

Putin's far right and far left friends in Europe

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POLITICAL CAPITAL
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THE RUSSIAN CONNECTION

The spread of pro-Russian policies on the European far right

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The Case of “KGBéla” -- and What It Means for Europe

By Mitchell A. Orenstein and Péter Krekó

MAY 29, 2014



STATE OF AFFAIRS: FAR-RIGHT PARTIES IN THE EU AFTER MAY 25

Out of the 14 far-right parties in the EP 8 is committed, 2 is hostile, 4 is open

Country	Party	Seats in European Parliament 2014	% of Vote in May 2014 Elections	Relationship with Russia (Committed, Open, or Hostile)	Affiliation to groups
Austria	Freedom Party of Austria (FPO)	4	19.72% ↑	Committed	NA
Belgium	Vlaams Belang (VB)	1	4.14% ↓	Committed	NA
Denmark	Danish People's Party (DF)	4	26.60% ↑	Open	NA
Finland	Finns Party (PS)	2	12.90% ↑	Hostile	EFDD
France	Front National (FN)	23	24.86% ↑	Committed	NA
Germany	National Democratic Party (NPD)	1	1.00% ↑	Committed	NA
Greece	Golden Dawn (XA)	3	9.38% ↑	Committed	NA
Hungary	Jobbik	3	14.67% ↓	Committed	NA
Italy	Lega Nord (LN)	5	6.16% ↓	Committed	NA
Latvia	National Alliance "All for Latvia!" – "For Fatherland and Freedom/LNKK" (TB/LNKK + VL)	1	14.25% ↑	Hostile	ECR
Lithuania	Order and Justice (TT)	2	14.25% ↓	Committed	EFDD
The Netherlands	Partij voor de Vrijheid (PVV)	4	13.32% ↓	Open	NA
Poland	Nowa Prawica (KNP)	4	7.15% ↑	Open	NA
Sweden	Sweden Democrats (SD)	2	9.70% ↑	Open	EFDD

Source: Political Capital/Human Rights First



STATEMENTS OF FAR-RIGHT POLITICIANS ON RUSSIA AND UKRAINE

Statement made by	Statement
Hungary Gábor Vona, Jobbik party chairman (www.iarex.ru, January 22, 2014)	For me Euro-Asianism means that Hungary may become a bridge between Europe and Asia. [...] The advantage of Euro-Asianism comes from the fact that, in contrast to EU-integration, it preserves the independence of regions engaged in continental cooperation.
Italy Matteo Salvini, Northern League Federal Secretary (La Voce Della Russia, December 20, 2013)	People in Italy still know little about Russia, although in my opinion Russia represents the future. In the coming years Russia shall become a unique partner for the League and Northern Italy.
Greece Nikolaos Michaloliakos, Golden Dawn party chairman (Voice of Russia, December 16, 2013)	Greece and Russia are natural allies. In return for its security, Greece must provide Russia access to the warm seas.
France Marine Le Pen, National Front party leader (French presidential candidate speech, Paris, November 19, 2011)	Respecting neutral status, international law and national taxation, we propose the creation of a sovereign Pan-European Union with the participation of Russia and Switzerland..., the United States and Turkey would not be part of that entity.
Great Britain Nick Griffin, British National Party chairman (www.bnp.org.uk, December 9, 2011)	Russian elections are much fairer than Britain's.



STATEMENTS OF FAR-LEFT POLITICIANS ON RUSSIA AND UKRAINE

Speaker	Statement
Dimitris Koutsoumpas, Greek Communist party (speech, Sport Stadium Athens, www.kke.gr , 16 March 2014)	The people of Crimea, the Ukrainian people, the Russian people have historical memories and positive experiences of the years of socialism, which is not erased even if it's been over 20 years since the changes.
Jean-Luc Mélenchon, co-chairman of the Left Party (www.lefigaro.fr , 25 February 2014)	The Crimean ports are vital for the security of Russia, it is absolutely predictable that the Russians would not give in, they are taking measures to protect themselves against a coup able adventurer, in which neo-Nazi influence is quite detestable. [...] The Russian nation cannot allow North Americans and NATO moved to their doors.
Alexis Tsipras, SYRIZA party leader Euronews press release (www.syriza.gr , 21 March 2014)	What, indeed, is happening for the first time today, on the occasion of Ukraine, is the support of the European Union for a government with far-right and fascist elements , which violates the Constitution of the country. In Ukraine, the European Union has refused its own precedent of imposing sanctions on Austria in 2000, when the government was involved with the far-right party's leader, Jörg Haider. And it goes into a malformed Cold War with Russia.

