

Committee: Special Conference on The Rise of Populism (SPECON)

Issue: The rise of right-wing populism

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INTRODUCTION

The rise of right-wing populism is not new to the global political scene. The world first saw a spike in nationalism in the 1990s, an era when the cause for its rise was fairly justified: The Cold War allowed for many suppressed national desires to burst, in many cases along ethnic lines. During the past years, far right populist parties have made major gains in elections; right-wing populism has not seen success of this magnitude globally since WWII.

Today, there is a fundamental distinction in the world between the rich and the poor, which is much more significant than it was a quarter of a century ago. There is also an increased notion that the rich can buy political influence, and that the political system is corrupt, perhaps more than ever, leading people to lose trust in institutions. As a result, populism – giving ordinary people what they need— is quite appealing. In addition, following worldwide economic recessions, refugee and immigration crises, the rise of nationalism and populism has been possible due to the widespread feelings of insecurity. Right populist parties are based on two fundamental ideologies: uplifting the lower working classes in a weak globalised economy, as well as constricting immigration from other countries. They have built a concrete ideology by supporting a strong welfare state and protecting social benefits which they claim are jeopardised by the influx of immigrants. Right-wing populists blend in nationalist economic policies – welfare, but only for “us”—and anti-immigration policies.

In Europe, the arrival of Syrian refugees, in combination with the Euro-crisis, has been a causal factor for the rise of right populists, who capitalise on fears around national security and the erosion of western culture. The question of how open countries should be to all movements across borders, including the movement of people, is a salient part of populist right parties, which draw support from working classes often in post-industrial or rural areas. The rise of these parties demonstrates that a promise for unfettered independence and people homogeneity can prove ravishing. In the West, right-wing populism has given rise to exclusive ideologies, such as Islamophobia and xenophobia, which

resonate with an increasing portion of the population. In Asia, what unites current right populist leaders is their appeals to fears about an uncertain economic future, as well as calling upon people to recapture a past era of national greatness.

Whether the rise of right-wing populism changes the political landscape for the worse or the better, it remains that people have become more insecure and are seeking political change. Although the rise of right-wing populism may seem to be a phenomenon that depends mostly on politicians, and so does not affect the individual, it is important to recognise that any individual in the society is impacted by this issue, and that the ascendancy of right-wing populists depends on the people.

DEFINITION OF KEY TERMS

Populism

Populism is derived from the Latin word *populus*, which means *people*. It could be described as the set of political ideas, values and activities “intended to get the support of ordinary people by giving them what they want.”¹ It could also be depicted as “a political program or movement which champions the common person, usually by favourable contrast with an elite.”²

Right wing

The right wing can be defined as “the conservative or reactionary section of a political party or system.”³ Right-wing parties hold the views that certain inequalities, hierarchies, social stratification and class systems are inevitable, and that they are the natural consequence of traditional social differences or competitiveness in market economies. The right wing’s stance on several economic and social markets includes laissez-faire capitalism – which supports free markets and privatisation–, cultural conservatism, nationalism, and usually traditionalism.

Status quo

The term is derived from the Latin for *the state in which* and status quo can be defined as the “existing set of affairs, especially regarding social or political issues.”⁴ As right-wing populists appeal to people feeling left behind by the growing economy and

¹ <http://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english/populism>

² <https://www.britannica.com/topic/populism>

³ https://en.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/right_wing

⁴ https://en.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/status_quo

multicultural and religiously diverse societies, they usually do not want to maintain the status quo.

Nativism/Nationalism

Nativism and nationalism have similar meaning. Nationalism refers to the allegiance and devotion to a nation; more specifically, it has a sense of national awareness “exalting one nation above all others and placing primary emphasis on promotion of its culture and interests as opposed to those of other nations or supranational groups.”⁵ Nativism is defined as “a policy of favouring native inhabitants as opposed to immigrants” or “the revival or perpetuation of an indigenous culture especially in opposition to acculturation.”⁶ As a result of migration crises and crippling globalised economies, right-wing populists hold strongly nationalistic ideologies and promote cultural and social homogeneity.

BACKGROUND INFORMATION

The resurgence of far right populism is not a new phenomenon, but rather has emerged at different periods during the last centuries as a political trend, mostly in societies with a lot of immigrants, lack of trust in the government and societal inequalities.

