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The effects of the rise of the extreme right on European policies in the confrontation of the refugee crisis -A study of reality and a vision for the future-

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Abstract :

This research aims to present various explanatory approaches to the rise of the extreme right in Europe, and at a second level an analysis of the policies of the extreme right towards the issue of Syrian refugees, especially after Britain's exit from the European Union, as most of these currents share in refusing to receive Syrian migrants and given the terrorist events that afflicted the continent In the recent period, the Europeans have the opportunity to adopt a hostile rhetorical tone towards the Syrian refugees, because, according to these currents, they not only threaten European security, but also the European Christian identity, and they add new economic burdens new economic burdens to most European countries. Let us analyze to try to anticipate the future of immigration to Europe, so it is clear the ascent, of the European Right will It will push for a reshaping of common European policies that block borders to the refugee influx into Europe.

Keywords: extreme right, refugees, Syria crisis.

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1. Introduction

In recent years, especially since the early 1990s, radical or populist parties on the far right, or what are sometimes called extreme right-wing parties, have seen remarkable and unexpected successes in most Western European countries, particularly Austria, Norway, Denmark, the Netherlands, Switzerland, and France. Right-wing parties have achieved electoral success in an increasing number of European countries, whether in local provincial, parliamentary, presidential, or European Parliament elections.

Among the reasons that paved the way for the rise of the far right in the European political scene are not only economic reasons, but also political reasons represented by institutional conditions that contributed to the rise of the far right's electoral base. However, cultural and civilizational factors are the main explanation for the rise of these parties, as European far-right parties are described as portraying immigrants as a source of backwardness and irrationality, a threat to European national identity, a key factor in the spread of unemployment and crime in societies, and a cause for the increase in the number of non-Christians (Muslims) in European countries.

Notably, the success of the far-right movement in recent years has enabled it to present itself to the European people as an alternative to other conservative movements, exploiting developments on the regional and international scene that threaten the security and stability of European citizens, foremost among which is the Syrian refugee crisis. The Syrian crisis and the regional and international security challenges it has imposed have provided an opportunity to confirm the assumptions of the far right, which is hostile to the presence of Muslims in European countries and the movement of migrants and refugees to these countries. The opportunities and prospects for the far right in Europe have been strengthened by its success in more than one country, particularly in Britain with the victory of the Brexit movement, followed by Donald Trump's victory in the US presidential elections in November 2016 over his Democratic rival, Hillary Clinton.

The steady and noticeable rise of right-wing movements in Europe raises many questions, foremost among which are: What kind of foreign policy will the far right adopt towards the refugee crisis weighing on Europe, particularly the Syrian refugee crisis?

2. Far-right European parties as a conceptual approach

Political scientists agree that defining the concept of the far right is difficult." Some conclude that these parties represent nationalist ideologies that were defeated in World War II, such as Nazism and Fascism, or what is known in European literature as nationalist/socialist movements known for their racist tendencies and heavy reliance on a specific ethnicity and a fundamental ideology in dealing with and classifying others.

2.1 The roots of the contemporary European far-right:

Far-right European parties came to power in the interwar period, and their rule was characterized by absolute state control and increasing hostility between nationalities and ethnic groups in Europe. Although the reasons for the rise of fascism in Italy in 1922 differed from those of Nazism in Germany, which came to power in 1933, the common cause between them was the severe economic crisis that Italy suffered due to its entry into World War I, and Germany due to the large reparations imposed on it, and France's seizure of the Ruhr region in 1923 until its recovery by Germany in 1925. This was, of course, in addition to the global economic crisis between 1929 and 1933, which reinforced the need for strong parties capable of reviving the economy.

Politically, Italy's lack of stability, due to its poor representation system and lack of strong parties, has led to weak coalition governments. On the German side, the motivation for electing the Nazi Party was the need for a strong party, regardless of its orientation, to save Germany from the shameful treaties of Versailles and Saint-Germain. Thus, economic decline was the reason for the rise of these parties. (Langer and Zayza 1969, p. 2472)

It can be said that the far right: is a political term used to describe groups and parties based on their position in the political spectrum. The difference between the traditional right and the far right is that the former seeks to preserve traditions and protect customs within society, while the latter does the same but advocates for coercive intervention and the use of violence to preserve those traditions and customs.

2.2 The European far right: Ideas and trends.

Since the 1980s, the far right has undergone a radical shift in its priorities and, consequently, in its enemies and allies. It is well known that extremist movements rely on this duality more than they rely on a political program that can bring together a broad spectrum of society.

