increase of 1.3\% compared to the precedent analogue poll.

In Denmark, the Progress Party in the right-side emerged in the landslide election of 1973 with almost 16 percent of the vote. However, The Danish People’s Party was founded as a breakaway fraction of the Danish Progress Party. In the mid-1990s, a group led by Pia Kjærsgaard left the party and founded the Danish People’s Party. In their first election, in 1998, the party received 7.4 percent of the vote, and in 2001 their share of the vote increased to 12 percent, reaching 13.9 percent of the votes in 2007. After the 2001 legislative election, the Danish People’s Party was given a pivotal position and gained recognition as the support party for the newly formed Liberal-Conservative coalition government. In fact, the party has functioned as the government’s main coalition partner in day-

to-day politics ever since. As a result Denmark has witnessed a dramatic change toward stricter immigration policies over the past years.¹⁸

1.2 Research Question

Based on the peculiarity image of Scandinavian countries in European Union, further this paper will try to answer “how the European Union deterioration potential being indicated and measured by the influence from 3 Scandinavians far-right political parties?”

1.3 Research Purposes

1. Examining the level of European Union integration, in order to figure the determination point of European Union deterioration.

2. Describing the rising pattern of far-right political parties in the Scandinavian countries.

3. Describing the rising far-right parties’ impact of Scandinavian countries towards: the Scandinavian countries’ policies on opposing European Union integration and the European Parliament stances.

4. Examining the domestic (each Scandinavian government) and regional (through European Parliament) impact to the European Union deterioration potential.

1.4 Research Framework

1.4.1 Level of Analysis

In this case, the unit of explanation (independent variable) will be Scandinavians far-right movement (Finland, Denmark and Sweden), which is figured proportionally by those far-right political parties. The Scandinavian far-right political parties will be classified into individual group\(^\text{19}\). which has available direct output to influence European Union via domestic government and European Parliament.

On the other hand, the unit of analysis (dependent variable) in this research is European Union as a region (group of states). Then its conclusively using reductionist level of analysis, since the order of unit of explanation (Scandinavian far-right political parties in individual group level) is lower than unit of analysis (European Union on region/ group of states level).

\(^{19}\) According to Mohtar Mas’oed, there are 5 possibilities of level of analysis: individual, individual group, nation-state, states’ group in one region, and global system. See on Mohtar Mas’oed, “Ilmu Hubungan Internasional: Disiplin dan Metodologi”, PT Pustaka LP3ES Indonesia, Yogyakarta, 1990, p. 40.
1.4.2 Literatures Review

In order to show how significant the research is, the former researches will be divided into 2 levels: micro and macro. This will be used to analyze the European Union deterioration level potential, based on the rise of far-right parties.

On micro level analysis, Jens Rydgren\textsuperscript{20} and David Moss\textsuperscript{21} have tried to analyze the far-right party phenomena at particular countries: Denmark and Sweden, and Italy. However, this research is quite different, since this research is analyzing 3 Scandinavian countries specifically, not as Rydgren in only 2 of Scandinavian countries, or Moss at Italy which is out of Scandinavian area.

\textsuperscript{20} Jens Rydgren, \textit{op. cit.}
Moreover, this research will analyze also the impact towards European Union as a greater political system, while they are only in those local countries.

On macro level analysis, Hans-Georg Betz\textsuperscript{22} and David Art\textsuperscript{23} tried on analyzing far-right phenomena in European Union as a whole, by describing and comparing each phenomenon in each country. It is also different, since this research is trying to analyze the influence impact for European Union, but based on particular Scandinavians far-right movement phenomenon.

1.4.3 Far-Right Movement

The political term right-wing originates from the French Revolution when liberal deputies from the Third Estate generally sat to the left of the president’s chair, a habit which began in the Estates General of 1789. The nobility, members of the Second Estate, generally sat to the right. In the successive legislative assemblies, monarchists who supported the Ancien Regime were commonly referred to as rightists because they sat on the right side. Right wing is a descriptive term for an individual or a political faction that advocates very conservative policies\textsuperscript{24}, those supporting conservative positions, established order, and traditional values.\textsuperscript{25} As a result, the ideologies and philosophies of right-wing political parties have included elements of conservatism, Christian democracy,

\textsuperscript{23} David Art, “The European Radical Right in Comparative-Historical Perspective,” the American Political Science Association, Philadephia.
liberalism, libertarianism, and nationalism; and for extreme-right parties are racism and fascism. 

Far right, extreme right, hard right, radical right, and ultra-right are terms used to discuss the qualitative or quantitative position a group or person occupies within right-wing politics. The wave which being discussed in this paper is far-right, since there are some conflicting ways on defining each of the term above. We will not use “radical right”, because it is a term applied in the United States to sociopolitical movements and political factions and parties that develop in response to supposed threats against American values and interests. 

