THE RISE OF POPULIST SOVEREIGNISM

WHAT IT IS, WHERE IT COMES FROM, AND WHAT IT MEANS FOR INTERNATIONAL SECURITY AND DEFENSE

'Au nom du peuple' sera mon slogan

FROM THIS MOMENT ON, IT'S GOING TO BE AMERICA FIRST

Men vi vil ikke acceptere, at Danmark afgiver suværænitet.

Der Ausverkauf der Souveränität und Selbstbestimmung durch die politischen Eliten muss aufhören

The liberal metropolitan elite often tells us patriotism is wrong

HET VOORTBESTAAN VAN NEDERLAND ALS HERKENBARE NATIE

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THE RISE OF POPULIST SOVEREIGNISM:
WHAT IT IS, WHERE IT COMES FROM, AND WHAT IT MEANS FOR INTERNATIONAL SECURITY AND DEFENSE

The Hague **Centre for Strategic Studies (HCSS)**

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'In the name of the people' will be my slogan. It says a lot, that the French people were forgotten by the different politicians in charge, that we must find our sovereignty again.

— Marine Le Pen, Le Front National, 2016

The sell-out of sovereignty and self - determination by political elites must stop.

— Schweizerischen Volkspartei (Swiss People's Party),
"SVP - die Partei für die Schweiz", 2015

We respect the current contractual anchoring of the Slovak Republic in international structures. But we deny that our country was only a gray region in a European superstate in which the Slovaks in their own state will be vassals of transnational structures! We see the future of Slovakia as a supremely sovereign state in the family of European nation-states.

— Slovenská Národná Strana (Slovak National Party),
"Volebný program pre silný štát 2016 – 2020", 2015

In this declaration of independence, I advocate a number of solid measures, which will re-establish the Netherlands as it was intended to be: free, prosperous and independent. Our history forces us into a struggle that is not free-flowing, but necessary. This struggle is about the survival of the Netherlands as a recognizable nation, a country about to abandon its ancient roots and to exchange them for multiculturalism, cultural relativism and a European superstate, all under the leadership of a smug political elite who has been lost for a long time. Of this elite, I declare myself independent.

— Geert Wilders, Partij Voor de Vrijheid (Party for Freedom),
"Onafhankelijkheidsverklaring", 2005

Law on Bulgarian Language–Only those who have a basic education and are fluent in Bulgarian should have the right to vote.

— Обединени патриоти - НФСБ, АТАКА и ВМРО (United Patriots),
"Изборна програма на обединени патриоти - НФСБ, АТАКА и ВМРО – 2017", 2017

From this moment on, it's going to be America first. Every decision on trade, on taxes, on immigration, on foreign affairs, will be made to benefit American workers and American families. We must protect our borders from the ravages of other countries making our products, stealing our companies, and destroying our jobs.

— United States President Donald Trump, Inauguration Speech, 2017

Modern democracy has emerged in intimate symbiosis with the nation state. Democracy means government by the people and the Sweden Democrats' view is that one cannot completely ignore the word "people" in the concept of government by the people, and that democracy is ultimately likely to be very difficult to maintain in a state inhabited by many people, where there is no consensus on who should belong to the people, and where it might not even exist a common arena for debate because the residents of the state do not speak the same language.

— Democrats Sverigedemokraterna (Sweden Democrats), "Vår Politik", 2017

The liberal metropolitan elite often tells us patriotism is wrong, that it is something to be discouraged. We are told we should be ashamed of our past; that we must apologise for it. Hints are dropped that wanting to celebrate 'Britishness' is an act that touches on extremism. We in UKIP, along with the vast majority of the British people, beg to differ. We are not afraid to talk about the kind of country we are, have been, and indeed, want to be in the future. ... This clearly distinguishes us from the other parties, who have sought to denigrate our historic values of sovereignty,

democracy, independence, patriotism and freedom by handing responsibility for Governance over to the EU.

— United Kingdom Independence Party, "Believe in Britain: UKIP Manifesto 2015", 2015

At the latest since the Schengen (1985), Maastricht (1992), and Lisbon (2007) Treaties, the inviolability of national sovereignty as the foundation of our state has been exposed as a fiction. Behind the scenes a small and powerful elite within the political parties is secretly in charge, and is responsible for the misguided development of past decades. It is this political class of career politicians whose foremost interest is to retain their own power base, status, and material well-being. It is a political cartel which operates the levers of government power, insofar as these have not been transferred to the EU. Only the citizens of the Federal Republic of Germany can end this illegitimate state of affairs.

— Alternative für Deutschland (Alternative for Germany),
"Programm der Alternative für Deutschland", 2016

The sovereignty and freedom of our homeland open us up to the world. Our foreign policy must be driven by humanitarian responsibility, self-awareness and preserving the security as well as the economic and cultural interests of Austria and its citizens throughout the world. This means we are committed to a foreign policy that focuses on securing the sovereignty of Austria and the objective of protecting the freedom of its citizens.

— Freiheitlichen Partei Österreichs (Freedom Party of Austria), "Parteiprogramm der Freiheitlichen Partei Österreichs (FPÖ)", 2011

Danish independence and freedom are the primary objectives of Danish foreign policy. The Danish People's Party wishes friendly and dynamic cooperation with all the democratic and freedom-loving peoples of the world, but we will not allow Denmark to surrender its sovereignty.

— Dansk Folkeparti (Danish People's Party), "The Party Program of the Danish People´s Party", 2002

Many sections of this manifesto affirm our trust in the people, our faith in their judgment, and our determination to help them take back their country. This means removing the power from unelected, unaccountable government. This means relieving the burden and expense of punishing government regulations. And this means returning to the people and the states the control that belongs to them.

— United States Republican Party (GOP), "Republican Platform 2016", 2016

We will successfully defend Polish national identity, tradition, culture, and Polish way of the life and customs against risky experiments in transnational cultural peacemaking, which are not accepted by the majority of the population. Every nation and every country within the European community must maintain its sovereign right to shape its own model of social order and not be subjected to a sort of 'cultural re - education' from the outside.

— Prawa i Sprawiedliwosci (Law and Justice), "Program Prawa i Sprawiedliwosci", 2014

This key phrase is not the one quoted by most people – "America First" – but this: "it is the right of all nations to put their own interests first". This represents a great change. ... This means that the era of multilateralism is at an end, and the era of bilateral relations is upon us. For us this is good news, because it is an unnatural state of affairs when, influenced by external pressure, one dare not state that one's own country comes first when governing, making decisions, or considering what the central bank should do.

— Hungarian Prime Minister Orbán of Fidesz, Viktor Orbán, Speech at the Lámfalussy Conference, 2017

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Executive Summary

What Populist Sovereignism Is About

This report coins the term 'populist sovereignism' (PopSovism in brief) as a blending of two powerful sentiments within contemporary political movements and discourses. The *populist* component of PopSovism puts itself on the side of 'the people', defined as a country's native ethno-cultural group(s), which must be defended against both national and transnational 'elites' and against other 'outsiders' such as immigrants. Its *sovereignist* component advocates a return to an international order in which the nation-state, guided by the self-identified interests of the native ethno-cultural population, maintains or re-asserts sovereign control over its laws, institutions, and the terms of its international interactions. Supra- or inter-national actors and global market forces are seen as restrictions on the nation-state that should be reduced and/or opposed.

PopSovism differs from previous movements and must be understood within the current historical, political, and socio-cultural context. Populist sovereignists reject, in whole or in part, the trend of increasing international integration. At the national level, transnational flows of people and goods associated with globalization have brought immigrants and non-native cultural influences that have shifted the cultural and ethnic makeup of states. At the international level, international or supranational organizations have usurped authority from the nation-state and therefore from 'the people'. Porous borders vulnerable to streams of migrants and refugees, international agreements that hinder the ability of the state to represent the will of the people, along with the mobility of multinational corporations threaten the ability of governments to control their own affairs. Populist sovereignists put the nation-state – the nation and its 'native' people' – first.

Economic insecurity or inequality and cultural backlash to multiculturalism or demographic change may have spurred popular 'demand' for populist parties. Alternatively, populist sovereignist parties may have moved to fill the vacuum left by mainstream parties unwilling to address taboo topics, such as popular qualms

about multiculturalism or membership of the European Union. Popular demand and political supply drive movements that are, in some countries, decades old. Brexit and the election of US President Donald Trump were not merely flare-ups of momentary sentiment. The shock that has accompanied their electoral success represents a failure to reckon with the angst that lived within certain segments of Western societies. Not recognizing those sentiments was risky – thinking that the tide of populist sovereignism has now turned is equally dangerous. Some commentators are advancing that argument now. They refer to the fact that voters rejected the Freedom Party of Austria's presidential candidate, Norbert Hofer, in December 2016; that Emmanuel Macron's *En Marche* trounced Marine Le Pen's National Front in the French legislative election; that in Great Britain, *UKIP*'s share of the vote fell from 12.6 percent in 2015 to 2 percent in June 2017, while Italian voters turned their backs on Italy's Five Star Movement in elections in June 2017.

Yet, populist sovereignism did not begin with Brexit and it did not end with these defeats. Recent electoral successes represent peaks in a movement that has grown in power and organization over several decades. The Freedom Party of Austria first became a junior partner in a governing coalition in 1999, following an anti-immigration campaign called 'Austria First!' In 2005, French and Dutch referendums in which the majority of people voted "No" to ratifying the European Union constitution revealed considerable popular dissatisfaction with the institution. Currently, populist sovereignist parties rule alone or are part of the governing coalitions in 8 Western countries, and they hold more than 10 percent of a total of 11 countries' seats in the European Parliament. Recent electoral failures by PopSov parties more likely represent the vicissitudes of electoral fortunes rather than the sudden end of decades-long movements. Many deep resentments still simmer.
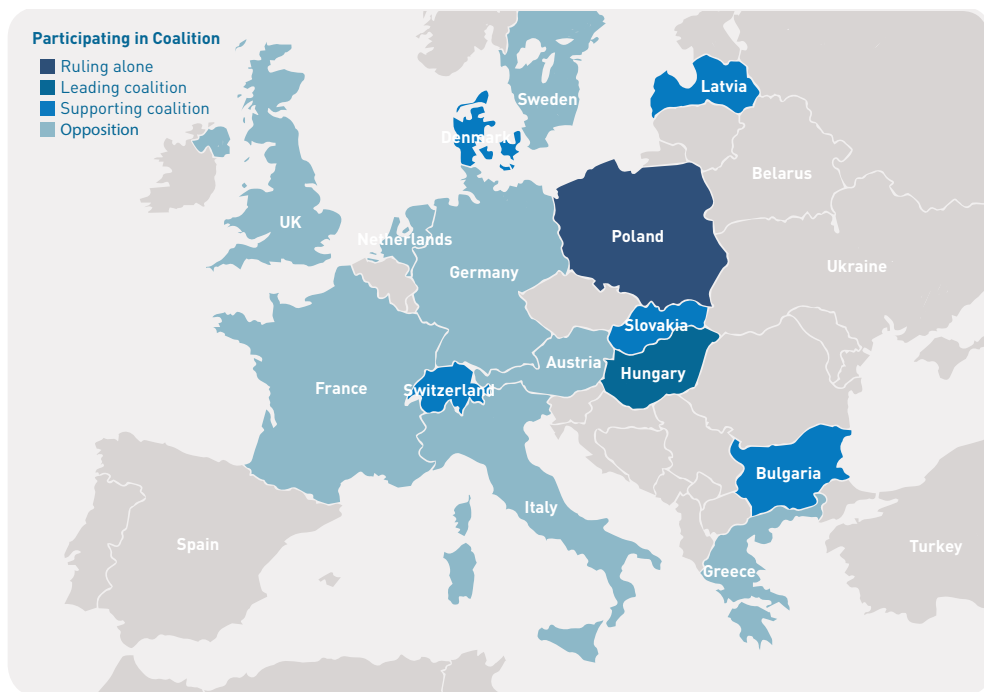
Figure 1.1 Populist sovereignist parties in national legislatures of selected countries

What PopSov Parties Want

This study contains a systematic benchmark of official policy statements issued between 2013 and 2017 by 1 US-based and 16 European political parties that 1) include positive appeals to 'the people' and/or against the 'establishment'; 2) emphasize the return of sovereign decision-making to the nation state; and 3) enjoy sizeable political support. President Trump and the Republican Party (GOP) are one party but are considered separately within the benchmark. This overview of their proposed policies provides the basis for a discussion about the potential consequences that may stem from the implementation of such policies in the future – either by populist sovereignist parties or by others, should their visions be absorbed by mainstream parties.

