

Neo-Nationalism

“Erikur Bergmann’s new book reveals the connections between nationalism, populism, authoritarian drifts, conspiracy theories, and fake news, providing valuable insights into the decline of democracy around the world and especially in Western democracies.”

—Professor Susanna Cafaro, *University of Salento, Italy*

“This excellent book is timely and important. It highlights the need to consider the historical context and evolution of nativist forms of populism to fully understand their implications for our own time. It also reminds us that these implications are potentially so dire as to overturn our current word order, not by evolving it but by disrupting it.”

—Lone Sorensen, *University of Huddersfield, UK*

Eirikur Bergmann

Neo-Nationalism

The Rise of Nativist Populism

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Eiríkur Bergmann
Centre for European Studies
Bifröst University
Reykjavík, Iceland

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For Hrafnildur

PREFACE AND ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

When travelling with my family on a ferry from Tarifa in Spain to Tangier in Morocco, in the summer of 2018, we encountered a group of African refugees who were being taken to shore by armed guards who had been patrolling the area out at sea. Upon returning three days later we saw the refugees still held captured under armed guard on a boat in the harbour—before being returned back across the Strait of Gibraltar. We, however, sailed right through and easily re-entered Spain on our European passports. I remember the difficulty of trying to explain this situation to my twelve-year-old daughter, who couldn't contemplate the calamity she was witnessing. This book is partially an attempt to explain the politics that over the last half-century resulted in this state of affairs.

Over the last two decades I have studied both nationalism and populism and published several books and articles on the separate phenomena. Although the two should not be conflated, the current era has seen the convergence of both populism and nationalism. In previous publications I have developed the concept of *nationalist* populism. However, when dealing with politics that primarily point to dangerous outsiders, my focus here is on the *nativist* kind, which I maintain has turned into a separate *Neo-Nationalism* spreading across Europe and America.

This research has benefitted from interactions with many colleagues in several academic fields, for example in the EU-funded COST action, *Comparative Analysis of Conspiracy Theories (COMPACT)*. I thank all my colleagues in the network for thought-provoking discussions and for exposing me to some of the most pristine research in the fields of both

populism and nationalism studies. I owe special thanks to the network leaders, Professors Peter Knight and Michael Butter.

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ACRONYMS

AfD	<i>Alternative für Deutschland</i> (Alternative for Germany)
BNP	British National Party
CDA	Critical Discourse Analysis
CIA	Central Intelligence Agency of the United States
DDF	<i>Den Danske Forening</i> (The Danish Association)
DDR	German Democratic Republic
DF	<i>Dansk Folkeparti</i> (Danish Peoples Party)
EC	European Community
EEA	European Economic Area agreement
EFTA	European Free Trade Association
EP	European Parliament
EU	European Union
FN	<i>Front National</i> (National Front of France, later National Rally)
FPÖ	<i>Freiheitliche Partei Österreichs</i> (Freedom Party of Austria)
FrP	<i>Fremskrittspartiet</i> (Progress Party of Norway) / <i>Fremskridtspartiet</i> (Progress Party of Denmark)
IMF	International Monetary Fund
ISIS	Islamic State, terrorist organization
LN	<i>Legha Nord</i> (Northern League of Italy)
M5S	Five Star movement of Italy
MEP	Member of the European Parliament
MP	Member of Parliament
MSI	<i>Movimento Sociale Italiano</i> (Italian Social Movement)
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
ND	<i>Nouvelle Droite</i> (New Right of France)
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
NHS	National Health Service (of the United Kingdom)

NSA	National Security Agency
OEEC	Organization for Economic Co-operation in Europe
OPEC	Organization of the Petroleum Exporting countries
OSCE	Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe
ÖVP	<i>Österreichische Volkspartei</i> (Austrian Peoples Party)
PEDIGA	Patriotic Europeans against the Islamization of the Occident
PM	Prime Minister
PS	<i>Perussuomalaiset</i> (The True party, later The Finns Party)
RAF	<i>Rote Armee Fraktion</i> (Red Army Faction)
RT	Russia Today TV station
SD	<i>Sverigedemokraterna</i> (Sweden Democrats)
SMP	<i>Suomen Maaseutu Puolue</i> (The Finnish Agrarian Party)
UFO	Unidentified Flying Object
UK	United Kingdom
UKIP	United Kingdom Independence Party
UN	United Nations
US	United States of America
VB	<i>Vlaams Bloc/Vlaams Belang</i> (The Flemish Bloc in Belgium)
VVD	<i>Partij voor de Vrijheid</i> (Freedom Party of the Netherlands)
WB	World Bank
WHO	The World Health Organization