Populist-Nationalism and Foreign Policy: Cultural Diplomacy, International Interaction and Resilience

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Veröffentlichungsversion / Published Version
Monographie / monograph

ifa Edition Culture and Foreign Policy

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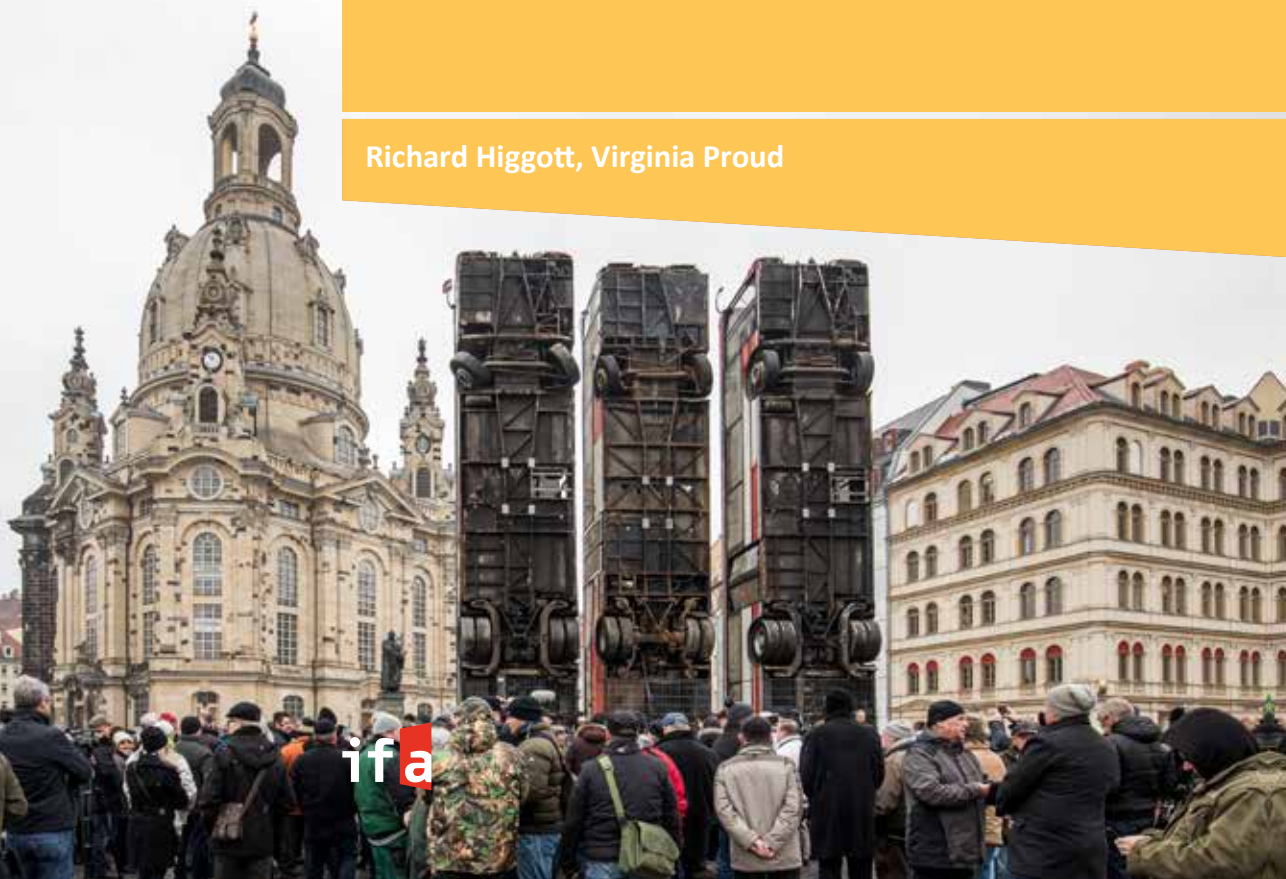

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Cultural Diplomacy, International Interaction and Resilience

Richard Higgott and Virginia Proud

ifa Institut für Auslandsbeziehungen

Content

Acknowledgment and Declaration

Richard Higgott was contracted by ifa (*Institut für Auslandsbeziehungen*/Institute for international cultural relations) to undertake the writing of this Report. He engaged Virginia Proud as his co-researcher and author to assist in the production of the document. The Report reflects only the authors' views and not those of the ifa. ifa is not responsible for any of the information it contains.

While not a formal deliverable in the framework of the Horizon 2020 project on European Leadership in Cultural Science and Innovation Diplomacy (EL-CSID) project, research undertaken in the preparation of the Report is directly relevant to and will be used to support the work of EL-CSID. The EL-CSID project has received funding from the European Union's Horizon 2020 research and innovation programme under grant agreement No 693799. Both Higgott and Proud have received funding from the project. They wish to acknowledge that support. As with ifa, the Report reflects only the authors' views. The EU Research Executive Agency of the European Commission is not responsible for any use that may be made of the information that the Report contains.

Foreword

"The work of an independent arts sector can reflect the values of a community, speak truth, expose political and social hypocrisy within a nation, improve the quality of life, build social and cultural capital, and inject imagination into processes of resilience and re-invention", state the authors in this study.

The societal and political cleavage between liberal and inward-looking, nationalist formations divides Europe. In many European countries populist and nationalist parties have entered parliaments at local, regional and national level and gained increasing political power, which will impact the cultural sector and international cultural relations. How can the cultural sector resist and possibly counter the growing influence of nationalist and inward-looking political forces?

The authors of this study, Richard Higgott and Virgina Proud, analyse the PNZ (populist nationalist zeitgeist) in different European countries, and discuss its impact on European international cultural relations. The study forms part of ifa's Research Programme "Culture and Foreign Policy", in which experts address topical issues relating to culture and foreign policy with the aim of involving academics, practitioners, policymakers and the public.

I would like to thank Richard Higgott and Virgina Proud for their excellent work and commitment to this research project. Special thanks also go to my ifa colleague Odila Triebel for her invaluable conceptual input, and to Sarah Widmaier and Isabell Scheidt for their work on the conception and editing of this project.

International cultural exchange, dialogue and cooperation need safe spaces for experimental thinking and critical discussion, which are ever more exposed to nationalist, inward-looking forces. Therefore, cultural institutions need to intensify their work in providing those spaces, and enhance international cultural relations and cooperation in order to maintain liberal democratic values.

Ronald Grätz,
Secretary General, ifa

Abstract

The Report addresses resilience strategies as a response to nationalists as actors of foreign cultural policy. It focuses on the last several years, especially that period since the global financial crisis of 2008 that has seen a rise of nationalist populism as a political phenomenon across the globe – including the United States, Asia and Europe. The Report captures the essence of what we call the populist nationalist zeitgeist (PNZ) and its infiltration of the European political and policy process, including the role of emerging communications technologies. It examines these phenomena at both the level of ideas and ideology and at the level of practical politics, foreign policy and international relations. Empirically it focuses on Europe with particular reference to the European Union (EU) and several key member states (France, Germany, Hungary, Italy, Netherlands, Poland and the UK) to identify the key populist movements and parties and their beliefs, policies and practices. Through an investigation of literature, expert commentary, news reporting and social media, it investigates trends and practices of populist movements in their views and in-fluences on international relations and foreign policy. The Report gives special attention to the cultural dynamics of foreign policy and the degree to which actors (from both government and civil society) can develop strategies of cultural resilience against the populist nationalist urge. The Report stresses however that such strategies cannot be pursued in isolation from their wider socio-political and economic contexts.

Executive Summary

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The Report identifies the implications of the PNZ in political and applied policy settings. While not homogenous, some commonality can be observed in the ideological values and practices of the populist nationalist movements in Europe. At the ideational level, there is a shared belief in the concepts of sovereignty, nation and identity in preference to those of global society, cooperation and cosmopolitanism. These ideas reflect a number of empirical political and policy positions:

(i) A major scepticism towards globalisation and economic openness, especially the liberal trade regime.
(ii) Opposition to collective action problem solving via the international multilateral institutions.
(iii) A major scepticism towards the European project and its key principles: notably the diminution of state sovereignty and closer integration with more government from Brussels.
(iv) A commitment to stemming the flow of immigration into Europe.

(v) A solidifying preference for relationships with Russia over the USA. This is the case notwithstanding the current US administration's shared populist antipathy to the liberal international order.
(vi) A political preference for direct democracy over representative democracy via the wide use of referenda and internet-based engagement.

Until recently, both the principles of democracy and practices of liberal democratic actors have been on the back foot and slow to respond to the rise of right-wing populism. Part 3 of the Report argues, this was not only because they failed to give sufficient legitimacy to the concerns identified in the populist agenda, but also because traditional parties of both social and liberal democratic persuasion were slow to appreciate the extent and power of the disruptive impact of social media and changes in the news media sector that the populists were readily exploiting to push their agenda and speak directly to supporters disaffected with 'traditional' politics.

There has been a tendency in some quarters to overstate the PNZ, and the Report offers some evidence that the resistance is now underway. In 2017, social and liberal democrats, whether found in parliament, in civil institutions, or citizens organising locally, have begun to fight against nationalism, in support of the principles and benefits of the EU.

For this fight to be successful, it will need to build and enhance resilience to the PNZ. Before addressing specific cultural actors and impacts, there are political and public policy questions that require addressing, at the national and EU level. At the most general level democratic actors must respond to the grievances that have given rise to the PNZ. Specifically:

(i) Globalization and economic openness must be defended. To do that successfully both individual EU member state governments, and the EU, as actors have to establish the necessary compensatory mechanisms to support those disadvantaged by globalization and re-instate the currently frayed social bond between the citizen and the state.
(ii) Governments must recognize that identity concerns are genuine and that not all appeals to identity are necessarily xenophobic. The public policy pertaining to refugees and migration needs to be recognized for the complex issues that they are and addressed accordingly.

(iii) In addition to international economic challenges governments must recognize that threats to the liberal international political order are real and ongoing. The EU and member states must coordinate multilateral collective action political responses—especially in the absence of clear, liberal leadership (individual and collective) from the USA.

Until the PNZ is reined in, its political actors pose a threat to the arts and cultural community. To the extent that populist nationalist parties articulate a specific cultural policy, it favours, if not expressly requires, the arts to serve the nationalist agenda. Beyond this, as this Report will attest, the evidence of existing and proposed policies suggests a preference for the withdrawal of support to arts and culture. Communities and industries at local, national and EU levels, both state and non-state alike will require support from anti PNZ sources. They will also need to strengthen networks if they are to halt, or reverse, the intrusions made into cultural policy and international cultural relations in recent years.

The success of the new strategy for the enhancement of EU international cultural relations, adopted by the European Council in May 2017, as a way of mitigating cross-cultural tensions, is as yet unknown. It will be determined by its implementation over the next few years – especially the degree to which state and non-state action can be coordinated and implemented as part of the EU's recently adopted Strategic Vision. It is an important work in progress.

Part 1. Introduction

1.1 Assumptions, Focus and Policy Aim

This Report has been prepared, following a Call for Expressions of Interest (the Call) by the ifa Research Programme on "Culture and Foreign Policy" for a study of "Resilience Strategies as a Response to Nationalists as Actors of Foreign Cultural Policy" (sic). The Call stated:

> "Nationalist parties and grass-roots initiatives are gaining momentum throughout Europe and are increasingly communicating across national borders. They present themselves as the respective guardians of the national culture and, together with their partners from neighbouring states, they seek to forward their issues on the European level.
>
> Which agendas and strategies for foreign cultural policy as pursued by right-wing populist parties are discernible? On the other hand, which resilience mechanisms are being developed by liberal-democratic cultural institutions to counter contexts that are being narrowed by nationalistic narratives? How can the project work of these cultural institutions respond to the burgeoning forms of nationalism and populism? Where can the first approaches be seen, and can they be applied to other scenarios? In particular, the issue must be addressed as to how cultural institutions can reach a broader range of target groups with their work, i.e. how can they appeal to a broader public exceeding the group of culturally interested people? In a European comparison, the study seeks to identify best practices as well as potential to show how liberal-democratic cooperation across borders can be increased. The study intends to provide inspiration for new formats, partners and means."

The Call makes three empirical assumptions: (i) that we can identify nationalist actors engaged in foreign cultural policy; (ii) that these actors are observably influential (to a greater or lesser degree) in foreign cultural policy and (iii) that strategies of resilience to nationalism and populism can be identified and operationalized. The normative assumption is that growing illiberal, as distinct from liberal, nationalism (Smith 2017) is not to be welcomed, that democracy needs to be supported and, for the purposes of this Report, the influence and activity of nationalist actors in international relations in general, and foreign cultural policy in particular, need a counter strategy of resilience.

To be faithful to the demands of the Call, the Report is similarly underwritten by an empirical geo-political assumption and a normative assumption. Firstly, that we are at a pivotal juncture in the early 21st century; the European Union (EU) and its member states face unprecedented challenge from a range of crises of an economic, political and socio-

cultural nature, that together amount to an "existential crisis" for the EU (see the EU's Grand Strategy 2016a). The normative assumption, in keeping with that expressed in the Call, is that the growth of populism and nationalism in European politics at the national and international level is not something to be encouraged, but rather to be resisted and rolled back. Hence, while the Report is methodologically an exercise in qualitative analytical social science, it is also an exercise in normative, applied advocacy-oriented public policy.

In order to respond to the intentions of the Call, the Report concentrates on the emergence of what we have chosen to label a "populist/nationalist zeitgeist" in Europe and beyond (the PNZ). While the influence of the PNZ stretches across the political spectrum of both the national/domestic and international/foreign affairs of several prominent EU member states the Report concentrates on the PNZ's influence on international cultural relations and foreign (cultural) policy and diplomacy.

The rise of populism, we argue, is neither consistent, nor uniform, and its growth and influence should not be overstated. However, as we will show, populism exacerbates nationalism in international relations, presenting major challenges for liberal democratic states. At the national level it places strains on the social bond between citizens and the state (see Higgott and Devetak 1999) and at the international level, as is widely understood, it is testing the continued viability of the liberal international order which has prevailed for the 70 or so years since the end of the Second World War (see for example Ikenberry 2017).

The project cannot, and does not, address all aspects of this current time of crisis for the liberal international order. It focuses on two issues:

(i) the interactive relationship between culture and foreign policy, as one key element of the wider international policy agenda and
(ii) how this relationship is affected by the rise of the PNZ and those actors – political parties, movements, the media (old and new) and civil society – that seek to maintain and enhance the PNZ's momentum.

To focus on the theory and practice of socio-cultural actors is not to dismiss the political and economic dynamics present in this surge of populism and nationalism. Indeed, political economy questions, including arguments against globalization and economic openness, are of a salience similar to that of socio-cultural issues in any explanation of the

growth of the PNZ. But, in keeping with the terms of reference of the Call, the Report privileges inter-cultural relations and practices rather than economic and political ones.

1.2 Structure

The Report focuses on Europe and a number of crucial member states, with specific attention to nationalist activity and its implications for international relations in general, and foreign cultural policy in particular. It proceeds as follows:

(i) A brief contextual introduction to the current, challenging environment in which the EU and its member states operate. We have referred to the "global distemper", to describe the twofold, but inter-connected, backlash against the liberal political order on the one hand and the neo-liberal globalized economic order on the other. Please note the clear distinction drawn between liberalism and neo-liberalism. The distinction we draw is captured respectively in their approach to the role of the state in the provision of welfare in the writings respectively of John Maynard Keynes on the one hand and Freidrich Hayek on the other (see Wapshott 2012).

(ii) An analysis of the elements of theory and practice of modern nationalism in Europe, and the growth of populist politics that cohere into the PNZ. Expressed as a question, we ask: why have the dominant cooperative, integrating trends in the international policies and practices of the members of the EU over the last 60 years attracted a growing resistance from increasingly vocal populist and nationalist groups across Europe?

(iii) A comparative mapping that focuses selectively on France, Germany, Hungary, Italy, Netherlands, Poland and the UK to identify the key actors pursuing a populist-nationalist agenda in the foreign policy environment of the EU. This includes:
   a. How, and to what extent, in addition to their individual domestic aspirations the new populist and nationalist movements articulate and even cooperate across borders in a common project?
   b. An examination of the strategies and policies employed by these movements to enhance the PNZ, including the influence of technology as a disrupter of traditional approaches to policy-making and politics.

(iv) A discussion of the relationship between nationalism, culture, foreign policy and international relations. Specifically:
   a. How populism and nationalism are challenging the assumptions and practices of the liberal international political and economic orders.

b. Liberalism's response to this attack, from its position as a social systemic philosophy and as a set of economic and political practices, and the arguments for countering the PNZ and restoring the social bond between state and citizen.

(v) An examination of the constraints and opportunities facing mainstream, traditional actors (states, political parties and liberal/cultural civil society actors and organizations) in developing resilience strategies in the face of the PNZ. Specifically:

a. What we mean by "resilience" and how strategies of resilience might be operationalized.
b. The challenges to "cosmopolitan internationalism" by nationalism, and specifically the tensions it gives rise to in the international cultural relations of the EU and its major European states.
c. The specific instruments at the disposal of the EU and its members states to develop resilience strategies.
d. The prospects and limits of the role of the artistic and cultural communities as agents of resistance to populist and nationalist intrusion into foreign cultural policy.

(vi) In conclusion, it examines the current endeavors of the EU to enhance its collective action in cultural diplomacy in an environment of mounting nationalist pressures. We consider strategies for mobilization and mitigation against the PNZ, including reform of the liberal democratic project in general, and the European project in particular.

Part 2. The PNZ, Culture and Foreign Policy: Conceptual Analysis

Historically this is not the first time we have witnessed populist and nationalist trends in Europe. We should be reminded of the contingent, and often cyclical, nature of history. We should also recall that in recent history many, although not all, urges of a nationalist and populist persuasion (across the entirety of the left-right political spectrum) have invariably ended negatively, including the outbreak of war.

Because of the open-ended theoretical positioning and political practices in earlier periods, neither nationalism nor populism lend themselves to a precise, or enduring, definition. Indeed, both, populism and nationalism are what philosophers and social scientists call "essentially contested concepts"[1], requiring context. As such, we offer this following contextual overview.