Thus, the far right began to take an increasing interest in the issues of immigration and integration, which dominated political debate in a number of Western European countries with a long tradition of immigration due to their colonial past and the need for overseas labor during the post-World War II reconstruction period.

By the 1990s, immigration had become the main concern of the far right, which promoted its many problems (primarily integration and identity) to lend credibility to its racist, xenophobic rhetoric. Thus, the far right has developed its anti-immigration rhetoric to make it more credible to broader sections of the European population.

The rise of Islamophobia at the end of the 20th century did not focus solely on religious differences but also extended to cultural and civilizational differences, with this discourse claiming that Islam espouses a worldview that is fundamentally incompatible with Western civilization. For this reason, since the 1970s, the discourse of the far right in Europe has gradually begun to employ the issue of immigrants in its political program until it became the central issue around which all its political orientations and programs were formulated. For example, the National Front in France, the oldest right-wing party on the continent, was founded in 1972 by Jean-Marie Le Pen in collaboration with a group of Nazi sympathizers and racists. Through its increasing focus on the issue of immigrants and traditional French values, it managed to win between 10 and 16% of the vote in the French presidential elections in the mid-1980s. The party's slogan, Islamization of France," since the mid-1990s has also helped it win more votes in legislative elections (Fikri, 2016, p. 71).

3. Factors behind the rise of far-right parties in Europe:

Far-right forces have succeeded in boosting their popularity in elections in Sweden, the United Kingdom, France, Austria, the Netherlands, and Switzerland, while a far-right party has become a partner in the ruling coalition in Denmark.

One of the most prominent contemporary examples of the rise of the far right in Europe is the success of the National Front party in France in the recent local elections, when it gained control of 11 local councils and won two seats in the French National Assembly. It also won 25% of the votes in the European Parliament elections in May 2016, won 27% of the vote in the parliamentary elections held in December 2015, and Marine Le Pen participated in the presidential elections held in 2017.

Despite the fierce attacks he faced from the French right and left after the events in Paris, he managed to come in second in the local elections held in March 2015, winning approximately 25% of the vote. The Austrian presidential elections are another example of this, with Norbert Hofer, the candidate of the far-right Freedom Party, leading the first round of the presidential elections in April 2016 with 36.4% of votes. Although he lost in the runoff to the Green Party candidate, Van der Bellen, his loss was very narrow, by only a few hundred votes.

In Germany, far-right forces emerged in the March elections held in three states, resulting in the victory of the far-right Alternative for Germany party, with approximately 12.5% of the vote in Rhineland, 15% in Baden-Württemberg, and 24% in Saxony-Anhalt. Although this result does not qualify the party to control the government in any of the three states, it now has a strong presence in the legislative authority of those states.

The latest results also represent the best results achieved by a far-right party in any German election since World War II, which is particularly striking given that this is a new party that began its political life in 2013 as a marginal party. Additionally, the rise of the National Democratic Party of Germany, known as the New Nazis, which controls the city of Dresden and won 1.3% of the vote in the recent elections, as well as a seat in the European Parliament out of the 96 seats allocated to Germany (Jabour, 2017).

In Britain, the Independence Party achieved similar victories by winning recent local elections, entering the House of Commons for the first time, and advancing in the British list in the European Parliament elections. In Sweden, the Sweden Democrats Party won the September 2014 elections with 13% of the vote, giving it an influential presence in the Swedish Parliament. The Danish People's Party advanced in the European Parliament elections.

Among the factors contributing to the rise of the far right in Europe, and in the West in general, we find varying factors that may appear directly in:

3.1 Security factors:

The acceleration of European integration has led to increased fears that this integration will come at the expense of national and local identities. In 2011, with the beginning of what became known as the Arab Spring, several conflicts emerged in the Middle East, from the Syrian crisis to the Libyan and Yemeni crises, the emergence of the Islamic State, and the deterioration of living conditions for Arab citizens, all of which led to increased migration and asylum-seeking in Europe (Shawkat, 2016).

With the increase in terrorist attacks, starting with the Charlie Hebdo incident in Paris, followed by attacks in Brussels and elsewhere, Islamophobia has become a reality in the West.

3.2 Economic factors:

The chances of success for far-right forces are increasing in light of the economic difficulties facing the European continent, with nearly 20 million people unemployed. Migrants exacerbate this problem because they earn lower wages than do European workers. Additionally, the cost of refugees to the host country in terms of utilities, education, health, and other areas(Jabour, 2017).