The Know-Nothing Party

The Know-Nothing Party, a byname of the American Party, was a prominent US party that flourished during the 1840s and early 1850s. It started as the secret group called Order of the Star Spangled Banner and its members, not willing to inform non-members of the party’s doctrines, would respond to any question with, “I know nothing”, hence the name.

The 1850s was one of the most explosive periods in modern history, with the emergence of new, rapidly growing technologies, shifting trade patterns and migration on an immense scale. It was the time when the US started entering the global economy, and as a result, many Americans were feeling victims of this new world order. The rising tide of immigrants, many of whom were Irish Catholics, were considered to pose threats to the economic, social and cultural security of Protestant Americans. Native-Americans believed that their wages, lifestyle and their own country was taken away from them by the tens of thousands of immigrants.

⁵ <https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/nationalism>

⁶ <https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/nativism>

Consequently, the Know-Nothing Party, ready to take advantage of people's fears and insecurity, alleged that the immigrants were responsible for the Americans' falling wages and the upsurge in violent crime. The majority of its supporters came from middle and working-class backgrounds in the North—where most immigrants resided—, as these people feared the immigrants brought competition to their jobs. The Know-Nothing Party fuelled people's insecurity by instilling in them the fear that the Catholic migrants, loyal to the Pope, could potentially alter the identity of the Protestant United States. The party took a hard anti-immigration stance aiming to prevent immigrants and Catholics from being elected to hold political office. Party members also argued that immigrants should be denied jobs in the private sector, as businesses needed to employ only true Americans.

This populist nationalistic rhetoric appealed to many and had achieved phenomenal growth by the mid-1850s. The Know-Nothing Party even won control of the Massachusetts legislature in 1854. It was after that point, however, that politics reached a dispute over slavery, an issue on which the Know-Nothing party refused to take a stance. To most Americans, slavery and its expansion were more important compared to immigration, and consequently the Know-Nothing party did not run with a candidate in the 1860

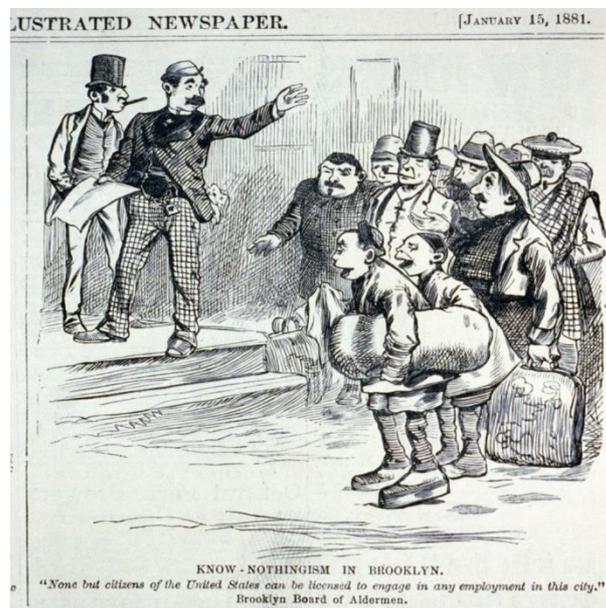


Figure 1: "None but citizens of the United States can be licensed to engage in any employment in this city [Brooklyn]" Know-Nothingism (Library of Congress)

presidential elections. Its success and popularity, albeit short-lived, demonstrated how individuals can feel threatened by immigration, enough so in order to be susceptible to a populist nativist rhetoric.

Weimar Republic

Germans in the Weimar Republic, amid the chaos of the post-WWI era, experienced the most democratic order they had known. Their culture was thriving and there were social improvements, such as public housing and clinics, which often offered birth control advice. Some public life aspects had opened to the Jews as well, such as universities, and women were given better professional opportunities and a greater access to education.

In January 1933, a small group of conservatives in the Weimar Republic including businessmen, army officers and high ranking civil servants, alongside President Hindenburg, made a political deal with the Nazi party—the largest party then with 230 seats—and appointed Adolf Hitler Chancellor of Germany. Over the 14 years of the Weimar Republic, this bargain marked the common political language of discontent for the Republic, disdain for the Jews, opposition towards the Versailles Treaty—which ended WWI between the Allies and Germany—and hostility towards democracy.