2.1 The Global Distemper and EU International Interaction

> "The era of neoliberalism is over.
> The era of neo-nationalism has just begun."
> Mark Blyth, Foreign Affairs, 2016

2.1.1 Some Historical Context

To understand how populism and nationalism regained a political hold in some key areas of the European body politic and European international interactions, we must contextualize it within recent wider readings of European history. Populist and nationalist positions have waxed and waned throughout the development of the domestic body politics of European states over the last two centuries and historical observation tells us that global engagement has been a norm rather than an exception for most of Europe, especially the colonial powers, for the past five centuries. The EU today is routinely confronted with remnants of Europe's prior colonial involvement when acting globally. Its initiatives, economic, political and indeed cultural, at times, continue to be met with wariness and even resistance from some of its modern day international partners. Thus, the EU's actions are constrained, its intentions questioned, and at times even the legitimacy of its international role challenged.

[1] For a general discussion see inter alia: the earlier seminal definitional discussions in Gellner and Ionescu (1969) and Canovan (1981) and the more recent discussion to be found in Diewiks (2009) and Mudde (2017).

The history that confronts the EU is that of imperial imposition and how it exported and forced upon others negative as well as positive ideas, values, institutions and conditions (Hobson 2004). Yet this story of imposition obscures an important part of the very constitution of Europe and how the colonial enterprise came to have a lasting effect on European mores, values and practices. Some of the more xenophobic of these attitudes are again unfortunately shining through in populist and nationalist movement's behavior, especially issues of cultural identity and immigration.

What is misunderstood, or lost, in the language of the PNZ is the fact that our modern understanding of Europe is in considerable part the product of its international interactions, beginning with its colonial experience (reflected in the economy, the slave trade and the extraction of resources). Important, aspects of what it means to be European have been learnt, imported and borrowed from (colonial and exogenous) others Its core values have been shaped and challenged by non-European influences over the centuries, and this process continues today (Bowdon 2009).

While Europe borrowed, it also imposed. These experiences of imposition and rejection form a part of the canvas for current trends towards the polarization and radicalization of identity – both within Europe and beyond. Thus, the EU's endeavors to contain xenophobia and radical violence must not only build on its own cultural borrowing but also confront its past practices of imposition. History is not simply the background for current challenges or a guide for solving current problems. It is an inescapable context within which both challenges and responses play out.

This context is of critical importance to the current challenges facing the EU. Only by self-consciously situating itself as an actor in a re-negotiation of its historical context can the EU and its member states, with a couple of notable exceptions such as Hungary and Poland, ensure that the projection of European values and culture is seen as part of the answer, rather than a cause of the current distemper.

2.1.2 The Present: Both a Global and a European Crisis

A failure to understand the impact of history on the present in part explains why the momentum of the European project has stalled, with 2016 marking something of a high-water mark in the global distemper. We should not underestimate the impact of the last forty years of globalization (see Baldwin 2016), but now, with the PNZ playing a critical role, we are seeing (with a sense of foreboding for some and elation for others) its poten-

tial unraveling. Indeed, if ever we doubted the significance of culture in politics and international relations, events of 2016 have dispelled that myth.

It is worth recalling that the global order for most of the three decades after the end of the Cold War has been maintained, albeit less so of late, by the USA in its role as a self-interested yet self-binding hegemon (Martin 2004). Equally, the EU over a similar time period and in the course of its evolution from a customs union to a single integrated market saw itself as a model for economic, and increasingly political integration and the bastion of support for multilateralism (see Telo 2016). Russia and China did not, until recently, seek to challenge the key rules of the system.

But while the US is still the pre-eminent individual global power, its continuing global leadership role under, and likely following, the Trump administration, is increasingly uncertain. Europe, beset by its own difficulties, has seen its model for economic integration lose any appeal it ever had in East Asia and other regions. Instead of the three geo-economic "pillars" of a multipolar world (North America, East Asia and Europe) it might now be said we are seeing the emergence of a horizontal "thread" – increased nationalism – running through Trump's "America first", the rise of illiberal democracy across parts of Central and Eastern Europe, a reinvigorated "Putinesque revanchism" in Russia and an Asia increasingly in a semi-willing thrall to China, as the US vacates its economic, if not strategic, role on the Asia Pacific chessboard.

The liberal order, and the EU's role in it is changing. The preferred multilateral global modus vivendi is weaker than at any time since 1945. The EU's share of global wealth is stalling while other areas, especially Asia, are growing. The EU is also lagging in technological innovation (Merritt 2016: 1). Moving from vision to action will require a credible, responsive and cohesive EU, made all the more difficult by the rise of populism and nationalism. As the EU Strategic Vision document points out, "living up to its values will determine the EU's external credibility and influence" (European Commission 2016a: 9). This aspiration puts pressure on Europe to speak with "one voice" in the face of the PNZ. This is proving difficult in many areas of international relations and foreign policy. Even trade, for so long the success story of a single European competence, is coming under strain as the UK and a new US President seek to tear up the old rules of the multilateral trade regime.

These preceding issues, coupled with the EU's pre-existing internal problems, have brought distrust in European institutions to a level unprecedented in the life of the Euro-

pean project and at the same time provided fuel to the nationalists. Brexit, the election of Donald Trump and the growth of populist nationalism and illiberal democracy across Europe are all testament to the cultural drivers of political resistance and change. Growing nationalism, nativism and protectionism are crude attempts to protect what is perceived to be the traditional historical cultures of a mosaic Europe, and cast massive policy shadows over the "liberal" international order that prevailed for the last 70 years and within which the EU has largely flourished.

Globalisation is not in reverse, but indicators suggest it is slowing down.[2] If we try to put a specific date on this trend, then we may say that the current distemper began with the global financial crisis (GFC) of 2007/08. It demonstrated the fragility of the financial system and its limitations for risk management (see Wolf 2014). It also exacerbated the gap between globalization's principle beneficiaries and its losers. One legacy of the GFC is that the relationship between capitalism and democracy has come under greater strain than at any time in the last 100 years and the stabilizing effect of a functioning public sphere has diminished, with implications for relations between states and citizens. The political events of the last few years in many countries reflect an explicit protest against further global economic integration

The negative economic indicators are causal in the growth of increasing political instability as the frustration and anger of the workers in the "sunset industries" of the USA, UK, France and other European countries has been harnessed and amplified by populist politicians. These experiences have destroyed popular confidence in the competence and probity of business, the administrative and political elites.

While the "political economy of globalisation" is clearly relevant, it is the degree to which populism holds out an illusory appeal for the dispossessed that seems most salient to this Report. In the absence of measures to offset years of austerity policies, or failure to provide domestic social compensation for the losers of globalization, virulent anti-globalization politics are unlikely to be contained. This has inevitably negative implications for political stability. As Rodrik notes for both historical and ideological reasons, this is much more difficult in the United States than it is for those states of Europe, including even the UK, with a stronger tradition of social welfare.[3]

[2] Financial Times: https://www.ft.com/content/ade8ada8-83f6-11e7-94e2-c5b903247afd [18.10.2017].
[3] Project Syndicate: https://www.project-syndicate.org/commentary/free-trade-losers-compensation-too-late-by-dani-rodrik-2017-04 [18.10.2017].

The growing opposition to the liberal trading system and the turn (both rhetorical and practical) towards protectionism cannot be addressed in detail here. More relevant for this Report, has been the emergence of deep fault-lines in the politics of the advanced countries – especially the USA and major European states. Where politics for much of the 20th and early 21st centuries was conducted between the centre-left and the centre-right this is now less so the case. Populism has moved the debate to the extremes of the political spectrum. Elections divide countries now, rather than unite them, and with increasing global interconnectedness, the issues contested, and often the contestants themselves, are having a significant influence on international relations.

Critical divides can be found on a number of axes; perceived elitism, geography (urban/rural) and education, all of which have been exacerbated and exploited by populism. An issue for Europe in 2017 and for this project at the time of writing, is whether events such as Brexit and the election of Donald Trump represent a high-water mark or just a beginning of a greater fracturing and fragmenting of the European polity. The messages from the elections in the Netherlands, France and Germany are mixed. Populist support remains strong notwithstanding the failure of Geert Wilders or Marine Le Pen to secure office. And as we will discuss, populist rhetoric and tactics have clearly influenced the strategy of their competitor parties.

An important, pending issue is the degree to which Britain's departure from the EU might strengthen or weaken European cohesion in the face of a growing nationalist agenda. Put as a question: while weakening the EU in brut material terms, might not the departure of the UK enhance the EU's sense of self and ability to speak with "one voice"? The polling evidence and anecdotal evidence available at the time of completing this Report (October 2017) would appear to be "yes". A recent survey by the Friedrich Ebert Stiftung (2017) in core European states found the 6/10 respondents felt that Brexit was strengthening of the EU.

Brussels's efforts to develop a collective view of internationalism has always differed considerably from that of the departing British, whose geography, history, religion, political economy and often triumphalist psychology has always set them apart from elements of the European project other than the single market. Alternatively, Brexit could be said to be the failure of EU internal cultural diplomacy with potential negative externalities. How, we might ask, do you convince the EU's external partners of its virtues, if it cannot convince the populations of its own member states?

For better or worse, foreign policy is often divided into clichéd sectors – with security and trade as the domains of hard power and culture (and science) packaged in the domain of soft power (Nye 2004). Europe, in developing its understanding of its foreign policy, has adopted this dichotomy when analyzing the prospects for its collective role in international relations. So, a puzzle for EU external relations (considered below) is the degree to which it is possible to operate as a united entity, or perhaps less ambitiously, speak with a coherent voice, in opposition to growing nationalism in international relations, when foreign policy is still a national preserve.

2.2 Some Conceptual Clarifications concerning Populism and Nationalism

2.2.1 Populism

Populism is a contested and imprecise concept suffering from overuse and stretching, but the concept captures a desire to secure spontaneous moral regeneration says Isaiah Berlin.[4] Historically it has tended to exhibit some or all of the following characteristics:

(i) It is, with occasional exceptions "past directed", and makes appeal to a nationalist nostalgia and a myth of organic national unity that can be captured in the notion of "forward to the past".

(ii) It is anti-elitist and relies on an us versus them narrative and political ideology.[5]

(iii) It is particularly resentful of enlightened cosmopolitanism and sees internationalism as antithetical to the interests of ordinary people. For populists "cosmopolitan" is elitism with international undertones and encourages a sense of anger and entitlement amongst those who feel they have been excluded from this particular (internationalizing) "progress".

(iv) It negatively brands people or movements that are unmoored from the traditions and beliefs of nation, and who rather identify with like-minded people regardless of their nationality – Teresa May's citizens of nowhere.

(v) It is an assertion of moral authority. Populism invariably cast its opponents as corrupt and/or immoral.

(vi) It relies on oppositional rhetoric. It is invariably oppositional rather than programmatic and definitional. It thrives on a common enemy not a common policy position.

[4] http://berlin.wolf.ox.ac.uk/lists/bibliography/bib111bLSE.pdf [18.10.2017].
[5] http://scholar.harvard.edu/files/gidron_bonikowski_populismlitreview_2013.pdf [18.10.2017].

Populism and right-wing nationalism can be distinguished from left-wing (Podemos in Spain and Syriza in Greece), or religious radicalization to be found in parts of the Muslim world. In the contemporary era, the targets of right-wing populist angst are immigrants and refugees on the one hand as a threat to national identity, and cosmopolitan and internationalist elites on the other – be they in Washington or Europe's capitals, especially Brussels. We will discuss this further in the Part 3.

2.2.2 Nationalism

Nationalism has been debated in international relations for two millennia, especially since the writings of Machiavelli and the emergence of the modern Westphalian state system in the 17th century. But this is not a report on nationalism per se. What we can say with certainty is that—contrary to the more simple-minded mega-globalist rhetoric of the late 20th century (see quintessentially Kenichi Ohmae's 1990 The Borderless World) – the nation state remains central to the modern world (see Dieckhoff 2016). But the existence of the nation state is not the same as the sentiments of modern nationalistic behaviour with its often accompanying atavistic baggage and chauvinist, sometimes xenophobic, claims of nationhood.

Our specific aim in this Report is to understand the socio-cultural dynamics of the identity politics being used by politicians and other actors to advance the PNZ at the expense of an alternative value system underwritten by the theories of liberalism and democracy, and practices of multilateralism and multiculturalism. To explain the surge of this particular kind of nationalism, we have assumed a strongly synergistic relationship between populism and nationalism. We will also identify some of the mistakes in the political myopia of liberal globalists that have been a spur to the PNZ. Notably, globalism was for too long propelled by an unfounded assumption that nationalism was an outmoded, "archaic aberration – a primitive form of tribalism astray in a modern world" (Dieckhoff 2016). Clearly, this is not the case.

To put the traditional understanding of populism and nationalism into a current context, we have undertaken a sampling of the last few years media's political coverage and commentary, party materials and social media. It is possible to identify commonalities in attitudes, behaviours and rhetoric, and these can be loosely organized into a number of binary, oppositional characteristics (versus the "elites"/"liberals"). The table does not provide an exhaustive analysis of nationalist populist rhetoric rather than capture its spirit.

Table 1: The Binary Characteristics of Contemporary Right-Wing Populism

Means (tone and approach)	Message (rhetoric and substance)	Critical Distinctions
Destruction v Elevation	Control v Helplessness	Nationalism v Patriotism
Assertion v Evidence	Taking Back v Giving Away	Societal concern v Racism
Propaganda v Information	Cultural Preservation v Identity Loss	Real people v Political Class
Personal Abuse v Argument	Security v Uncertainty/Risk	Movement v Party
Connection v Disinterest	Self Determination v Red Tape/Bureaucracy	Common Sense v Intellectual Arguments
Paranoia v Reassurance	Straight Talk v Political Obfuscation	Internal v External focus

2.2.3 Resilience

Resilience as a concept operates across a variety of scientific fields of inquiry, from engineering and chaos theory through to psychology and management studies (see Capano and Woo 2016). Indeed, as Capano and Woo note, governmental resilience has become something of a fashion statement in contemporary public policy making. For the purposes of this Report, we understand resilience as the ability/capacity of an agent (state or non-state alike) to recover from significant negative or confrontational setbacks and perturbations; be they generated endogenously or exogenously.

Resilience to contested norms and ideas is essential to an analysis of contemporary democracy (social or liberal) in the face of the PNZ. Again, put as a question: to what extent are social liberalism and social democracy in Europe, and the EU showing resilience in the face of the PNZ?

A further issue is the degree of robustness attendant in strategies of resilience (see Capano and Woo 2016); that is, the capacity and organization of an actor to absorb shocks and to reboot organizational responses. Resilience is clearly an important element of public diplomacy in general and, increasingly, cultural diplomacy in particular. In a discussion of the Eurozone crisis of 2012, Cross and La Porte (2016) demonstrate the "protective tools" that public diplomacy and by extension as we will show, cultural diplomacy, might bring to bear in the face of setbacks.

In the context of cultural foreign policy and diplomacy, the practical issue is how to counter the inward-looking, and at times xenophobic, nationalist agenda, that conflict with the outward looking foreign policies of most of the member states, and the EU as a foreign policy actor in its own right. Following Cross and La Porte, we can again identify several strategies for bolstering resilience to attack from the PNZ; notably:

(i) Asserting the legitimacy and benefits of an actor's existing culture, identity, values, policies and practices and

(ii) Developing a flexibility and resolve to re-organise and adapt to rapidly changing socio-political circumstance.

In the decade between the Lisbon Treaty and the global financial crisis (GFC), the EU had little doubt about the attractiveness and strength of its identity, values, processes and practices, secure in its self-defined role as a normative power (see Manners 2004) with substantial progressive integrative prowess. From the time of the GFC, the mounting crises besetting the EU challenged the confidence of the Brussels policy community, notwithstanding its many assets (including its international delegations and the growing profile, presence and activity of the EEAS). While its principles and values remain attractive for large sections of the global community, what the Vision Strategy (2016a: 9) calls Europe's existential crisis has clearly emboldened the populist nationalist discourse across the Union.

In Part 4, we consider two issues. Firstly, the resolve of the EU and member states to counter the PNZ's influence over the foreign policy process in general, and cultural diplomacy in particular. A cooperative project such as the EU, made up of democratic states with their own assumptions of sovereignty and interest, inevitably exhibits an internal dissonance (Cross and La Porte 2016: 10) over the level and location of decision-making that must be addressed. In cultural foreign relations the primary decision making competence rests with the member states. Brussels has only a supplementary, supporting competence. As we show in Part 5, this has consequences for the pursuit of cultural relations and cultural diplomacy.

Secondly, we look at the role of the cultural sector as a source of resilience against economic and environmental shocks, and that political polarisation that threatens the existing social fabric. The recent Salzburg Global Seminar examined The Art of Resilience: Creativity, Courage and Renewal. As it noted:

> "Historically, most efforts to better understand capacities for resilience have focused on material responses, whether technological, scientific, physical, socio-political, or economic. More recently, however, the roles of culture – writ large – and the arts have become a new source of inquiry. The creative sector, as a source of unconventional thinking and innovation, opens up promising opportunities to harness civic imagination for greater cohesion and resilience."[6]

2.2.4 Culture, Cultural Relations and Foreign Policy

Culture is another term that defies precision. It describes a broad spectrum of thought, and activity from social behaviour, customs and norms through collected artistic and creative endeavours of a society. It comprises activities ranging from heritage (artifacts and icons) through music, theatre and old and new mediums of communication to language, ideas, beliefs and the support of cross-national research and education in the arts, humanities and social sciences as well as science. Cultural property and practices have both material and politico-strategic value, and all serve as mediums for international cultural relations and cultural diplomacy.

Further, culture from its German origins meaning "self-realisation", reflects a society's historically determined, moral, religious and national beliefs. It is often seen as synonymous with a society's values. Norms, while culturally determined are different and more precisely describe the prescriptive manner in which societal actors behave. Cultural dialogues are usually about norms of interaction, not values, and they are adaptive (see Crowe 2011: 6-11). It is the evolving nature of norms that makes cultural diplomacy and interaction a difficult and at times unpredictable instrument in the pursuit of foreign policy and international relations especially if trying to use it as a vehicle for a more joined up European policy in the face of nationalist challenges.

Cultural relations and organisations long ago escaped the boundaries of the state and in an optimum-case scenario they, along with politico-strategic and economic relations, form a third pillar of foreign policy. As a consequence, our understanding of the relationship between international cultural relation and cultural diplomacy may sometimes be imprecise, but cultural dialogue and exchange are critical elements of the contemporary diplomatic conversation and particularly important for the EU across all facets of the cultural spectrum.

[6] http://www.salzburgglobal.org/fileadmin/user_upload/Documents/2010-2019/2017/Session_577/SalzburgGlobal_Report_573__email_.pdf [18.10.2017].

