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**The Roots and Implications of Rising the Right Wing in Europe**

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**Abstract:** During the last few years, extremist right-wing parties in European countries have found considerable popularity. In comparison with the past, they have achieved more seats in the European Parliament. Meanwhile, their slogans and policies are reminiscent of fascist ideals in the first half of the twentieth century. Before such seizing power, Europe was faced to the global financial crisis in 2007; the event which had considerable effects on politics and economics in Europe, such as the emergence of reformist and protesting movements. With regard to the consequences of the emergence of this trend in Europe on Iran's national security, its impact on the relations between Iran and Europe in the future and the opportunities and threats that will follow, the authors of this paper are aimed to examine the origins and consequences of this issue of power. Theoretically, the framework of the Frankfurt school is taken into consideration in response to how fascism rose in Europe, the financial crisis in the capitalist system and the lack of sufficient strength to deal with it. Thereby, inefficiency and insecurity in the economy lead the society to the extreme right tendencies and provides the groundwork for the formation of fascist states. According to this theory, European governments have not been successful in handling the economic crisis during 2007 - 2009 and the failure resulted in increased popularity of extremist right parties. Also, as the disability of European governments in dealing and controlling the effects of the economic crisis continues, the extrem right tendencies will obscure the future life of European Union.

**Keywords:** Frankfurt School; Economic Crisis; Right-wing; Europe Union

**Introduction**

Capitalistic economy faced with various challenges in last years of the previous decade. The begging of crisis started with intensive depression in housing market. This event rooted from incorrect policies of loan giving according to ideas of many people. This crisis showed itself seriously in people daily lives since 2007. Many people lost their jobs or faced with significant buying power reduction, many banks and credit institutions bankrupted, governments incomes reduced, and countries in crisis faced with serious challenge in economic growth.

In addition to this economic crisis, evolutions in other social fields expressed new groups and movements or reinforced some of professional groups as a part of them. Although, the social response to governmental policies for financial crisis in Europe after occupying Wall Street movement and later along with it includes varied intellectual and political movements from right-wing and left-wing, the

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groups that practically achieve political successes and could increase their powers were extreme right-wing movements.

After financial crisis since 2007-2009, the right-wing parties significantly succeeded in most European countries as they were the biggest winner of Britain leaving EU referendum in 2016. Their empowerment and their made challenge for European states, with any intention, is not limited just to parties' champions. They presented as a social movement in refugee crisis in 2015 and added to its complication. The empowerment phenomenon of right-wing movements in European Union countries can be studied according to various landscapes as left-wing approaches in international policy have tried detailed research about study of capitalistic system crises.

- ***Constitutional Crisis of Capitalistic System in View of Frankfurt School***

Among various contemplations that were expressed in criticism of capitalistic system in Western thought in 20<sup>th</sup> century, a critical review of Marx ideas and returning to the philosophy of Hegel are significantly important. Attempts of Frankfurt by important characteristics such as Max Horkheimer, Theodor Adorno, Herbert Marcuse, and now Habermas in criticizing capitalisms and modern society are considered as the most important of these contemplations. Frankfurt or criticism school that is classified in philosophical framework is an approach in reaction to lack of socialistic movements failure in industrial countries and arrival of Fascism system from inside the capitalism of 1930s. This school is actually an inevitably return to attempts for rationalization reality based on Hegel philosophy tradition. (Jay, 1996, p. 259)

The main difference between Frankfurt school and Marx thoughts, as it is attended in Orthodox Marxism, is their deepening criticism about the capitalistic system by considering the positivistic understanding of science, industrialization, and also modernity. This school reviews contradictions in capitalism besides studying issues such as industrial science, world, and technology as formation tools and permanency of capitalisms system, and also searches many crisis resources among such phenomena. This lasts until many people know rebellion against modernism, industry, and technology as one important features of philosophical Marxism of 20<sup>th</sup> century. (McInnes, 1972, pp. 170-172)

In this school, human society is mentioned as massive life realm or life world including relationship among members by symbolic interaction relying on understanding. This is a condition that was a changed condition in capitalism society and influenced by dominance from understanding to strategic form. This made anxiety in dominated societies by capitalism and a permanent crisis procedure in this system. Actually, what makes defects in today industrial world is domination of the hegemonic system on life world. Therefore, if science moves in its excepted framework can't acts to reach success as blessing, because it is influenced by the caused domination (Bottomor, 2002, p. 36) In this regard, Frankfurt school not only points at the capitalistic system, but also attacks to the collection of elements helping to the permanency of this system apparently or potentially.

When industrial society is discussed in idea of criticism school, it means where human is mesmerized and is in service of industry. Industry and technology play role as the main tools of capitalism with massive production and promotion of consumption culture as the focus of human life world. Conceptions such as alienation are proposed in this condition. The domination of capital makes the maximum possible production of good to be known as supreme goal and influence on various life aspects. Various social life aspects regarding to production are known and used for production in this society.

Horkheimer (1973, pp. 3-20) shows how Marx prediction about the desire of capitalism has accomplished. However, revolution conditions for the capitalisms dominance hasn't been prepared for the extension of new spaces. The welfare state is one of the most important examples of these new conditions. The welfare socialistic state has moved this effective social groups toward inactivity by making false satisfaction among workers; as though, worker cannot be considered as a liberal force anymore. Totalitarianism at capitalism could protect itself against revolution as it succeeded to open "new spaces" in front of itself, and socialisms of welfare state is considered as one of these spaces that were mostly seen after World War II. This usage of capitalism for socialism existed for survival in the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. This is a recognized policy by governmental support from industry in US and social nationalisms in Europe, Therefore, what is known in Europe as fascism is actually capitalism reaction to the condition that make it permanent against challenge.