Our analysis looks at their proposed policies along the following four themes: *Nation of 'the People': Popular Rule and Protection of the Nation-State; Revising the Liberal World Order: The Nation-State in the International Arena; Stability and Influence: International Relations and Alliances; and The Foreign and Defense Policies of Populist Sovereignist Parties.*

Figure 1.2 — Results of the Benchmark: Positions of PopSov Parties

	Position	Increase direct Democracy (i.e. more referenda)	Protect and uphold the national or traditional way of life	Supports monoculturalism as opposed to multiculturalism	Pro (im)migrants, refugees, asylees, or other foreigners	Full rights minorities, non-citizen immigrants and foreigners	The welfare system must be protected from immigrants	Reinstate or reinforce border controls	Increase territorial security	Participate in international laws and organizations	Increase national control over inter/supranational organizations	National law has priority over international law	Reallocate resources from international to national level	Take back / maintain national control of policy-making	The EU is generally good of benificial	Decrease EU integration or number of EU competencies	Leave the EU / hold a referendum to leave the EU	Leave the euro/the euro is detrimental	Increase free trade or decrease trade barriers	Increase EU defense cooperation	Increase other Europian/regional defense cooperation	Supports security cooperation with NATO and/or the US	Cooperative towards or supportive of Russia	Supports military cooperation with Russia	Maintain or increase the defence budget	Retain or increase military capabilities	Participate in foreign military interventions	Participate in peace-keeping missions	Support for dev. aid/promote democracy or human rights abroad
AT	FPO	✔	✔	✔	✖	○	○	✔	✔	○	✔	✔	✔	✔	✖	✔	○	✔	✖	✔	○	✖	✔	✔	✔	✔	✖	○	○
BG	IMRO-NFSB-Atak	✔	✔	✔	✖	✖	✔	✔	✔	○	✔	○	○	✔	▲	✔	✖	✖	✖	✔	○	▲	○	✔	✔	✔	○	○	○
CH	SVP	✔	✔	✔	✖	○	✔	✔	✔	✖	✔	✔	✔	✔	✖	✔	✔	✔	○	✖	○	✖	○	○	✔	✔	✖	○	✖
DE	AfD	✔	✔	✔	✖	○	✔	✔	✔	○	○	○	○	✔	○	✔	○	▲	✖	✔	○	✔	○	○	✔	✔	✔	○	✖
DK	DPP	✔	✔	✔	✖	✖	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔	✖	✔	○	✔	○	✖	○	✔	○	○	✔	✔	✔	○	✖
FR	FN	✔	✔	✔	✖	✖	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔	✖	✔	✔	✔	✔	✖	○	✖	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔	○	✔
GB	UKIP	✔	✔	✔	✖	✖	✔	✔	✔	▲	✔	✔	✔	✔	✖	✔	✔	✔	✔	✖	○	✔	○	○	✔	✔	○	○	✖
GR	LS-CA	✔	✔	✔	✔	○	✔	✔	✔	✖	✔	✔	✔	✔	✖	✔	✔	✔	○	✔	○	✖	✔	○	✔	✔	○	○	○
HU	Fidesz	✔	✔	✔	✖	○	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔	▲	✖	○	○	✔	○	✔	▲	○	✔	✔	○	○	○
HU	Jobbik	○	✔	▲	✔	○	✔	○	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔	✖	▲	▲	✖	○	✖	○	✖	✔	✔	✔	✔	✖	✔	○
IT	M5S	✔	○	○	✖	○	○	✔	✔	○	✔	✔	✔	✔	✖	○	○	▲	○	▲	○	○	✔	○	✖	✖	✖	○	○
LV	TB/LNNK	✔	✔	▲	✖	✖	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔	▲	✖	✖	○	✔	○	✔	✖	✖	✔	✔	✔	✔	○
NL	PVV	✔	✔	✔	✖	✖	○	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔	✖	✔	✔	✔	○	✖	○	✔	○	○	✔	✔	○	○	✖
PL	PiS	○	✔	✔	✖	○	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔	✖	✔	✖	✔	○	✔	✖	✖	✔	✔	○	○	○
SE	SD	✔	✔	✔	✖	○	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔	✖	✔	▲	✔	○	✖	○	▲	✖	○	✔	✔	✖	○	▲
SK	SNS	○	✔	▲	✔	✖	○	○	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔	✖	▲	✖	✖	✖	✔	○	✔	✔	○	✔	✔	✖	✔	○
US	GOP	✖	✔	▲	✔	○	○	✔	○	▲	✔	✔	✔	✔	○	○	○	○	▲	○	○	✔	✖	✖	✔	✔	▲	○	▲
US	Trump	○	✔	✔	✖	✔	○	✔	✔	○	✔	✔	✔	✔	○	○	○	○	✖	○	○	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔	○	○	✖

Legend: ✔ Yes ✖ No ▲ Mixed ○ Unstated

Nation of 'the People': Popular Rule and Protection of the Nation-State

Within the nation-state, populist sovereignist parties claim to want to return power to 'the people' through increasing opportunities for direct democracy. Protecting the interests of 'the people' – defined as the native, ethnocultural populations of the state – means protecting the national culture and way of life. Decreasing immigration and thereby decreasing multiculturalism is seen as a way to maintain the unity of the nation-state. Increasing border controls is one way of doing so.

Revising the Liberal World Order: The Nation-State in the International Arena

Reducing the authority of international institutions that circumscribe national sovereignty – especially the EU – is a priority for all populist sovereignist parties. Not all parties envision exiting the EU and most are pro-European cooperation. However, nearly all envision a less integrated Europe that respects the sovereignty and individual characteristics of its constituent nation-states: a 'Europe of the Nations'. While most parties do want to reassert national control over trade and economic policy, nearly as many parties support protectionist policies as support free trade.

Stability and Influence: International Relations and Alliances

While the parties within our study are not generally pro-EU defense cooperation (with several exceptions), they are pro defense cooperation in general. Creating an EU military would require member states to further surrender their sovereignty to an already overreaching European Union. However, the majority of parties do support the NATO alliance as well as intra-European regional or bilateral defense cooperation. Most parties are also cooperative towards Russia – often while simultaneously supporting NATO. Cooperative attitudes towards Russia often spring from a pragmatic desire not to antagonize a powerful country in Europe's neighborhood.

The Foreign and Defense Policies of Populist Sovereignist Parties

With the exception of Italy's pacifist Five Star Movement, all populist sovereignist parties want to increase defense spending and capabilities. However, most parties are also skeptical of interventions and engagements abroad. Putting the nation-state first, common positions include decreasing development aid and abstaining

from promoting democracy or human rights abroad. Military intervention should only occur in specific circumstances, for example fighting terrorism.

Our analysis reveals a picture of PopSov policies that are, at times, at significant odds with the prevailing status quo. Populist sovereignist parties are not illiberal per se, and they are not necessarily isolationist. Yet, their proposed reforms at times sit uncomfortably with the tenets of liberal democracy, in particular with regards to protections for minorities. Reasserting the sovereignty of the nation-state by reducing the power of international organizations pushes back against a decades-old trend of increasing multilateral cooperation through strong, rules-based institutions. While most populist sovereignist parties support NATO, most are also supportive of warm relations with Russia. With the exception of one party, all populist sovereignist parties want to significantly boost military and defense capabilities over current levels.

Yet, the implementation of these policies is dependent on a variety of factors: whether or not PopSov parties are elected into office; whether or not they have to compromise with coalition partners; and the extent to which they will face constraints from other branches of government. And should these policies be implemented, the consequences are far from clear. These potential consequences were further explored in a scenario exercise consisting of four future scenarios.

Scenarios and Implications

Whereas much has been written on the *political and economic* dangers that accompany the rise of populist forces in Europe and beyond, this report focuses especially on its possible *security* implications. In order to think these through, the HCSS team crafted four PopSov-relevant future security environments and organized an online brainstorm session to elicit some implication for international security and for Dutch and European policymakers.

In one scenario, a larger number of European countries is ruled by PopSov - dominated governments, leading to a more integrated but also less powerful (and non - contiguous) rump-EU and an increasingly irrelevant NATO. In a second (more short-term) one, US PopSov President Trump's brinkmanship in response to a new North Korean ICBM launch leads to an accident at sea with China, upon which Trump threatens European NATO-members to either support him militarily or to start the withdrawal procedure enshrined in Art. 13 of the Washington Treaty. A third scenario sees a military confrontation between two European PopSov regimes in Romania and

Hungary over the Székely issue. The final scenario is a rosep one in which the 2016 'PopSov spring' proves to be the high tide of the Atlantic PopSov wave, leading to better US-EU relations and higher economic growth rates.

We found these scenarios particularly useful as a counterweight to the almost euphoric feelings that seemed to take over the pre-holiday mood of many European policy-makers after the (to them) encouraging outcomes of the Dutch and French elections in the first half of 2017. These feelings are further fueled by the observation by many political scientists that the political consequences of the Great Recession – the biggest economic recession since the Great Depression of the 1930s – have actually been remarkably muted. They have not (yet) led (with the possible exception of Hungary) to frontal attacks on democracy itself; on the existence of European Union (where, after considerable initial trepidation, continental Europeans feel that the balance of power has shifted to their advantage in the Brexit negotiations with the UK); on NATO (which President Putin has given a new lease on life); or on the post-WWII global governance architecture.

One of the most striking observations from the online survey was the relative *ease with which participants accepted the plausibility of these scenarios* – even the three dark ones. Informed by the inputs of the participants, HCSS drew four main overall conclusions: one on policy; one on attitudes; one on politics; and a last one on defense priorities.

Foreign and Security Policy Starts at Home

A first conclusion is that both domestic as well as foreign, security and defense policymakers have to recognize that *foreign and security policy starts at home.* PopSovism may have subsided somewhat in recent months, but the underlying dynamics have certainly not disappeared and may even gain in political strength because of impending technological disruptions triggered by the combination of the fourth industrial revolution (3D printing and robotization) and the transition to a post-industrial era (of which artificial intelligence may be the most powerful marker). This means that policymakers have to become much more adept at thinking truly comprehensively about these complex and interconnected challenges.

Do Not Ostracize PopSovism

The second main conclusion was that our polities would be well advised to *resist the temptation to demonize and/or ostracize PopSov* sentiments. There is still a tendency

in many circles to think paternalistically about PopSovism: that 'those people' are poorly informed, misguided, deluded by political charlatans, and that all that has to be done is to better explain why we have been doing the things we have been doing for the past few decades. In our view, a more intelligent (and effective) policy – which does seem to have carried the day in most of our Western democracies – may be to accept that various important policy mistakes were made (economically, socially, educationally, etc.) over the past few decades and that these should be redressed. The inclusion of some PopSov policy ideas and even moderate PopSov politicians in some of our governments already suggests that these PopSov parties may go the way of the Green parties, whose impact has been realized as much through the 'corrections' they triggered in the policy stances of the more mainstream parties as through their own political agency.