Far right politics commonly involve supremacism — a belief that superiority and inferiority is an innate reality between individuals and groups — and a complete rejection of the concept of social equality as a norm. Far right politics often support segregation; the separation of groups deemed to be superior from groups deemed to be inferior. Far right politics also commonly include authoritarianism, nativism, racism, and xenophobia. The ideologies usually associated with the far right include fascism, Nazism and other ultra-nationalist, 

religiously extreme or reactionary ideologies.\textsuperscript{30} Based on several literatures, far-right wave is identified commonly as a neo-fascism movement nowadays.

\textbf{1.4.4 Welfare State}

This is a concept of social protection, when the delivery of social services is by the state. The services are provided comprehensively and at the best level possible, and the strategy of developing inter-related services to deal with a wide range of social problems.\textsuperscript{31}

The welfare state concept is popular among developed countries, since its basis is influenced by economic power. Leibfried describes 4 characteristic welfare regimes in developed countries (mostly in European), these are:

- The Scandinavian welfare states, mainly represented by Sweden, Norway, Denmark, and Finland, where welfare is most highly developed.
- The ‘Bismarck’ countries, Germany and Austria, which in his view offer ‘institutional’ welfare (based on pensions provision: covering basic needs with a degree of redistribution).
- The Anglo-Saxon countries, which include the United Kingdom, United States of America, Australia and New Zealand, which he sees as ‘residual’ (covering only basic needs).


• The ‘Latin-Rim’, covering Spain, Portugal, Greece, Italy and perhaps France, where welfare is ‘rudimentary’.32

1.4.5 Regional Integration

Integration is a process of making a community into a whole, by strengthening the bonds between its component parts. In this case, building unity between nations on the basis that they pool their resources and take many decisions jointly, leading to a deepening of the ties that bind the European Union. Nations relinquish or pool their national sovereignty, in order to maximize their collective strength.33

1.5 Research Method

1.5.1 Type of Research

This research is using descriptive method, in order to describe how potential will be the phenomena of far-right escalation through Scandinavian, into European Union. Although this method is known as statistical research, it does not mean the parameter is should be always countable (quantitative research). Qualitative research often has the aim of description and researchers may follow-up with examinations of why the observations exist and what the implications of the findings are.

33 Duncan Watts, op. cit., p. 28.
By using this type of research, this paper is supposed to be able to analyze what to do to save the European Union; in case of far-right phenomenon.

1.5.2 Technique of Data Collection

This research is uses secondary data, so the technique of data collection will be through literature study activity from many books, journals, newspapers, official documents as well as internet sources. In a series, data collection technique is started by collecting the data maximally. After this, those data will be selected and categorized into proportional chapter which adjusted with the systematical writing.

1.5.3 Technique of Data Analysis

The data will be analyzed by using qualitative research. Technique of data analysis will be through non-statistical analysis (the available table of data and graphic of number will be analyzed and interpreted into sentences of paragraph). Those is passes several phases, there are data classification, reduction and interpretation will be given into selected data by using the theory and concepts.

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1.5.4 The Scope of Research

The scope of this research are 3 Scandinavian countries (Sweden, Finland, and Denmark) and European Union (the European Parliament), in the period of post Cold War (the blowing momentum) till 2011, as the time of research beginning.

1.6 Main Argument

The rise of far-right political parties in Scandinavian countries (European Union members), which consist of Denmark, Sweden and Finland, may indicates the European Union deterioration potential.  

1.7 Systematical Writing

Chapter 1 is an introduction chapter. The composition of this chapter is consisting of background, research question, research purposes, research framework, main argument, research method, and systematical writing. For research framework is divided more into level of analysis, literatures review, far-right movement, welfare state, and regional integration. For research method is divided into sub of research type, technique of data collection, technique of data analysis, and scope of research.

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37 Descriptive hypotheses is still debatable; whether it is exist or not. However, some experts such Gay, Diehl and Mely G. Tan are certain on this existence on descriptive research. The used and examined hypotheses is a descriptive hypotheses which only showing the approximation number of population with specific characteristic. See on Ulber Silalahi, op. cit., p. 168.
Chapter 2 will analyzes the level of European Union integration, then determining the European Union deterioration potential.

Chapter 3 will describes the far-right movements development (in terms of political party) and their stances in 3 Scandinavian countries (Denmark, Finland and Sweden), also their participation through the European Parliament.

Chapter 4 will analyzes the influence of Scandinavian far-right political parties towards European Union through: domestic political influences and membership in the European Parliament. The regional impact will be seen in this chapter.

Chapter 5 is a closing part, which concluding the deterioration level of European Union integration, based on the indicators above.