As the Weimar Republic represented democratic reform, a flourishing culture and society, it was everything the conservatives and the Nazis opposed. The words they selectively chose for the Republic, including *Schieberrepublik* and *Judenrepublik*—profiteer's and Jews' republic respectively—all served in delegitimizing the Republic's democracy and the socialists, liberals and Jews associated with it. The Nazis also used the term *Versailles Diktat*, the dictated Versailles Treaty, to emphasise on abrupt terms the Allies used upon Germany after WWI.

Although Adolf Hitler called himself a national socialist, both he and his political party fill the populist profile, as they employed fascist tactics for their policies and appearances. As a social movement, fascism employs populist approaches in order to oppose the current regime and transform the status quo. Right-wing populism acted as a building block of the Nazi fascism, which focused on “the Jewish threat to the national character”⁷ and condemned economic and political privilege. Taking advantage of the German public's contempt for the Jewish presence in Weimar Germany, the economic prerogative and the harsh terms imposed to Germany by the Allies following WWI, Adolf Hitler's right-wing populist appeals helped him gain the support of his people.

The Poujadist movement

In 1951, Charles de Gaulle's RPF won 21.7% of the popular vote, however some years later the Gaullist party had practically disappeared from the French political scene. 1956 saw the emergence of the Poujadist movement, named after its founding father, Pierre Poujade, whose political party UFF won 13% of the electorate. The ascendancy of this party marked the first post-war far-right movement in France and was puzzling, given that during the previous years, there was rapid economic growth and stabilisation of the inflationist prices succeeding the war. It was actually the combination of these factors that gave rise to the far-right in France.

⁷ <http://www.tabletmag.com/jewish-news-and-politics/207665/weimar-germany-and-donald-trump>

Post-war France underwent a series of economic transformations, similar to those in other western European countries, whose primary victims were individual farmers and small shop-owners. These social groups which were at the confines of the middle or lower classes felt their life was threatened by the “aggressive capitalism” and were very individualistic. It is unsurprising that these voters would be attracted to the populist right-wing rhetoric of conservatives, such as Poujade. His protest movement of artisans and small shopkeepers UCDA supported tax revolt and was created to protect them from big corporations, revolutionising trade unions, the left and its anti-individualism and foreigners⁸. The Poujadist movement proved very successful in regions with high percentages of merchants and shop owners and regions with declining population.

As Algeria’s war of independence was in full swing, the French Empire was slowly losing control of Indochina, and the system’s ineffectiveness was more apparent with every new political leader, Poujade’s anti-parliamentarianism and condemnation of those who were “selling off” France appealed to a great number of apolitical or weakly politicised voters. The Poujadist party was branded by many as fascist and populist, due to its heightened nationalism, opposition to



Figure 2: Pierre Poujade appears as "Poujadolf", *Daily Mirror* (6 January, 1956)

decolonisation, defence of a backwards-looking status quo and anti-elitism. Poujade was even nicknamed *Poujadolf*, because of his anti-Semitism, as he attacked the Jews who allegedly owned big retailers. The Poujadist movement inspired to a great extent the now right populist French political party Front National and influenced the French far-right for years to come.

The 1980s, 1990s and today

In the decades following WWII, the liberal democracies of the western world had developed a significant degree of social and political stability, an expansion of the welfare state, achieving economic growth and rising individual affluence. However, the socio-political stability was short-lived and the political and cultural turbulence resurged in the late 1960s, only to be heightened by the 1980s and 1990s.

⁸ <https://electionsfrance.wordpress.com/2011/12/15/the-poujadist-movement-in-1956/>

The political climate of the 1980s was important in shaping the current political landscape. It was marked with a profound disappointment of the public in major political institutions and distrust for their intentions and actions. There was a decomposition of the electoral alignments, growing political rupture and electoral volatility and reactivity. New political issues surfaced, often from actors outside and opposing the established political channels. The advances in the overall welfare generated demands for social and political equality. Furthermore, during the past decades, the average income of common people has stagnated, or in worse cases, declined; despite the economic growth, the financial gains and resources have now gathered in the hands of the top 10% of the population, and even more to the top 1%. This income inequality has been only exacerbated by globalisation, the rising outsourcing and automation and the gradual diminution of blue-collar labour unions. The imposed neo-liberal austerity policies, knowledge economy and the limited capability of democratic institutions to control multinational businesses' investments have also contributed to increasing the economic inequalities between elites and the people.