Give Democracy a Chance

This brings us to our third general conclusion that deals with the *political* processes and the concrete PopSovist political parties. The study suggests that the wisest course of action might actually be to give democracy a chance to work its (relatively) effective magic. Various Western democracies are already using various admixtures of response strategies to populist extremist parties like 'exclusion' (blocking them from accessing public office and influencing debate – even if that is not particularly democratic nor effective), 'diffusion' (shifting the focus away from social and cultural issues and towards economic ones), 'adoption' (embracing more restrictive policies on immigration, integration, and law and order), 'principle' (making the case for cultural diversity and globalization), 'engagement' (making more serious investments in countering populist sentiments at the grassroots), and 'interaction' (putting greater effort into supporting contact and dialogue between different ethnic and cultural groups within a given community). What we have seen emerge in many strongly rooted Western democracies is a bespoke admixture of many of these ingredients into a context-specific political elixir that – spiked with some of the more substantive policy decisions that are being made – seems to provide a fairly effective anti-dote to the PopSov challenge.

Defense, Foreign and Security Policy Priorities

The fourth and final general conclusion pertains specifically to our defense and security priorities. We present this particular conclusion last for good cause. Dealing with the root causes of this upwelling of dissent in our own midst is clearly the first priority and getting those corrective policy adjustments right may very well prove

to be the critical success factor. Deftly navigating the often-toxic politics of this policy adjustment process in an increasingly liquid (and changing) modernity may be a close second. But our scenarios also vividly illustrate that there are pernicious 'hard' defense and security challenges that also require more attention. The most PopSov-specific implication in this realm probably lies in the realm of both domestic and external societal resilience – a point that will be described in more detail in the European and Dutch sections, which will be looked at more specifically in the next section.

What Should Europe and the Netherlands Do?

One of the most ironic findings of our analysis is probably that while the **European Union** is one of the main targets of PopSovists, it may still prove to be the best-positioned and -endowed actor to redress some of their most fundamental grievances. The EU has the scale and the scope to identify and implement better ways to combine the benefits of open markets and European integration with social equity and protection. In some of the darker scenarios, Europe's chameleon-like strengths in multi-level forms of international agency may offer it more flexibility to defend its collective interests and still project influence globally. This includes both in the many international institutions in which Europe plays such an outsized role, but it also includes the many para-diplomatic ways in which Europe manifests itself globally (often under the radar screen). Dealing effectively with the PopSov signal may therefore actually require more Europe, not less.

For the EU to play this beneficial role, however, it will be essential to further increase the European Union's legitimacy in both a procedural and substantive sense. 70 years of European integration have yielded an institutional framework that may be relatively and perhaps even excessively cumbersome. But it has also demonstrated that it has the policy formulation and implementation prowess to deal with many dossiers (i.e. trade) in a way that would be unattainable for most – if not all – member states. In many of the more somber scenarios of this study (and to some extent maybe even in the rosier one) Europe will have to assume more responsibility for its own (and its neighbors') future than in the past 70 years. This will require a significant upgrade of the democratic nature of the EU's decision-making apparatus – a self-avowed ambition of the EU since its very inception, whereby expectations have always vastly exceeded reality. Key areas of concern to be addressed here are how to increase the democratic credentials of the European Commission itself, but also of the governance of the euro-zone.

To improve the Union's performance legitimacy against a PopSov backdrop, our report highlights four areas where the EU may (uniquely) contribute to more efficient policy solutions: in the pre-market, market, and post-market *socio-economic policy* fields where the Commission has unique policy and financial levers; in *border management and refugee policy*; in *rebuilding trust and in overcoming the post-fact, post-truth sentiments* that have overtaken a significant part of our publics (this may be a less familiar area for the EU, but it is also one in which it benefits from unique economies of scale and scope); and last but not least (but also most difficult) in the *defense and security area*. We already see palpable momentum in the area of the Common Security and Defense Policy – especially last year with the so-called 2016 'Winter Package' that included a European Defense Action Plan proposed by the European Commission, to increase defense research and capabilities. In the three darker scenarios, in which a Trump-US that would return more to its early election rhetoric and turn its back on a 'freeriding' Europe, it remains to be seen whether these still relatively timid steps will prove sufficient to face the bigger challenges they represent.

Turning to what **the Netherlands** can do, the report identifies many areas where the Dutch layers of government, in the true spirit of European subsidiarity, remain uniquely placed to design country-specific adjustments in the many policy areas in which national (and sub-national) decision-making continues to prevail. We stress that the Netherlands' starting point for making such adjustments is relatively auspicious. The country's core policy tenets have historically served its inhabitants well: an overall (economic, political, societal, and even cultural and legal) outward-looking, pragmatic, consensus-seeking attitude with a fairly activist international policy anchored in domestic policies that have always looked for socially equitably solutions that do not impair the country's international competitiveness. The Netherlands is now in the third year of a gradual recovery that has been steadily accelerating, as witnessed in rising house prices, gradually improving household balance sheets, and rising consumption. The PopSov constituency in the Netherlands is an equal beneficiary of these positive conditions.

Against this relatively propitious background, domestic PopSovism-fueled dynamics still suggest a number of pragmatic adjustments to current choices. Substantively, procedurally, and politically the country already has a wide range of mechanisms in place that can (and do) make choices that mitigate the sharpest edges of the Dutch PopSov phenomenon. We still suspect more efforts will be required to address PopSov grievances in a more sustainable way.

This study cannot and does not provide an overview of all *substantive* policy areas where adjustments may be helpful. It merely highlights that the overall imperative behind all of them – also from a defense and security point of view – should be to reinvigorate the 'social contract' between the Dutch government and all segments of Dutch society. Herein lies, we submit, the single most promising guarantee for Dutch society's continued physical, economic, social and even cultural security. Whereby special attention should be devoted to increasing the resilience of those segments of the population most affected by the drivers of PopSovism. As the European economy seems to be picking up steam again, more opportunities will likely arise for further measures along these lines. Concrete measures that are mentioned in the study include expanding additional job training and re-training opportunities, especially for the more lowly educated; alleviating legislative and/or regulatory hurdles to the speedy and successful assimilation of immigrants and/or refugees that add value to the country's human capital; providing transition assistance for displaced workers; promoting inclusive community relations at the grassroots level; etc.

Also *procedurally*, the Dutch government has made great strides in moving towards the types of truly whole-of-government, whole-of-society and even whole-of-ecosystem approaches and procedures that complex challenges of this nature demand. This is not only the case in what we now call the 'comprehensive approach' for foreign, defense and security policy ('de geïntegreerde benadering' in Dutch), but across the board. Attempts to reorganize (and rethink) governance in fields like cybersecurity or 'hybrid challenges' provide excellent early examples of truly transversal efforts that increasingly involve a larger ecosystem of public and private actors. Effectively dealing with a challenge like PopSovism will mean finding analogous ways of formulating and executing purposive public and private action across areas (at home and abroad) like urban planning, education, social policy, information management, etc.

Finally *politically*, the Dutch polity has, at least so far, proved resilient enough to absorb some fairly potent PopSovist blows through its democratic institutions. Various PopSovist parties have been able to find their way into Parliament where they vigorously represent the interests of their constituencies. In the case of Geert Wilders' PVV, they even spent one and a half year as the de-facto partner of a center-right government coalition. Dutch domestic policies – implemented by political coalitions of different stripes and colors – have also always looked for ways to design socially equitably solutions that still uphold the country's international competitiveness. The political process to strike that balance has – as in most other countries – not always been frictionless or beyond dispute, but by and large it has managed to generate a high level of performance legitimacy amongst the population.

Whereas recommended changes in the domestic policy realm can therefore by and large be qualified as marginal adjustments to existing policies, the scenarios that were used in this study point to more uncomfortable adjustments in the country's international cooperation choices. The more a PopSov-US distances itself from Europe, the more the Netherlands will have few alternatives but to upgrade its European portfolio option and to pursue an even more proactive position in the European Union. This does not mean abandoning its other partnership choices (US/NATO, UK, GE, UN, etc.), but it does suggest an upgraded position for the EU portfolio option, probably also accompanied by a strengthening of the German and (depending on what happens in that part of Europe) Scandinavian elements within it. A further PopSov-induced fragilization of the European Union may also increase the importance to and attractiveness for the Netherlands of other 'minilateral' cooperation options like the Benelux. The study finally notes that the Chinese cooperation option overall also increases in attractiveness, whereas the Russian one remains far below its potential – as least for as long as the Putin regime stays in power.

PopSovism as a Challenge and an Opportunity

The public debate on populist sovereignism has tended to be painted in starkly somber tones. Journalists, pundits, analysts and the public at large are clearly mesmerized by some of the larger-than-life PopSov protagonists like Donald Trump, Viktor Orbán, Nigel Farage, Vladimir Putin, and others. There is no denying that they make great copy for the media. This report has argued, however, that the real protagonists of PopSovism are the societal groups that have propelled these leaders into the spotlight. Individual leaders may come and go; the wellsprings that spawn them may very well prove more enduring. It is those wellsprings, therefore, that represent the center of gravity of any policy efforts to effectively deal with PopSovism.

On the surface, the European PopSov challenge looks less daunting in the second half of 2017 than it did throughout the preceding year. This observation should not obscure the fact that many of the underlying causes that have triggered and keep fueling PopSovist sentiments persist. Sizeable parts of our transatlantic populations remain susceptible to the points of view espoused by PopSov politicians. And even if the necessary policy adjustments are made (a definite 'if'), their effects are likely to take some time to materialize. Other technological and/or socio-economic developments may still end up throwing more fuel on the simmering PopSov flames.

This report has framed PopSovism as a powerful signal 'from below' that should not be contemptuously dismissed but should instead be carefully heeded. The signal is sometimes hidden in infelicitous, cacophonous, and/or counterproductive noise. But the health of a democracy depends on such signals being voiced and – even more importantly – heard. The key requirement here is for our democracies to be able to then design and implement the required policy adjustments. If that ability is present, stressors like PopSov strengthen democracy – therein lies the antifragility of this particular form of governance. The interwar period, however, serves as a powerful historical reminder of what happens if that ability is found wanting.

The past need not be prologue. There are relatively good grounds to think that the world, Europe, and the Netherlands are in a better position today than we were in previous times in history when we confronted similar political and societal challenges. The quality of our systems of governance is better than in the 19th century or in the interwar period – with broader suffrage, better checks and balances; better quality of decision-making. Our economies are far more complex and intertwined; our populations are better educated, more affluent, etc. The presence of various redistributive programs buffers citizens from economic calamities. Our governments have learned and continue to learn to work together in new ways and even to mutualize certain systemic risks. This is especially true in Europe, where, despite all its imperfections, the European Union remains a beacon for many other parts of the world that search for new ways of prospering together, thus transcending many security dilemmas. None of these improvements offer iron-clad guarantees against further political, economic, or even military lapses. But taken together, they arguably put our contemporary societies, polities, and economies in a comparatively much more propitious position to weather these adverse political winds.

Such an outcome is far from preordained. The policy and political lessons of the PopSov dynamics of the past few years are still being learned – nationally and internationally. This report argues that the first – and best value-for-money, also in defense and security terms – policy priority should be to get the policy adjustment right. That is first and foremost a domestic policy priority – even if the linkages with defense and security (including the 2nd- and 3rd-order security effects of some of these domestic policy adjustments) should constantly be borne in mind.

If the PopSov signal will not receive adequate domestic policy responses, more vestigial defense and security threats like the ones we illustrated in some of our darker scenarios may re-emerge – within the European Union, along its borders and further afield. No prudent strategic decision-maker can afford to neglect such

full-spectrum threats – both in terms of prevention and in terms of response. In various recent reports, HCSS has highlighted a number of areas where we feel our foreign, security and defense (FSD) organizations' strategic option portfolio should be adjusted. Our FSD organizations – including the Dutch one – are already starting to relearn the grammar of conflict and are actively re-calibrating their capability portfolio towards the more (both kinetic and cyber) high-end threat that Russia and China increasingly present. As important as these are, they are not primarily driven by PopSovism and are therefore not the principal focus of this report.