Pursued well, international cultural relations and cultural diplomacy can be one of the most sustainable and visible instruments of external relations. Cultural (and educational) programmes tailored to the needs and interests of people in partner countries can create a broad basis for stable and positive international relations. At the same time, international cultural relations can help build trust, support a country's societal development as well as assist business and political players to find important and reliable partners.

As the European project evolved in the post WWII we assumed a set of substantive, shared values at the heart of "Western" culture; including commitments to a market economy, some variant of liberal democratic governance, religious tolerance, other human rights and a free press, that we would wish for others to appreciate, receive and eventually accept. Accordingly, international cultural relations and cultural diplomacy should promote European integration and present Europe and its member states as a modern and attractive location for education, science, research and professional development.

The EU Preparatory Action report on the role of culture in the EU's external relations (European Commission 2014: 8)—admittedly prepared at a time prior to the recognition of the emerging strength of the PNZ—stressed the growing salience for the EU of mutual learning and mutual sharing in what it calls "global cultural citizenship". It recognised the increasing role of a range of civil society and private sector actors, notably philanthropic organisations, corporate sponsors, higher education providers (public and private) and cultural relations organisations with their "huge potential for enhancing European influence and attraction" (European Commission 2014: 9). Culture, it said, "has entered the heart of international relations thinking as a major public policy issue" (European Commission 2014: 18).

Culture is not static. It responds to each new generation's aesthetics and tastes, changes in economic accessibility and technological disruption. The internet and digital technology has created not only new possibilities for engagement within and between societies, but entirely new behaviours. Change has been dramatic, especially with the increasing use of social media, which has all but removed barriers to participation and exponentially extends the range of actors (official and otherwise) in international cultural relations. Unfortunately, while we might see and know more about the cultures of others, it does not necessarily follow that we are better at understanding them, or that it leads to mutual respect and engagement.

The speed of the digital platforms, increased transparency and engagement can bring enormous benefits, but alarmingly, as we discuss in Part 3, the checks and balances on responsibility, representation and legitimacy that can be applied to group behavior, have been diminished by the ease with which all groups, irrespective of aims and responsibility, can access the wider community. Social media is cheap, effective and subject to little restraint (other than self-restraint); distortion and misrepresentation abounds and is often unaccountable, particularly whilst anonymity is permitted. And, as we will discuss further, it has been particularly significant in the growth of the PNZ. As Sunstein (2017) shows, the internet drives political fragmentation and extremism and assists what he calls the development of polarization entrepreneurs over which there is little or no control. These innovations render redundant much traditional understandings of, and discourses in, cultural diplomacy. For example, the Institute of Cultural Diplomacy provides one broad traditional definition as follows:

> "Cultural Diplomacy may best be described as a course of actions which are based on and utilise the exchange of ideas, values, traditions and other aspects of culture or identity, whether to strengthen relationships, enhance socio-cultural cooperation or promote national interests; Cultural diplomacy can be practiced by either the public sector, private sector or civil society." (Institute for Cultural Diplomacy 1999)

Defined like this, the international interactions of cultural diplomacy at first sight seem uncontentious; indeed benign. But it is not. The ICD definition does not reflect modern day complexity. Cultural diplomacy and cultural relations undertaken by an increasingly ideologically driven set of civil society actors, with the new social media at their disposal, becomes a political weapon for good but also equally for uncivil and malign activity. The traditional definition also fails to distinguish between culture, norms and values.

There is however, another modern-day problem. Assumptions of a shared Western culture in the era of a PNZ are not axiomatic. Moreover, we invariably disagree about the norms, as practices, that will ensure the successful delivery of cultures. We should not be certain that these values amount to a common "European cultural persona", or set of normative practices, that transcends national boundaries. That there may be a core of support for some generic values in Europe is not the same as universal support for them; especially amongst the increasingly socio-culturally diverse communities of the EU. The rise of the PNZ has brought this fact home to directly challenge many of the assumptions underpinning the universalizing assumptions of the EU's new strategy for international cultural relations.

Thus, another key question is how Europe might be successful in its quest for enhanced international cultural relations in the face of a growing PNZ. To do this, Europe needs at least some consensus around its own culture and values. But a battle over values is proving disruptive both within and beyond its borders at this difficult time in the history of the EU. Certainly, the PNZ presents a substantial challenge to any assumption of universalism. We cannot expect those European norms and values developed since the Enlightenment – and especially a desire to export liberal democratic values – that they should be universalisable in the 21st century.

This agenda has been brewing in Europe for some time. Following the Preparatory Action Report on Culture in the European Union's External Relations (European Commission 2014) an initial framework for a new strategy of international cultural relations for the EU was formally articulated in the 2016 Joint Communiqué on Cultural Relations[7] and finally adopted by the European Council on May 23, 2017[8]. The strategy is aimed at promoting diversity through inter-cultural interaction and argues that the approach should be bottom-up and, in theory, respect the independence of the cultural sector. Somewhat contradictorily, the strategy, notwithstanding a rhetorical commitment to cultural diversity from below within the EU, is keen to develop a greater coherence in presentation pushed, albeit gently from above.

But an alternative reading of the strategy, and the one most likely to be received beyond the borders of the EU, is that its real aim is to promote EU culture and values vis-a-vis the influences of those other great players in the contemporary global search for influence: the USA and China. While there is nothing inherently wrong with such a strategy, there is a risk that promotion of common culture may generate resistance if used to counter populist nationalist causes. The EU needs to tread very softly both within the EU and with third countries if it is not to fuel the PNZ resistance internally within the EU or generate a backlash externally towards its cultural diplomacy with extra-European partners.

The EU may find a set of shared values in "Western culture" – including commitments to a market economy, democracy, religious tolerance and press freedom. But its members disagree widely about the norms for upholding them. Can they be the basis of a common cultural identity and, by extension, a unified approach to policy? The answer is both yes

[7] https://ec.europa.eu/culture/policies/strategic-framework/strategy-international-cultural-relations_en [18.10.2017].
[8] http://www.consilium.europa.eu/en/press/press-releases/2017/05/23-conclusions-culture/ [18.10.2017].

and no. Attempting to consolidate a European understanding of its own common core of values is different to trying to universalise them through cultural diplomacy to other parts of the world or even within Europe. Let us not forget that the current generation of Eastern and Central European politicians has not come out of this Western tradition. European cultural diplomacy is destined to fail if its message to the peoples and states at the margins of the EU and beyond the borders of the EU is that failure to adopt European, essentially enlightenment, values will impede the smooth functioning of international society in the modern era.

But arguing that European values are not universalisable is not to advocate an alternative strategy under-written by cultural relativism. Understanding societies within their own framework is important but, as anthropologists tell us, it does not mean "anything goes". At the very least, demands of human dignity and the in-principle sanctity of life should remain non-negotiable and their violation resisted and condemned as, for example, the EU has properly done since the failed coup attempt in Turkey. Similarly, as we have seen with the rise of ISIS, its affiliates and their barbarous activities, there are groups of actors for whom no amount of cultural latitude would be sufficient and should not be given.

Disagreements over issues of values will from time to time inevitably lead to the suspension of cultural dialogues. How to sustain (or re-instate) such dialogues and provide space for diversity of expression both internal to and external to the EU, but without lapsing into cultural relativism, are core questions. They are also questions that cast massive policy shadows over the practice of international cultural relations in the early 21st century in general and EU cultural interaction in particular if we are to avoid "civilizational" clashes of the type anticipated in much contemporary populist/nationalist rhetoric.

Similarly, the influence of trans-Atlantic political rhetoric and practice should not be under-estimated at the current moment in Europe. Evidence from the USA and increasingly from Europe, suggests that "facts" are becoming relativized, science and professional authority challenged by a new style of often "fact free", expert free, political rhetoric (see Nichols 2017). The anti-Washington sentiment so successfully harnessed by the Trump Presidential campaign, and the anti-Brussels sentiment harnessed in the June 2016 Brexit referendum are the most obvious, but not only, examples. Enemies are identified not just in a contemporary political context but also in deeper historical and wider anti-intellectual cultural contexts—demonstrated by antipathies to experts and elites, migrants, foreigners, and religions.

Subsequent sections of this Report consider how the rhetoric of fact-free politics has been and is being harnessed by continental Europe's populist movements. Elections in 2017 in the Netherlands and France tested the degree to which the nationalist rhetoric of the Trump campaign might spur a strong electoral performance for Geert Wilder's Freedom Party and Marine Le Pen's Front National. And now, while conversely, early observations of the Trump administration in action – chaotic, ill-disciplined and a direct challenge to European interests – might be said to have given pause in the latter stages of 2017 to the European populists in France, the threat remains as evidenced by the strong protest votes for AfD in the German election, the strong polling success of M5S in Italy, Sebastian Kurtz's electoral success in Austria and Andrei Babis's electoral victory in the Czech Republic.

European electoral systems based on proportional representation do much to mitigate the potential impact of populism. Notwithstanding this structural safeguard, the initial conclusion that one could draw from the Netherlands and especially the election of Emmanuel Macron in France, is that to the extent that any correlation might be found by analysis of these elections, European populism has not been as swayed by events in the USA or vice versa as much of the Breitbart, Nigel Farage style populist rhetoric might suggest. The results can be seen as a sign of cultural and structural resilience; perhaps the first stages of democratic fight back.

In sum, the relationship between culture and foreign policy is both a conceptual question in which many of the core concepts are contested across the spectrum; but it is also an empirical question. The separation of these two questions is not easy. The long held cosmopolitan belief that the development of international cultural relations is inherently beneficial in foreign policy can be too easily assumed. While it can be a good thing, when tested empirically the case is not always proven. Liberal theories of international relations would accept the conceptual argument, but observation of the strategy and tactics of populist nationalist actors in contemporary international relations tests that argument. The rhetoric accompanying the growth of the PNZ has had, at best, an unsettling effect and at worst a real negative impact on international cooperation and relations between the major powers, as the current state of trans-Atlantic relations attest.

This discussion is important to understanding the dynamics at work in the international relations and foreign policies of Europe in the current era. Not to put too fine a point on it, the view from Europe of its role as an international actor stands in sharp contrast to the international positions adopted by the continent's principle nationalist popu-

list groups. It cannot be assumed that cultural diplomacy necessarily generates "soft power", just as it cannot be assumed that radicalization (across the political spectrum) springs from one or another ideology or resides in a fixed social group.

2.3 Summary of Part 2: Some initial implications

The impact of the PNZ on the behaviour of the EU as a foreign policy actor must not be under-estimated. Populism runs counter to the collective strategy that the EU advocates in its recent Global Strategy document (European Commission 2016a). Nationalist populist slogans "Making America Great Again" in the US, "Taking back control" in the UK or "In the Name of the People" in France – reflect the temper of the times in which we live. Populism taps the growing sense of unease at the diminished or diminishing expectations and global roles of many powers. This unease lies behind the motivation of Trump's supporters, UK Brexiteers and most other populist leaders. There is a strong psycho-social appeal of populist claims that it can restore global standing in a fast-changing world better than collective action problem solving in multilateral or EU contexts.[9]

The rear-mirror identity politics of the PNZ is diametrically opposed to the EU's agenda for global engagement, underwritten by modernist philosophies of history in which strategy and policy-making reflect a teleological belief in trans-national/global "progress". The Brussels policy community is trying very hard to develop a strategy for cultural foreign policy that avoids nationalism, at the very time that nationalist sentiments have insinuated themselves into the body politic of many individual member states. Indeed, as HR Federica Mogherini says "[…] even the very existence, of our Union is being questioned" (European Commission 2016a: 3).

These sentiments should not need to be seen as a coming political apocalypse in order to recognise that, at the very least, the post WWII liberal international order is under considerable pressure. But as we show in Part 4, Europe is not without assets with which to address the populist nationalist urge. With or without the UK, the EU is still a Union of nearly half a billion people and "the first trading partner and the first foreign investor for almost every country on the globe" (European Commission 2016a: 3). It has a world-class scientific community. It is the largest provider of development cooperation. While there may be no "European persona" there is a sense of European "actor-ness" in many key policy areas. The Global Strategy identifies a set of shared operating principles – acting as

[9] https://www.project-syndicate.org/commentary/populism-driven-by-geopolitical-change-by-danny-quah-and-kishore-mahbubani-2016-12?barrier=accessreg [18.10.2017].

a responsible global stakeholder promoting a rules-based global order. Albeit captured in the elusive concept of "principled pragmatism" the document nevertheless determines the priorities for EU action (European Commission 2016a: 8).

The EU, and its key leaders, retains a basic vision of collective action problem solving, in the interest of preserving a liberal global order. In contrast, the evolving strategy of the US President challenges many multilateral institutions, but ironically, this appears to have strengthened EU resolve. The election of Emmanuel Macron and Angel Merkel's response to US policy following recent NATO and G20 summits is evidence of a firming up of European resilience to the populist urge.

Part 3. The PNZ, Communication and Cultural Foreign Policy: A Users Guide to Actors and Practices

Having set the context and conceptual background for analysis of the relationship between nationalism and cultural foreign policy, and the importance of resilience against the advances of the PNZ, we now provide an empirical narrative in a contemporary European context.

For the purpose of this Report, we loosely define "nationalist actors" as "those agents – political parties, private sector and civil society organisations, media and individuals – espousing and practicing the politics of the PNZ". The "hosting" characteristics of these politics privilege identity, exclusion, place and space in which behavior, often driven by emotive appeals to the past, can span a spectrum from parochialism and mild chauvinism through to xenophobia and extreme, sometimes life threatening, discrimination.

3.1 Who are the nationalist populists? An empirical Guide to Actors and their Networks Across Europe

The period since the GFC has exposed a lack of fiscal solidarity amongst member nations, leading to punitive austerity measures, unemployment and decreasing state social support across most members of the EU. For citizens, these policies exposed the dark underbelly of a loss of sovereign control to the forces of globalization, an inefficient and soulless EU, and the ineffectiveness (and in some instances corruption) of domestic political leaders. If the southern member states felt resentful of their harsh treatment, the citizens of northern states, Germans especially, equally seem to resent having to bail out their southern neighbours. We can see the impact of this period in the various manifestations of left-wing populism (Podemos, Syriza) in the southern EU members, versus the more conservative states of the north.

As we have stated, this project is concerned only with right wing populism. We must distinguish between right-wing populist nationalist movements and parties to be found in countries such as France, the Netherlands, Italy and Germany and those countries where elected, increasingly authoritarian, populist governments are actually in power: notably the populist governments of Poland and Hungary that have earned condemnation for their illiberal policies attacking institutional checks and balances, from many European partners. In the words of Harvard Professor Grzegorz Ekiert:

> "Hungary and Poland can no longer be considered liberal democracies. In both countries, the authoritarian institutional system has been established, giving largely unre-

> stricted political power to the ruling party. While they are still not dictatorships, the potential for authoritarian rule increases considerably with every new legislation expanding the power of the government." (Ekiert, 2017: 1)

Notwithstanding this distinction between governments and movements and while the platforms, practices and alliances of Europe's nationalist populists are not all drawn from the same gene pool, consistent right-wing economic and political influences, themes and processes seem reasonably clear.

In contrast to extreme left-wing populists (such as Hugo Chavez), illiberal European populist governments have retained more or less liberal (albeit crony managed in countries like Hungary) economic policies. In the interests of regime preservation, they have not matched their illiberal nationalist political rhetoric with similarly illiberal, non-prudential macro-economic policies. Economics is not as fruitful a ground for support of populism as socio-political issues such as identity.

Right-wing populist rhetoric in Europe finds its most receptive audiences amongst those who fear terrorism and the recent unprecedented influx of migrants and refugees. It is unsurprising therefore, that with this common genesis, populist politicians could unite supporters against common enemies, principle amongst them being the European Union (captured in the negative idea of "Brussels"), disappointment in their own national political elites and stoked fears of mass migration.

As we discuss below populists, especially once in power, exhibit an anti-pluralist sentiment in which acting "in the name of the people" and "in defense of sovereignty" becomes a justification to crackdown on institutions, constrain the independence of the judiciary, curtail media freedom, limit the autonomy of civil society organizations and replace civil servants with political cronies thus undermining fundamental socio-liberal democratic values. The populist claim to moral authority, derived from being the "true voice of the (real) people", sees arguments against these actions as motivated by the corrupt, biased elite.

3.1.1 Nationalist Populist actors across Europe – A snapshot

The populist parties and leaderships that have been selected for focus vary in genesis, longevity, current influence and power. The countries that have been of close attention in this Report are captured in the table below:

Table 2: Summary of Select EU Right Populist Parties (Sept 2017)

Party	Leadership	Catalysts	Recent Events
Germany - Alternative for Germany (AfD) (est. 2013)	Frauke Petry (2015-2017) Alexander Gauland and Alice Weidel (2017-)	Petry ousted leader Bernd Lucke, and brought the party right, towards a Euro-skeptic, anti-immigrant ideology. Her motion to centralise the party's strategy in April 2017 failed, and Gauland and Weidel led the party into the election.	Following the September election, AfD will enter the Bundestag with 12.6% of the national vote. Petry has announced she will form a new party.
Italy - Five Star Movement (M5S) (est. 2009)	Beppe Grillo (2009-2017) Luigi di Maio (2017 -)	Popular comedian Grillo and web guru Roberto Casaleggio found an experimental political movement, relying heavily on internet based communications and direct member engagement. M5S's anti-establishment rhetoric resonated after years of corruption, drawing support from across the political spectrum. Grillo has now stepped back, for Luigi di Maio.	Luigi di Maio has been elected with 80% of votes to lead the party into the 2018 national elections. Current polling shows M5S level with the governing PD party.
Netherlands - Party for Freedom (PVV) (est. 2006)	Geert Wilders	Expelled from VVD in 2004 over refusal to support Turkey's request for EU membership. Wilders's anti-Islamic rhetoric attracted the constituency of Pym Fortuyn, leading to establishment of PVV.	Wilders made gains in 2017 Dutch election, Current focus: spreading anti-Islam message internationally.