In recent years, democracies on both sides of the Atlantic have favoured the free

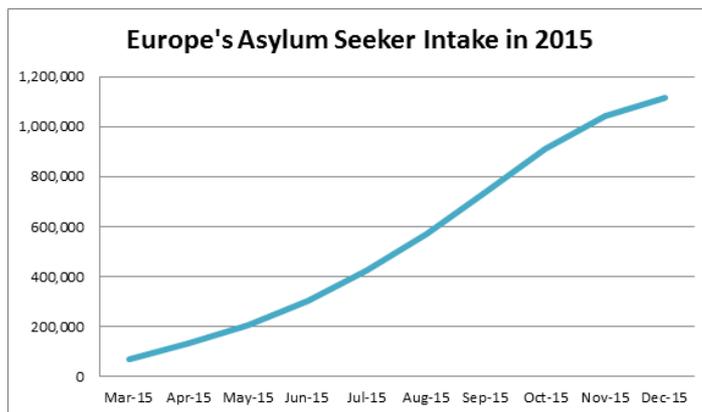


Figure 3: Europe's Asylum Seeker Intake in 2015, according to Eurostat

movement of capital and labour in order to achieve prosperity. However, since 2011 the Syrian civil war has significantly boosted immigration with thousands of asylum seekers arriving in Western countries. This rising migration tide has divided citizens of the receiving

societies; although some look at the migrant crisis as a question of solidarity, there is a growing proportion of Europeans who view it as an issue of security, cultural identity and economic threat. This increasing multicultural character of western societies has led the public to fear the erosion of western culture, or to believe that immigrants pose a threat to their jobs. Plus, it raised marginalising and discriminatory ideologies, such as Islamophobia (prejudice against Islam) and xenophobia (prejudice against people of other cultures). Alongside economic vulnerability, income inequality and stagnant wages, the anxiety that rises between the people in the sight of boatloads of migrants entering Europe and the aftermath of domestic terrorism in Paris, Brussels etc., makes them respond positively to the

rhetoric of strong authoritarian, right-wing populist leaders, who promise to protect them from what are considered perilous outsiders. These right-wing populist parties that have arisen in the West have gained the support of people by capitalising on their insecurities, taking anti-immigration and anti-elitist stances and promoting sociocultural homogeneity.

MAJOR COUNTRIES AND ORGANISATIONS INVOLVED

France

2017 was marked by an unprecedented presidential election, with the dominant two parties of the French Fifth Republic (Republicans and Socialists) being eliminated in the first round by two parties tracing an outsider's path to the presidency. On one hand, there was the former economy minister Emmanuel Macron's centrist pro-European Union (EU), liberal *En Marche* party; on the other hand, Marine Le Pen's far-right Eurosceptic and anti-immigration party *Front National* (FN). Even though eventually Emmanuel Macron won the presidency, the FN received 33.9% of the vote, and appealed to a great number of voters, afraid of immigration, terrorism and globalisation. By employing right-wing populist tactics, Le Pen, speaking "in the name of the people", vowed to put "France first" against global or European interests, promised an EU referendum, while she presented herself as a guardian of workers and farmers in the face of "wild and anarchic globalisation". She condemned globalist cosmopolitans and argued that any area of public provision should go to French nationals before any "foreigners".

Hungary

Back in the 1990s, Viktor Orbán and his newly founded party *Fidesz* supported open democratic elections, a free market and liberal ideologies. However, over the years there has been a metamorphosis of Prime Minister Orbán, from a liberal politician to a right-wing nationalist populist. Taking advantage of the economic crisis that hit Hungary in 2008 and the strict austerity measures imposed by the International Monetary Fund (IMF), *Fidesz* proposed raising the taxes of multinational Hungary-operating businesses and urged Hungarians to take their country back. Orbán's populist approach involved criticism of the EU bureaucracy, arguing that Hungary was victimised by foreigners, and the attack of national institutions and media which threatened *Fidesz*. He expressed interest in getting back territory historically belonging to Hungary and moved to the far-right—due to the political threat by the ultraright *Jabbik* party—by defending Hungarian militias and kicking the IMF out of Hungary. As the refugee crisis became a pressing issue for the EU, Orbán put

Hungary at the forefront of the anti-refugee movement, called refugees “rapists” and promised to build a fence along its Serbian border. His populist narrative of anti-immigration, anti-elitism and homogeneity have helped Orbán remain in power since 2010.