Sometimes masses get concerned influenced by constitutional crisis of capitalism as a dominated system and refuge to the charismatic populist leaders and heroes to get free of this stress and express unbelievable destruction and ferocity from themselves by their selected leader guidance. Welfare state is similar to one of these populist or populist political phenomena of 20<sup>th</sup> century. Although, masses didn't interrupt to the formation of welfare state directly- as for example they acted in revolution movement of Russia in 1917 or about bringing government to the National Socialist (Nazi) in Germany-, they were the main role in formation and growth, of welfare state. (Briggs, 1961, pp. 232-234)

The history of the 20<sup>th</sup> century explicitly shows social and political evolutions that were rooted from periodic crises of capitalistic system as certification of a great part of scientists' beliefs in criticism school. In this regard, social and political reactions to crisis in capitalistic system has been to the history of this system or intention toward socialism or governments facilities haven't let them provide people wills, and relatively have led to socialisms in supportive political pattern from production or consumption. Later, some crises of capitalistic system are briefly reviewed here.

- ***Reaction Background of European Societies toward Economic political Crises: first half of 20<sup>th</sup> century***

Arrangement of an international economic system to be able to responding to space after war and its extensive damages after the World War I is the main objective of relationships between American and Europe. Germany debts to and abnormal conditions of this country economically in this period beside British less working and relatively illogical claims of France guided toward the situation that US was inevitable to satisfy on collapsing the dominated monetary system in spite of all attempts of preventing from this crisis.

New York Stock Exchange was so attractive in 1929 that prevented from capital outflow from US seriously. This matter started the great depression with final stop of capital outflow from this country. Germany refused to pay back its previous loans installments for disability of getting new loans. France started changing Sterling Lyrh' to gold and caused Britain gold reservoirs to reduce to international monetary base. Therefore, Britain set gold aside for lack of gold for gold system base in 1931. Anstalt bank was victim of this crisis. The rooted crisis from bankruptcy of Anstalt bank covered all over the Europe, and monetary system finally collapsed. (Kenen, 1989, pp. 404-405)

This big event made a turbulent decade in Western society. Defects in economy and disabilities of governments in responding to the made conditions moved crisis from economic era to political and cultural eras. In spite of all attempts to control crisis, two definite reactions are discernable in western society. US experienced the first reaction for having significant financial resources and also left-wing weakness, and fascisms was born as an output of the existence of two vulnerable countries in Europe.

What is known as welfare state and is mostly a belonged phenomenon after the World War II expressed specifically in America in 1930s. This evolution has been called new deal plan in US economy. Roosevelt put this plant in his agenda after coming to power in 1933. Government tried according to this plan to support agricultural reductions using its resources and motivated productive and commercial agencies. The significant difference between welfare state in US and what was later made in Europe was the importance of production and the manner of injection subsidence to economy. US government succeeded to start its effective supports for producers before arriving to crisis for existence of potential social fields such as civilized society and tooted professional unions. In this plan, before attention to consumers and governments service abilities, using <sup>irickle</sup> down, the ability and possibility of new and more employments, and also necessary legislations to supply active participation of workers in economic activities extension process were mentioned, while welfare state has been seen later by symptoms such as government extensive entrance to social services field.

At the same time, Europe faces with various problems to confront with crisis. Economic crisis in Europe brought red decade literally (Maniferd, 1974). It seems that socialisms were the only possible response to economic defects. European countries beside political tensions and involvements faced with the problem of financial resources. Italy and Germany were considered as the most significant points of crisis. War imposed heavy losses on people in Italy and didn't have significant benefit. The annual income of this country hardly equaled to Britain income at the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. These economic problems made government face with failure in fairly division of grounds among the retuned soldiers from war which led to the extensive uprising in this country. (Cohrs, 2006, pp. 21-26)

Germany condition was relatively more critical. Germany lost its all colonies which had significant role in its economic system. In addition to colonies, parts of soils particularly industrial part of Germany were arranged as recompense to France. The main problem for economic life continuity of this country was paying war recompense. This matter reduced the value of Mark currency and inflation increased. (Stackelbeg, 1999, pp. 69-74)

Fascism in Italy and its German version in its territories was the only accessible response to this pervasive crisis. This response was made from the indebted and emaciated governments' deficiencies and also the nightmare of communism. The extreme right-wing parties could empower first in Italy using public dissatisfactions and established its favorite security system. This movement in Germany empowered by national social by goal of removing the roots of defects. German industrial society determined the causers of the current condition more than leaning on social classifications structure. The glorious past myths was drawn by a mythical purity of the ethnic people for both countries. They were angary of individual reputation in liberalism and knew this level is individual independency and progress interruptive. Capitalisms in US succeeded to survive economic society from crises by injection financial resources. However, this system was indebted and penniless in Europe crisis and didn't find solution except totalitarianism.

- ***Crisis Continuity and Fascisms Life after World War II***

Although, fascisms lost its political power after World War II in Europe, the root of this movement gave life in western society to fascistic and semi-fascistic groups and parties. Fascism returned to its social bed after the fall of Hitler and continued there this social bed accepted fascistic movements' life for defects of capitalistic system. In other words, the small and various crises of capitalistic system justified parties which definitely appreciated Hitler totalitarianism or Mussolini, and knew themselves related, or ideas of both systems were significantly in their ideas and beliefs. (Look at Hedges, 2007)

After the World War II, US experiences about crisis control was intended by Western European countries, and welfare state was born in Europe. This form of state was first intended in Britain and then it was used by other countries influenced by Marshall Plan and the fourth principle of Truman. Welfare state in Western Germany was established in 1950s and then was intended as an essential and inevitable policy in France, Italy, and other members of Europe economic cooperation organization. This approach was selected in European countries beside tangible necessities of after-war period that was significantly influenced by US economic helps.