Party	Leadership	Catalysts	Recent Events
Poland - Law and Justice (PiS) (est. 2001)	Jarosław Kaczyński	Identical twins Jaroslaw and Lech (deceased) founded the party on a conservative law and order platform and took power in 2015.	PiS has entrenched power with a 'families' agenda, underpinned by a hard Christian, increasingly illiberal regime. It has drawn the ire of the EU for recent political acts against an independent judiciary.
UK – UK Independence Party (UKIP) (est. 1993)	Nigel Farage (2006 -2016) Steve Crowther (Current - Interim)	Farage quit the Conservatives in protest over signing of Maastricht Treaty. He has spent years anti-EU lobbying as an MEP and was a major force in forcing the Brexit referendum. Since his departure from UKIP, the party has faded in relevance.	No seats in recent UK general election. But Farage maintains high visibility as an anti-EU agitator, and supporter of EU and US populists.
Hungary - Fidesz (est. 1988)	Viktor Orbán	Obtaining power in 2010 with a super majority accelerated rightward move towards illiberal conservatism. His majority was reduced in 2014, but political opposition remains fragmented.	A raft of anti-EU referendums and political acts against liberal institutions and NGOs have put Orbán at odds with the EU.
France - Front National (FN) (est. 1972)	Marine Le Pen	2015 expulsion of father from signaled move from FN's hard right ideology and into serious political consideration. Le Pen lost the Presidential election (33.9%), and FN had a poor result in the subsequent Assemblé National elections.	Since the election, the party has divided on ideology. Le Pen moving away from a Frexit platform as unrealistic. Her deputy Philippot has announced he will be forming a new party.

Alternative for Germany (AfD)

AfD began as a single platform, anti-Euro party. In 2015, Frauke Petry wrested control from the founding economists and tapped into the PNZ to build an anti-EU, anti-immigration platform, broadening the party's (and her) supporter base.

Much publicity surrounded Petry's more radical statements, such as condoning firing on immigrants and accompanying attempts to rehabilitate Nazi-era language. But she herself fell victim to ideological struggles. Facing declining poll numbers and a seemingly resurgent CDU, Petry wanted a clearer strategy that would prevent AfD becoming a party of perpetual protest. Arguably an opportunist, rather than an ideologue, she sought to steer away from hard right positions, that would be a roadblock to coalition partnership. The April 2017 party conference resisted her proposals, and she stepped away from leading the party into the elections. Since then, AfD has made an ideological shift even further right under the leadership of Gauland and Weidel.

AfD is now represented in the parliaments of 13 of 16 of Germany's federal states, and has rebounded from its internal struggles to claim 12.6% of the vote in the national elections, becoming the first far right party to enter the Bundestag since WWII. A mapping of the election results shows that AfD attracted 1.4 million new voters and in addition gained 1 million voters who had backed the CDU/CSU in 2013.[10] However, exits polls suggest that the AfD's success was largely driven by anti-CDU protest votes. 60% of AfD voters were identified as voting "against all other parties" and only 34% out of conviction for AfD.[11] In a destabilizing post-election move, Petry announced she would enter the Bundestag as an independent, and that she intended to form a new party.[12]

Five Star Movement (M5S)

Italy's M5S was founded by comedian Beppé Grillo and the late Gianroberto Casaleggio, to protest anti-elitism and government corruption. The movement was effectively launched in 2007 with highly publicized "V Day" rallies (after Vaffanculo), where Grillo publicly called out politicians for corrupt behavior. A broader, central strategy has been hard to pin down, but had originally included anti-EU and anti-immigration sentiments.

[10] http://www.zeit.de/politik/deutschland/2017-09/german-election-alternative-for-germany-angela-merkel [18.10.2017].
[11] https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2017/sep/24/germany-elections-afd-europe-immigration-merkel-radical-right [18.10.2017].
[12] http://www.politico.eu/article/far-rights-frauke-petry-plans-new-political-party-in-germany/ [18.10.2017].

M5S advocates "direct democracy", breaking down barriers between citizens and politicians in a form of political utopia. Grillo, with one of the highest read blogs in Italy, had a perfect platform for direct communication, rapidly supplemented with a range of online video and media channels.

In a December 2016 profile, the New York Times described it as:

> "a next generation political party, born and bred on the internet, less interested in ideology or standard models of left or right, than in using the web as a platform and weapon of anti-establishment anger."[13]

There has been debate whether M5S is a genuine populist or political movement. It was described by an Italian writers' collective as

> "two wealthy men in their 60s with a background in the entertainment industry and in marketing […] cherry-picking ideas wherever they found them and whenever they considered them useful, typical of a diversionary movement".[14]

Grillo is now in his 60s and cannot hold office due to criminal convictions. In preparation for the 2108 elections, Luigi di Maio, Grillo's protégé and Italy's youngest deputy speaker, was elected to lead the party, with 80% of online votes. In recent press interviews Di Maio importantly clarified that M5S does not seek an EU exit, but is focusing on reform. He has promised to announce a leadership team, so that Italians more clearly understand for what, and for whom, they are voting.[15]

Current polling shows M5S's support to be close to 30% and roughly equivalent to the incumbent leadership. With these numbers, it would require a coalition to achieve government. M5S's position in the past was that it would never engage in backroom deals. Di Maio now says that he would welcome support from other parties, subject to M5S retaining all cabinet seats.[16]

[13] https://www.nytimes.com/2016/12/12/world/europe/with-success-comes-dissension-in-italys-five-star-movement.html?_r= [18.10.2017].
[14] https://strugglesinitaly.wordpress.com/2013/02/26/en-the-movimento-cinque-stelle-has-protected-the-system-a-comment-by-wu-ming/ [18.10.2017].
[15] http://www.politico.eu/article/5stars-pin-hopes-on-moderate-leader/ [18.10.2017].
[16] https://www.cnbc.com/2017/09/24/italys-five-star-movement-welcomes-support-from-rivals-but-says-it-wont-give-up-cabinet-seats-in-any-coalition-deal.html [18.10.2017].

Party for Freedom (PVV)

Geert Wilders is one of the Netherlands' longest serving politicians, first elected for the VVD in 1997, but expelled in 2004 for refusing to support Turkish EU membership EU. He started his own party. He is the sole official member, with a one-page anti-Islam manifesto.[17]

Of all the European populists, Wilders is the most vociferous in his critique of Islam. He claims to defend Dutch values of tolerance and free speech, and says he opposes Islam for the lack of these values, making it incompatible with Dutch society. Amongst other measures, he calls for a ban on the Koran and the closure of mosques. He also supports leaving the EU, although he has no exit strategy.

In March 2017, PVV came second in the elections, winning 20 seats. Although the press claimed a defeat, an alternative interpretation is that this was a good result, versus their previous 15 seats. Wilders is unlikely to achieve any formal power as the proportional representation system in the Netherlands means alliances are essential to form government. Nevertheless, his impact on the election was significant. Firstly, he succeeded in drawing leader Mark Rutte to the right; adopting stronger anti-Islam rhetoric during VVD's election campaign. Secondly, as VVD has ruled out any alliance that includes PVV, at the time of completing this Report and five months after the election, the Netherlands remains without a governing coalition.

In 2008, Wilders courted controversy with the anti-Islam documentary film FITNA, which found an international audience amongst right-wing and counter-jihad movements and gave him a place on the international speaking circuit, particularly in the U.S. Post-election, he continues to agitate against Islam and against the EU. His profile is only likely to increase.

Law and Justice (PiS)

PiS was founded by Jarosław and Lech Kaczyński to capitalise on Lech's popularity as Poland's Minister for Justice and strong stance on law and order. In 2010, while President of Poland, Lech was killed in a plane crash. Although it had done well in previous elections, the party finally achieved power in 2015 with an outright majority, the first time for any party post-communism, promising to drive out the liberal elite. Beata Szydlo was

[17] https://www.geertwilders.nl/94-english/2007-preliminary-election-program-pvv-2017-2021 [18.10.2017].

appointed Prime Minister, but power remains in the hands of Jarosław Kaczyński, the party chairman.

PiS campaigned on an anti-establishment platform, claiming that the previous government had sold out to the EU. They raised the populist specter of refugees, promised to increase welfare and restore family values. Since then, PiS has rapidly followed a similar model to Fidesz in Hungary, diminishing the independence of the Courts and media. Recent legislation against judicial independence had earned the threat of EU sanctions.

In the midst of protests and EU threats, Polish President Andrzej Duda, long considered a puppet of the government, has begun to act independently, refusing to sign the legislation removing the independent judiciary and presenting his own proposals.[18]

Despite the erosion of liberal values and safeguards, many Poles are positive about the party. PiS has followed through on economic and welfare promises: reducing the retirement age, extending tax relief, freeing medication and offering financial allowances for new births. This has given many a positive experience that leads them to overlook lost liberties and more insidious acts, such as changes to the education curriculum that has diminished science education in favour of "Polish culture".

UK Independence Party (UKIP)

Given the influence UKIP has had on the fate of the UK, it is easy to forget that it has never won a seat in national parliament. For many years considered a single-issue party (based on its opposition to the Maastricht Treaty), the election of Farage as leader broadened the party agenda to include its current anti-immigration stance.

UKIP's nationalist rhetoric focused on economics and culture. Firstly, the threat to British jobs in an unregulated EU job market and secondly, although Farage distanced himself from the overt racism of Le Pen and Wilders, he has publicly bemoaned the "Islamification" of the UK.[19] Farage made great play of terrorist attacks in Europe and the sexual assaults in Cologne as arguments for border control.

[18] http://www.politico.eu/article/poland-supreme-court-andrzej-duda-acts-to-avoid-clash-with-brussels/ [18.10.2017].
[19] https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=y_RKEhT6-f8 [18.10.2017].

Farage was sidelined by the Vote Leave campaign, which attracted a cross section of those political voices (primarily Conservative Party) not happy with a UKIP association. This did not, however, stop him claiming that Brexit represented a major UKIP victory.[20] He quit the leadership in July 2016 but remains an international anti-EU agitator and political/media personality and continues to appear as a regular voice in the UK and international media. UKIP has suffered waning support and questionable relevance post referendum. It failed to win any seats in the UK elections on 8 June 2017.

Fidesz

Fidesz began as a democratic alternative to the socialists working with a liberal reform platform. In his first term, Prime Minister Orbán's illiberal proclivities were restrained by the party's liberal wing and a strong opposition. Winning a two-thirds "super" majority in 2010 enabled constitutional changes without opposition support. Orbán's illiberal transition began. He cast himself in the role of defender of Hungarian values, culture and nationhood, using illiberal, populist and nationalist arguments. Winning power again in 2014, albeit with a smaller majority, Orbán's authoritarian style become even more unapologetic with full blown support for a hardline anti-immigration, anti-Brussels stance.

Since 2010, he has progressively enacted legislation affecting the independence of the judiciary, stifling internal opposition and progressively reining in freedom of speech, with assaults on independent media ownership, the arts, civil society actors and in 2017, in his attacks on the Central European University and foreign funded NGOs (see Ekiert 2017). After many years of debate in the European Parliament, proceedings under Article 7 of the Lisbon Treaty have been commenced. They are likely to be ineffectual. Hungary and Poland have declared a mutual intention to veto any sanctions.

The country's second party, Jobbik, also shows populist tendencies, and has historically held extreme anti-Semitic and militaristic right-wing positions. Indeed, much of Fidesz's early legitimacy was gained by being less extreme than Jobbik. However, as Orbán's grip on power has tightened, Jobbik has moved to the centre, campaigning against Fidez corruption. Jobbik's more extreme right-wing members have fragmented into a new movement.

[20] https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/may/20/nigel-farage-ukip-eu-referendum-interview-vote-leave-brief-every-day [18.10.2017].

On the left, politics in Hungary is bitterly divided and with consistently low polls, the parties pose no serious electoral threat. Despite growing public opposition aroused by responses to the migration crisis, actions to close the CEU and limit and control NGOs, the only realistic prospect of preventing a further term for Fidesz is if its splintered left and a more central leaning Jobbik form the most unlikely of alliances.

Front National (FN)

The FN was tarred for many years by its neo-Nazi associations and the inflammatory rhetoric of its founder Jean Marie Le Pen. From 2011, under the leadership of daughter Marine Le Pen the party moved away from its harsher positions and rhetoric, culminating in the expulsion of her father in August 2015.

Launching her 2017 presidential campaign, Le Pen claimed an existential crisis, "What is at stake in this election is the continuity of France as a free nation, our existence as a people." Shades of Trump, she promised "to put France first by freeing it from the 'tyrannies' of globalization, Islamic fundamentalism and the European Union".[21] Cleverly, she framed the fight not as between globalism and nationalism, but between globalism and patriotism. Her economic policies were strictly protectionist.

Her defeat in the Presidential elections by Emmanuel Macron, the only presidential candidate who unashamedly promoted a pro-EU agenda, was greeted with relief across the non-populist communities of Europe. In the aftermath, FN has engaged in the now typical post-election debate of a defeated far-right party: whether to move further to the right or rather further towards the political centre.[22]

The assumed next-in-line in the Le Pen dynasty, Marion Maréchal-Le Pen has strategically stepped away while the party negotiates its restructuring in the wake of the presidential fall out. What should not be overlooked are the eleven million votes that Le Pen achieved. Resuming her leadership, Le Pen claimed a mandate for FN to be a strong parliamentary opposition. However, while it contested every available seat in the June Assemblée Nationale election it fared poorly, gaining only eight seats (including Le Pen's). Despite this result, it should not be assumed that the PNZ in France is vanquished. Macron's popularity has diminished markedly in his first few months in office, as voters who

[21] https://www.theguardian.com/world/2017/feb/05/marine-le-pen-promises-liberation-from-the-eu-with-france-first-policies [18.10.2017].
[22] https://www.theguardian.com/world/2017/may/07/marine-le-pen-defeated-front-national-far-from-finished [18.10.2017].

were prepared to support anyone but Le Pen face the reality of his inexperienced leadership, further marred by early political missteps.[23]

3.1.2 Networks and Links of the Nationalist Populists

One challenge for populist nationalist movements, given the primacy they place on national identity and culture, is to avoid offending likeminded parties and movements in neighbouring states. The vigorous, at times xenophobic, rhetoric used in the pursuit of the holy grail of renewed national sovereignty can sound hostile to neighbours. It is thus interesting to contrast the approach and style of Trump's nationalist rhetoric, caring little for who he offends with that of the European populists, sensitive to opinion in other European countries.

"Make America Great Again" reflects a yearning for a US primacy that Trump and his supporters consider lost. The populist narrative – loss of sovereign power that only he can restore – requires enemies. In this vein, he accuses his neighbours for taking advantage of the US's wealth, complacency and tolerance. Mexico, predominantly, but even Canada, and more broadly, key US trading partners, such as China are named. It is an unpalatable strategy that generates both hostility and repercussions.

By contrast, European populists, do not need to attack their neighbours, rather, they are able to band together to rail at a common enemy, the institutions of the EU and the Brussels elite. The EU, having no national sovereignty to defend, makes a perfect target for the populists. Ironically by their presence in the European Parliament (EP) and system of parliamentary groups, they have a vehicle for their collaboration.

As important as these European alliances are, there are also broader formal and informal international relationships at play; a clear example being the various European partners of the identitarian movement(s) engaged in a seeming, if somewhat contradictory, European collective endeavor to preserve national identities.[24] In keeping with major trends in contemporary global/international relations there is a growing salience of transnational networks in general (see Slaughter 2017) and in the populist political domain in particular. The close relationships of many European populist activities are also accounted for by the extensive network building by these movements across all levels from political parties to grass roots. We focus on some key alliances and relationships below.

[23] https://www.vox.com/world/2017/8/14/16114640/emmanuel-macron-unpopular [18.10.2017].
[24] see http://katehon.com/article/mission-identitarian-movement-europe [18.10.2017]

European Political and Parliamentary Alliances

The European Parliamentary groupings, supplemented by local geographic and historic alliances; for example, the Visegrad 4 in Central Europe and the Blue Alliance between AfD and the Freedom Party of Austria (FPÖ).

Their disdain for the institution of the European Parliament notwithstanding, its groupings provide essential access to EU funds and a guaranteed share of parliamentary voice. Fidesz, despite its illiberal stance (for the moment) belongs to the European Peoples' Party (EPP) and Law and Justice is allied with the Conservative and Reformists Group (ECR), but the remaining parties have banded together to form two major hard Eurosceptic groups:

(i) Movement for Europe of Nations and Freedom (MENF), as the home for FN, PVV, AfD and FPÖ
(ii) Europe of Freedom and Direct Democracy (EFDD), the home of UKIP and M5S.

These alliances are more than mere marriages of convenience. In 2016, MENF held its first conference in Koblenz, in an attempt to align forces on the ground. The second MENF event took place at the European Parliament on the day of the 2017 Dutch elections. Called "Opera Europa" it was a concert celebrating the development of Opera in Europe. Given Wilders's description of the arts as "leftist hobbies" of no interest to "hardworking Dutchman" this was an interesting choice of event to provide cultural gloss to the populist movement with one of Europe's most traditional but arguably, least inclusive art forms.

But European parliamentary alliances can also come at a price. Once bound to UKIP and the EFDD though friendship and expediency, Grillo's M5S, in search of greater political legitimacy, recently voted to join the liberal and pro-EU Alliance of Liberals and Democrats for Europe (ALDE) only to see the move blocked by ALDE at the eleventh hour, forcing M5S to return to the EFDD.

Geo-Political Alliances

The Visegrad Group is a key alliance for Hungary and Poland (together with Slovakia and the Czech Republic). Both countries have populist leaders in power. With the exception of Orbán's recent vote with his EPP group supporting Donald Tusk for the presidency of the EU Council the two countries were unwavering allies in the EP, rising to each other's defense, assisting strategies to unravel democratic freedoms and helping normalise the illiberal environment in the region. There is growing evidence however that the Visegrad

4 is not as close as Viktor Orbán would have observers believe, with the Czech and Slovakian Republics moving much closer to Austria.[25]

Following Fidesz's targeted campaign against the Central European University (unresolved at the time of writing), and its legislation to hobble foreign funded NGO's, Hungary finally went too far for the EU to ignore and a motion was passed to commence proceedings under Article 7 of the Lisbon Treaty. Unfortunately, this prompted a declaration from Poland that it would veto any sanctions, a move that has been reciprocated by Hungary in response to similar threats against Polish illiberal reform of its judiciary. This pact gives both parties cover to advance their respective agendas impervious to remedies anticipated by the Treaty and may prove to be the most effective populist alliance in Europe.

3.1.3 Populist Nationalists, Russia and Vladimir Putin

Central to the networking of much populist activity in Europe is, paradoxically, the relationship between the populists and elements of the Russian state.

News continues to emerge of the extent of Russia's engagement in influencing the US elections. Facebook and Twitter have recently confirmed that fake accounts from Russia, purchased hot topic political advertising during the 2016 US election and disseminated material specifically intended to damage Hillary Clinton's prospects.