If there are any more PopSov-specific aspects that this report serves to highlight, however, they probably lie less in the realm of what we have called 'agents of conflict' as in that of the 'agents of resilience'. The more PopSov-specific DSO portfolio adjustments to result from this study, therefore, should focus on how to strengthen that resilience – both on 'our' side ("how do we make our societies, economies and polities more resilient against external attempts to weaken our resilience?"), but also in third parties ("how can we strengthen societal resilience in countries where PopSov political entrepreneurs are trying to whip up their constituencies in directions that might lead to conflict?"). This would apply especially to countries within the European Union in which PopSovism might start to lean towards domestic and/or international violent conflict (as in our *War in the EU* scenario); but also to various other places in the world where similar dynamics can be observed. In an earlier report this year, we have suggested that artificial intelligence might open up new investment opportunities in that area that might provide excellent (defense) value for (defense) money even for small- to medium-sized force providers.

The authors of this report do not believe that a return to a presumably simpler or 'better' past in which our primordial nations still controlled their own destiny – as advocated by the current PopSov movement – is historically accurate, feasible, or desirable. We have instead argued that PopSovism is best framed as a potentially healthy feedback signal about certain negative aspects of the recent rush towards a supposed global liberal utopia that have been underestimated by national, European, and international policymakers. If that policy signal is ignored or mismanaged, it may still lead to some defense and security implications that will be reminiscent of the downwards spirals of the first half of the 20th century. But it need not.

Strategically prudent defense and security organizations should first of all work together with their domestic policy counterparts to make sure that this maybe distorted but still powerful and meaningful signal receives an appropriate comprehensive policy response. As the public custodians of a broader defense and

security ecosystem, they should secondly also think about ways in which they can help to bolster the resilience of their own societies, as well as of other parts of the world that might descend into conflict in ways that would affect their societies. Finally, they also have to make sure that as operators they have the wherewithal to deal with the potential hard defense and security consequences that might ensue – both before, during, and after an actual conflict. This is a tall order. It risks getting submerged under the many other security challenges of this day such as terrorism, cyber, Russia, etc. We remain hopeful and confident, however, that this challenge *and* opportunity will receive the public attention it deserves, and that this report will contribute towards that end.

1 INTRODUCTION

1 Introduction

United States (US) President Donald Trump's proclamation of "America First" and promise to transfer power "from Washington, D.C." to "the American people" during his inaugural speech in early 2017[1] captured two sentiments characteristic of recent political movements. First, 'the elites' have usurped the power that rightfully belongs to 'the people'. And second, the interests and sovereignty of the nation-state must come before all other foreign or international powers.

These sentiments are not exclusive to the United States; they can be found elsewhere, from the Philippines and Turkey to countries around Europe, where state leaders once committed to "progress towards an ever closer union".[2] In Poland, the ruling Law and Justice party proclaims the need to protect "Polish national identity, traditions, culture, and the Polish way of the life and customs against risky experiments in transnational cultural peacemaking".[3] The Swiss People's Party asserts that "the sale of Swiss sovereignty and self-determination by the political elite must be stopped".[4] Hungarian Prime Minister Viktor Orbán of the Fireside party has declared the "that the era of multilateralism is at an end, and the era of bilateral relations is upon us", asserting that "it is an unnatural state of affairs when [...] one dare not state that one's own country comes first when governing, making decisions, or considering what the central bank should do".[5] Such convictions are not confined to the three countries cited here but are prevalent throughout the European continent.

The parties expressing these convictions are not merely *populist* (as they are typically described both by others and by themselves) but are also characterized by a strong *sovereignist* streak. The nation-state, rather than transnational or multilateral

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1   Donald Trump, "Donald J. Trump Foreign Policy Speech," April 27, 2016, https://www.donaldjtrump.com/press-releases/donald-j.-trump-foreign-policy-speech.
2   Secretariat-General (European Commission), "Bulletin of the European Communities" (Brussels, April 24, 2009), https://bookshop.europa.eu/en/bulletin-of-the-european-communities.-no-6-1983-volume-16-pbCBAA83006/;pgid=G-SPefJMEtXBSR0dT6jbGakZD0000Cw08zfs-;sid=kBkOWty2nYsOWIT8KOCQ_b6TMtpyCn517Ek=.
3   Law and Justice Prawa i Sprawiedliwosci, "Program Prawa i Sprawiedliwosci [Law and Justice Program]," 2014, http://pis.org.pl/document/archive/download/128.
4   Swiss People's Party Schweizerischen Volkspartei, "SVP - die Partei für die Schweiz [SVP - the party for Switzerland," 2019 2015, http://www.svp.ch/de/assets/File/Parteiprogramm_2015-d.pdf.
5   Viktor Orbán, "Prime Minister Viktor Orbán's Speech at the Lámfalussy Conference" (Budapest, January 26, 2017), http://abouthungary.hu/prime-minister/prime-minister-viktor-orbans-speech-at-the-lamfalussy-conference-full-text-in-english/.

organizations, is singled out by political leaders and their constituencies as the primary instrument for protecting national interests. *Populist sovereignist* movements (or, *PopSov*, for short) are currently shaking the bedrock of polities and societies, while at the same time affecting the international order.

Since the Second World War, a wide-reaching (albeit not universal) liberal consensus emphasized the role of free trade in promoting economic growth and welfare, the importance of global and regional governance to solve transnational challenges, and the benefits of liberal democracy. These principles have underlaid and still underlay not only the foreign and security policies of governments but also the mandates of many international organizations. Threats – and actions – to exit the European Union, leave NATO, and dissolve free trade agreements sound like the death toll of that consensus. A number of political leaders, leveraging popular movements, are actively reasserting direct national control over various processes, while national interests feature explicitly in their political discourses.

The geographic breadth and the societal depth of this phenomenon may signal that a more fundamental development is afoot with potentially profound ramifications for the foreign and security policies of individual countries and, as a corollary, to the existing international order. The precise ramifications of the rise of populist sovereignist movements are unclear at this stage. But, they are already leading to increased volatility and friction,[6] not just within states but also between states, as the contested terms of Great Britain's divorce from the European Union (EU) show. This friction is a direct consequence of resistance against the prevailing order, and results from shifts in, and sometimes reversals of, traditional foreign and security postures.

This study seeks to envisage the potential consequences of the rise of *populist sovereignism* for the foreign and security policies of European nations and the US, and the consequences for international security. The objective here is not to predict or to scaremonger. Rather, it is to try and understand the potential consequences of a broader political and societal development that for a long time was ignored, at least in mainstream debates about foreign and security policies.

The potential consequences are as diverse as they are uncertain. They may involve the retreat of liberal democracy in parts of Europe, as witnessed in developments in Poland and Hungary. At the same time, as we will show, populist sovereignism is not necessarily illiberal in nature: while some populist sovereignists do spurn core

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6   Stephan De Spiegeleire and Tim Sweijs, *HCSS Strategic Monitor 2016-2017: Volatility and Friction in the Age of Disintermediation* (HCSS, 2017), http://hcss.nl/news/stratmon-2016-2017-volatility-and-friction-age-disintermediation.

liberal-democratic tenets, many seek to reform aspects of democratic liberalism rather than reject it entirely. The rise of populist sovereignism will likely lead to the adoption of new foreign and security policies that will affect how various European countries deal with security challenges, such as Russia and terrorism. The possible implementation of beggar-thy-neighbor policies in the economic realm can also negatively affect interstate relations, threaten the cohesion and stability of the European Union, and undermine solidarity between NATO Alliance members in the context of Article 3 and 5 concerning collective defense against armed attack. At the same time, the rise of populist sovereignism may lead to more inclusive socio-economic policies, leading to a broad-based renewal of civic participation in politics. Greater national control over inter- and transnational political decision-making processes can also help restore the legitimacy of democratic systems designed to facilitate rule by and for the people.

In short, the precise scope of the potential consequences of the populist sovereignist movement is unclear, as are the dynamics that will generate them. However, the injection of volatility that these movements have brought is already leading to greater uncertainty and unpredictability in interstate relations. The near- to medium-term future is likely to feature more change than continuity.

In this multi-method study, we try to understand the nature and scope of this change. It proceeds as follows:

Chapter 1 develops the concept of populist sovereignism. The chapter explains how the movements in Europe and the United States feature both populist and sovereignist characteristics, which are both essential to understanding what these movements represent.

Chapter 3 then briefly considers different explanations for the emergence of populist sovereignism. The objective here is not to provide a 360° analysis of its root drivers but to highlight that the rise of populist sovereignism has been developing over a longer period of time and is more than a mere fad. The chapter then continues by assessing the levels of societal support for these parties and the amount of political power that these parties derive from it. Finally, the chapter concludes with a brief reflection on the potential positive and negative consequences of populist sovereignism for liberal democracy on both sides of the Atlantic.

Chapter 4 considers the potential impact of populist sovereignism on the foreign and security policies of European nations and the US. The chapter assesses the scope and

magnitude of political movements in Europe and the United States. It subsequently presents the findings of a benchmark of the foreign and security policy positions of 16 populist sovereignist parties in 15 European countries: Germany, Austria, Denmark, Hungary, Italy, Greece, Poland, Latvia, France, the Netherlands, Bulgaria, Slovakia, Sweden, Switzerland, and the United Kingdom. The benchmark also covers the policy positions of the Republican Grand Old Party (GOP) in the United States as well as the those of President Trump. It offers an overview of their positions on an assortment of topics including democracy and national culture; national sovereignty and the liberal international order; EU and NATO cooperation; their perceptions of relations with the US and Russia; and their defense and security postures. It concludes with the most important takeaways from this analysis.

Chapter 5 turns to the potential implications of the rise of populist sovereignism on international security. There is no such things as a crystal ball – or at least not one that offers reliable predictions of what the future holds. At this moment, it is neither clear whether populist sovereignist parties will attain positions of power in the near future, nor what the implications of their policies will be should these policies be implemented. This chapter therefore reflects on the potential dynamics that *can* rather than *will* be generated, and it *explores* rather than *predicts* different future pathways. To this end, it employs a levels-of-analysis framework more commonly used in the analysis of international relations, and considers dynamics at the level of the individual, of the society/state, and the international system. The framework is generated in a series of expert brainstorms. Building on that framework, a selection of the most important parameters has been used to draw up four scenarios: *Living in a PopSov World, the Clash of PopSovs, War in the European Union,* and *Onwards and Upwards!*. These scenarios have been used in a structured online brainstorm with experts and policymakers to discuss potential consequences for international security and assess policy options in different scenarios.

Chapter 6, finally, concludes and offers a synthesis of the insights provided by chapter 1-4 in a forward-looking analysis of what this means for tomorrow's security environment of the Netherlands and Europe.

2 POPULIST SOVEREIGNISM

2 Populist Sovereignism

2.1 Introduction

Over the past two centuries, Europe has featured many societal and political movements that brought about fundamental changes to the political, socio-economic, and often also security order of the day. The revolutionary republican fervor that engulfed the European continent in the mid-nineteenth century, for instance, promoted the embedding of royal rule within liberal-constitutional orders. It also led to a number of both domestic and international altercations that shook – but did not (yet) disrupt – the Concert of Europe. The rise and subsequent political organization of the laboring masses during the second Industrial Revolution later in the nineteenth century led to the recognition of social rights, expanded suffrage, and the adoption of government social welfare systems in the following century. The nationalism that emerged as a powerful force only in the nineteenth century preluded the end of multinational empires and Western colonialism, and after two devastating world wars, established the nation-state as the contemporary dominant form of political organization in the twentieth century.