India

In May 2014, Narendra Modi, member of the alt-right populist Hindu movement *Bharatiya Janata Party* inspired by fascists and Nazis, was elected Prime Minister. Modi's rise to power was the result of demonising ethnic-religious minorities, the media and immigration, as well as the condemnation of the “the tutelage of a distant and self-satisfied elite.”⁹ Although the Indian Prime Minister was accused of overseeing mass murder and Muslim gang rapes, this did not prevent him from being elected to office. He packaged himself as an executive representing India's esteem for technocratic managerialism¹⁰. By placing himself between the self-righteous beneficiaries of globalisation and the public, he has claimed to be the son of a humble tea-vendor who challenged the corrupt dynasties of foreign liberals.

Philippines

Philippine President Rodrigo Duterte won the election on May 9, 2016 and has been receiving media attention –especially for his “war on drugs”– for his particular populist tactics. Duterte has been characterised as a *heterodox* politician in that he employs both left- and right-wing populist traits. He has expressed bold criticism over the establishments in Philippine politics and ran a platform on anti-corruption and “law and order”. In order to win the election, Duterte appealed to the zeitgeist (current ideologies and concerns) of the Filipinos against the status quo of the elite rule, corruption, societal inequalities, employed social media to facilitate populist legitimacy, and promoted authoritarianism. He has also achieved what social psychologists call “groupthink”: when social groups appear to have a unanimous opinion on issues so that they do not seek alternatives (Irving Janis, 1972).

Turkey

Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, the current Turkish President, is a conservative politician self-described as democrat, coming from an Islamist background and established political Turkish system. Erdoğan is committed to a religious nationalist political movement, who uses the “outsider” status, targets out-groups, such as the Kurds, and expresses disdain for the old

^{9,10} https://www.nytimes.com/2016/11/14/opinion/the-incendiary-appeal-of-demagoguery-in-our-time.html?_r=2

establishments. As a result, the Turkish President held in April 2017 a constitutional referendum proposing an increase in the powers of the President. By employing right-wing populist tactics, the amendments to the constitution passed and the President now has more powers, can dismiss the parliament and appoint ministers and judges.

United Kingdom

The United Kingdom Independence Party (Ukip) is a right-wing populist Eurosceptic party, promoting for many years a British nationalist agenda. In the 2016 EU membership



Figure 4: Graffiti on a wall, Devon, England.

referendum, the Ukip took a profound position leading the “Leave” campaign. Ukip’s leader Nigel Farage, alongside other supporters of “Vote Leave”, advocated for the withdrawal of the UK from the

EU with a view to self-determination and sovereignty. The right-wing populist campaign argued that Britain would have more control over its regulations by leaving the EU, and would be freer to negotiate deals for the nation’s—and not European—interests. The “Leave” campaign also supported that the huge financial contributions of the UK to the EU could be instead used on national services, such as the National Health Service, and accused EU citizens of taking jobs from British workers. The campaign’s arguments gained popularity among primarily middle-aged and senior voters, and finally got 51.9%.

United States of America

President Donald Trump won one of the most unpredicted elections on the promise to “Make America Great Again”. The businessman ran a divisive rather than unifying campaign—since, according to him in a rally “the only important thing is the unification of people – because other people don’t mean anything”—, during which he emphasised that he alone can defeat the corrupt system in Washington, and that he alone was “the voice of forgotten men and women of our country”. Trump has sparked American nationalism, by accusing Mexican immigrants of “bringing drugs” and being “rapists”, promised to build a wall along the US-Mexican border for which Mexico would have to pay, and lately imposed an immigration ban prohibiting citizens from six middle-Eastern countries from entering the US. As part of his right-wing populist rhetoric, he has attacked the media which criticise him

as being corrupt, and federal appellate judges considering a constitutional challenge to his travel ban. In his inaugural address, President Trump claimed that if he rules, “the people rule.”