However, effects of European states actions can't be neglected in crisis control after 1945, and their passage by communism danger can't be considered unimportant, the protest movements in 1960s showed that this types of actions couldn't establish social stability in spite of significant costs that were imposed to states. Hippies, rappers gender movements, and environmentalists were the groups beside neo-fascists and extreme left-wings challenging traditional dissidents of capitalistic society.

Most of these movements such as hippies movement, that were later changed to tiny culture in the world, or other extreme movements who complained to the presented conditions were born in 1960s. Rock music found most of it fans in this decade and Hippies attempts in attracted people for the first time in Heath - Ashbery San Francisco district in 1966-1967 and May, 1968 movement of France that was formed beside workers movement and finally changed as a complain symbol against capitalistic relations. These movements happened 20 years after World War II, and capitalistic society had experienced significant experience of stability during these years. (Jobs, 2009, pp. 378-380)

Necessary conditions for rethinking in capitalistic elements were prepared more than any other time in 1960s. However, this rethinking before showing itself in political parties such as Marxism way of fighting has expressed in social bed by extreme approach. Fascist and neo-Fascist movements also returned to the western political life again for the first time after war in this decade. Extreme right-wing parties could express themselves again in Greece by military empowerment. Neo-fascism of Italian military organized a coup against government in 1964; although, they failed, this announced such serious approaches in Europe.

However, confrontation of capitalism and dominated political systems in west with protests in 1960s was is a way that these movements, even with success in their social bed, couldn't take political power effectively. The most important anti-capitalisms events during Cold War were European movement of May, 1968 that only could create effective symbol for combating. Labor unions as one of two main parties couldn't protect their loyalty toward student activists belonging to modern liberal and pacifist groups. Their reconciliation with the government of General de Gaulle shows great weakness of left-wings in Western Europe of that period. Dissidents' threat led to a limitation out of political power of capitalism reinforcement in 1980s. Capitalism system in two last decade of the previous century was in a situation that was considered as the maximum level of accomplishment for economic liberalism desires.

It seemed at the beginning of 1980s that welfare state wouldn't be able to respond western capitalistic needs. Creating a crisis situation of "guiding capitalisms" in 1970s and 1980s, particularly economic improper conditions, and daily increasing inflation besides significant defects in social era caused this imagination that was time traditional liberalisms experienced its existence fully for another time. Regarding to this attitude, a process started in western economy called "structural adjustment". Regarding to this plan, if western sub-governments had turned back following parties pressures from some liberalism principles, they had returned to the 19<sup>th</sup> century's economic liberalisms principles this time called "neo-liberalism" by inefficiencies experiences in combats against capitalism.

European advanced governments rebelled gradually from paying welfare services collections based on welfare state for accuse of resulted damages by debts crisis. Actually, neo-realism was designed and implemented as anti-government mechanisms ten years before giving back all of international fields from its traditional competitor. Privatization and liberalization that mean reduction in government interruption in economic affairs and liberalization market freedom in social fields by leaning on principles of traditional liberalism, accelerated in industrial countries and its implementation was recommended to the third world countries by international financial institutions such as the World Bank.

In 1980, Ronald Reagan found way to the White House as tight-wing pioneer. He won against his democratic competitors when he introduced his slogan as an extreme conservative. Reagan started neorealism wave in west that was called Reaganism later and could continue to one more decade after the beginning of 21<sup>st</sup> century in US. This movement started in Europe by prime-ministry of Margaret Thatcher in Britain. Reaganism was considered the leader of parties who knew the right-wing policies as solution of crises at that time both in US and Europe definitely. Although, these crises rooted from many cases in economy, the arrival of critical movements showed their threats toward social culture significantly.

Liberalism of economy and resetting of free market based on unlimited extension of the great commercial companies, and consequently intensive economic inequity are significant sign of Reaganism in reaction to the condition in which capitalisms future is faced with threat in industrial countries, while governments' services started reduction that was the first time after the World War II that right-wing could empower with this volume of effectiveness in west. (Williams, 2003, p. 44)

Neorealism started in 1980, continued to 1990s after the Soviet collapse with the power of George W. Bush in 2001 in US, and subsequently right-wing parties showed in Europe that was proposed as a significant and undeniable approach in the industrial world in spite of all problems. That was an approach as the most important reason for the recent economic crises according to the ideas of some observers. According to their ideas, the occurred crisis in 2007 and cause of instability in financial markets and credit institutes in an industrial countries was an event caused following full dominance of global neoliberalism in 1980s. (Dumenil & Levy, 2011, pp. 1-2)

- ***Financial Crisis in 2007 and Social Response of European countries***

Many people knew tendency of financial markets to anti-regulations in the past decades in US as starter of the great financial crisis in 2007 (Farzinvash and Barkhordari, 2010, p. 118). Simultaneous with these changes considered equal to neoliberalism, interest rate decreased by federal and American banks significantly changed their financial resources supplement ways for mortgage loans. They intended to housing mortgage in bond market. This model makes more cash possible for customers of banks. Banks got installments from housing mortgage loan receivers and intended payments to the owners of bonds. Therefore, caused risks by giving loans were transferred to stock exchange. Crisis started when creativity of the mortgage loans that was called mortgage loans grade 2, housing production increased significantly and supply exceeds on demands. This event made depression inn housing market and subsequently houses values didn't justify installments payments by buyers. Significant numbers of buyers using housing mortgage, grade 2 refused to pay their installment in 2007. Based on law, their property was given to loan provider financial institutes for auction to supply customer debts. Resupplying the auctioned houses increased the made distance between supply and demand and led to crisis more complication. (Acharya & Others, 2009, pp. 93-96)