Today's world is in many ways a different one – one that is characterized by unprecedented political, economic, technological, and cultural globalization. But once again, a new cross-border societal and political movement has emerged that, in some ways, shows resemblance to these earlier precedents that mixed elements of populism, nationalism, and socio-political re-engineering. Explanations for the rise of this movement include economic insecurity, cultural alienation, globalization, and disenchantment with ideological convergence within 'the establishment'. We saw its first glimpses in Latin America in the 1990s, but the financial economic crisis of 2008-2009 propelled it to the political forefront in extremely diverse locales and incarnations: the Tea Party and Occupy Wall Street in the US; anti-EU populist upwellings in Southern Europe; anti-elite (both local *and* global) right-wing radicalization in places as different as Venezuela, Ukraine, and Russia; and new surges of nationalist fervor in different Asian countries. This groundswell rejects a number of basic and longstanding tenets of contemporary mainstream political

thinking, which include the benefits of the liberal world order and the international political and economic institutions that are part of it.

Observers have proposed various terms to describe this phenomenon, including the rise of populism, the return of the nation-state, and the emergence of illiberal democracy. These labels often betray their creators' political leanings. Some consider it to constitute an inevitable backlash against unfettered globalization initiated by sizable segments of populations whose interests have not been served by the current political system. They point to the gap in democratic legitimacy of transnational decision-making bodies in combination with increasing socio-economic inequality to explain the rise of this movement. They tend to see populism as a healthy corrective for a democracy that somehow has become too elitist or too beholden to special interest groups. Populism to them is – in the words of Dutch social scientist Cas Mudde – an "illiberal democratic response to undemocratic liberalism."[7]

Others reject populism out of hand as *ochlocracy*, the undesirable rule of government by the mob,[8] or "the permanent shadow of representative politics".[9] Many of these authors tend to see it as a possibly irrational and certainly undesirable trend that should be suppressed by more informed, sober, and reasonable political forces. Still others downplay the groups that support populism and instead focus on the political entrepreneurs. In their view, these politicians work towards their own political self-aggrandizement, whipping up feelings of discontent among people that are on balance actually better off than they were three decades earlier. They point to increases in living standards for the population at large and the need to coordinate and decide policies at a higher level in a globalized world in order to exert some control over border-transcending issues such as trade, finance, security and the environment. A fourth group, meanwhile, detects the sinister hand of non-status quo great powers stirring up trouble once again to undermine a declining American hegemon.[10] Examples here would be Russia fueling anti-EU forces (in Western and Central Europe), or China making analogous steps in Africa.

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7   Cas Mudde, "The Problem with Populism," *The Guardian,* February 17, 2015, https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2015/feb/17/problem-populism-syriza-podemos-dark-side-europe. Benjamin Arditi compares the relationship between populism and democracy as follows:" Populism resembles a drunken guest at a dinner party: he's not respecting table manners, he is rude, he might even start "flirting with the wives of other guests." But he might also be blurting out the truth about a liberal democracy that has become forgetful about its founding ideal of popular sovereignty".
8   Xavier Marquez, "Ochlocracy," in *The Encyclopedia of Political Thought* (John Wiley & Sons, Ltd, 2014), doi:10.1002/9781118474396.wbept0722.
9   Jan-Werner Müller, *What Is Populism?* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2016).
10   For an interesting take on how rising contenders during periods of power transitions have (often, but not always) fueled nationalism, see Şahan Savaş Karataşlı and Şefika Kumral, "Territorial Contradictions of the Rise of China:

Across these different strands of thought, a consensus has started to emerge that this represents a broader political and societal movement that is not likely to wither away today or tomorrow. The realization is also starting to dawn that the consequences of these political and societal movements for the traditional political order are potentially profound. It took a long time and a significant amount of political capital for this post-World War II consensus to take root.[11] Yet, even in the recent past, we already witnessed early signs of its incipient unraveling. The Netherlands alone saw the *Fortuyn Revolt* in 2002, the Dutch No in the referendum on the European constitution in 2005, the expanding electoral support for Geert Wilders' *Partij van de Vrijheid* since its establishment in 2006, and another No against the Ukraine referendum in 2016. Such manifestations were certainly not limited to the Netherlands. The anti-globalization movement that gained worldwide renown in Seattle in the late 1990s, the support for anti-European parties across the continent that started growing steadily in the aughts, and the Occupy Wall Street movement (with its local equivalents that emerged around the globe), can all be viewed as writings on the wall. If anything, they capture the existence of a deeper and more widespread resentment against the existing political and economic order than had generally been acknowledged. Representatives of these movements may disagree on many topics, but they all express similar preferences, including the return to smaller, more homogeneous and comprehensible societal, political, and economic units in which like-minded citizens have more direct say and greater control over political decisions.

This chapter argues that two quintessential characteristics are central to the political thought of this crescent political and societal movement: 'populism' and 'sovereignism'. The chapter elaborates this argument by first dissecting both the populist and the sovereignist components and then recombining them into the concept of 'populist sovereignism'. It then reflects on the relationship with illiberalism and analyzes different explanations for the emergence of populist sovereignism. In so doing it sets the scene for the subsequent chapter, which gauges the support for populist sovereignist parties in the US and selected European countries. In addition, it presents a benchmark of their policy manifestos, with a focus on their foreign and security policies.

Geopolitics, Nationalism and Hegemony in Comparative-Historical Perspective," *Journal of World-Systems Research* 23, no. 1 (2017): 5. and Şahan Savaş Karataşlı, "Financial Expansions, Hegemonic Transitions and Nationalism: A Longue Durée Analysis of State-Seeking Nationalist Movements" (Unpublished Ph.D Dissertation, Department of Sociology, Johns Hopkins University, 2013).

11   Both domestically (e.g., through educational curricula that instilled democratic values' in our children) and internationally (e.g., the hundreds of thousands of diplomats and civil servants driving the Bretton Woods institutions, the Washington consensus).

2.2 What Is Populism?

Populism is a slippery concept, both overused and ill-defined. Agreement on a precise definition of this term is further undermined by its abuse in the media and politics, where users of the term often subjectively define, diagnose, and apply it to politicians, political parties, or movements with which they disagree. Princeton's Jan-Werner Müller provocatively raised the question whether the charge of populism could perhaps itself be populist?[12] The only definitional element of populism agreed upon by political analysts and the academic community is that it pits 'the people' against 'the elite'.[13] Claims to represent 'the will of the people' against the vagaries of a 'corrupt elite' form the basis of populist legitimacy. Who belongs to 'the people' changes depending on the populist movement in question.

Beyond containing the people versus elite dichotomy, populism is broadly defined in one of the following ways: as a truly believed ideology; as a political strategy for mobilizing support; as a rhetorical/ discursive style that pits 'the people' against 'the elite'; as a type of movement or mobilization; or as some combination of the above.[14]

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12   Müller, What Is Populism?, 2016.
13   Noam Gidron and Bart Bonikowski, "Varieties of Populism: Literature Review and Research Agenda," 2013, https://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=2459387; Cas Mudde, "The Populist Zeitgeist," *Government and Opposition* 39, no. 4 (2004): 542–563; Carlos de la Torre, "Introduction: Power to the People? Populism, Insurrections, Democratization," in *The Promise and Perils of Populism: Global Perspectives* (University Press of Kentucky, 2015), http://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctt12880g5.3; Robert S. Jansen, "Populist Mobilization: A New Theoretical Approach to Populism," *Sociological Theory* 29, no. 2 (2011): 75–96; K. Weyland, "Populism in the Age of Neoliberalism," in *Populism in Latin America*, vol. 9780817386139, 2012, 201–22; Kenneth M. Roberts, "Populism, Political Mobilizations, and Crises of Political Representation," *The Promise and Perils of Populism: Global Perspectives*, 2014, 140.
14   Gidron and Bonikowski, "Varieties of Populism."

Type	Definition	Implications / Qualifications
Ideology[15]	A populist ideology "considers society to be ultimately separated into two homogeneous and antagonistic groups, 'the pure people' versus 'the corrupt elite', and … argues that politics should be an expression of the volonté générale (general will) of the people"[16].	The populist ideal can be a relatively stable part of a person, party, or organization's worldview, rather than a rhetorical style or strategy for gaining power.
Strategy	As a means of gaining support or as the structure of a political organization, populism is "a political strategy through which a personalistic leader seeks or exercises government power based on direct, unmediated, uninstitutionalized support from large numbers of mostly unorganized followers"[17].	A populist leader's direct relationship with constituents can circumvent traditional political structures and organizations.[18] Not all populist mobilizations are as structurally organized as such definitions imply. Rather, the degree of organization within a populist mobilization varies depending on the degree of organization within civil society and political parties.[19]
Movement / Mobilization	As a movement, populism is "any sustained, large-scale political project that mobilizes ordinarily marginalized social sectors into publicly visible and contentious political action, while articulating an anti-elite, nationalist rhetoric that valorizes ordinary people"[20].	Combines other styles: Populist mobilizations use popular rhetoric and are strategic insofar as they are a "flexible way of animating political support".[21]
Rhetorical / Discursive Style	Populist language is binary, moralistic,[22] and Manichaean ('us' versus 'them') in outlook.[23] Populist discourse[24] defines or reinforces the two distinct groups of 'the people' and 'the elite' (i.e. 'the 99 percent' or 'the one percent'), often while emphasizing the virtuousness of 'the people' and the illegitimate control of the people by 'the elite'.[25]	Not every politician who says he or she represents 'the people' is a populist. As a discursive style, populism is not a core belief but rather a way of depicting the world that can be used flexibly, even strategically, in different situations. The nature of the 'anti-elite' message is often described as 'anti-establishment'.[26]

Table 2.1 Frameworks for understanding populism

15   Mudde claims that unlike "thick-centered ideologies" (i.e., liberalism) that have multiple tenets, populism is a "thin-centered ideology" with only one core tenet: the 'the people' vs. 'the elite'." As a result, populism combines easily with other ideologies, accounting for the presence of populist characteristics across the political spectrum and in different geographic areas. Cas Mudde, "The Populist Zeitgeist," *Government and Opposition* 39, no. 4 (2004): 542–563.

16   Cas Mudde, "The Populist Zeitgeist," *Government and Opposition* 39, no. 4 (2004): 542–563, p. 544.

17   Kurt Weyland, "Clarifying a Contested Concept: Populism in the Study of Latin American Politics," *Comparative Politics* 34, no. 1 (October 2001): 1, doi:10.2307/422412, p. 14.

18   Barr describes this type of linkages between leaders and followers can be referred to as "plebiscitarian"; plebiscitarian linkages offer voters a "'take it or leave it' choice" that "vests a single individual with the task of representing 'the people', replacing political parties in that role" (Mainwaring, 2006 quoted in Barr, 2009) and "emphasize holding decision-makers accountable for meeting the needs and demands of the citizenry". Robert R. Barr, "Populists, Outsiders and Anti-Establishment Politics," *Party Politics* 15, no. 1 (2009): 29–48, p. 44.

19   Kenneth M. Roberts, "Populism, Political Mobilizations, and Crises of Political Representation," The Promise and Perils of Populism: *Global Perspectives*, 2014, 140.

20   Robert S. Jansen, "Populist Mobilization: A New Theoretical Approach to Populism," *Sociological Theory* 29, no. 2 (2011): 75–96, p. 83.

21   Ibid, p. 78.

22   Kirk A. Hawkins, "Is Chávez Populist?: Measuring Populist Discourse in Comparative Perspective," *Comparative Political Studies* 42, no. 8 (August 1, 2009): 1040–67, doi:10.1177/0010414009331721.

23   Carlos de la Torre, "Introduction: Power to the People? Populism, Insurrections, Democratization," in *The Promise and Perils of Populism: Global Perspectives* (University Press of Kentucky, 2015), http://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctt12880g5.3; Cas Mudde and Cristóbal Rovira Kaltwasser, "Populism and (Liberal) Democracy: A Framework for Analysis," in *Populism in Europe and the Americas: Threat or Corrective for Democracy?* (Cambridge University Press, 2012).