Furthermore, with immigrants competing for existing jobs and high unemployment rates, all of this has led to increased fears among many Europeans about their cultural identity, customs, traditions, and the European race, as well as fears about the disappearance of the welfare state. All of this has accelerated the rise of the far right and led to it winning a high percentage of votes in some elections, such as the Austrian presidential election. As some Europeans say, Europe begins with Austria; therefore, what happens in Austria will eventually spread to the rest of Europe. Will far-right governments emerge in the near future? The most important question is: What will the world be like after the rise of extremist regimes to power? The last time we saw the emergence of extremist regimes in Europe, such as Nazism in Germany and Fascism in Italy, it ended in a world war that killed nearly 85 million people.

4. The policies of the European far right towards the refugee crisis: "The Syrian refugee situation

Migration and asylum have been characterized by mismanagement and disagreements among EU member states, exacerbating the crisis. This coincided with the arrival of large numbers of migrants and asylum seekers in Europe, who were subjected to violations by the police in Serbia and Macedonia and appalling detention conditions in Macedonia and Hungary (Jaber). In September 2015, thousands of migrants and asylum seekers were stranded at several borders between countries without adequate shelter and were unable to continue their journeys without any real alternative. They were sometimes subjected to tear gas and water cannons, and Slovenia and Croatia sometimes prevented asylum seekers and migrants from entering in September and October 2015. At the end of November 2015, Slovenia, Croatia, Serbia, and Macedonia imposed border restrictions on asylum seekers and migrants, allowing entry only to certain nationalities. Under these circumstances, far-right parties found an opportunity to spread their ideas and gain greater support for their programs, which fundamentally reject the movement of migrants and asylum seekers to European countries.

This is confirmed by Hans-Joachim Petz in his analysis of attempts to link right-wing extremist rhetoric to the issue of immigration in a paper presented at the French Political Science Association Conference in 1999 in the French city of Rennes. Petz states that one of the most important analyses offered by theorists on the rise of far-right parties in Europe is the emphasis on the link between this rise and the increase in the number of immigrants who began arriving in Europe in the 1980s: This period witnessed the highest rate of economic growth in Europe, prompting some European countries to counter the electoral rise of these movements. European governments have even adopted policies that weaken the legitimacy of the language and ideas of the far right, such as reducing the number of refugees or reducing their access to benefits and services, among other measures (Rothwell, 2016).

International reality shows that the emergence of these extremist parties is merely a political choice against immigration, as the political program of these parties presents itself. "The basic program of the National Front in France was based on a project to resist foreign immigration and expel all foreigners from the country, and the German far-right Republican Party (Republican) party in Germany was based on this same idea, as were the Vlaams Blok party in Belgium,

the One Nation party in Australia, and the New Zealand First party in New Zealand.

4.1 Estimates of the number of Syrian refugees in European countries:

The crisis has caused the deaths of more than 250,000 people and injured more than a million others, while more than half of the Syrian population has been forced to leave their homes due to the violence. On average, nearly 50 Syrian families have been displaced every hour of every day since 2011. In 2015 alone, more than 4.1 million people were displaced within the country, many for the second or third time, and increasing numbers of civilians are fleeing to neighboring countries. Inside Syria, there are currently around 5.13 million people (Amnesty International, 2016, p. 13).

By the end of 2015, more than 440,000 Syrians had arrived in Europe via sea (UNHCR, 2015).

4.2 Reactions of European political parties and movements to the influx of Syrian refugees

Security concerns have dominated the official political discourse of many European and Middle Eastern countries receiving Syrian refugees in light of the rise of international terrorism and extremist groups and organizations, particularly the terrorist organization, ISIS. The unstable international climate we are experiencing today is responsible for exacerbating the refugee crisis and casting its shadow over the region and the entire world.

The recent terrorist attacks carried out at Zaventem Airport in Belgium, on March 22, 2016, or what happened at the Orlando nightclub in the United States on June 12, 2016, or the suicide bombing at Istanbul's Ataturk Airport on June 28, 2016, or the vehicular attack in Nice, southern France, on July 14, 2016,the truck attack at a Christmas market in Berlin on December 19, 2016, or the recent attack on the Reina nightclub in Istanbul, Turkey, on New Year's Eve 2017 (Oudina, 2017, p. 115), were all carried out by refugees of various nationalities and claimed by the terrorist organization ISIS. They are evidence of the extent to which countries fear that these refugees and asylum seekers will turn into perpetrators of terrorist attacks on their soil.Refugees are now viewed as a real threat by Western countries, rather than being seen in a humanitarian light, and are considered a danger to their national security. This view is not limited to the West; all countries,

especially Arab countries, have come to fear the movement of extremist groups through refugee flows, especially since the region is plagued by most of the world's chaos, such as the crisis in Libya, chaos in Iraq, and wars in Syria and Yemen.