Crisis was continued to other industrial countries rapidly, and Europe was its first destination. European Union also proved financial help package of 200 billion euros of course later than US to support

economy of 27 countries. Western governments started coordinated actions by this assumption that crisis is controllable by government. These actions were effective on people daily lives Europe more than any other places. Economic austerity policies made dissatisfaction wave among US and European people. However, US formally announced in June, 2009 that depression finished and the made defects would remove soon. The European countries smoothly felt the effects of positive economic growth at this time.

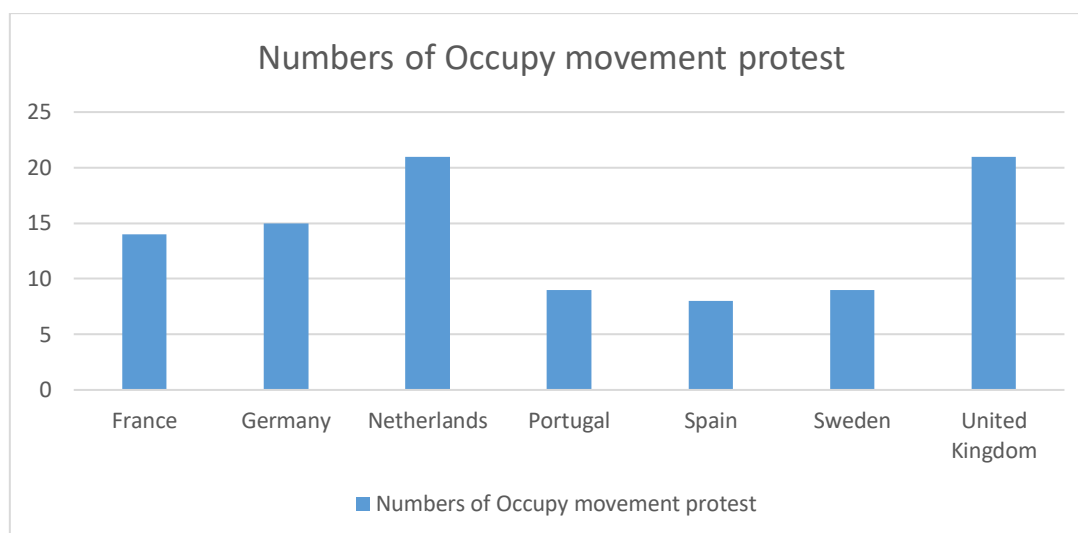
Greece was the first country showed calculations inaccuracy. This country announced at December that it had 300 billion debts. Greece crisis provoked concerns about economic future of EU. Later, EU warned again to France, Spain, Ireland, and Greece about reduction in budget deficit, and it was indicated that crisis was not only attributed to Greece. At the begging of 2010 and crisis continuity, EU selected more rigid policies about the involved countries in crisis. This union announced by condemning Greece accounting system that government budget deficit of this country reached to 12% domestic gross production. It is quadruple of the determined roof for Euro areas members. One month later, Greece put economic austerity plans n agenda by aim of reduction in budget deficit in order to reduce foreign pressures. This action not only didn't lead to crisis reduction, but also led to political inflammation in this country. All this time, the devaluation of the single currency of Europe, euro, continued and some European countries, particularly Ireland faced with difficulty in sale of their bonds in market. Crisis continuity beside austerity policies and pressures increase to mean level people made extensive protests in US and Europe. The peak of these protests expressed in occupying Wall Street movement. In September, 17, 2011, US youths protests extensively in Wall Street in New York for the dire economic situation, US class differences, and current policy of this country. In this aggregation that was very peaceful and without anger by protesters, they asked US people to join them for protest against US government policies. This action of US youths was intended by other protesters to protesters of other industrial countries, and the occupying Wall Street movement didn't limit just to US. This movement will titles such as 99% asked governments not to put the made pressures on ordinary people by condemning big financial institutes and significant economic agencies which were maker of this crisis.

Occupying Wall Street movement continued to capitalistic economic system in protests after a wall to the great areas of the world. European countries were the first host of this movement after US. This figure was 21 protests in October and November in Britain. 200,000 people participated in protest of October, 15 on Rome.<sup>1</sup> Figure (1) shows the protest aggregations of occupying Wall Street in 7 EU-membered countries.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> <http://www.ilfattoquotidiano.it/2011/10/16/come-previsto/164205>.

<sup>2</sup> [http://www.cadtm.org/IMG/pdf/World\\_Protests\\_2006-2013-Final-2.pdf](http://www.cadtm.org/IMG/pdf/World_Protests_2006-2013-Final-2.pdf).