24   Populist discourses go beyond rhetoric to include "symbolic actions, styles of expression, public statements (spoken or written), definitions of the situation, and ways of elaborating ideas that broadly invoke or reinforce a populist principle, which … legitimates and animates political action". Robert S. Jansen, "Populist Mobilization: A New Theoretical Approach to Populism," Sociological Theory 29, no. 2 (2011): 75–96, p. 83.

25   Jansen, "Populist Mobilization", p. 85.

26   Robert R. Barr, "Populists, Outsiders and Anti-Establishment Politics," Party Politics 15, no. 1 (2009): 29–48.

In this report, we assume that populism at a minimum must contain a rhetorical style that pits 'the people' against 'the elite' and, in the case of populist sovereignism, 'outsiders' in general. Beyond this minimum qualification, populism can take any of the above forms or any combination of them. A movement is populist if it mobilizes people through invoking an 'us versus them' dichotomy that pits the in-group of 'the people' against an 'out-group', regardless of whether the mobilized group includes typically marginalized sectors in a bottom-up movement. The 'us versus them' rhetorical style may or may not reflect a truly believed ideological stance. Politicians and parties who strategically invoke the polarization between 'the people' and 'the elite' to mobilize voters' support are populist. Populist movements are often led through a mobilizing leadership style (although populist movements do not require a charismatic leader and do not require high levels of structural organization, as demonstrated by the Occupy Wall Street protests). At the same time, we do incorporate one organizational feature of populism in our operationalization of populist sovereignism: the – real or proclaimed – outsider position of the populist movement, party, or leader. This is often necessary to credibly represent the 'anti-elite' and 'anti-establishment' appeals that populism thrives upon.

Thus, within our concept of populist sovereignism, and within the coding effort described in Chapter 4 below we operationalize populism in the following manner. First, the leader, party, or movement must make positive appeals to 'the people' or an aspect of 'the people', such as the people's will or the wishes of the 'common man'. Second, populists reference 'the elite', whether a person or group, disparagingly. In the case of populist sovereignism (see section 2.4 below), the out-group may also include foreigners or other 'outsiders'. Third, the relationship between the people and the out-group (the elite) is described as a polarizing 'us versus them' dichotomy, which is often couched within a Manichean 'good versus bad' moral framework (i.e., the *virtuous* people against the *corrupt* elite). As a result, populists often position themselves as 'anti-establishment' or as an outsider 'anti-party', claiming that the party, leader, or movement is outside of the establishment or is not like other 'elite' political parties or leaders.

Movements, parties, and leaders from across the political spectrum and representing a wide array of political agendas have been and can be populist. In that sense, 'populism' cannot be defined solely based on a specific political stance or goal, such as redistributive economic policies.[27] The agendas of populist movements vary depending on the movements' historical period and geographic location.[28]

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27   Gidron and Bonikowski, "Varieties of Populism."
28   Ibid.; Bart Bonikowski and Noam Gidron, "Multiple Traditions in Populism Research: Toward a Theoretical Syn-

Populism, for example, is sometimes used to refer to left-wing mass movements, (such as those spearheaded by Hugo Chávez in Venezuela or Evo Morales in Bolivia), but it also encompasses neo-liberal populist movements (e.g. Argentina's Carlos Menem, Belgium's Lijst Dedecker, or Israel's Binyamin Netanyahu).[29] Similarly, apart from sharing the people vs. elite rhetoric, few similarities exist between today's conservative governments formed by the Party of Law and Justice in Poland and by Fidesz in Hungary, and, for instance, the Islamic inspired populism that was practiced by Mahmoud Ahmadinejad. Also, in each of these cases, populist political movements support a diverging range of foreign and security policies that have different effects on regional and international order.

Populist movements also vary in how they define 'the people', as different movements designate different in- and out-groups. Populist sovereignist parties typically define the people in nativist terms; 'the people' are – in their narratives[30] – the historically native, ethno-cultural populations of the state (as we will show in section 2.4 below). But other populist movements have defined 'the people' along other characteristics or identities, such as class. This categorization into groups is crucial to the claims to legitimacy of populist parties – which hinges on their direct representation of the will of the people.[31] At the same time, such categorizations can have negative consequences for the rights of the people that fall into the out-group. The Occupy Wall Street Movement, for example, defined 'the people' as 'the 99 percent'. Several Latin American populist movements, such as Bolivia's Movement for Socialism (MAS), have defined 'the people' as peasants, especially peasant farmers. Whereas defining 'the people' in nativist terms implies that the legitimacy of the government rests on its ability to represent the will of the native, ethno-cultural populations, Occupy Wall Street defined legitimate action as that which protected the interests of socio-economically disadvantaged groups.

Populist movements identify the representation of the will of the people as the basis of legitimacy in modern democracy; this lies at the core of the populist democratic ideal.[32] Social contract theorists, taking their cue from Rousseau, argue that

thesis," *APSA Comparative Politics Newsletter* 26, no. 2 (2016): 7–14.

29   Dani Filc, "Post-Populism: Explaining Neo-Liberal Populism Through the Habitus," *Journal of Political Ideologies* 16, no. 02 (2011): 221–238; Teun Pauwels, "Explaining the Success of Neo-Liberal Populist Parties: The Case of Lijst Dedecker in Belgium," *Political Studies* 58, no. 5 (2010): 1009–1029.

30   For a delectably illustrative dismantling of various fictions based on such nativist claims, see Eric J. Hobsbawm and Terence O. Ranger, eds., *The Invention of Tradition*, 19th pr, Canto (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Pr, 2010).

31   J. Samuel Barkin and Bruce Cronin, "The State and the Nation: Changing Norms and the Rules of Sovereignty in International Relations," *International Organization* 48, no. 01 (December 1994): 107, doi:10.1017/S0020818300000837.

32   Paulina Ochoa Espejo, "Popular Sovereignty and Procedure in Liberal Democratic Theory," in *The Promise and Perils of Populism: Global Perspectives*, ed. Carlos de la Torre (University Press of Kentucky, 2014), 67–72.

the common interests of the people and the decisions of citizens arrived at in a democratic process represent the 'general will' of the people. Modern-day populists contend that in liberal democracies, popular sovereignty is constrained because participation of 'the people' is generally limited to elections, while the state and its institutions are separate from civil society.[33] They point to the wedge between the political establishment and their electorates which is reflected in vast differences in cultural, educational and ethnic background. Members of the political, economic and cultural elite are said to have undue political influence.[34] Meanwhile, decisions about many issues that are important to the proverbial (wo)man in the street' have been transferred to transnational organizations or technocratic institutions like central banks that at best are indirectly elected. Populist movements seek to restore the representation of the will of the people, which, it is claimed, is essentially democratic because it increases democratic accountability of institutions and leaders.[35] They see this as a popular rebuke of elite consensus and technocratic or undemocratic decision-making.

Other scholars of populism express concerns about the risk of populist parties pursuing illiberal and authoritarian policies that infringe upon the rights of minorities and harm democratic institutions.[36] They note that in theory there is nothing inherently authoritarian or anti-pluralist about populism to the extent that it promotes a democratic ideal based on popular sovereignty and greater popular participation in democracy.[37][38] In reality, however, they observe that various populist political movements when in power have tended to erode the principal cornerstones of liberal democracies.[39] Liberal democracy here is understood as "a form of democracy concerned with the securing of individual and minority rights, a clear demarcation between state and civil society, personal freedoms, the rule of law and limited possibilities of popular participation."[40] These scholars fear that the policies pursued

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33   Pepijn Corduwener, "The Populist Conception of Democracy Beyond Popular Sovereignty," *Journal of Contemporary European Research* 10, no. 4 (2014), http://jcer.net/index.php/jcer/article/view/636; Ochoa Espejo, "Popular Sovereignty and Procedure in Liberal Democratic Theory."
34   Mudde, "The Problem with Populism."
35   Corduwener, "The Populist Conception of Democracy Beyond Popular Sovereignty." ; Ernesto Laclau, "Populism: What's in a Name?," accessed January 25, 2017, http://www.inventati.org/fabriano-sf/Populism%20What's%20in%20 a%20name.doc; Cas Mudde, "Radical Right Parties in Europe: What, Who, Why?," *Participation* 34, no. 3 (2011), https://works.bepress.com/cas_mudde/46/download/.
36   Jan-Werner Müller, *What Is Populism?* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2016).
37   Ochoa Espejo, "Popular Sovereignty and Procedure in Liberal Democratic Theory"; Corduwener, "The Populist Conception of Democracy Beyond Popular Sovereignty"; Y. Meny and Y. Surel, *Democracies and the Populist Challenge* (Springer, 2001); Mudde, "Radical Right Parties in Europe."
38   Laclau, "Populism: What's in a Name?"; Mudde, "Radical Right Parties in Europe."
39   Corduwener, "The Populist Conception of Democracy Beyond Popular Sovereignty"; Mudde, "Radical Right Parties in Europe."
40   Corduwener, "The Populist Conception of Democracy Beyond Popular Sovereignty" p. 4.

by populist parties, once they are in power, might eventually destroy democratic institutions paving the way to illiberal, authoritarian rule.[41] Their argument hinges on two key points. First, populists tend to define democracy as *unconstrained* popular sovereignty. By contrast, popular sovereignty is typically more constrained in liberal democracies, and mediated by various political institutional checks and balances that ensure that deliberative and constitutional decision-making is observed even if this throws up barriers for direct popular participation.[42] Populists seek to remove these barriers and circumvent existing government institutions thereby chafing away at the foundational pillars of modern democracies, it is argued.[43] Recent examples include the shutting down of the Venezuela's parliament by its Supreme Court that is allied with President Maduro.[44] Political commentators have also warned for the dangers of a democratic backslide in the United States under the Trump administration.[45]

The second schism between liberal and populist democracy hinges on the populists' nativist, ethno-cultural definition of 'the people'.[46] Liberal democracies, by contrast, define 'the people' based on citizenship and provide strong protections for individual and minority rights, thereby preventing the will of the majority from harming the minority.[47] The populist sovereignist definition of 'the people' can thus contradict liberal democratic values of pluralism and constitutional protections for minorities.[48] In this context, it is argued that as a "monist and moralist ideology", populism portrays the people as an indivisible monolith, denying divisions within what 'the people' want.[49] Populism rejects any deviation because it does not represent the true 'will of the people'. Other political movements are therefore at risk of being considered illegitimate as are their constitutional liberal-democratic rights.[50] Taking these

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41   Marc F. Plattner, "Populism, Pluralism, and Liberal Democracy," *Journal of Democracy* 21, no. 1 (2010): 81–92; Koen Abts and Stefan Rummens, "Populism versus Democracy," *Political Studies* 55, no. 2 (June 1, 2007): 405–24, doi:10.1111/j.1467-9248.2007.00657.x., summarized in Corduwener, "The Populist Conception of Democracy Beyond Popular Sovereignty."
42   Ochoa Espejo, "Popular Sovereignty and Procedure in Liberal Democratic Theory"; Corduwener, "The Populist Conception of Democracy Beyond Popular Sovereignty"; Meny and Surel, *Democracies and the Populist Challenge*; Mudde, "Radical Right Parties in Europe."
43   Corduwener, "The Populist Conception of Democracy Beyond Popular Sovereignty."; Robert R. Barr, "Populists, Outsiders and Anti-Establishment Politics," *Party Politics* 15, no. 1 (2009): 29–48.
44   Diego Oré and Andrew Cawthorne, "Venezuela's Maduro Decried as 'Dictator' after Congress Annulled | Reuters," *Reuters*, March 31, 2017, http://www.reuters.com/article/us-venezuela-politics-idUSKBN17122M.
45   Robert Mickey et al., "Is America Still Safe for Democracy?," *Foreign Affairs*, April 17, 2017, https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/united-states/2017-04-17/america-still-safe-democracy; David Frum, "How Donald Trump Could Build an Autocracy in the U.S. - The Atlantic," *The Atlantic*, March 2017, https://www.theatlantic.com/magazine/archive/2017/03/how-to-build-an-autocracy/513872/.
46   Corduwener, "The Populist Conception of Democracy Beyond Popular Sovereignty"; Mudde, "Radical Right Parties in Europe."
47   Corduwener, "The Populist Conception of Democracy Beyond Popular Sovereignty" p. 4.
48   Mudde, "Radical Right Parties in Europe."
49   Mudde, "The Problem with Populism."
50   Ibid.