From the 21 far-left parties Europe-wide, 5 is committed, 2 is hostile, 14 is open



- 1) Far-right parties that are afraid of losing sovereignty from the EU and US - but not afraid to losing it from Russia
- 2) Kremlin that is blaming the Ukranian governments with „fascist tendencies” have friendly relations connections with far-left forces





Gábor Vona and Alexander Dugin, 2013





Marine Le Pen and Dmitry Rogozin, 2013





Artemis Mattheopoulos and Alexander Dugin





Meeting in Turin, 2013



- 1) Far-right and Far-left parties have sent 'independent observers' and MEPs to the Crimean referendum
- 2) Far-right and far-left parties are ready to vote on the side of Russia:

- 12.03.2014: EP resolution on 'Priorities for EU relations with the Eastern partnership countries': far-right and far-left representatives voted against
- 17.04.2014: EP resolution on 'Russian pressure on Eastern Partnership countries and in particular destabilisation of eastern Ukraine': far-right and far-left representatives voted against.
- 10/04/2014: CoE resolution on the suspension of voting rights of Russia: mainly far-left (Die Linke) and far-right (Jobbik) politicians voted against

EODE - Eurasian Observatory for
Democracy & Elections



The „Eurasian” doctrine

Vladimir Putin



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Everything has its Limits!

The crisis in Ukraine highlighted the geopolitical aspirations of President Vladimir Putin(3rd term)

- Continuity of the expansionist strategy (compensation for economic losses)
- Restoring Russia's regional or world power status
- Destabilizing the European Union



Old aims through new ways

- Elaborating a specific “Eurasian ideology” for the new Russian geopolitics: justifying intervention in Europe
- Collaboration with mainstream and marginal political forces to make business and destabilize Europe at the same time
- Waging a special form of new media and information warfare against Ukraine and the Euro-Atlantic Community besides military and energy market interventions



THE EURASIAN IDEOLOGY – THE ANTITHESIS OF THE WEST

The new ideology is closely related to the authoritarian, nationalistic, etatist and orthodox values of the Russian regime.

The roots of the ideology of the current Russian „neo-Eurasian” nationalism:

- The official Tsarist ideology before 1917 which emphasized orthodoxy, autocracy and nationalism
- „Classic” Eurasianism of the 20-s
- Fascism
- Bolshevism and USSR expansionism

The Eurasian ideology depicts Russia as a strong continental, civilization based on traditional values of the 21st century – contrary to the decadent West of filthy liberal values and practices



TOOLS: 'ACTIVE MEANS' OF THE 'EURASIAN DOCTRINE'

Support for parties

- Establishment, support and coordination of far-right or far-left parties, and the export of political know-how and expertise

'NGO-diplomacy'

- Creating NGO-s(youth, minority, separatist civil organizations, and think tanks) across Europe. (e.g., pseudo-civic organizations have cropped up in Latvia, Estonia, Trans-Istria and Southern Ossetia)

Support for friendly media enterprises

- Influencing domestic and foreign public opinion through existing media channels or newmedia .g. the French based Pro Russia TV



NOT „PLATOIC LOVE”, BUT MUTUAL BENEFITS

For far-right parties

- **Ideological:** The anti-Western, anti-capitalist, statist and nationalistic ideology, Russia's authoritarian political system, traditionalism, its heavy-handed leader and his great-power rhetoric fits perfectly to the European far-right parties' political agenda.
- **Support in networking** and political know-how
- **Financial support?**
- **Having a powerful friend** that eases the diplomatic isolation and makes it more difficult to sideline political parties



NOT „PLATOIC LOVE”, BUT MUTUAL BENEFITS

For the Kremlin

- **Ideological** support (for the Eurasian ideology)
- **Diplomatic** support, especially in the conflicts (e.g. Georgia, Crimea, Syria)
- **Destabilization** of European integration and Euro-Atlantic cooperation
- **Information –gathering**
- **Policy support** (e.g. energy policy)



WHY THE UNITED STATES SHOULD CARE?

