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**“Far right parties in the European Union towards the integration of Europe in the years 1992-2004”**

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**SUMMARY**

The dissertation aimed at mapping the approach to European integration and the activities of the extreme right-wing parties of the so-called EU-15, at the national and supranational levels in the period from the signing of the Treaty on European Union on 7 February 1992 to the EU enlargement to the East on 1 May 2004, followed by the European Parliament elections in June 2004.

As to identify trends, the author tried to answer the following research questions: What vision of Europe and role of nation-states did EU-15 far right parties have? What EU policies and actions did they criticize and which of them, if any, did they approve? Could these parties be characterised as Eurosceptic, and to what extent? If and how did extreme right-wing groups organize themselves at the international level as to influence the EU agenda?

As a result of the research, the author established that in the period 1992-2004, extreme right-wing parties were present in the political systems of all EU-15 countries, except Ireland. The majority of the EU-15 far right parties advocated a confederal model in the development of European integration, a vision of "Europe of Homelands".

The far right-wing parties from the EU Member States covered by the Schengen system usually sought its liquidation and return of internal border controls. Moreover, the extreme right-wing parties were overwhelmingly opposed to the euro adoption and in favour of the restoration of national currencies. Some, such as the German Republicans, warned against admitting new members to the Economic and Monetary Union without meeting the convergence criteria.

The approach of EU-15 extreme right-wing parties to migration and asylum issues remained coherent and radical. They postulated — often in a controversial way — stricter regulations, rejected the concept of multiculturalism, arguing for a significant reduction in immigration, mainly for socio-cultural and security reasons, but also raised the problem of the limited absorption capacity of the host countries' social security systems. Some far right formations emphasized the need to strengthen investment policy with regard to countries being the origin of migration.

However, the EU-15 far right parties showed a more differentiated approach to the Common Agricultural Policy: from the demand for its further reforms, as exemplified by the Italian

Northern League advocating a change in the distribution of agricultural funds, to the criticism of *Agenda 2000*, as in the case of the French National Front emphasizing preferences for domestic and European products, up to the demand for the renationalisation of agricultural policy and the transfer of competences to shape it to the national and regional levels, as voiced by the Austrian Freedom Party.

With regard to the EU's external relations, extreme right-wing parties strongly opposed globalization and championed economic protectionism. The EU-15 far right formations predominantly supported both the alliance with NATO and the strengthening of the Common Foreign and Security Policy. Moreover, in the years 1992-2004, the EU-15 extreme right-wing parties unanimously recognized that in the short term, the European Union should not enlarge to Central and Eastern European countries, and strongly opposed Turkey's EU accession.

During the analysed period, most of the EU-15 extreme right-wing parties represented soft Euroscepticism, demanding the retreat of European integration in some policy areas. Only a few far right parties, such as the Danish People's Party, could be characterised as hard Eurosceptics calling on a Member State to leave the EU or for the dissolution of the European Union. The exception was the British far right, showing strong Euroscepticism since the 1980s, and ultimately, even making Brexit their *raison d'être*, as exemplified by the United Kingdom's Independence Party created in the 1990s.

In the years 1992-2004, despite difficulties in institutionalization and in ensuring sustainability of supranational structures, a moderate progress was observed in the international cooperation of EU-15 extreme right conducted under the motto of uniting nationalistic forces.