The camp of European countries south of the Mediterranean demands that the rest of the European Union bear a greater share of the burden of political asylum requests and the reception of more illegal immigrants. Meanwhile, the camp of European countries in central and northern Europe believes that this is contrary to the Dublin Agreement, which stipulates that dealing with asylum requests is the responsibility of the first European country that an illegal immigrant or political refugee sets foot in(Oudina, 2017, p. 118).

Most European countries are seeking to curb illegal immigration and impose greater restrictions on immigration and freedom of movement. In Britain, Prime Minister David Cameron admitted that his government had made a serious mistake by not restricting immigrants' access to the British labor market following the accession of Central and Eastern European countries to the European Union in 2004, which ultimately led to an unprecedented and unexpected increase in the number of immigrants to Britain.

Britain has already taken several measures aimed at limiting the number of immigrants, perhaps most notably the enactment of a new law on October 10, 2013, which places numerous restrictions on immigrants and refugees. This law includes several provisions, including forcing property owners to check the immigration status of their tenants, preventing illegal residents from opening bank accounts, and giving British authorities the right to deport foreign criminals to their countries first and then hear their appeals later. The new law also compels temporary legal residents, such as students, to pay certain amounts into the health insurance system to prevent what has become known as "medical tourism," whereby illegal immigrants receive medical care in British hospitals. It also imposes new restrictions on sham marriages, through which some immigrants may enter the country to reside in Britain (Fikri, 2016, p. 81). some immigrants to enter the UK to reside there (Fikri, 2016, p. 81).

This approach adopted by Britain to address the refugee issue has not been well received by official and unofficial actors in the country, on the grounds that the refugee issue affects British interests at the expense of receiving refugees. This has prompted some extremist parties to pressure Britain to leave the European

Union because of the burdens imposed by European policies on many issues, foremost among which is its handling of Syrian refugee issues.

There are fears in Europe that the impact of this referendum will spread to other countries in the region. One of the major ruling parties in Norway has called for a referendum similar to that in Switzerland to limit immigration to European countries. In France, former President Nicolas Sarkozy called, ahead of the European parliamentary elections, for tightening immigration procedures to European Union countries, introducing amendments to the structure of the Union, suspending the agreement that allows free movement between European Union countries that have signed it, and replacing it with a new agreement that would prevent foreign immigrants who enter one EU country from moving between other EU countries in search of the best social benefits they can obtain.

The refugee crisis has fueled the rise of the far right in most European countries and America. Although the far right has roots in European countries, the influx of Syrian refugees has led to the emergence of far-right and populist parties. Right-wing parties in Europe, such as the Austrian Freedom Party (FPO), Alternative for Germany (AFD), French National Front (FN), Danish People's Party, and Dutch Freedom Party, are all hostile to foreigners, especially refugees and Islam.

There is no doubt that the series of terrorist attacks that Europe has suffered has created fertile ground for the emergence of these extremist movements and parties, which now view immigrants as a threat to European national security. This hostility towards Islam on the part of these right-wing parties stems from the belief that openness to the outside world can lead to betrayal. What is even more dangerous, and what France and Germany fear, is the formation of a united front of European far-right parties, as called for by Marine Le Pen, leader of the National Front, to form a united front before the upcoming 2017 elections. The victory of the Brexit movement is proof of the extent to which the refugee crisis has influenced the rise of extremist parties in Europe and their victory in several seats in the European Parliament.

5. Conclusion

The international climate in the aftermath of the Arab revolutions, or what is known as the Arab Spring, beginning in 2011, and the security challenges that ensued, created a political environment that was highly conducive to extremist

tendencies towards Islam and Muslims, which may largely constitute a continuation of the clash of civilizations presented by Huntington during the Cold War. This hostility took on another dimension, particularly among far-right parties in Europe, as a result of the Syrian refugee crisis, which cast a shadow over European policies and the individual interests of each country, far from the idea of integration that had long been the hallmark of the European Union.

What is new in European attitudes towards international and regional issues is the rise of far-right movements in the last three years, known for their hostility towards Islam and immigrants to European countries, on the basis that these movements see the movement of immigrants or refugees as a constant threat to European interests at various levels. The far right has managed to shift many issues that were marginal in European politics to become the focal points of political discourse and election campaigns.

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