It is also clear that Russia was similarly involved in Europe, prompting investigation by US intelligence agencies. News outlets such as Russia Today (RT) played a not insignificant role in bolstering the populists via the dissemination of propaganda targeting their opponents. The Macron campaign suffered from Russian covert attention. As a consequence, refused accreditation to Sputnik and RT media outlets.

While we cannot assume a causal relationship between Putin's anti-liberalism and the growth of the PNZ in Europe, we can clearly see a correlation. In some eyes, Russia is a balance against increasingly partial, albeit waning US cultural and foreign policy hegemony (Dennison and Pardijs 2016). As Putin asserted:

[25] http://hungarianspectrum.org/2017/08/22/how-strong-is-the-visegrad-four-according-to-some-it-barely-exists/ [18.10.2017].

> "…[T]here are more and more people in the world who support our position on defending traditional values that have made up the spiritual and moral foundation of civilisation in every nation for thousands of years" (Putin 2013)[26]

Putin has openly endorsed populist actors aiming to destabilize the EU and some member states. In their turn, the populists are generally vocal supporters of Putin's leadership, the annexation of Crimea and the lifting of sanctions. Some examples:

- Russian loans financed the FN campaign in 2014 and in March 2017. Putin met Le Pen (who had publicly backed the Crimea referendum) to discuss sanctions. While it was claimed to be a first meeting, evidence suggests they have known each other for years.[27]
- In February 2017, Frauke Petry, leader of the AfD, met Vladimir Zhirinovsky, the ultra-nationalist leader of the pro-Kremlin Liberal Democratic Party to discuss cooperation of regional parliaments and youth parties.
- As proudly proclaimed in Hungarian media, Putin is in regular communication with Viktor Orbán and sees him as a core ally within the EU.
- Farage was widely criticized in 2014 for naming Putin the leader he most admired. He is on record lauding his handling of Syria and is a regular guest on Russia Today.[28]

The Pew Research Centre's 2016 Spring Global Attitudes Survey has found that the supporters of the right-wing populists in Western Europe are more likely to trust Putin and Russia than the USA and see more economic upside than political downside, in the relationship. Whether this is driven by the leadership's positive rhetoric is not known, but a pro-Russia stance is finding a receptive audience.

[26] en.kremlin.ru/events/president/news/19825 [18.10.2017].
[27] https://euobserver.com/elections/137629 [18.10.2017].
[28] https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2014/mar/31/farage-i-admire-putin [18.10.2017].

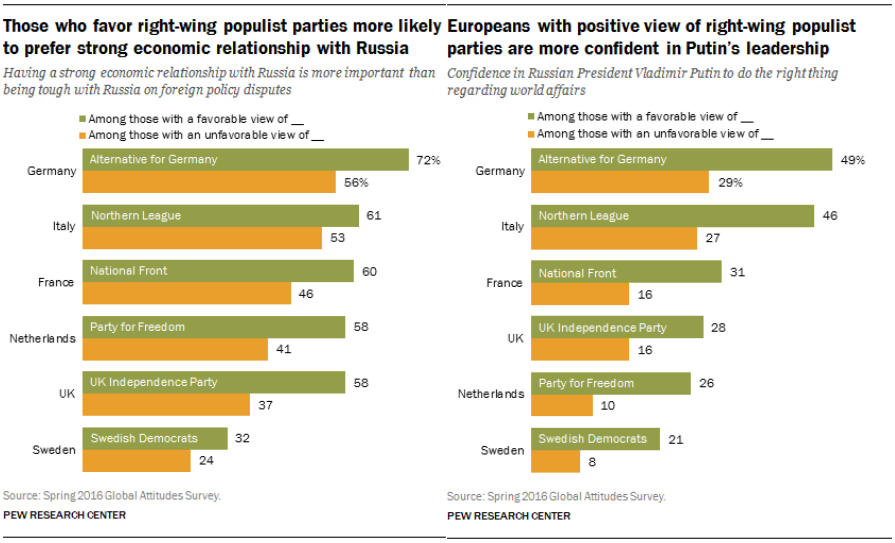

Chart 1: Preferences towards Russia of Europeans with a favourable/unfavourable view of populist parties
Source: Pew Research Centre, Spring 2016 Global Attitudes Survey

It would be simplistic to make a direct link between Putin's growing influence in Europe and the surge in populism. The relationship between Putin and the populists is not uniformly enthusiastic. Although Beppe Grillo has recently joined the pro-Russia chorus, his support is opportunistic, seeking economic advantage for Italy in Russian policies. Wilders has made warm statements but is perhaps best described as ambivalent. He has much stronger ties to the U.S. and Israel. PiS is openly hostile to Russia, born of historical Polish resentments and conspiracy theories lingering after the death of Prime Minister and twin brother to the Party leader, Lech Kaczynski.

What can be said is that Putin and key players in his regime are pursuing an agenda of influence in European elections and international relations. Where nationalist antagonism towards the EU exists, and there is an opportunity to advance Russian interests, Putin will lend his support.

3.1.4 The U.S. and Breitbart

Much has now been written about the right-wing U.S based network – Breitbart News, as an influencer in the election of Donald Trump. Breitbart's interest in promoting the PNZ has been self-evident since its inception; Wilders is a prolific Breitbart writer, Farage was also a longstanding and regular contributor. Its UK Editor-in-Chief Raheen Kassam joined Farage's team as his senior advisor and Breitbart UK actively pushed the Brexit agenda.

At the time of the Dutch and French elections, it announced its intention to open offices in Germany and France to take advantage of the current right-wing sentiment. So far, there has been little progress on its European plans but that has not stopped its fervent support of populist candidates, particularly Marine Le Pen. Prior to her resignation, Breitbart was also backing Marion Maréchal-Le Pen financially.

Breitbart is more than a media company it is also a vehicle of influence for its owners; including hedge fund billionaire and major Trump donor Robert Mercer, his protégé Steve Bannon who has now returned following his period in the White House. Mercer's daughter Rebekah (who now works in the White House). Mercer is also a major investor and shareholder in Cambridge Analytica (CA), the U.S. arm of the SCL Group. SCL markets itself inter alia as a global election management agency, data mining social media and applying behavioural analysis models to achieve micro-targeted political communications. The methodology is regularly credited with assisting both the Trump and Brexit victories. The Mercers, close friends of Nigel Farage, provided the company's services to the Vote Leave campaign for free. The jury is still out however on the true efficacy of the methodology and there is a further question over its potential utility in European campaigns where legislation regarding privacy and data collection is stronger than in the US.

What is without doubt is that big money and global influence from the U.S. offers support to Europe's right-wing populists. In addition to Mercer funding there is significant support for the anti-Islam agenda led by Wilders and PVV. Wilders, encouraged by his close personal affiliation with Israel and engagement with the global "counter-jihad" movement, has enjoyed the backing (including financial) of prominent right-wing Americans (notably Pamela Geller, Daniel Pipes and Daniel Horowitz). Wilders is now working on nine further installments of his controversial 2008 anti-Islam FITNA that will no doubt fuel a further round of international agitation, freed from the constraints of local political campaigning.

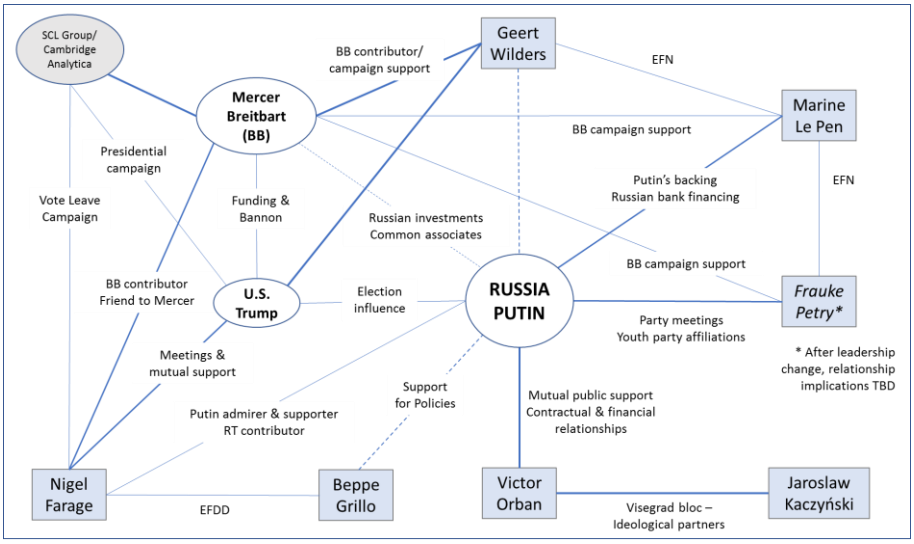

Chart 2: A Diagrammatic Summary of International Populist and Supporter Networks
Source: Own presentation.

3.2 The impact of digital disruption on contemporary politics

The last decade has seen such advancement in communications technology that it is hard to believe that the first iPhone was only launched in June 2007. With mobile and digital technology's rapid (and growing) adoption, political and social discourse has fundamentally changed. More than half the world's people now have internet access and more than a third are using social media.

Technological disruption has delivered critical changes at a number of levels, ranging from individual behaviour to the financial foundations of the media industry.

Table 3: Trends in Digital Communications 2016-2017

The Digital Revolution	Changing Behaviour
Global internet access ▪ 3.73bn, a 10% increase since Jan 2016. ▪ Penetration Nth America (88%) & Europe (77%).	51% across 26 countries use social media as a news source, and 12% as their main source. ▪ 28% of 18-24s say social media is their main source of news
Social media usage (people) ▪ 2.8bn - a 21% increase since Jan 2016. ▪ 2.55bn access social media from mobile devices -a 30% increase since Jan 2016. ▪ Over 1bn use Facebook daily	More people use a mobile device to access the internet, than a desktop. ▪ 56.1% of all internet traffic ▪ India (80%), Asia (69%), Africa (62.5%) ▪ U.K. (48.6%), Nth America (47.2%), Europe (40.3%)

Sources: Digital in 2017 Global Overview, Hootsuit - We Are Social (Jan 2017)/Digital News Report 2016, Reuters Institute for the Study of Journalism

3.2.1 The new information environment

Blogging and social media is now, for many, their primary news and information source. Unfortunately however, the ease of establishing an online presence means barriers to entry for "news providers" and social and political commentators are almost non-existent; they can operate outside the norms and standards of professional journalism. Further, the shift online for traditional media has, in many cases, put quality reporting behind pay-walls, or turned to click-based advertising revenue, competing for views with a proliferation of "clickable" headlines. In sum, the average voter opening his or her social media feeds or searching online, is now less likely to find objective information from a trustworthy source. The technological disruption that has occurred in the dissemination and receipt of information, benefits the national populist actor in a number of ways.

Direct Communication: Social media permits leaders unfiltered communication with their supporters. This feeds directly into the populist narrative that only they understand and truly speak for the people. It also empowers supporters in dangerous way. Following the Charlottesville tragedy, the white nationalists monitored Trumps Twitter feed and were bolstered by the fact that they were not singled out for condemnation (even if this was obfuscated by White House spokespeople in the following days).

The Power of Assertion: Sound-bite and simplification replace argument, nuance and fact. Presentation is deceptive and manipulative in style and openly hostile to opposing viewpoints.

Speed of Dissemination: Complicating the lack of veracity, is the speed at which misinformation travels. The more outrageous and controversial the misinformation provided, often the more likely it will be shared within and across platforms.

Reinforcing and Amplifying the Extreme: Social media, platforms such as Reddit and other specialist online forums and chat rooms are connecting and legitimizing previously disenfranchised extremist views. The vast majority of posts are from politically far right leaning pages.[29]

None of this is unique to populism of course. It applies in many other contexts, both positive and negative. But it would appear to be at least one key to explaining the rapid rise and spread of populism. We elaborate this point below.

3.2.2 How populists take advantage of the new media landscape

It may now be de rigueur for political parties to have accounts on all the major social networks, but the populists have to-date made more effective use of this than their opponents. They embrace the use of rhetorical, emotional, provocative and incendiary language tailor-made for social media. And due to the viral nature of the medium, visibility and engagement grows as debate rages back and forth between believers and denouncers. A minority political voice can be rapidly escalated in terms of reach. And, as occurred again and again in the US presidential race, provocative tweets, or posts, will be picked up by the traditional media and spread further.

This style of messaging is kryptonite to the "liberal elite". Used to delivering finely curated messages designed to minimise alienation, observe political correctness and not over-commit, centrist parties are drawn into protesting the style of the populists at the expense of substantively engaging with content or communicating their own message. Mainstream parties have so far been relatively ineffective on social media, where principles and norms of traditional media strategies do not suit the new platforms; effectively they are fighting the new war with old weapons. They have been slow to adapt to the messiness of social media, and so far, expressing outrage has come more easily than developing new strategies for sound bite led, yet substantive arguments. As a recent Dia-

[29] https://www.buzzfeed.com/craigsilverman/inside-the-partisan-fight-for-your-news-feed?utm_term=.enjq9KdvK#.nua8q3mz3 [18.10.2017].

logue on Europe noted: "It is easier to insult refugees on Facebook, rather than explain a new pensions scheme or income tax reform in 140 characters."[30]

Nevertheless, counter populists can achieve success with the new social media. For example, Operation Libero, founded by Swiss students from Fribourg University, was created to defeat the Swiss referenda in 2016 proposing to automatically expel foreigners who commit a crime. Initially the students offered to help the mainstream opposition parties, but fighting the referendum was dismissed as too resource intensive and the topic too complex and emotionally charged. The students formed their own organisation with a strategy very similar in style to that of the populists: fighting fire with fire on social media and devising sound-bites that would be picked up and be easily understood, such as "It is bad to take the judge out of expulsion decisions". The campaign was successful (as was a subsequent campaign in 2017) and has attracted attention across the EU with interest from citizens in other countries in learning and adopting their approach.[31]

Social media is crucial to modern campaigning. It is about more than communication. It is also about engagement. The online digital environment facilitates emotional connectivity on populist issues, in a way both unlikely and previously unthinkable if filtered through the traditional media. Like minds can easily connect. Supporter groups are established with just a few clicks. As a recent Jaques Delors Institut study of the practices of populist parties in France, Germany, Italy and Spain found:

> "[…] [P]opulist movements have managed to grow a much larger base of followers or fans than 'traditional' non-populist parties […] These new low-cost communication platforms allow them to distribute political messages which bypass established media outlets, constantly mobilise their supporters and speak directly to 'the people'" (Dittrich 2017: 5)

Populists are embracing this as the core to their claim to be uniquely the voice of their real people. It is also foundational to the principles of direct democracy espoused by parties such as M5S. M5S uses its digital platforms to give supporters a direct voice in party decision-making. Potential supporters of such a movement do not just passively follow a party, or political personality, rather they engage and own its policies.

[30] http://dialogue-on-europe.eu/political-communication-of-populist-parties-the-cases-of-podemos-and-afd/ [18.10.2017].
[31] http://carnegieeurope.eu/2017/04/25/rise-of-europe-s-antipopulists-pub-68764 [18.10.2017].

Social media is an environment that caters to assertion and opinion, over fact. Much populist rhetoric is often demonstrably incorrect, or absent any basis in fact. This can be seen quintessentially in many of the outrageous claims made by the UK's Vote Leave campaign.[32] The campaign went even further in Michael Gove's infamous television interview in which he rebuffed the findings of a substantial body of analysis and evidence and claimed, "the people in this country have had enough of experts".[33] Populists invite people to substitute experience for expertise. Social media is a vehicle for sharing experiences and bonding as much as a source of information.

Much has already been written about the infiltration of deliberately misleading information into political campaigns, to provoke negative reactions against minority groups. In April 2017, the European Parliament Anti-Racism and Diversity Group welcomed the signing of an EU Code of Conduct with Facebook, Twitter, Microsoft and YouTube, to combat online hate speech.[34] Whether they can put effective checks and balances in place is still to be seen.

One of the most troubling aspects of the shift online of political debate is user anonymity, where almost anything goes. Most sites permit an online pseudonym and it is not too difficult to set up an entirely fake online identity and multiple accounts. Automated armies of fake identities (social bots) are entering the political fray deployed to increase likes, follows and shares. This has become an accepted part of social media marketing, where buying "likes" is now commonplace. The online conversation is now so noisy that "assistance" is essential to build a profile, give the impression of high engagement and by extension, credibility. The most sophisticated of bots can now be programmed to leave comments and attack opponents. It has now been confirmed revelations by Facebook and Twitter in relation to the US elections, that adverse external and domestic interests, have manipulated their platforms with fake accounts purchasing advertising to influence perception of politicians, parties and issues.

The wealth of personal data freely shared across social media also gives the populists the ability to micro target and manipulate their supporters, both actual and potential. Online entities flood social news feeds with survey based quizzes and games to elicit behavioural and attitudinal data above and beyond that gleaned from regular posting and

[32] http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/0/eu-referendum-claims-won-brexit-fact-checked/ [18.10.2017].
[33] https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=GGgiGtJk7MA [18.10.2017].
[34] https://www.ardi-ep.eu/hate-speech-populism-and-fake-news-on-social-media/ [18.10.2017].

other interactions.[35] Corporate marketers have exploited this data source for years, and it is now fair game in politics. As we have discussed above, this data, processed by SCL and CA, fed directly into political messaging strategies for both the Vote Leave group in the Brexit referendum and to support Donald Trump's campaign in the 2016 US Presidential election.

Finally, there is the growing problem of content over-abundance; that is a proliferation of news sites, and commentator blogs of varying quality. With so much competition and advertising revenue-based models, there is a disincentive to provide objectivity. Provocation is much more likely to generate visits and ad clicks. Breitbart is just one example of internet news providers driven by a populist-nationalist political agenda that fails to observe the distinction between reportage and editorializing. They are casual about verifying sources, and freely pander to influence groups. For the most part, they retain an unquestioning and loyal readership.

3.3 Civil and Cultural Groups: Responses to Populism and Nationalism

The European Alliance for Culture and the Arts proposes that Europe is a distinct cultural union. It asserts that there is a shared culture in Europe that has developed over 3.000 years, and proposes that culture and the arts are relevant for the quality of life, and the European project and that culture must be at the heart of EU international relations.[36]

Contrary to any such aspiration, at the heart of the PNZ is a view that national, as opposed to European, identity and culture must be defended against the perceived diluting power of Brussels backed by the wider globalist and cosmopolitan liberal elite. As suggested in Part 2, claims of a shared European culture, primarily by virtue of geography, are problematic. Building a shared culture is inevitably an iterative process. It is not likely to be much aided by top down pro-EU cultural activities or messaging that may be insensitive to the current nationalist populist angst.