two points together, populist parties can thus implement reforms that undermine the rule of law, curtail the freedom of the press, and change the balance of power between government branches, thereby striking at the heart of liberal democracies.[51] Real examples bolster such fears: both the Law and Justice party in Poland and the Fidesz party in Hungary implemented constitutional reforms that weakened the independence or functioning of the judiciary branches of Poland and Hungary.[52]

2.3 What is Sovereignism?

The concept of sovereignty antedates our current state-centric interpretation of it. In its most fundamental sense, sovereignty links the idea of supreme[53] authority to some territorial jurisdiction.[54] After early explorations of the idea in classical times (Aristotle, Roman Law, etc.) discussions about it erupted around the mid-17th century. At that time, two protracted European wars – one that lasted 80 years, another an (extremely bloody) 30 years – between medieval empires (the Spanish empire and the 'Holy Roman Empire') and various smaller state-seeking political entities led to a growing recognition amongst political leaders and scholars that Europe needed a better way of structuring political authority – both within and between political entities.[55] Jean Bodin, seen by many as the ideological father of sovereignty, for instance, argued that the labyrinthine feudal order, with its myriad of principalities, guilds, cities, and trading unions, formally united under the Church and Emperor, but with none of them having the power to subdue the others in time of crisis, was one of the main drivers of chaos and war in Europe. ... He argued that for a government to be strong, it had to be perceived as legitimate, and to be legitimate, it had to follow certain rules of 'justice and reason'.[56]

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51   David Frum, "How to Build an Autocracy," *The Atlantic*, March 2017, https://www.theatlantic.com/magazine/archive/2017/03/how-to-build-an-autocracy/513872/; Mudde, "The Problem with Populism."

52   Roberto Stefan Foa and Yascha Mounk, "The Danger of Deconsolidation: The Democratic Disconnect," *Journal of Democracy* 27, no. 3 (July 2016), doi:10.1080/09636411003795731.

53   The etymological roots of the word also attest to the importance of the 'highest' level of authority, as the word goes back to the Old French word soverain ("highest, supreme, chief") which in turn goes back to the Vulgar Latin *superanus "chief, principal". The proto-indoeuropean root of the word is *uper, meaning "over". Douglas Harper, "Online Etymology Dictionary: Sovereign," 2017, www.etymonline.com/index.php?term=sovereign.

54   Daniel Philpott, "Sovereignty," in *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, ed. Edward N. Zalta, Summer 2016 (Metaphysics Research Lab, Stanford University, 2016), https://plato.stanford.edu/archives/sum2016/entries/sovereignty/.

55   For an interesting take on how rising contenders during periods of power transitions have (often, but not always) fueled nationalism, see Karataşlı and Kumral, "Territorial Contradictions of the Rise of China." and Karataşlı, "Financial Expansions, Hegemonic Transitions and Nationalism: A Longue Durée Analysis of State-Seeking Nationalist Movements."

56   Stanislav Máselník, "Sovereignty: The History of the Concept," *Faustian Europe A Blog about Contemporary Europe: Politics, International Relations, Philosophy & European Union,* July 5, 2008, https://faustianeurope.wordpress.com/2008/05/07/sovereignty-the-history-of-the-concept/.

Although the 'state' was an anachronism in the 17th century, the Treaties of Westphalia are nonetheless commonly described (accurately or not) as the origin of the modern notion of the sovereignty of the nation-state.[57] In that sense, 'Westphalian sovereignty' is a term often used to connote the fundamental idea that each state should hold exclusive control over its territory and internal affairs, to the exclusion of external influence. To the extent that international law is seen to exist, states enter into it on their own accord. Because there is no force higher than the nation, they are only bound to adhere to international law as long as it serves the interests of the nation-state.

Internal control and the exclusion of external powers are core components of a state's sovereignty. The internal dimension of sovereignty is called *domestic sovereignty,* which means a ruling power has "effective control over the territory claimed by the state",[58] including the ability to make and enforce laws.[59] Without a ruler, there can be no sovereign. Externally, sovereignty requires "mutual recognition" among the governments of states that "they each represent a specific society within an exclusive jurisdictional domain".[60] This is called *juridical sovereignty*, or *international legal sovereignty*.[61] In practice, sovereignty means that states are autonomous actors, can control their own territory, can select their own form of government, and refrain from intervening in each other's internal affairs. Moreover, sovereign states have the authority to enter into international agreements with one another. In the context of increasing transnational flows caused by globalization, state sovereignty has also come to refer to the ability to control "transborder movements", including goods and people.[62]

International and transnational liberal institutions and norms have affected the sovereignty of states in two principal ways. First, in setting up international and transnational organizations nation-states have transferred – albeit to different degrees and in various ways – parts of their sovereignty to a higher level of governance.[63] Second, human rights doctrines and norms such as the 'responsibility to protect' have infringed on the norms of Westphalian sovereignty because they have

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57   Derek Croxton, "The Peace of Westphalia of 1648 and the Origins of Sovereignty," *The International History Review* 21, no. 3 (1999): 569 p. 261-268.
58   Krasner paraphrased in David A. Lake, "The New Sovereignty in International Relations," *International Studies Review* 5, no. 3 (2003): 303–323 p. 305.
59   Morgenthau summarized in Ibid. p. 109.
60   Barkin and Cronin, "The State and the Nation" p. 110.
61   Lake, "The New Sovereignty in International Relations."
62   Stephen D. Krasner, Power, the State, and Sovereignty: Essays on International Relations (Routledge, 2009).
63   John Ikenberry, "Liberal Internationalism 3.0: America and the Dilemmas of Liberal World Order," *Perspectives on Politics* 7, no. 1 (March 2009): 71–87.

propagated the duty for states to intervene in other sovereign nations in order to protect civilians. Sovereignists question the value of intervening in other countries and reject in particular the restrictions placed on their own states by international organizations.

Levels of governance above the nation-state have created a double bind for national governments who must balance being "responsible" to their international agreements and "responsive" to their electorates.[64] Sovereignists view international institutions as usurpers not only of national sovereignty but also of popular sovereignty. Because the sovereignty of the nation-state derives from the national people, international constraints on national action are therefore seen as undemocratic.[65]

"New sovereigntism" is a term sometimes used to describe the political movements that reject what they see as the erosion of national sovereignty.[66] New sovereigntism refers to the belief in the primacy of the nation-state, governed according to the principle of popular sovereignty, over inter- and supranational governance structures and the 'transnational' sphere of economic and social activity.[67] Originally part of a movement propagating American exceptionalism within the international arena, new sovereignists, for example, rejected joining the International Criminal Court because it would constrain the United States' sovereign right to make and enforce its own laws. New sovereigntism – or: sovereignism – has now gone mainstream, as we will show, in the sovereignist movements that have sprung up on both on both sides of the Atlantic.

Besides the sovereignty of the nation-state, popular sovereignty is also an integral part of the populist sovereignist worldview. *Popular sovereignty* means that the legitimacy of rule derives from the consent of the governed – 'the people' are sovereign, because they are the source of sovereign authority. The concept initially originated from the 17th and 18th century social contract theories of central Western political philosophers, most importantly Thomas Hobbes, John Locke, and Jean-Jacques Rousseau, and had a profound impact on the design of the relationship between governments and their people in Western nation-states. The authority and legitimacy of national governments derives from the fact that they represent the political will of the people, who have transferred or conferred authority to rule to their

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64   Rosa Balfour et al., *Europe's Troublemakers. The Populist Challenge to Foreign Policy* (Brussels: European Policy Center, 2016), http://www.epc.eu/documents/uploads/pub_6377_europe_s_troublemakers.pdf p. 25.

65   Ibid.; Jeff D. Colgan and Robert O. Keohane, "The Liberal Order Is Rigged," *Foreign Affairs*, April 17, 2017, https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/world/2017-04-17/liberal-order-rigged.

66   Peter J. Spiro, "The New Sovereigntists: American Exceptionalism and Its False Prophets," *Foreign Affairs* 79, no. 6 (2000): 9, doi:10.2307/20049963.

67   Ibid.

national governments.[68] Popular sovereignty is therefore a cornerstone of modern democracies.[69] Sovereignists argue that popular sovereignty has been hollowed out and needs to be restored by returning power to the nation-state proper.[70]

At the national level, sovereignists may call for the return of popular sovereignty to 'the people' through an exclusive definition of who 'the people' are. Often, sovereignists claim that foreigners, foreign corporations, or other 'non-native' groups within the nation-state disrupt the self-determination of the people and the state. In that sense, sovereignism is not merely legalistic in nature but also contains a socio-cultural component. Within the nation-state, sovereignism may therefore indicate mutually reinforcing cleavages (i.e., We are German AND Protestant AND etc.) as opposed to cross-cutting identities. These perceptions of identity in turn influence the 'us versus them' sentiment that demarcates who 'the people' and 'the outsiders' are.

Sovereignism within an international context contains two key features. First, sovereignists argue that a constitutionally bound state built on the principle of popular sovereignty "must make protecting and promoting its citizens' interests its top foreign policy priority".[71] Sovereignism therefore often critiques international organizations as overreaching. These critiques also apply to more 'restrained' international organizations such as the United Nations (UN). However, the brunt of such criticism falls on organizations with wide-reaching legislative and executive competencies, especially the European Union (EU). Sovereignists reject or want to limit any transfer of national power to supranational organizations.[72]

Second, national sovereignty in the sovereignist worldview implies that national law takes priority over international legal norms.[73] For example, proponents of sovereignism claim that "the rapid development of international and transnational treaties and the emergence of regional human rights courts such as the European Court of Human Rights (ECHR) undermine sovereignty and thus pose a threat to democratic self-determination".[74] The underlying arguments are twofold. First, the

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68   Barkin and Cronin, "The State and the Nation."
69   Ochoa Espejo, "Popular Sovereignty and Procedure in Liberal Democratic Theory" p. 67.
70   Corduwener, "The Populist Conception of Democracy Beyond Popular Sovereignty."
71   Michael Goodhart and Stacy Bondanella Taninchev, "The New Sovereigntist Challenge for Global Governance: Democracy without Sovereignty," *International Studies Quarterly* 55, no. 4 (December 1, 2011): 1047–68, doi:10.1111/j.1468-2478.2011.00691.x p. 1047.
72   Balfour et al., *Europe's Troublemakers. The Populist Challenge to Foreign Policy*; Yehunda Ben-Hur Levy, "The Undiplomats: Right-Wing Populists and Their Foreign Policies" (Centre for European Reform, August 2015), www.cer.org.uk.
73   Spiro, "The New Sovereigntists."
74   Seyla Benhabib, "The New Sovereigntism and Transnational Law: Legal Utopianism, Democratic Scepticism and Statist Realism," *Global Constitutionalism* 5, no. 1 (March 2016): 109–44, doi:10.1017/S2045381716000010 p. 109.

international legal order is vague and ultimately unenforceable. Second, the process by which international legal norms develop is undemocratic. As a consequence, international law is often viewed by sovereignists as illegitimately interfering with democratically-based and constitutionally legitimate domestic laws.[75]

However, sovereignism does not necessarily mean a return to isolationism, as sovereignists do not necessarily reject international engagement per se. Rather, they insist on the primacy of national politics and national interests. Because the nation-state's legitimacy and authority come not only from international recognition but also from representing the will of a self-determining group of people, sovereignists want to restrict (what they see as) undemocratic infringements into the internal affairs of the state and polity. In particular, sovereignists reassert the primacy of the nation-state over international institutions and laws as well as transnational norms.