European Union (EU)

In recent years, the tide of right-wing populism has been surging across Europe, with emerging far-right populist parties, such as the Alternative for Germany (AfD), the Golden Dawn in Greece and the Law and Justice in Poland (PiS). In a Europe dealing with high unemployment, the refugee crisis and Euro-crisis, whereby immigrants seem to compete with natives for jobs and trends in the economy and culture have elevated an upper class separating from a declining class, Euroscepticism has grown, urging EU member states to disengage from the EU. This ideology, expressed by right populists, calls for nations to cease serving European interests in an unjustly dominated Union, and instead retake control of their country and regulate their own borders freely. EP president Martin Schulz warned that national selfishness is jeopardising EU’s community spirit.

TIMELINE OF EVENTS

Date	Event description
1955	The right-wing populist Austrian Freedom Party (FPO) is founded.
1960s	US politician George Wallace runs populist campaigns foreshadowing, in a sense, Donald Trump’s candidacy for the presidency.
1990s	The influx of asylum seekers in Germany brings forward xenophobic feelings, especially in East Germany. Consequently, far-right populist parties develop strongholds there.
3 September 1993	The United Kingdom Independent Party is founded.
1999	In the 1999 Austrian elections, the FPO is the second largest party.
13 June 2001	The Polish Law and Justice (PiS) far-right party is formed.
2002	During the 2002 French Presidential elections, a candidate of a right populist party (Jean-Marie Le Pen of the FN) gets to the second round for the first time.

2004	Republican presidential candidate George W. Bush wins this election by using people's unease of gay marriage.
2009	The Tea Party, a conservative right populist party opposing excessive taxes and favouring stricter immigration regulations, emerges in the US.
2010	The Fidesz Hungarian government moves towards illiberal authoritarianism.
26 December 2012	Shinzo Abe returns as Japan's Prime Minister. This right populist rose to power as a result of economic anxieties, public disdain for political corruption, by appealing to middle class and conservative Japanese.
1 January 2012	The Fidesz-amended constitution enters into force, posing restrictions to the media and transforming the Hungarian Constitution into a tool for populist governance.
14 March 2013	Xi Jinping becomes President of the Republic of China, by promoting a nationalistic nostalgia with his "China Dream" slogan. His warning that China would claim territories through tough diplomacy and a strong army proved popular among his people, who believe that he really cares for "the little guy".
2015	Even though the Syrian civil war has been going on for four years, Europe begins to receive flows of refugees.
2016	In the Austrian presidential elections first round, FPÖ's candidate Norbert Hofert gains a plurality of the electorate with 35.3%.
27 January 2017	President Trump signs the immigration ban, suspending temporarily entry to US for Syrian refugees and citizens from Iran, Iraq, Libya, Sudan, Somalia and Yemen.

UN INVOLVEMENT: RELEVANT RESOLUTIONS, TREATIES AND EVENTS

Even though UN resolutions relevant to the rise of right-wing populism have not been passed, people holding leading positions in the United Nations have taken their stance on this issue. The UN Secretary General António Guterres has said at the Human Rights

Council in Geneva that “we are increasingly seeing the perverse phenomenon of populism and extremism feeding off each other in a frenzy of growing racism, xenophobia, anti-Semitism, anti-Muslim hatred and other forms of intolerance.”¹¹ In addition, the UN High Commissioner for Human Rights Zeid Ra’ad al Hussein has likened the European far-right populist movements to the Islamic State, in that both “peddle fear” and use “racist language.”

Human rights and political rights are essential in asserting and grasping the ascendancy of right-wing populism. An important UN treaty safeguarding political and civic rights is the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, entered into force on March 23, 1977. It recognises the ideal of a free person enjoying political freedom and freedom from fear and promotes economic and socio-political rights. These are of the utmost significance since many right-wing (governing or non) parties capitalise on people’s fears of, inter alia, immigration, and may deprive some people of their political rights, e.g. restrictions on media and freedom of speech.