At this precise moment, the populists concern is less a creeping EU culture, but what they describe as the immediate national crisis of out of control mass immigration facilitated by EU principles and incited especially by the actions of Germany's Merkel government. The tangible fear is an inability to assimilate large numbers, linked to real factors

[35] https://www.nytimes.com/2016/11/20/opinion/the-secret-agenda-of-a-facebook-quiz.html [18.10.2017].
[36] https://allianceforculture.com/the-appeal/ [18.10.2017].

such some challenges as language, religion and customs. This may be a legitimate and major issue of public policy, but is something that nationalist populist actors are presenting as an existential challenge to the very identity and sovereignty of the nation state.

Defense of a national culture in the current PNZ can be taken to extremes. The hysteria in Hungary, promoted by the Orbán government campaign against refugees and immigrants in general, shows the damage that can be done to a nation's psyche for populist political gain. Two recent referenda held in Hungary, directed first against the imposition of EU quotas, and then against "Brussels interference", posed questions that were impossibly biased, and supported by widespread propaganda campaign of false statistics and blatant misinformation. As a result, the Pew Research Centre found in a recent European survey on a wide range of global security threats - "The influx of refugees […] is the top threat in only one country… Hungary".[37] Indeed, Hungarians would appear to dread refugees (66%) more than terrorism (64%). Countering government propaganda has been a massive challenge for civil organisations in Hungary.

In order to undercut populist platforms it is necessary to both: (i) build cultural resilience (and confidence) at a national level and (ii) reassure citizens that the EU as a cultural, as well as economic and legislative entity is not a threat to national identity. This requires a strategy of positive support for the wider European project that goes to the very heart of EU international strategy articulated in the Global Vision statement (2016a). Nationalist populism in Western Europe might have been temporarily checked, but it has not disappeared. And in Central Europe, right-wing populism is growing, especially in Poland and Hungary, where leaders are becoming entrenched through autocratic and illiberal governmental change (Ekiert 2017).

3.3.1 Cultural Actors and Populism: Some examples of resistance

Resistance can be observed at different levels, from institutional and systemic through to informal, grass roots based, issue-specific activities. Networks of non-state actors, collaborating across levels and sectors are understood to be a central feature of the 21st century world (see Slaughter 2017). They will be important for building cultural resilience to the current PNZ, and its future challenges. For the purpose of this discussion, we have described these groups of actors as "institutional" and "informal".

[37] http://www.pewglobal.org/2017/08/01/globally-people-point-to-isis-and-climate-change-as-leading-security-threats/ [18.10.2017].

The Institutional

At the interface of government and non-government sectors there is an abundance of umbrella organisations and networks in the European cultural space. Some are longstanding, such as The European Cultural Foundation established in 1954[38] others have been established in the last few years to deal with the growing need for cultural collaboration, such as More Europe[39], the European Union National Institutes of Culture (EUNIC) (2014)[40] and the Cultural Diplomacy Platform (2016)[41].

EUNIC for example is a networking organisation connecting member state national organisations (such as the British Council, the Goethe-Institut, the Alliance française and ifa) to promote a European cultural conversation and enhance Europe's international cultural relations. If successful, this can act as a counter to narrower nationalist understandings of culture. Under these umbrella bodies, national or local cultural organisations can be aligned, with many participating in more than one group. In addition to network contacts, these groups also offer funding and other organizational skills sharing in support of the European international cultural project identified in Mogherini's Joint Communiqué and the European Council strategy on cultural relations. Indeed, EUNIC in June 2017 signed an MOU with the Commission to support the new strategy.

Networking with similar and complementary national organizations is at the core of the mandate of many other groups operating at the EU level. There are over 300 cultural networks, many located in Brussels, with members all over Europe. Traditionally their role has been to organize festivals and industry events, networking resources, contacts, skills and facilitate EU funding.

[38] http://www.culturalfoundation.eu [18.10.2017].
[39] http://www.moreeurope.org [18.10.2017].
[40] https://www.eunicglobal.eu [18.10.2017].
[41] http://www.cultureinexternalrelations.eu/about-us/ [18.10.2017].

Networking EU Cultural Agents and Actors

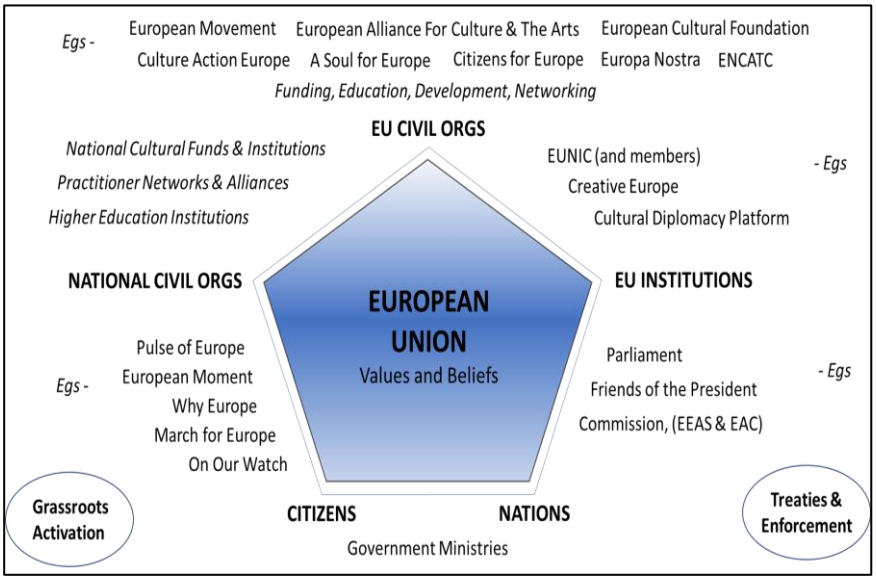

Chart 3: Representation of the Range of EU Cultural Actors
Source: Own presentation.

Now these groups, usually staffed by arts and cultural industry practitioners are, much more than in the past, coming together to consider the implications of, and their role in countering, the PNZ.

For example, the International Network for Contemporary Performing Arts (IETM, 2017), held a plenary in April 2017 ambitiously titled "How to Save Europe", which addressed the impact of the PNZ and EU reform. One quote from the report captures the difficulties of resilience at its most fundamental;

> "When you struggle to survive locally, it is hard to imagine viable solutions for the European level; nevertheless, connections with international colleagues are vital as they help to tackle the issues which are relevant across borders and to feel that you are not alone in your struggle." (ITEM 2017)

The Informal

To say that an organisation is informal is not to imply limited influence. One of the best examples of a defense of the European project is Pulse of Europe. Now in 20 countries across Europe and a rapidly growing number of cities (98 in Germany alone, at latest count) the movement attracts supporters to weekly solidarity marches to show support for the EU. A ten point manifesto exists, highlighting individual engagement, defending diversity, Europe's fundamental freedoms, and the need for EU reform. Yet the broadness of these principles has attracted criticism – what does this movement really want, except to preserve the status quo?[42] Further: is it influencing, or simply preaching to the converted? Of course, those participating are already committed to the EU project, but that should not in any way diminish the effort to give visibility and voice to a community defying the claims of the populists that only they represent the real interests of real people.

What is clear from an observation of Pulse of Europe's activities is that this type of purpose-designed grass roots movement can spread rapidly, and is one of the many positive applications of social media. The hashtag #pulseofeurope enables connection and participation across different platforms and accounts. The marches themselves are highly visible and attract much media coverage and support. Being inherently positive events, they are attractive for high profile people to attend and endorse. Of note, while organisers understood that the elections in 2017 were debating issues crucial to the EU's survival, it specifically prohibits political parties and institutions from initiating Pulse of Europe marches. The test it now faces is its ability to maintain vitality and sustainability.

It is difficult to measure just how effective non-partisan grassroots organisations are as cultural actors both nationally and trans-nationally. But their models highlight common values across borders and share objectives to combat the PNZ. The rapid growth of events across EU cities and countries, the rising presence in social media and widespread mainstream press coverage Pulse of Europe would suggest that they have already played a role in:

- Awakening the pro-European community and building an "EU spirit".
- Articulating the tangible benefits of EU membership to nations and citizens.
- Fighting in social media trenches against specific populist issues and actors.
- Activating the grassroots to lobby for EU reform.

[42] http://www.dw.com/en/pulse-of-europe-what-are-the-demonstrations-achieving/a-38743518 [18.10.2017].

Youth is actively involved in these pro-EU movements, certainly as target audiences but also as actors. It is worth noting that their incentives may be quite different from that of "elder statesmen" who reflect on both the historical and contemporary rationale for the establishment of the EU or the democratic principles it upholds. Many student based pro-EU groups, especially those active on social media have little idea of the origins of the EU. Rather they highlight inter-European mobility, especially the ability to study and work throughout the EU. The EU passport is seen as more valuable than a national one. That support for the EU is personal and logistic, matters less than that there is support per se.

Of course there are occasions where personal issues are embedded within a wider EU frame of reference. The student led protest in Hungary to protect the Central European University, united under the hashtag #IStandWithCEU is perhaps the best recent example. This saw student solidarity on an issue that directly impacts their lives, but also bolsters wider fundamental principles of freedom of speech, academic freedom and the democratic principles upon which the EU stands. The tens of thousands who turned out week after week for rallies, has demonstrated the power of connecting personal stakes to broader issues.

3.2.2 Arts, Artists and Resistance: What role for the Arts in the current political conversation?

> "While culture will not necessarily solve our problems, a lack of culture will definitely exacerbate them […] Artists and intellectuals can kick start the process (as they did the Irish peace process) because they can think outside the norm – the power of seeing the world from another point of view." (Joep Leerssen, Trinity Long Room lecture, March 2017)[43]

The arts and cultural community is the source of much social analysis and critique. Artists are one of the major sources of challenge to the status quo. They exhibit a preference for open, argumentative and Socratic modes of discourse. By contrast, as we have seen in many countries, populists, of both the right and the left, tend to be uncomfortable with these methods. They tend to prefer silence or discrediting the views of others.

Populist political responses to arts activism range from the extreme such as the incarceration of Pussy Riot in Russia and Ai Weiwei in China, through to Jonan Staal's arrest in

[43] https://soundcloud.com/tlrhub/culture-and-populism-the-crisis-of-the-humanities-and-the-crisis-of-western-liberalism [18.10.2017].

the Netherlands for producing street monuments that Geert Wilders interpreted as threatening.[44] We might even include Donald Trump's petty belittling of Meryl Streep as an overrated actress.

Populists may have a negative view of the high arts – seeing them as exclusivist and largely elitist. Nevertheless, populist and nationalists understand the degree to which the arts can be instrumental in influencing citizen opinion. Marine Le Pen[45], Frauke Petry[46], and Geert Wilders[47] all claimed either an intention to defund the arts, or to limit funding only to those with an approved nationalistic agenda. Viktor Orbán's government in Hungary has embarked upon a systematic and deliberate restriction of the arts community, its funding, spaces and practitioners, in favour of government endorsed programming.

By contrast, Emmanuel Macron proposed an open access approach and international engagement to art and culture, including an "Erasmus" programme for cultural professionals. This was totally at odds with Marine Le Pen's protectionist approach to entrenching "approved" French values through culture, conservation and traditional values.[48] Le Pen would have replaced the Regional Contemporary Art Fund (FRAC) seeing it as a supporter of political and subversive art. Nor would her government have funded exhibitions or work considered, without definition, as "unacceptable". Many French artists quickly rallied together against this proposal.[49]

The arts can be strongly positioned to play a role against the PNZ. At a minimum, art can open minds and give people the means to imagine an alternative; good storytelling can help people identify with others, care about their journey and issues, as an antidote to the lack of empathy that underlies so many extreme views. Interviewed by *de Volkskrant*, the Stedelik Museum's director Beatrix Ruf advocated using art to change and frame the contemporary political conversation.[50] She embraced the role of the museum as a political

[44] http://www.humanityinaction.org/knowledgebase/317-art-and-politics-four-dutch-artists-and-their-reaction-to-wilders [18.10.2017].
[45] https://hyperallergic.com/258161/hundreds-of-french-artists-rebuke-rapprochement-from-marine-le-pen/ [18.10.2017].
[46] http://www.tagesspiegel.de/kultur/die-kulturpolitik-der-afd-hauptsache-deutsch/13533198.html [18.10.2017].
[47] http://www.platformbk.nl/2014/02/the-dutch-situation-2/?lang=en [18.10.2017].
[48] http://theartnewspaper.com/news/what-french-presidential-candidates-macron-and-le-pen-have-in-store-for-the-arts [18.10.2017].
[49] https://news.artnet.com/art-world/french-artists-marine-le-pen-open-letter-374837 [18.10.2017].
[50] http://www.volkskrant.nl/beeldende-kunst/directeur-stedelijk-museum-mengt-zich-in-politieke-strijd-rond-populisme~a4475899/ [18.10.2017].

space that can respond to the ideas and issues of the day. With five exhibitions in 2017 themed on migration, but forming part of a wider program, each explores a different aspect of the migrant experience and draws from many global and historical experiences, not just the current refugee crisis. The aim is to get people to think outside their own experience.

The role of art in such contexts is noble but problematic. The reality is that it is likely that such exhibitions, and museums and galleries generally, and specifically as fixed spaces with a cost of entry, are not necessarily attracting those sections of the community who the anti-populists would wish to expose to a conversation about immigration, or other issues. Any evidence to-date, either way, is largely anecdotal. This is an important area for further exploration if a constant question for those wishing to counter populism is to be addressed: How to reach the wider audience?

Box 1: Some Examples of European Arts Activism

"*Monument*"
A highly visible arts installation by Syrian-born artist Manaf Halbouni erected at the Neumarkt square by *Dresden Kunsthaus*. The artwork, a row of overturned upright buses, evokes the barricades set up in the war-torn eastern city of Aleppo and highlights the suffering of the people of Syria (https://news.artnet.com/art-world/anti-islamic-protest-syrian-art-installation-852089).

The "*ZieZo Marokko*"
An exhibition at the Amsterdam's *Tropenmuseum Junior* introduced school children to the culture of Morocco, demystifying customs and practices and lowering the cultural barriers. Arts in education has the unique ability to teach children the value of other cultures and instill empathy. (https://psmag.com/news/how-dutch-artists-are-fighting-discriminatory-campaign-rhetoric)

The "*Liefde Begeert Wilders*" (Love Desires Wilders)
Brainchild of Nilgün Yerli, a Turkish-Dutch actress and writer; the campaign asked Muslim students to write a love letter to Wilders. It was intended to subvert, rather than feed hate, and although somewhat successful, she found that much of what was written failed to qualify as a "love". The concept has the potential to be powerful, engaging emotion, and asking people to participate in the political conversation. (http://www.humanityinaction.org/knowledgebase/317-art-and-politics-four-dutch-artists-and-their-reaction-to-wilders)

One recommendation (albeit perhaps obvious) emerging from the February 2017 Salzburg Global Seminar on Cultural Resilience was the need for cultural organizations to avoid silos, to create broad-based coalitions, and to encourage cross-sectoral collaboration amongst groups not known for speaking to each other. Of course, the creative sector needs to reach out not only to other creative organizations for innovative collaboration with partners in other sectors, such as education or health care. But a stronger artistic critique of populism does not necessarily assist in winning over hearts and minds. Agenda driven artistic expression is unlikely to mitigate long-standing populist opinion and may risk sacrificing quality for messaging. At its worst, it can enhance polarisation.

It is difficult, for example to imagine AfD supporters changing their minds after seeing Schaubuehne's critical theatre piece "Fear" that deliberately mocked several AfD party members specifically by name.[51] Likewise, the film "*Chez Nous*", a story of political radicalisation depicting a "le Pen-esque" character, had FN supporters denouncing it before it had begun screening. At least, by drawing such controversy, "*Chez Nous*" may have shone a light on the issues at stake.[52]

Much discussion about culture and arts has for a long time presumed art in its traditional forms: that is "high art" or "high culture". While the arts sector itself may have moved beyond this understanding to see it as far broader and more diverse this is not axiomatically the case on the street or in traditional funding circles. And taking a step further, when television, film, music and social media channels connect with people where they live and play, there may be little or no time to focus on high culture. In terms of reach, this is where successful cultural engagement is most likely to be found. The French club anthem Cosmopolitan by Soprano[53] embeds a strong liberal message into catchy beat. As in the USA, late night television in Europe is alive and well, with hosts like German comedian Jan Boehmermann mocking the global tide of populism[54] and engaging in local comedic anti-AfD performances.[55]

[51] http://www.tagesspiegel.de/kultur/fear-in-der-schaubuehne-am-lehniner-platz-angst-essen-europas-seele-auf/12500248.html [18.10.2017].
[52] http://www.france24.com/en/20170103-france-film-far-right-marine-le-pen-character-cinema-national-front-lucas-belvaux [18.10.2017].
[53] https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=3-IUHJdiE5Q [18.10.2017].
[54] https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=WcH9eWBs9fw [18.10.2017].
[55] http://www.stern.de/kultur/tv/jan-boehmermann--staendchen-fuer-frauke-petry-6752688.html [18.10.2017].

Arts like all culture is constantly evolving and finding new expressions. Consider the impact of the YouTube video and music celebrities, the art of graphic novels and gaming. The artistic and cultural influence in a world of virtual reality should not be ignored in developing resilience strategies against the PNZ; both now and in the future. We have some evidence of this future from the French presidential election. Supporters of Jean-Luc Mélenchon, created a video game involving French political personalities "*Fiscal Kombat*", the aim being to attack capitalists and shake them until money drops out of their pockets into France's coffers.

On a cautionary note: in engaging arts practitioners and institutions in developing resilience strategies and possibly even activism, then we must not presume that this is simply something within their capabilities, and that only political will is missing. The development of such strategies is more complicated than that. For example, the Centre For Artistic Activism trains creative activism trans-nationally and has developed useful ideas around how to mobilise creative artistic forces to make effective political statements.[56] But such campaigns are always contextually contingent on a particular environment, and the wider context of a general encouragement to people to think outside institutions, foster feeling over thinking, focus on participative projects and above all, be goal oriented.