**Figure 1. Numbers of Occupy movement protest**

Movement progress in EU is analyzable as a sign of EU governments; response failure to crisis consequences in 2007. Brown Gartner shows how governments' facilities in industrial countries, particularly Europe face with crisis with serious limitations to respond effectively. European countries don't have power of providing effective helps and facilities to economy after crisis. He explains that arrival of new powers in international economy, particularly their empowerment in international monetary and financial organization framework cause limitations for European governments to provide helps in future. In addition, economic crisis reduced industrial countries status in international economy. Such landscape showing power transfer in international political economy is proper condition to continue crisis in developed countries. (Gartner, 2010, pp. 208-210) Governments' disabilities in responding to economic concerns are a significant factor in making condition of right-wing parties' empowerment who didn't participate in power for their extreme views. This process intensified after Greece crisis and after than by refuge crisis in EU.

- ***Empowerment of Right-wing Movements and Refugees Crisis***

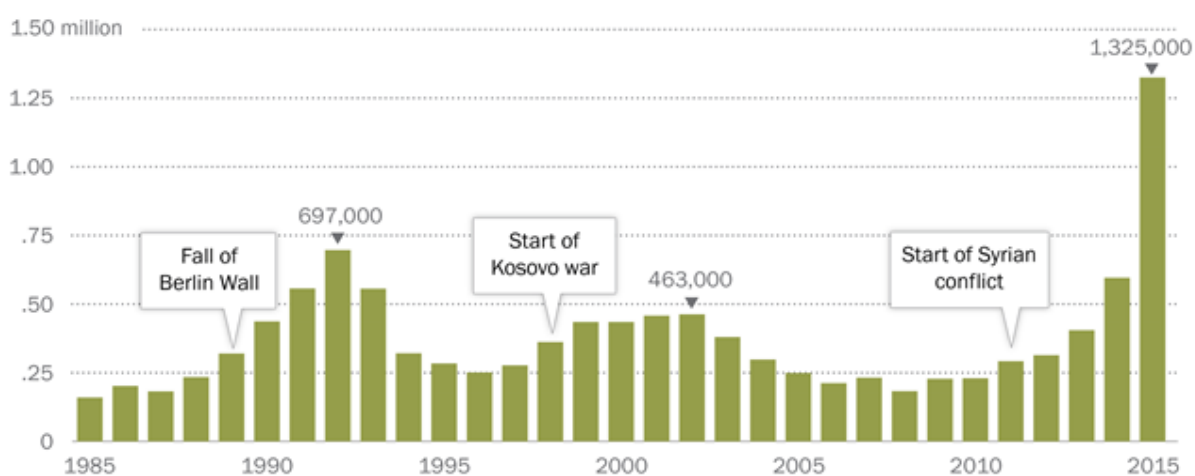
Middle East turbulence in 2013 and 2014 led to unpredictable increase to refugees demand to Europe as 150,000 demands in 2008 reached to 1,023,000 demand in 2015. This increase changed to crisis when EU faced with problem in a responsible decision for the issue. Reaching to one comprehensive decision faces with problem for boundary countries' concerns in south and east of EU, and these countries followed decisions of EU about how to face with crisis. The main issue was attribution of refugees that EU must have divided among its members to manage refugee demand increase. Figure (2) shows crisis development in 2015.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> [http://www.pewglobal.org/2016/08/02/number-of-refugees-to-europe-surges-to-record-1-3-million-in-2015/pgm\\_2016-08-02\\_europe-asylum-01/](http://www.pewglobal.org/2016/08/02/number-of-refugees-to-europe-surges-to-record-1-3-million-in-2015/pgm_2016-08-02_europe-asylum-01/).



## Number of asylum seekers in Europe surges to record 1.3 million in 2015

Annual number of asylum applications received by EU-28 countries, Norway and Switzerland, 1985 to 2015



Note: "Europe" consists of the EU-28, Norway and Switzerland. Asylum seeker definitions varied by European country prior to 2008. Numbers for asylum applications since 2008 are based on first-time applicants and do not include appeals or transfer of applications between countries. See [methodology](#) for more details. Data on asylum applications is missing for some countries in some years. See [Appendix A](#) for list of countries with missing data. All countries that are part of the EU today are included in previous years' data even though several were not part of the European Union in earlier years. Rounded to nearest thousand.

Source: Pew Research Center analysis of Eurostat data, accessed June 22, 2016.

"Number of Refugees to Europe Surges to Record 1.3 Million in 2015"

PEW RESEARCH CENTER

**Figure 2. Number of asylum seekers in Europe surges to record 1.3 million in 2015**

Dublin Convention that was signed in 1990 executed in 1997. Summarily, it is written in this convention that each refugee entering to the territory of EU must apply for refuge in the first membered country of this union. This crisis led to collapsing Dublin convection as an event happened under pressure from a flood of refugees from Africa and the Middle East who passed Mediterranean and entered to Italy, Greece, and recently as an extensive migration from Syria to Hungary and Bulgaria. Some countries like Germany, Belgium, Denmark, and Sweden accepted to anticipate more applications of refugees. Other countries like France made obstacles in its southern boundaries to prevent from refugees to north. Hungry right-wing government made a fenced and prickly wall on the border with Serbia, and police force of this country was criticized by public thought for misbehaviors with refugees. (Dalakoglou, 2016, pp. 183-185)

Based on Dublin law, this country must prevent from massive entrance of refugees to EU. This country was obliged to survey who entered to its boundaries, and start the process of refuge application for who it imagined escaped from war or suppression. However, this country didn't have efficient facilities and readiness to do any of these cases. Britain was exceptional of EU immigration policy. This was the main approach of Cameroon government against crisis. European convection accepted this argument technically. Therefore, London announced that it would accept more Syrian refugees but not among whom reached to Europe since then. Giving asylum to these refugees encourages human trafficking groups and more refugees to dangerous marine trips to reach Europe. (Banulescu-Bogdan & Fratzke, 2015)

Finally, European countries could agree with Turkey that is acceptable for all members of convection. In framework of this agreement, the refugees were guided toward Turkey territory, and who succeeded to pass Turkey, were returned there again. A refugee stayed in Turkey during application and decision. The number of direct asylum to EU countries reduced after execution of this plan and some hopes appeared. However, crisis lasted its effects in EU. The most important effects of crisis are evaluated as EU damage points. These effects about EU horizon were analyzable like a convection of countries above all based on collective benefits.