- Pro-Putin radical forces on the left and right are growing in popularity
- More parties are heading towards commitment to Russia (UKIP, PVV)
- Most of the far-right forces are hostile anti-American
- These forces can undermine the US's policy interests
 - **Defence:** Calling for quitting the NATO and against enlargement
 - **Energy:** Supporting nuclear and against renewables and shale gas)
 - **Economy:** they are against Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership
- „Putin is becoming a model of how to keep claiming you are democratic while continuing to erode democracy and violate human rights” – Sonni Efron





KEEP

CALM

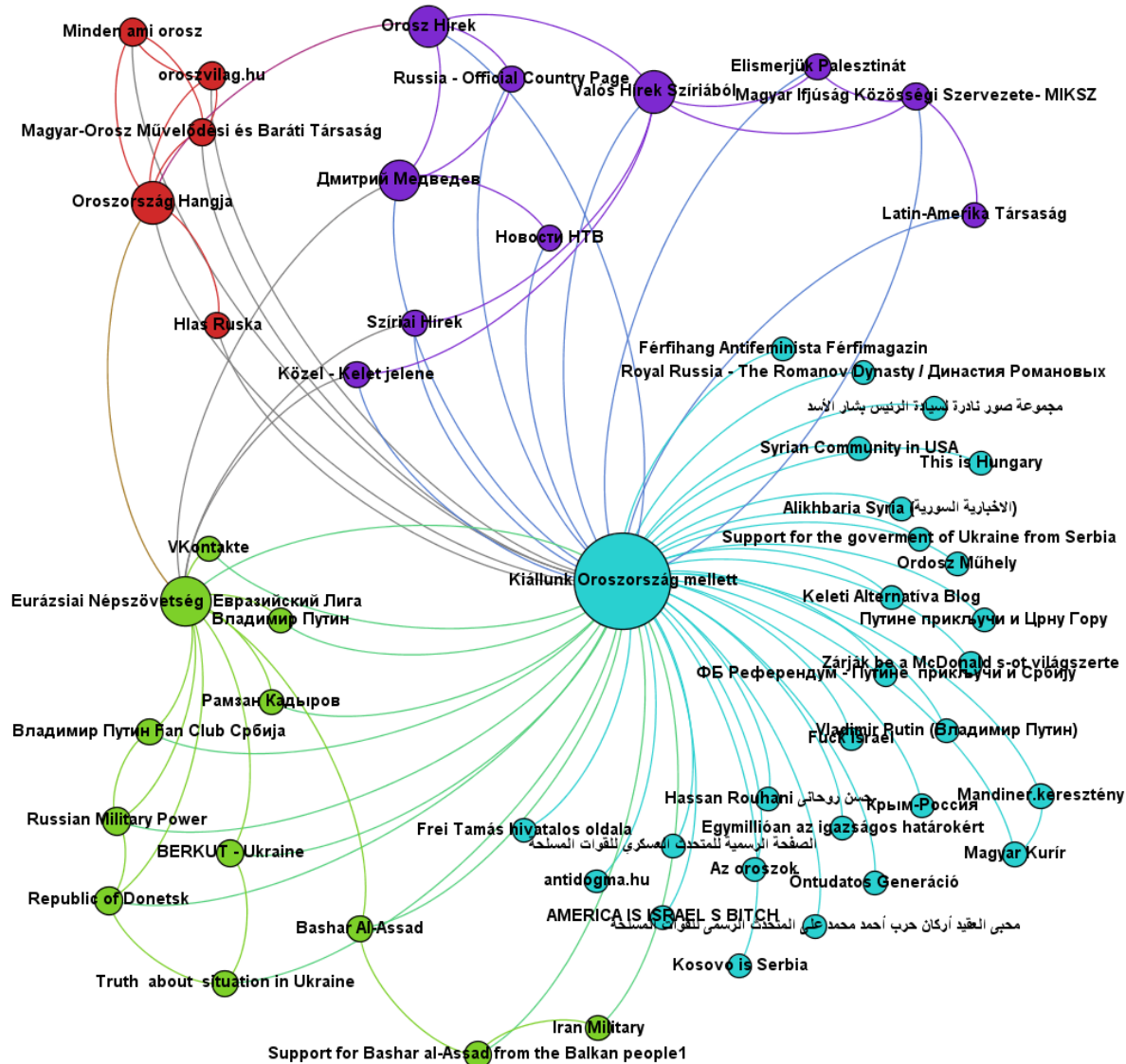
AND

**Support
Donetsk**





HUNGARIAN RUSSIAN „INFORMATION” NETWORK ON FACE



WHAT COULD BE DONE?

- More investigation on these links on the level of the MS-s and EU: intelligence, investigative journalism
- Help to reveal these links
- Establishment of a European intelligence service
- Counterbalancing the intense Russian nationalist social media campaign, strengthening pro-European and pro-American voices



Thank you for your attention!

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