> "Consciousness raising is only useful as a means directed towards something larger. Not addressing a specific, distant goal is a strategic error. Unfortunately, merely political content is often what passes for political art, while it has little political impact. If the artist were to be more ambitious and more specific, 'I will create a more accepting culture around immigration through my art work' they'd probably be more successful because they'd have a clearer idea of what they were trying to do." (Interview with the Center for Creative Activism 2014)[57]

With enough ambition and skills, it is possible for an artistic project to engage an entire country. Theatr NO99's documentary project "Ash and Money" combined performing arts, politics, media and civil society in one artistic project that had real consequences for politics in Estonia. The group created a fictitious political movement "Unified Estonia". From the first press conference and the founding assembly to its final "performance" at which 7.000 people attended, the group never clarified whether they were performing theatre or engaging in real political action. Using their own propaganda and activities (including a powerful YouTube video series on Estonian politics) they exposed corruption

[56] https://artisticactivism.org/ [18.10.2017].
[57] http://we-make-money-not-art.com/interview_with_center_for_creative_activism/ [18.10.2017].

in the system and incumbent parties. The project was filmed as a documentary[58] ensuring longevity, and it is still screened many years after the actual events occurred.

3.4 Summary: The Importance of Art and Culture

Part 3 of this Report has identified the actors, agents and communicative practices of modern populism and nationalism in a European context. It draws several, inevitably fuzzy, conclusions from its observations. Firstly, the power of the PNZ over European political and social life is stronger than at any time since the 1930s.

Secondly, and in contrast to earlier times, the major source of its strength has been its ability to adapt successfully to the modern technological revolution in communications. These new communication tools have allowed the direct dissemination of populist nationalists in an unfiltered manner and not reliant on traditional media outlets.

Thirdly, as a counterweight but not in contradiction to the first conclusion, we have demonstrated that the PNZ can be, and is contested. Assumptions of a rampant populism overwhelming the status quo have been shown by the events of 2017 to be over-hyped. Geert Wilders was always unlikely to lead a Dutch government and Marine Le Pen was always an unlikely French president. But that they did not win does not mean that they are not major political influences. They have shaken up their national politics dramatically; especially in setting a political agenda where the political mainstream continues to dismiss populist supporters' concerns. Germany has seen the populist AfD make major inroads into the German body politic. The results in Australia and the Czech Repubic in October 2017 further reinforce this argument.

Fourthly, a sense of historical perspective is important. Epochs come and go and often look less significant when they have passed. The task of arts and culture is to resist the normalising of the behaviour of populists and nationalists when they are at the height of their powers: to see such behavior as the deviant not the norm. This of course, is easier said than done. But it is not, or should not, be impossible. Indeed, one test of resilience is the degree to which everyday life goes on in spite of the pressures emanating from authoritarian and illiberal ideologies. It is here that art and culture is important. The ground does not freeze under populism and culture can flow around it. Political history and actual human experience are not identical. Focusing on politics as formal practice to the exclu-

[58] https://vimeo.com/130752912 [18.10.2017].

sion of all else can miss other trends and points of resilience from the wider community in everyday life.

At a normative, as opposed to an analytical level, the importance of strong independent arts sectors in international cultural dialogue is also clear. The work of an independent arts sector can reflect the values of a community, speak truth, expose political and social hypocrisy within a nation, improve the quality of life, build social and cultural capital, and inject imagination into processes of resilience and re-invention. The Salzburg Global Seminar argued that (i) culture is a human right; (ii) arts and culture should "sit at the top table" and indeed (iii) they should even be highlighted in the context of the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). Not all would accept these assertions as necessary, as opposed to desirable, avenues of public policy. But they are legitimate proposals for discussion and deliberation and represent important counter positions to those to be found within a nationalist populist discourse.

If the civic cultural capital of a country can survive, then the damage done by populism can be limited in the long run. Historically civil society organisations are better at resisting power than we often assume. The historical role of writers in Europe is especially important here. From Victor Hugo and Emile Zola, through the critics of communism and oppression in East and Central Europe in the period between WWII and the end of the Cold War, through to modern day critics of the PNZ, art, writing, theatre, comedy and now the modern technological mediums of cinema, music and social media provide vehicles for challenging the populist-nationalist zeitgeist and its domestic and international political impact.

Part 4: Beyond Theory and Practice: Some Political and Policy Implications

Parts 2 and 3 of this Report have offered an insight into the theory and practice of populism and nationalism, as one defining element of the contemporary European political environment. We now try to identify their impact on foreign policy, and offer a series of stylized recommendations for mitigating their impact. It needs to be recognized that both analysis and narrative are open ended and subject to contest and revision. Therefore, policy responses to mitigate the PNZ are also likely to be contested, evolving and difficult to implement. The responses are not straightforward, and combine the political, economic and sociological with the cultural.

As we have noted, the U.S. is still the pre-eminent global power, but its future trajectory is unpredictable under its current Administration. Nor can we dodge the severe nature of the contemporary crisis in which the wider European project finds itself. Challenges for the EU are both endogenous and exogenous. While domestic problems are immediate, external and global problems are increasingly pressing and cast shadows over the ability of the EU to function effectively as a global actor. The EU's ability to pursue an integrated foreign policy is, at a minimum, inhibited by the growth of the PNZ, particularly in those member states with close external relationships with external actors, such as Hungary's Orbán government with Russia.

While populist parties and movements might be less visible in late 2017 than 2016, they can be expected to regroup. So too should we now expect increasing opposition to the PNZ and the authoritarian challenges it poses for democratic values and institutions. It has taken a while, but the major liberal democratic and social democratic governments of Europe are now resisting the PNZ in a manner they singularly failed to do up to 2016. The era of complacency and inaction in the face of the PNZ has seemingly passed.

Civic resistance offers a major defense of democratic institutions and is growing. It can be seen especially in the most advanced illiberal states: for example we have seen major protests in Poland which led to President Andrzej Duda's veto of bills seeking to curtail the courts' independence, and in Hungary, where legislative attacks on civil society organisations, academic freedom, and especially the Central European University, attracted large and frequent public demonstrations.

The 2017 Hertie Governance Report provides a checklist of measures, both formal and informal that governments and civil society actors can undertake to bolster the resilience of institutions and public trust in the face of populist pressure. High on the list are

(i) safeguarding existing institutions and the rule of law and (ii) government initiated direct democratic innovations to secure wider citizen participation in decision making by lowering the voting age, developing online deliberative platforms and increasing citizen involvement through citizen assemblies (Hertie Governance Report 2017).

Both social and liberal democrats are now aware that they need to actively defend an open liberal international order. But they now also recognize that reform of economic globalization is required if hyper-nationalism is to be resisted. Notwithstanding this awareness, reform will be difficult because support for populism and hyper nationalism appears to privilege values and identity over economic policy-making. Nationalists and their supporters seem undeterred by the hurt that economic policy objectives such as protectionism clearly inflict on them (Rodrik 2017). Contrary to President Clinton's 1992 campaign strategy, it's not "the economy, stupid". It's values.

The EU needs a post neo-liberal approach to international relations and foreign policy. The liberal international order, which seemed reasonably benign in the initial post-Cold War decades, has become much less so in both the economic and politico-security domain. As the EU 2016 Vision Statement noted, there is a structural interconnectedness, between the fate of the global order and some of Europe's major foreign policy questions.

An integrated EU foreign policy, in contrast to the inward-looking approaches of Europe's populists and illiberal governments, would clearly be better placed to develop such integrated and joint approaches. For the EU, this means thinking strategically, as indeed the Vision Statement does, and remaining globally engaged especially at a time when the traditional leader of the global liberal order, the USA, is seemingly moving in the opposite direction. It is not unreasonable to argue that this priority has now been recognised by major European leaders such as Rutte, Merkel and Macron. But success is not assured. It is not simply the case of having a strategy. That is but one element of the equation.

The second element is the need to rejuvenate support for the international regime of multilateral collective problem solving. More than any other global actor, Europe has an interest in a rules-based liberal order founded on cooperation. Such an order plays to Europe's strengths and offsets, in part at least, its weaknesses. Indeed, the post world war two European peace has been based on it. By contrast a world of transactional, power based engagement – of the kind emerging under Donald Trump's USA (and indeed Xi Jinping's China) – is not one in which Europe will fare well.

Defending international liberalism will not be easy. Contrary to the views of Messrs Juncker and Tusk, Europe cannot lead. The U.S. is still the indispensable nation. It must therefore satisfice. In the words of Ana Palacio, former Spanish Foreign Minister, must stick to its values and if it cannot lead it must offer stewardship where it can and keep its head down where it can't.[59]

But even a strategy like this is not without costs. It will require not only deft diplomacy and more resources to limit disruptions to international economic openness and trade. It will also require domestic reform to win back the hearts and minds of those members of the European polity lost to the siren calls of populism and nationalism. To do this, we need to understand and respond to liberalism's own limits and changing dynamics in the 21st century. As Owen notes, we need to deal with its own myths, notably that:

> "[…] [L]iberalism is unbiased with respect to both values and power. Liberalism never has been neutral: it always has sought to shape people into individuals who highly value autonomy or self-legislation and to shift power towards people and groups that would carry out that shaping." (Owen 2017)

However a shift to greater personal autonomy is not universally appreciated. The neoliberal (Hayekian) dismantling of Ruggie's (1982) post world war two embedded liberal compromise that accompanied the growth of globalization over the last 30 years, also economically disenfranchised sections of European society. The decline in the economic fortunes of crucial sections of Europe's manufacturing middle and working classes and the accompanying increases in inequality (empirically detailed by Milanovic 2014) absent safety nets, provided fertile ground for populist ideology to attack liberalism's abandonment of these traditional norms and institutions.

Liberals, especially since the financial crash of 2008, too easily wrote off concerns of others over economic standing and loss of identity, as bigotry and xenophobia. Europe's political leaders, across the political spectrum, now appreciate that there are costs to economic openness that not only exacerbate inequality but also put at risk political moderation and reasoned debate and challenged the social bond that has underpinned liberal society (Higgott and Devetak 1999). These issues must be addressed if the ideological attractions of the PNZ are to be countered.

[59] https://www.project-syndicate.org/commentary/europe-liberal-world-order-by-ana-palacio-2017-08 [18.10.2017].

Similarly at the international level, it is difficult to imagine a stable order that does not have a trans-Atlantic commonality of interests and practices at its core. Both are threatened, from both sides of the Atlantic, by the populist-nationalist-cum-illiberal-authoritarian agenda for an international community of conservative states. The challenges for Europe, of immigration, refugees and Jihadism, even if exaggerated, are not imaginary. But how to address these challenges is less obvious. Curbs on movement and civil liberties go against the rational tenets of an open liberal society.

One obvious way to make liberalism more resilient to the PNZ is to recognize the legitimacy of its some of its leaders' complaints about the lack of transparency, responsiveness and accountability in Brussels. The EU must address not one but all three issues (Müller et al. 2016). The word resilience here is crucial. Liberal resilience does not mean crushing the anti-liberalism of populism and nationalism. Rather it means responding to it where it can and containing it where it must. For example, to be a liberal society means that it must accommodate diversity and not insist that all groups subscribe to liberal values. Such an insistence would contradict liberalism's own commitment to openness. Such open approach might help mitigate the appeal of modern populism.

These broader issues and positions have major practical implications for cultural foreign policy. Battles against immigration and hostility to refugees are not simply economic. Pent up socio-political and cultural instability have been released, often spurred on by the emotional manipulation by populist leaders of their supporters. Pitching "real people" against "the elites", can destroy community confidence in the competence and probity of business as well as the administrative or professional classes.

The real harbinger of job losses in the sunset industries may be technological innovation, artificial intelligence and robotics, but it is politically easier to blame liberal trade and immigrants as the cause of all ills in the affected communities. This is what the populists have done. The negative Brexit negotiation experience to-date suggests that the populist anti-EU position carries significant risk. These problems will determine both form and content of the context in which the EU must operate.

4.1 International Relations: Art, Culture and European Foreign Policy Resilience

What role might art and culture play in securing a strong European international narrative in the face of populism and nationalism? The answer will always be an ambiguous combination of theoretical abstraction and concrete historical experience, in which embracing the idea of a European identity, and thus European policy, requires shedding at

least some of the more rigid assumptions of national self-identification. We are faced with a conundrum: one of Europe's greatest successes – the free exchange of people and ideas overtime – is now its Achilles heel. Stoking a negative perception of cross-border migration is central to the PNZ. It, more than anything, has fueled the critique of the EU as non-transparent and non-accountable in its policies and thus lacking in legitimacy.

We suggested in Part 3 that cultural movements might have a role in mitigating these critiques. This indeed is a principal assumption underpinning the strategy developed by Brussels in its adoption of the May 2017 Joint Communication on International Cultural Relations. But if the EU is to ward off the closure of borders and indeed the closure of minds, as contemplated by the populist and nationalist discourse, it must combine an organic, bottom up with and a more formal top down, directed approach.

4.1.1 From the Bottom Up

As we discussed in Part 3 there are some emerging trends and interesting endeavors that identify a positive, albeit limited, role for the arts, culture and civil communities. The IETM, mentioned already as one example of an interest based arts and culture network, has identified a range of ways in which the European theatre community might contribute to the reform of the political landscape to make it more resilient to populist overtures (IETM Bucharest Plenary Meeting 2017). Specifically, they proposed that the arts and cultural communities should work to:

(i) Disturb the status quo, imagine and shape a different future: envisaging how the future should and could be, not simply how it is.
(ii) Break down the black-and-white political palette and develop a more nuanced "grey area" of acceptance and understanding.
(iii) Bring creativity to public protest.
(iv) Engage more with co-citizens beyond the arts and cultural communities who might feel equally excluded from the policy process.
(v) Build smarter advocacy strategies (not a traditional strength of the cultural community) and engage more directly with sectors of the policy community with common interests such as the educational and welfare communities.
(vi) Look outwards from Europe focusing on the benefits (as opposed to the negatives) of bringing different cultures and perspectives to the socio-governmental dimensions of European societies together.

Two of the best examples of these strategies being developed to-date can be found in the diverse array of activities of the Salzburg Global Seminars on Culture, Arts and Socie-

ty[60] and in the actions of EUNIC, the key network supported in part by the European Commission's major cultural funding programme Creative Europe Programme.[61] EUNIC while explicitly non-political nevertheless sees its role supporting the European project and doing so by building trust and understanding between the peoples of Europe and the rest of the world through culture. It, and indeed other organisations, is thus implicitly working in opposition to the approach to international cultural relations found among advocates of the PNZ.

Without a strong network of support, an expectation that arts and culture groups can achieve wide reaching impact in countering the PNZ is optimistic. Arts institutions, particular independent operators who might be less risk averse in programming are in practice often resource constrained with their priorities are driven by issues of sustainability: building their core audience and day-to-day survival. There are some individual projects that are an exception, such as NO99's United Estonia project but it should be noted that NO99 receives guaranteed government funding. Arts funding is a perennial and much discussed issue, but how to support these groups, preferably through existing organisations and networks, is an essential part of any strategy if they are to participate in the broader enhancement of the EU project.

The development of a strategic approach to cultural relations within the arts and cultural communities is an increasingly salient area of Europe's international relations. As the next section suggests, the balance in the relationship between policy makers, civil society organisations and practitioners, given the different priorities and motivations of their respective endeavours, will always be a delicate one. Interests might usually, but not always, coincide. Whilst on the same spectrum, informal cultural interaction and formal cultural diplomacy as the ends of that spectrum, can be far apart, with semi-formalised 'cultural relations' sitting somewhere between. Given its position at the interstices of policy and practice, EUNIC has become an essential interlocutor between the worlds of policy and practice in the arts and cultural world.

[60] http://culture.salzburgglobal.org/overview.html [18.10.2017].
[61] https://ec.europa.eu/programmes/creative-europe [18.10.2017].

4.1.2 From the Top Down

HR Mogherini's 2016 Communiqué and its adoption by the European Council as the EU's strategic approach to international cultural relations (European Commission 2016b) quite specifically places international cultural relations as a significant element in the EU's wider foreign policy, but the strategy, and its de facto agents such as EUNIC resist the idea that they are engaged in cultural diplomacy. They stress that its agenda too, should be bottom up. Tellingly, the strategy does not allocate any funds additional to those already available through existing Commission and Parliamentary instruments that have simply been repackaged (Higgott and Van Langenhoven 2016).

While not explicit it is clear from a reading of the Communiqué, and the 2016 Global Vision Statement, that enhanced cultural relations both within and beyond the borders of the EU are important in the mitigation of inward-looking nationalism. In foreign policy terms, societal and cultural dialogue and exchange are flagged, following Joseph Nye (2004) as serious soft power elements of the EU's trans-national and trans-continental diplomatic conversation, albeit not as substitute for hard power. The Vision Statement talks about societal "resilience" and the role of culture in securing it. But it does so in a "catch all" non-specific and non-policy targeted manner. Specifically, it says it will nurture "societal resilience also by deepening work on education, culture and youth to foster pluralism, coexistence and respect".

While it would be difficult to challenge the benign normative intentions of the Communiqué and the Vision Statement as both strategy and policy, there is a major question mark over the EU's ability to successfully implement it. Even if differences in national cultures could be smoothed over by Brussels there remains a coordination problem for as long as cultural relations are principally a Member State competence. Indeed, as the Vision Statement notes: "Putting our diverse national cultures at the service of our shared interests is a challenge."

Moreover, the success of culture diplomacy must be measured through the eyes of the target audience. Influence and reciprocal knowledge sharing in cultural diplomacy is not axiomatic. Cultural diplomacy is in constant need of re-mapping and checking with recipients. Re-mapping implies not only understanding what we mean by culture, but also the language and other mediums we use to promote it and that, as with the arrival of the new social media, change over time. Without re-mapping old legacies of resentment will remain and new resentments will develop. This is a particularly important issue for the EU in the current age. The EU is indeed a global actor but it is currently beset by crises of

confidence and identity that engulf it at a time of diminished global expectation compared with just a decade ago.

4.2 The Opportunities and Limits of Cultural Diplomacy in EU Foreign Policy

EU interest in international cultural relations/cultural diplomacy is an attempt at best, to enhance, at worst to offset losses in, its global aspirations and influence in other aspects of its foreign power projection. Endeavoring to make the best of Europe's assets such as culture is sensible and rational and so becomes a crucial instrument of policy. But assumptions that EU cultural diplomacy can stem its declining influence vis-a-vis the traditional hegemon, the U.S., and the rising global force of China is pietistic rather than analytic. Even ignoring the PNZ, other serious problems exist.