EU faces with a serious question economically and signs of security aspects expressed for economic issues in EU. After finishing Europe annual budget for refugees and government obligation to pay in this field, EU structure was inefficient in providing necessary supports. Rich countries of EU such as Germany just faced with criticisms of right-wing groups. However EU or right-wing government had power in weaker countries such as Hungary, or right-wing movements significantly influence on governments' policies about it. That was happened in most European countries. Strengthening of nationalism in EU-member countries is considered as another consequences of this crisis. Governments moved toward strengthening their national benefits against mass benefits in this crisis. Actually, they prevented from execution of EU formal agreements by referring to national benefits. This divergence continued since EU members accused each other to break the initial commitments. For example, Hungary complained formally about breaking its governance y Romanian boundary forces. Issues including security of EU boundaries and their powers to accountability while crisis are other effects of this crisis. (Veebel & Markus, 2015, p. 258)

Important points about refugees crisis and its destructive effects on EU includes role of right-wing parties in this crisis. These parties developed their powers in European countries more than ever in 2007-2008. This empowerment development and its landscape is one of the most significant factors of failures against refugees' crisis according to many people ideas. Maria Skora (Skóra, 14 Januar 2016) indicated that right-wing parties and populist had significant development, particularly in central Europe. This movement got the government control in Hungary in 2010. Fidesz conservative party in Hungary succeeded to win the most parliament. In addition, Eubic extreme right-wing party with radical slogans could win for the first time to present in parliament. "Sweden party" as a right-wing party could reach 5/7% of parliament votes and found way to the parliament of this country. Right-wing parties had similar conditions in European countries in 2010 and 2011. "Real Finland" party in Finland was people's party in Denmark, freedom party in Netherland, and "national front" in France are parties which could develop their political power in years after financial crisis.<sup>1</sup>

The empowerment procedures of right-wing parties continued to 2015, when was the escalation of refugee crisis. They won significantly in Europe parliament election in 2014. France national front won 25% of votes by achieving 24 seats. The UK Independence Party that was led by "Nigel Farazh" won 23 from 73 seats of European parliament, and Sweden right-wing party won more than 10% of votes.<sup>2</sup> Totally, right-wing party succeeded in this election to increase their sears from 32 to 45 in EU parliament under the title of "Free and democratic Europe".<sup>3</sup> Right-wing party significantly exceeded from the dominated party in Poland by wining 39% of votes in Poland parliamentary elections. The alternative

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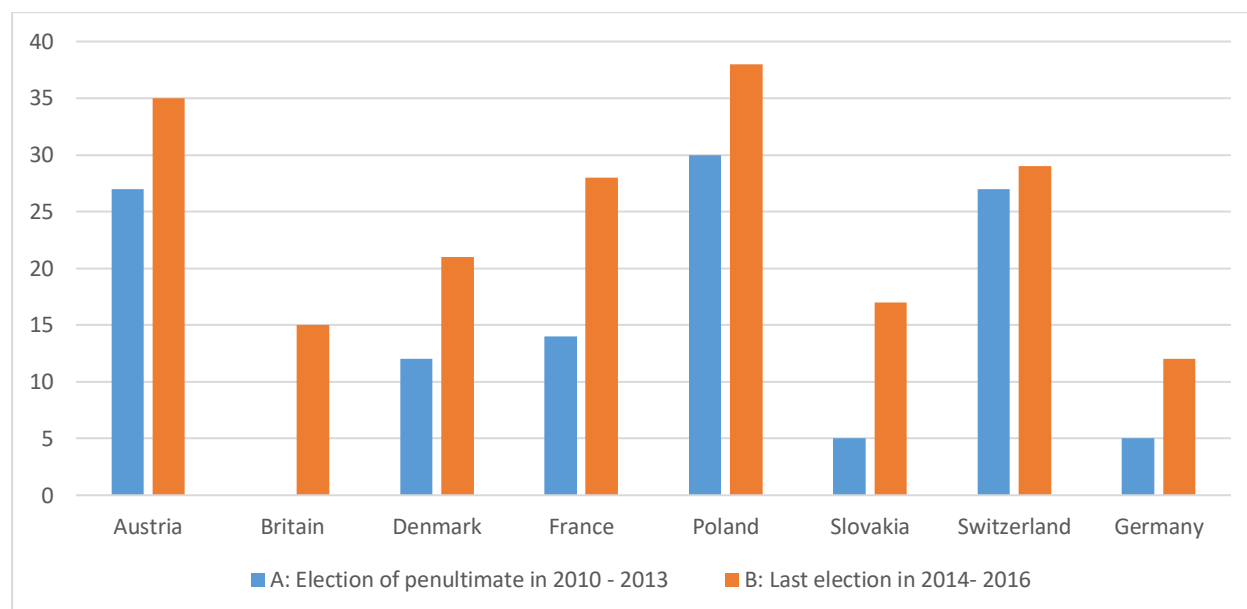
<sup>1</sup> <http://www.dw.com/fa-ir/%D8%B1%D8%A7%D8%B3%D8%AA%DA%AF%D8%B1%D8%A7%DB%8C%DB%8C-%D8%A7%D9%81%D8%B1%D8%A7%D8%B7%DB%8C-%D8%AF%D8%B1-%D8%A7%D8%B1%D9%88%D9%BE%D8%A7/a-15273039>

<sup>2</sup> <http://www.viewsoftheworld.net/?p=4133>.