As this right populist upsurge is connoted in many cases with a global assault on human rights, the UN opposes profoundly right-wing populist ideologies. In the declaration of the World Conference against Racism, Racial Discrimination, Xenophobia and Related Intolerance, held in Durban, South Africa, in 2001, the UN goals to fight against xenophobia, Islamophobia and other such intolerances through cooperation, partnership and inclusion, to promote equal rights for all and cultural diversity are explicitly mentioned.

PREVIOUS ATTEMPTS TO SOLVE THE ISSUE

There has been globally a political acceleration during the last years, and as a result, several mechanisms have been developed in order to respond to the rise of right-wing populism.

Over the years, the EU has created response solutions for challenges to its integration project. EU members first tried to deal with threats from the populist right by using ostracism in 2000, because of Austria forming a government including the right populist Freedom Party. Sanctions were developed by other member states to limit political and diplomatic contacts with the country, however diplomatic ostracism is no longer a

¹¹ <http://www.unmultimedia.org/tv/unifeed/asset/1838/1838412/>

realistic solution, since many populist right parties have joined European governments lately.

The EU has created a framework to strengthen the rule of law. Through Article 7 of the Treaty on European Union, if a country does not meet the rules on democratic governance and human rights (often violated by authoritarian or anti-immigrant populists), sanctions could be imposed and EU voting rights could be suspended. Triggering Article 7 could be used but may be counterproductive and result to the unravelling of the EU.

Another isolation method was used in the European Parliament after 2014, a year which brought in many right populist MEPs, whereby mainstream political parties formed great coalitions to monopolise leadership positions. Such marginalisation practices have also been used at the local, state and national legislations globally to prevent right-wing populists from shaping policy. The success of this method was short-lived, as these coalitions increased people's frustration and reinforced populists' claims that the establishment is corrupt and their status as political outsiders.

POSSIBLE SOLUTIONS

The rise of right-wing populism is a complex issue which requires a multifaceted approach. To prevent the growth of such political movements, it is necessary to tackle the very reasons and phenomena that cultivated these parties to start from.

Right-wing extremism has risen largely as a result of inequalities and social injustice and has appealed to people feeling left behind by globalisation. Consequently, governments should socially and ecologically regulate the economy to reduce inequalities, as regards the tax system, for instance. Right populists have emphasised on the negative effects of globalisation, which deprives the people of control over their own country, identity and interests. Therefore, it is important to challenge the discursive and divisive rhetoric of populists, which can only be achieved through civic and social education, and provide a truly transformative agenda with a collective narrative—to overcome the right's obsession with homogeneity—emphasising on the positive aspects of globalisation, e.g. movement of capital, services. Only broad societal coalitions can overcome populism.

Since nationalist populists capitalise on the people's fears and insecurities about immigration, there is the notion that migrant flows can be regulated solely through national measures. However it is of the utmost importance to stress that migration can be managed

in a sustainable way only through collective efforts. Nations need to collaborate to ensure a fair burden sharing and replace illegal with legal routes for migration.

The increased migratory flows alongside the very frequent terrorist attacks that have been targeting western countries lately, have resulted in increased fear and insecurity among the citizens. As right-wing populists capitalise on the public's fright and take an offensive stance on immigrants, to prevent their rise, it is essential that politicians work to alleviate and eradicate people's fears in the first place. This can be achieved through a more effective coordination of national intelligence, along with the cooperation with other intelligence agencies, and stricter border controls. In addition, security forces and police personnel should make their presence visible and law enforcement should be prepared to prevent terrorist incidents; this has to be exercised with extreme caution, without crossing the line between a free and democratic state to a police state. The enablement, supervision and control of the security forces' actions from the executive and the legislative powers (parliaments and the judicial system) are paramount to this.

The most important reason why right-wing populism has grown rapidly over these years is the disillusionment with political elites. The public feel as if the establishment is acting behind closed doors and does little to deal with people's actual problems. The solution is to let the people in; populist movements offer perfect opportunities for public mobilisation and promise to give people a place in the decision-making. Decision-making bodies should therefore provide the public with the right to petition, or create broader deliberative mechanisms and Internet-based engagement to allow a wider range of public voices to be heard. This will bring a better understanding of decision-making processes and a sense of being listened to. Institutions responsive to people's concerns will also provide early warnings of changes in the public mood.

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