The Middle East and developing countries will always treat cultural diplomacy with suspicion. The problem is less the substance and virtue of western cultural values per se. Rather the issues are (i) the residual historical legacies of mistrust and (ii) the modern "norms-as-practices" that would be necessary for their promulgation, and trans-national/cross border delivery but which are often not shared cross-nationally. To suggest that there is a common and aspirational European culture, as some of the more assertive brands of European normative power (see Manners 1994) have done over the last several decades, is at best foolhardy, at worst ethnocentrically arrogant. HR Mogherini's 2016 assertion that Europe was a "cultural superpower" was particularly inept. Self-identification as a "superpower" is not a notion that lends itself to the improvement of international cultural relations; especially with parts of the world with different historical traditions and on different political trajectories.

The preceding caveats on the prospect for a successful strategy of international cultural interaction are not arguments for cultural relativism. Nor is it a critique of European values per se. Rather it is to recognise that while the EU's stated strategic cultural aim is to promote diversity, the most likely reading to be taken by recipients on the receiving end of the strategy beyond the border of the EU, is that its real aim is to promote the EU in the contemporary global search for influence – especially vis-à-vis the USA and China. Again, there is nothing wrong with such a strategy. But the EU needs to tread very softly with third countries if it is not to generate a backlash.

While rhetoric on enhancing EU cultural relations is strong (at least in Brussels) the likelihood of concrete outcomes – especially in member states with their own strong traditions of cultural diplomacy – should not be overestimated. The Commission has only

"supporting competence" in cultural diplomacy (Art 6, TFEU). A foreign policy coordination problem, reflected in the tense relationship between the member states and the EEAS, is always present in Brussels. Cultural diplomacy is no exception. The Joint Communiqué reflects this ambiguity and cultural diplomacy secures only one sentence in the Vision Statement asserting that new fields of our joined-up external action include energy diplomacy, cultural diplomacy and economic diplomacy (EUGS 2016: 49).

Moreover, "crowding out" is always a longer-term possibility in a packed, and expensive, external relations agenda. Cultural diplomacy, along with economic diplomacy and energy diplomacy maybe "new fields of joined-up external action" but it is to be expected that older, more traditional hard power priorities will grow and secure the lion\s share of resources. We can expect domestic and international security will become a priority and resource pressures to meet enhanced military obligations will become acute. It will be interesting to observe over the next few years the degree to which cultural diplomacy can really be, in Mogherini's own words "[…]… at the core of our foreign policy".

Part 5: What is to be done?

So, what is to be done to contain the PNZ and what role can art and culture play in this containment? Part 4 has identified some of the specific instances from these communities. The generic answer of course is reform. But reform priorities are more easily identified than implemented. The globalization genie cannot, nor should not, be put back in the bottle. But if we are to have any chances of preserving the positive, societal welfare enhancing elements of globalization, we must at the same time mitigate its worst elements. The prerequisites for a reform of globalization to restore the bond between the state and the citizen are actually quite well understood, but they would not be secured under the protectionist policies of populist nationalist governments.

Reform requires the state to develop public policies that recognize and address the negative effects of the technological revolution on those it has disadvantaged. Artificial intelligence and big data will continue to eviscerate certain categories of employment (Baldwin 2016). We must battle the PNZ through education and positive use of the new technologies; especially skilling and equipping the work force for the next stages of the digital revolution. Centrist governments need to acknowledge the genuine cultural anxieties of communities in the face of large-scale immigration and the threat, both imagined and real, from radical terrorist organisations.

Further, at the most acutely politically sensitive level, the modern OECD world needs to address the very real issue of growing inequality (Milanovic 2014). This is no longer an issue for just the socialist or the Marxist (Piketty 2013), it is an issue for those who wish to preserve the political viability and stability of a liberal democratic or social democratic society. Populists understood that the winners from globalization have not ensured its benefits have been shared with the losers. Thus populists have been able to create an alternative, self-serving narrative that has blamed globalized elites, foreigners and immigrants rather than technology and the failure of national governments to ensure social protection. As Rodrik (2017) has noted this is not easy to undo retrospectively.

But the plan should not be to become less economically open than in the past decades. Openness has been, and remains, the principal driver of growth and generator of overall aggregate welfare. Globalized trade invariably enlarges a state's overall economic pie. But it will only spread this enhanced aggregate national well-being to the extent that the state purposively intervenes to provide compensatory mechanisms to stem the declining position of the disadvantaged. This has not happened for much of the contemporary era of globalization in those states that are now exhibiting strong populist tendencies.

Similarly, we have learned that resisting appeals to identity will always prove a difficult area of reform. Loyalties emanating from identity are not all bad. Loyalty to a perceived identity can have enriching components such the protection or promotion of a regional language and heritage. At the same time however, as we have seen of late it can and does foster chauvinism, invidious discrimination and even outright xenophobia. Recourse to the baser elements of identity has been present throughout the discourse of the PNZ even at times when it seems to run counter to rational interest. For example, for many Brexiteers the fact that they might be materially worse off outside of the EU has, to-date at least, been secondary to the belief that by leaving they "will get their country back". This is a cultural and an emotional response not a rational economic one.

What we have learned at the practical level of late is that a key to the future of the contest with the PNZ is how the mainstream parties harness social media in support of democracy in a manner similar to that of the populist in support of their cause. Social media as a medium of communication has split political discussion and opinion across the political spectrum leading to a level of polarized political discourse unparalleled since the beginning of the liberal democratic era. Sunstein captures the importance of redressing this problem, which he sees as the greatest task now facing democracy. Citing nineteenth century liberal philosopher John Stuart Mill, Sunstein notes:

> "It is hardly possible to overstate the value, in the present low state of human improvement, of placing human beings in contact with other persons dissimilar to themselves (our italics) and with modes of thought and action unlike those with which they are familiar […]. Such communications has always been, and is peculiarly in the present age, one of the primary sources of progress." (Mill in Sunstein 2017: 252)

We live in a social media bubble with its individual consumer sovereignty, personal insulation and self-selection of news exacerbating the absence of any conversations of the dissimilar. Rather than enhancing democracy it becomes diminished. Of course, social media (primarily Facebook and Twitter, but increasingly Instagram, Snapchat and a diverse range of online forums and chat rooms such as Reddit) are not anti-democratic per se. Indeed, they do enhance the spread of information and diverse points of view, not to mention work in the service of the liberal order (the Arab Spring, for example). Rather it is to suggest, after observation of the rise of the PNZ, that this is not what has happened. Rather the preponderant trend has been for people increasingly to listen largely and often only, to voices that reinforce their position.

It is not the purpose of this Report to address this topic in detail, rather to identify social media as an element successfully harnessed by populism that should be countered. Further, embracing social media and exploiting its possibilities is essential to building resilience in democracy and its institutions. As Sunstein (2017: 213-262 passim) has argued, there are a range of practices and strategies that can make social media a positive vehicle of citizenship, not simply a polarizing tool in the hands of ideologues, and/or powerful individuals and groups wanting to influence politics.

In calling for this Report ifa did two things. Firstly, it clearly recognized a major problem of our times: that it is impossible to make modern social or liberal democracy immune to the anti-democratic tendencies of modern populism and nationalism. So, failing an ability to secure any such immunity the default position must be how to make democracy, of either the social or liberal variety, resilient to the pressures of what the Report has identified as the PNZ. Secondly, the Call also recognized the while the generic, multi-dimensional, multi-sector global character of the problem is important, so too is the need to understand its constituent parts; in this instance, the effects of populist nationalism on European foreign policy and international relations as one element of this global, multi-dimensional problem.

Accordingly, this Report has demonstrated that the PNZ is widespread and strong but that it is not ubiquitous and it is open to resistance. Resistance may have been slow in coming as both the liberal and the European projects appeared to have been knocked off guard by the populist nationalist surge since the time of the global financial crisis. Yet without over-statement, 2017 seems to have shown signs of a growing resistance to populisms ideological appeal in part, if the record of the Trump Administration is our guide, because it lacks positive practical policy application. 2017 was not supposed to be this way for populists. In addition to the organizational and policy woes of the Trump administration, elections in the Netherlands, Italy and France did not provide expected breakthroughs for the Party for Freedom or Front National.

However, the factors that fueled the populist surge remain. M5S is almost certain to enter parliament with a significant number of votes. In France, Macron's honeymoon has been short lived. In the Netherlands, the VVD has still to find a workable government coalition that excludes Wilders, whose tough talk on immigration and integration has become the norm. Hungary and Poland show no signs of softening their illiberal stances. Above all the success of the AfD in the German federal elections of September 2017 tells us that right wing populism remains a potent political force across Europe.

The EU Strategic Vision (2016a) noted that the EU was beset by problems in the domains of peace and stability, migration, climate change, resource efficiency, health pandemics and other areas in need of collective action problem solving. But it foresaw neither the seismic political events that engulfed Europe in 2016 nor the accompanying strength of the PNZ. Cultural diplomacy was identified in the Strategic Vision as a contribution to EU wider international effort. But it did not specifically identify and articulate how a strategy of cultural diplomacy might combat anti-liberal, anti-democratic nationalist urges currently besetting many European countries.

Clearly, re-asserting the legitimacy and wider attractiveness of cultural, identity, values, policies and practices can do no harm. And developing a flexibility and resolve to reorganise and adapt to rapidly changing socio-political circumstances, as we identified in Part 2, are important elements of any resilience strategy. But, as we also showed in Part 4, this would always be difficult.

Our Report finds that while rhetoric on enhancing EU cultural relations is strong (at least in Brussels) the likelihood of concrete outcomes in cultural foreign policy, and especially having a pivotal role in resisting nationalist urges, will continue to be limited without a more systematic interaction between the policy community, especially the EEAS, and the arts and cultural sectors will need to be articulated if effectiveness is to be improved. This is no easy matter given the immensity and the complexity of the actors and networks involved.

As Parts 2 and 3 of the Report argued, in order to undercut populist platforms, it is necessary to both: (i) build robust cultural resilience (and confidence) at a national level (see Capano and Woo 2016; Cross and LaPorte 2016); and (ii) reassure citizens that the EU as a cultural, as well as an economic and legislative entity is not a threat to national identity. This requires positive support for the wider European project that goes to the heart of EU strategy in the Global Vision statement.

Networks build cultural resilience to the PNZ. At the interface of government and non-government sectors, these umbrella organisations in the European cultural space, without formally articulating such a position, have an interest in resisting the narrow attitudes of the PNZ towards culture and international cultural relations. This offers both strength and weakness. It is strength because there are a large number of actors involved in at the interface of ICR and CD operating at EU level. These networks will be important

for building cultural resilience and supporting international cultural relations in the face of the PNZ.

This offers both strength and weakness. It is strength because there are a large number of actors involved at the interface of international cultural relations and cultural diplomacy operating at EU level. But, it is also a weakness because it presents obvious coordination problems. There are over 300 cultural networks, many located in Brussels, with members all over Europe. These groups are coming together more than in the past to consider the implications of, and their role in countering, the PNZ. But it is difficult to measure just how effective, normally non-partisan, grassroots organisations are as cultural actors both nationally and transnationally.

Arts and cultural communities can be positioned to play a role against the PNZ. Their activity can highlight common values across borders and share objectives to combat the PNZ. At a minimum, their activities can help open minds and give people the means to imagine alternatives to populist messages; good storytelling can help people identify with others, care about their journey and issues, and act as an antidote to the lack of empathy (pace Donald Trump) that underlies many of the extreme views of populist leaders. But the risk for movements based on broad principles rather than specific outcomes is that initial enthusiasm and momentum can fade as supporter fatigue sets.

But, the importance of networks acting in a coordinated way is increasingly understood in Brussels and efforts are being made, especially through the development of ancillary activities driven by actors such as (i) More Europe, The Cultural Diplomacy Platform and EUNIC; (ii) an attempt to provide a road map by the European Council's Friends of Presidency they Group on EU international cultural relations; (iii) and indeed a resilience strategy developed for EU external relation.[62] The document does not identify cultural relations and cultural policy, but its recommendations apply as much to the cultural sector as to those of security and sustainable development.

[62] see A Strategic Approach to Resilience in the EU's external action https://eeas.europa.eu/sites/eeas/files/join_2017_21_f1_communication_from_commission_to_inst_en_v7_p1_916039.pdf [18.10.2017]; see Higgott 2017

Part 6: Conclusion and Some Stylized Recommendations

This Report has been prepared in an era when the dominant political (liberal) order of the last 70 years and the dominant economic paradigm (globalisation) of the last 40 years are at a crossroads. The re-emergence of nationalist populism has been, and remains, polarizing. We have seen this across the Atlantic and throughout Europe. It has elicited strong emotional responses. Populism is reshaping Europe's politics and, as we have argued, it needs a political response if it is to be thwarted. Supported by sections of the modern popular media, and the instruments of social media, the polarization and sensationalism of argument has become a powerful and deliberately used weapon in the hands of modern day populists.

The electoral success of Donald Trump and the prospect of Brexit had an initially emboldening effect on continental Europe's populist leaders. But perhaps more importantly, the politicians of the centre—the traditional managers of the liberal order—and the EU bureaucracy, have made their own mistakes. Commencing with the sub-optimal management of the GFC in 2008, especially the wide adoptions of Austerity policies, they have since failed to adequately appreciate the issues enshrined in the PNZ, or address it thorough measures as simple as granting legitimacy to some concerns expressed by some populists.

The great accomplishment of liberalism was that in the creation of the Western democracies the combination of economic openness and social protection created a social bond between the state and the citizen. Neoliberalism progressively jettisoned the welfare and social side of the equation. Perhaps the major act of shortsightedness on the part of the liberal democratic political class, was giving up one half of the embedded liberal bargain on the altar of the Hayekian neo-liberal economic ideology.

The Report has argued that resilience strategies are, and will be, big picture questions of politics and public policy at both the national and the EU level. Resilience requires democratic governments (both liberal and social) and agencies (both state and non-state) fighting back against the populist nationalist surge of recent years. It requires that they recognize and respond to some of the genuine grievances that have been identified and harnessed by populists and do so in a manner that finds accommodation where possible, but resists where necessary when bedrock principles of the democratic state are challenged.

Resilience requires a reassertion of the legitimacy and principles of democracy's identity, culture and practices. The authors of the Report did not see it as their role to make formal recommendations. But, in identifying the intellectual and political domains that will form the relevant battleground for the contest between democracy and nationalist populism several key approaches to necessary political and policy innovation become evident. Seven are listed below:

(i) The reform and defense of economic openness is the key to combatting populism and nationalism. To do that successfully both individual EU governments and the EU more generally, must establish the necessary compensation mechanisms to support those disadvantaged by globalization. To capture the strategy in a phrase they must practice the economic liberalism of Adam Smith (not Hayek) in the international domain and some variant of Keynesian welfarism at the domestic level if they wish to re-instate the social bond between the citizen and the state.

(ii) Liberals, and liberal governments especially, should recognise that identity concerns are genuine and that not all appeals to identity are necessarily xenophobic. Where appeals are xenophobic they must be resisted. Where it is more an issue of genuine concern it must be negotiated. Specifically, the public policy pertaining to refugees and migration need to be recognized for the complex issues that they are and addressed with sufficient priority accordingly.

(iii) Core values and the rule of law across member states will be an area of contest for the European Union. The EU must emphatically defend these values and the rule of law. Hungary and Poland will be the testing ground over the next few years

(iv) Governments must also recognize that threats to the liberal international political order, especially in the absence of both individual and collective leadership from the world's greatest power, are real. European states must take a lead in coordinating collective action problem solving political responses in the key issue areas of security, trade, finance and the global environments.

(v) Liberal and social democrats must become new media savvy. Precisely, they must become as adept as populist nationalist actors in their use of emerging technologies and strategies for communications and engagement.

(iv) Networks and strategies to support and coordinate cultural actors at national and EU levels must be identified. Mechanisms to share and amplify the impact of effective cultural actions against the PNZ are required; both state and non-state groups must collaborate in an unprecedented fashion if they are to prevail.

(v) Art and culture should play a key role in the development of resilience in the face of populism and nationalism. A particularly important role for them is to resist the normalizing of the behavior of national-populism in everyday political life.

Cultural agencies and communities have recognised the importance of resilience in the face of populism and nationalism. Elements of modern international relations are in fact now proxy culture wars. State and non-state actors alike are trying to reach out to a broader range of groups than might have been the case in the past. Interest in increasing the role of international cultural relations in overall EU foreign policy, as seen in the new strategy adopted by the European Council in May 2017, is strong. The potential impact of this strategy is yet to be seen. Its success will be determined by the manner of its implementation over the next few years—especially the degree to which state and non-state action can be coordinated. This, albeit as part of a necessarily wider grand strategy, is an important work in progress.

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The study is created within the framework of ifa's Research Programme "Culture and Foreign Policy" and is published in the ifa Edition Culture and Foreign Policy.

The Research Programme is funded by the Federal Foreign Office.

Publisher:
ifa (Institut für Auslandsbeziehungen e. V.), Charlottenplatz 17,
70173 Stuttgart, P.O. Box 10 24 63,
D-70020 Stuttgart, info@ifa.de,
www.ifa.de

Authors: Prof Richard Higgott,
Virginia Proud

Editing: ifa's Research Programme "Culture and Foreign Policy"

Credits: Cover: © Kunsthaus Dresden/David Brandt; Backcover: © Kunsthaus Dresden/David Brandt

Design: Eberhard Wolf, Munich

ISBN: 978-3-921970-29-4

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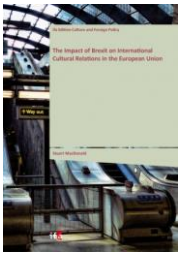

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Available online: *publikationen.ifa.de*

Populist-Nationalism and Foreign Policy

"Until the populist nationalist zeitgeist is reined in, its political actors pose a threat to the arts and cultural community."

Brexit, the election of Donald Trump and the growth of populist nationalism and illiberal democracy across Europe are all testament to the cultural drivers of political resistance and change. Growing nationalism, nativism and protectionism are crude attempts to protect what is perceived to be the traditional historical cultures of a mosaic Europe, and cast massive policy shadows over the "liberal" international order that prevailed for the last 70 years and within which the EU has largely flourished. This Report addresses resilience strategies as a response to nationalists as actors of foreign cultural policy. It captures the essence of what we call the populist nationalist zeitgeist and its infiltration of the European political and policy process, including the role of emerging communications technologies. It examines these phenomena at both the level of ideas and ideology and at the level of practical politics, foreign policy and international relations.

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