<sup>3</sup> <http://www.bbc.co.uk/democracylive/europe-33332656>.

left-wing party for Germany could win 24% of votes from three provinces of Saxony-Anhalt, Baden-Württemberg, and Rhineland-Palatinate in 2016.<sup>1</sup>

Figure (3) shows right-wing party growth in two previous parliamentary elections in 8 EU-membered countries. A shows parliamentary attribution percentage of right-wing party since 2010-2013. B shows their votes in the last parliamentary elections of these countries since 2014-2016.<sup>2</sup>



**Figure 3. The 2010-2013 & 2014-2016 elections**

Right-wing growth in Britain was significant more than other EU-membered countries. They won significant results from parliamentary elections in 2014 and could maximize their supporters since referendum 2016. This was the beginning of a new crisis after refugee crisis. In referendum at June, 23, 2016 in Britain, more than 17 million people vote to absence of that country in EU (In contrast, more than 16 million people vote to exist in EU), and Brexit movement succeeded. Referendum for Brexit was a part of the dominated party's election agenda by leadership of David Cameroon, the prime minister in 2015 parliamentary elections. This approach is analyzable according to social capacity of right-wing party and its attention to elections in 2014. Cameroon didn't know Britain membership in EU fairly in electoral positions framework and said that he would try to reach better conditions, then people would be asked to share ideas about membership in this union.<sup>3</sup>

Opponents of membership in EU believed that the approved laws of European institutions mean denial of the sovereignty of the British parliament and imposed improper regulations for business in this country. They know membership dues, Britain attribution in EU budget, as wasting people resources of this country. It was said that this budget could improve internal facilities such as ones in health and care centers. Immigration of other EU-membered countries citizens to Britain was one of the most important opposition topics to continue membership. As opponents said: freedom of entrance and residence of

<sup>1</sup> <http://www.dw.com/fa-af/%D9%85%D9%88%D9%81%D9%82%DB%8C%D8%AA-%D8%AD%D8%B2%D8%A8-%D8%AF%D8%B3%D8%AA-%D8%B1%D8%A7%D8%B3%D8%AA%DB%8C-%D8%AF%D8%B1-%D8%A7%D9%86%D8%AA%D8%AE%D8%A7%D8%A8%D8%A7%D8%AA-%D8%A7%DB%8C%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%AA%DB%8C-%D9%88-%D8%A2%DB%8C%D9%86%D8%AF%D9%87-%D8%B3%DB%8C%D8%A7%D8%B3%D8%AA-%D8%A2%D9%84%D9%85%D8%A7%D9%86-%D8%AF%D8%B1-%D9%82%D8%A8%D8%A7%D9%84-%D9%85%D9%87%D8%A7%D8%AC%D8%B1%DB%8C%D9%86/a-19115050.>

<sup>2</sup> [http://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2016/05/22/world/europe/europe-right-wing-austria-hungary.html?\\_r=0.](http://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2016/05/22/world/europe/europe-right-wing-austria-hungary.html?_r=0)

<sup>3</sup> [http://www.bbc.com/news/uk-politics-32810887.](http://www.bbc.com/news/uk-politics-32810887)

European citizens made extensive immigration of cheap workforce from many low-income countries, particularly to East Europe. This matter not only got job opportunities from internal force. But also immigrants entered double pressure on facilities for using social facilities.<sup>1</sup> These arguments were accepted in Britain according to many experts of neo-nationalism empowerment. This procedure was passed in 2014 and 2015 more than ever according to propaganda independence party of Great Britain and movements such as “first Britain”. This propaganda happened with centrality of opposition to immigrants and EU policies in benefit of Britain.<sup>2</sup>

- ***Acceptance for Right-wings, Financial Crisis Consequences***

Right-wing procedures have been reinforced by fascism approaches in Europe after Brexit. Ultranationalists felt proud of their victims in Europe and promised similar future to their countries. Dutch freedom party leader, in Dutch is Partij voor de Vrijheid, (PVV) from right-wing parties wrote in his personal Twitter immediately after financial result of Britain referendum that the Dutch also have the right to hold referendum. Jeroen Hukeh, the boss of alternative fraction party of Germany (AFD) asked for similar referendum in Germany in Thuringia. Hukeh said that the Britain left the collective madness and voted to people governance and democracy by leaving the Union Europe. Marine Le Pen, French national front leader, wrote immediately in his twitter after the final result of similar referendum in Britain: victory of freedom! As what I wanted years ago similar referendum must be held in France and other European countries. Swiss People's Party (SVP) talked about deep gap among political elites, and people in related affairs to EU and the leader of the Austrian Freedom Party (FPÖ) knew the result of Britain referendum opposite to “political centralisms” and refuge policies and wrote: if EU didn't choose comprehensive and deep modification procedure, it would damage.<sup>3</sup>

If was also said that expression of racist tendencies in Britain and some other countries increased. According to report of Time Newspaper, Britain police called 331 crimes with hateful motivation in a week after referendum. The average of this statistics in a week after Brexit was 61 cases. These crimes happened against immigrants before all. For example, agents curse the foreign-born citizens, prepare physical attacks against them, and broadcast anti-foreigner comments on social networks and night letters.<sup>4</sup> Analyst Guardian believed that what made the result of Britain elections and success of right-wing movements is the result of people distrust on the main and traditional movement in power.<sup>5</sup> This condition made right-wings change themselves leader of opponents and critics of present conditions by staying far from raciest elements and focus on identity issue.

Racist slogans on the identity issues found opportunity of extensive advertisement. Extreme right-wing populism approach played more effective role in empowerment continuity in gap between governments and people or between EU and Europeans. In most European countries, from one hand every political parties, including the Communist, Socialist, Green, center-right, etc. and right-wing one the other hand were as the only anti-structural force and the only hope to change in political scene.<sup>6</sup> Consequently, governments disabilities in response to public demand along with making trust among voters would be the most important factor in Right-wings' empowerment in future of Europe. Economic condition among what can be studied as efficiency of dominated parties in Europe is response to social and welfare demand.

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<sup>1</sup> [http://www.huffingtonpost.ca/abubakar-kasim/brexit-right-wing-extremism\\_b\\_10705426.html](http://www.huffingtonpost.ca/abubakar-kasim/brexit-right-wing-extremism_b_10705426.html).

<sup>2</sup> <https://theconversation.com/britain-exits-the-eu-how-brexit-will-hit-america-61412>.

<sup>3</sup> <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/jun/24/european-far-right-hails-britains-brexit-vote-marine-le-pen>.

<sup>4</sup> <http://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/crime/racism-hate-crimes-increase-brexit-eu-referendum-a7113091.html>.

<sup>5</sup> <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/may/25/across-europe-distrust-of-mainstream-political-parties-is-on-the-rise>.

<sup>6</sup> <http://www.tisri.org/default-2197.aspx>.

Based on pioneer views of Frankfurt school in 1950s-1960s, capitalism system being critical between two global wars was led to fascism arrival by right-wing tendency increases, and formed socialisms of welfare state after the World War II. Arrival condition of welfare state was accomplished when European governments had desirable economic growth that was able of paying governmental costs with this level of welfare. Increase in right-wing movement in 1970s happened when taxpayers dissatisfied with the offered services by government. At this time, crisis started and reduction in government costs was considered as the only possible way. After financial crisis in 2007, the continuity of government disabilities in economic fairly management led to reinforcement of right-wings. Governments' disabilities in responding to society demands were the most important condition to appear extreme right-wing movements after crisis. Events such as Greece crisis, refugee crisis, Britain leaving from EU show European governments weakness in periodic crisis consequences management in 2007.

As the dependent research to social democratic faction in Europe parliament showed that "extreme right-wing empowerment is analyzable in European societies concerns, these social concerns or stress happened and developed after economic crisis. Actually, collection of crises with social, political, economic, and particularly identity issues led to progress of extreme right-wing acceptance among voters. These are like the developed crises after economic crisis consequences in 2007 and as a result of governments' disabilities in its control.<sup>1</sup> For example, some authorities believe that capitalism economic crisis reduced benefits such as convergence - hope make more profit - in the framework of the Union such as the Europe Union. These contradicted conditions are discussed in issues such as identity crisis and populist slogans progress.<sup>2</sup>

## **Conclusion**

Contemplations of the pioneers of the Frankfurt School in collection of their responses to failure of Marx predictions about capitalism system crises refer to explanations about escapes in the system to avoid socialist revolution. Two experiences of fascisms by influence of economic crisis in 1930 and welfare state in 1960 were studied in works of critical school thinkers, and were analyzed along with avoidance capitalism system from revolutions. In this regard, lack of economic conditions to form social political economy increased capitalism system intention toward fascism or extreme right-wing. This conditions led to empowerment of Hitler and Mussolini after crisis in 1929. Empowerment of extreme right-wing movements in Europe in current decade is analyzable as consequences of 2007-2009 financial crisis.

European governments disabilities against financial crisis effectively led to some consequences in EU in last years if the previous decade. Public protests to capitalism economic structure during the occupying Wall Street movement and continuing crises such as the economic crisis in Greece to victory of Great Britain's leaving plan from the Europe Union in 2016 are analyzable on global consequences bed during 2007-2009. Actually, crisis showed limitations of European governments for extensive economic helps. It intensified limitations of nationalism resources and the divergence of the Union in the European societies. Empowerment of extreme right-wing parties is analyzable in this framework in more EU-membered countries.

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<sup>1</sup>[http://www.socialistsanddemocrats.eu/sites/default/files/position\\_paper/Rise\\_right\\_wing\\_extremism\\_populism\\_europe\\_en\\_140416.pdf](http://www.socialistsanddemocrats.eu/sites/default/files/position_paper/Rise_right_wing_extremism_populism_europe_en_140416.pdf).

<sup>2</sup> For example, refer to: <http://euroacademia.eu/presentation/the-european-economic-crisis-revitalizing-national-identity-through-political-cartoons-and-images-2/>.

[https://www.ucl.ac.uk/european-institute/docs/greece\\_seminar\\_brochure.pdf](https://www.ucl.ac.uk/european-institute/docs/greece_seminar_brochure.pdf).

Studies have shown that tight-wing parties got great successes in election fighting during 2010 to 2016. They also continued their social activities. Their persuasion power to persuade Britain people for positive pole to Brexit shows their effectiveness on the big range of Britain society. This situation is accomplishable by communicative networks development in other EU-membered countries. Although, effective entrance of extreme right-wings to power for limitations of European governments structural limitations against crisis can weaken their situation, fascism experience intensifies this concern that the mutual European values and ideas will face with what consequences after the empowerment of extreme right-wing parties?

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