2.4 Bringing the Two Concepts Together: Populist Sovereignism

Populist sovereignism is a new term – one that, we submit, captures core features of a phenomenon that manifests itself throughout the modern world. Some of these features have been analyzed in isolation from one another, which has inhibited a comprehensive understanding of the more fundamental phenomenon that is afoot. Observers have, for instance, labeled populist sovereignist parties in Europe 'insurgents'[76] or 'Eurosceptics'.[77] Euroscepticism follows from sovereignism, but focusing exclusively on the EU obfuscates these parties' foreign and security policies more generally. 'Insurgents' is also a misnomer – populist sovereignist parties have been around for decades and, as we will show, seven parties have governing experience.

Elements of populist sovereignism have also been studied as characteristics of 'right-wing populism' or of 'the populist radical right'.[78] While the research

75   Goodhart and Taninchev, "The New Sovereigntist Challenge for Global Governance"; Spiro, "The New Sovereign-tists."
76   Susi Dennison and Dina Pardijs, "The World According to Europe's Insurgent Parties: Putin, Migration and People Power" (European Council on Foreign Relations, June 27, 2016), http://www.ecfr.eu/publications/summary/the_world_according_to_europes_insurgent_parties7055.
77   Bruce Stokes, "Chapter 4. The Rise of Nontraditional, Eurosceptic Parties," Global Attitudes Project (Pew Research Center, June 2, 2015), http://www.pewglobal.org/2015/06/02/chapter-4-the-rise-of-nontraditional-eurosceptic-parties/; José Ignacio Torreblanca and Mark Leonard, "The Continent-Wide Rise of Euroscepticism," Policy Memo (European Council on Foreign Relations, 2013), http://www.ecfr.eu/page/-/ECFR79_EUROSCEPTICISM_BRIEF_AW.pdf.
78   Christina Schori Liang, "Chapter 1: Europe for the Europeans: The Foreign and Security Policy of the Populist Radical Right," in *Europe for the Europeans: The Foreign and Security Policy of the Populist Radical Right* (Routledge,

conducted under those labels informs our concept of populist sovereignism, these labels do not fully capture the salient characteristics of current movements. First, the coupling of populism and sovereignism is not an exclusive characteristic of right-wing parties. Left-wing populist sovereignist parties also exist. Second, while many populist sovereignist parties are labeled right-wing because of their anti-immigrant rhetoric, the eclectic policy agendas of several, such as Italy's Five Star Movement, defy right-left categorization.[79] 'Populist sovereignist' is therefore a more apt term: it supersedes the left-right divide and does not restrict analysis to one institution (the EU), while it also captures the underpinning worldview that drives these parties.

Textbox 2.1 Why sovereignism and not nationalism?

Our use of the term 'sovereignism' is, admittedly, fairly unorthodox. Why did we not resort to the more commonly used term 'nationalism'? And how do the two differ – if at all?

Nationalism has two main attributes. First, nationalism creates a common identity based on "common culture, past, project for the future and attachment to a concrete territory". Second, it defends the idea "that state and nation should be congruent". Based on this, the power of nationalism comes from "its ability to engender sentiments of belonging to a particular community".[80] Nationalism therefore implies a movement that seeks to make a state congruent with a 'nation' of people held together by a common sentiment derived from a purported common history, culture, race, or other unifying identity or category (an "imagined community"). By contrast, movements are 'sovereignist' if they assert that no foreign power should be able to delimit the authority of the state within its jurisdiction.

To simplify the distinction between nationalism and sovereignism, the difference between the two can be conceived of in this way: whereas nationalism primarily relates to the 'nation' of the 'nation-state', sovereignism primarily relates to the 'state' of the 'nation-state'. 'Nationalism' and 'sovereignism', like 'nation' and 'state', are often (but not necessarily) linked concepts that nonetheless cannot be collapsed into each other. Nationalism gains its characteristics primarily from the unifying sentiment of an imagined community and mission of creating a state that is coterminous with the nation. Sovereignism gains its characteristics primarily from its mission of asserting or reasserting the state's exclusive authority over its territory and affairs.

This distinction is useful theoretically – and, we argue, necessary for accurately labeling current movements as primarily sovereignist and not simply nationalist. In reality, nationalism and sovereignism may coexist and overlap within a given movement or

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2007); Balfour et al., *Europe's Troublemakers. The Populist Challenge to Foreign Policy*; Mudde, "Radical Right Parties in Europe"; Ben-Hur Levy, "The Undiplomats: Right-Wing Populists and Their Foreign Policies."
79   Pippa Norris and Ronald Inglehart, "Trump, Brexit, and the Rise of Populism: Economic Have-Nots and Cultural Backlash," HKS Faculty Research Working Paper Series (Harvard Kennedy School of Government, August 2016).
80   Montserrat Guibernau, "Introduction," in Nationalisms: The Nation-State and Nationalism in the Twentieth Century (John Wiley & Sons, 2013).

ideology. Nationalism, both as a sentiment and as a force in policy-making, does follow from the populist sovereignist understanding of 'the people' as the native, ethno-cultural groups and the state as the main vehicle for realizing their sovereign will. Populist sovereignism does envision an imagined community held together by a shared history, culture, and ethnicity. It also tries to make the 'nation' and 'state' congruent by, for example, limiting immigration or restricting the rights of foreigners and minorities. However, the overarching assertion of today's movements is that no external force, group, or institution should be able to circumscribe the authority of the state, in part because doing so would also circumscribe the 'will of the people' within the state. The movements and parties described in this report are therefore most accurately labeled populist *sovereignist.*

The differences between nationalist and current sovereignist movements may also be in part ascribable to the contexts within which they arose. Many nationalist movements in modern history have been state-seeking ones. This could mean carving out a new state from larger entities, as in the cases of the United Provinces from the Spanish empire in the 17th century or South Sudan from Sudan in this decade. It could also mean coalescing smaller entities into larger ones, as in the cases of German unification in 1871 or reunification in 1990. Finally, it could mean carving out new states out of parts of multiple previous ones. These various state-seeking ambitions have led the number of sovereign nations in the world to expand dramatically from 23 in 1816[81] to 206 today. Such redistricting of the international system into various constitutive components is unlikely to stop, as there remain many unfulfilled aspirations of statehood across the world – also in Europe (Catalonia, Flanders, Scotland, etc.).

What we are dealing with in this report, however, is a slightly different phenomenon, although we will concede that there is quite a bit of overlap between the two. Because what we are increasingly seeing today are not only unrecognized nations seeking statehood, but also movements in existing, internationally recognized states that already have all legal and other accouterments of a sovereign nation-state that still feel they have lost some elements of their actual sovereignty that they now want to reclaim. These movements, as will be elaborated in chapter 4 , refer to the porousness of their internationally recognized borders to migration, refugee streams, economic and financial globalization, and what they see as foreign-imposed regulations, and seek to reassert state authority vis-a-vis transnational flows and supranational institutions.

The following table tries to summarize what we see as some of the main differences between state-seeking nationalist movements and parties on the one hand and sovereignist movements and parties on the other hand.

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81   Correlates of War Project, "State System Membership List, V2016," in *Correlates of War Project*, 2017, http://www.correlatesofwar.org/data-sets/state-system-membership.

Combining 'populism' and 'sovereignism' reflects the blending of these two strands of thought within current societal and political movements. Populist sovereignists advocate reasserting the will of 'the people' – *popular sovereignty* – by taking back national control from foreign influences and reasserting the primacy of the nation-state in the international arena – *state sovereignty*. The observation of Marine Le Pen, political leader of Le Front National in France, clearly captured this sentiment when she said:

'In the name of the people' will be my slogan. It says a lot, that the French people were forgotten by the different politicians in charge, that we must find our sovereignty again.' / 'Au nom du peuple' sera mon slogan. Il dit beaucoup, que le peuple français a été oublié par les différents responsables politiques, que nous devons retrouver la souveraineté.[82]

Within the populist sovereignist definition of 'the people', the 'in-group' whose common interests should be represented by the government is defined in both populist and sovereignist terms. As an ideal type, populist sovereignism define 'the people' in opposition to both 'elites' who have usurped power from the nation-state and often – but not always (see the next chapter) – also in opposition to 'foreigners', such as immigrants or foreigners. The elites are both international and transnational bureaucrats as well as established domestic government officials or parties who have allowed the liberal international vision to erode the sovereignty of the nation-state. 'The people' are instead the indigenous, ethno-cultural groups of the nation-state[83] – "Henk and Ingrid" in the words of the Dutch Party for Freedom. 'The people' are therefore understood in nativist terms. Nativism in this context can be understood as: a combination of nationalism and xenophobia, i.e. an ideology that holds that states should be inhabited exclusively by members of the native group ('the nation') and that nonnative (or 'alien') elements, whether persons or ideas, are fundamentally threatening to the homogeneous nation-state.[84]

Positive appeals to 'the people', anti-elite sentiment, and an 'us versus them' outlook demarcate the populist elements of populist sovereignist rhetoric. Sovereignist elements of populist sovereignist appeals come from defining 'the people' in nativist terms. The populist sovereignist idea of the nation-state is a political body that is

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82   Aymeric Parthonnaud, "Marine Le Pen sur RTL : 'Réclamer la souveraineté n'est pas une radicalité,'" *RTL*, September 19, 2016, http://www.rtl.fr/actu/politique/marine-le-pen-est-l-invitee-de-rtl-le-20-septembre-2016-elle-repondra-a-vos-questions-7784917363.
83   Corduwener, "The Populist Conception of Democracy Beyond Popular Sovereignty"; Mudde, "Radical Right Parties in Europe."
84   Mudde, "Radical Right Parties in Europe" p. 2.

made up of the native, ethno-cultural 'people' and represents their general will. Domestically, this breaks with the liberal democratic idea of including ethnically or racially diverse and non-native citizens within the polity of the nation-state. In the international arena, because 'the people' are the source of the nation-state's sovereign authority, the duty of the national government is to protect the native 'people' and their way of life from the influence of foreign or international powers. The influence of supra- or international powers that attempt to impose restrictions on the nation-state must be reduced or opposed. Instead, populist sovereignism proposes an international order in which the nation-state, guided by the interests of the native, ethno-cultural population, maintains or reasserts sovereign control over its laws, institutions, and the terms of its international participation.

In summary, populist sovereignism refers to a phenomenon within current politics of populist movements or parties organized around sovereignist goals. Populist sovereignism includes the following characteristics. First, it pits the people against the elite (and often foreign 'outsiders') in a polarizing, 'us versus them' dichotomy. In this sense, populist sovereignism distinguishes between an 'in group' typically defined in nativist terms and an 'out group'. Second, its legitimacy rests on claims to represent the (perceived) will of 'the people'. Third, parties, leaders, or movements express an anti-establishment sentiment and position themselves as coming from outside that establishment. Fourth, populist sovereignism explicitly puts the interests of the nation-state (the nation of 'the people) first. Fifth, it generally holds that national law should have priority over international law. Sixth, and finally, in terms of its political-strategic characteristics, populist sovereignism identifies the nation-state as the primary instrument for protecting national interests; restricts the transfer of national decision-making power to supranational organizations; and accepts participation in intergovernmental organizations only as long as they serve the interests of the nation-state. For an overview of these characteristics, see Table 2.2

Characteristic	Description
The people versus the elite/ outsider dichotomy	Emphasizes a polarizing dichotomy between 'the people' and 'the elite' or foreign 'outsiders' Distinguishes between an 'in group' (' the people' defined in nativist terms) and an 'out group'
Claims of legitimacy	Claims to represent the (perceived) will of the 'the people'
Outsider position	Expresses an anti-establishment sentiment and positions itself as coming from outside that establishment
Interests	Explicitly puts the interests of the nation-state (the nation of 'the people') first
Legal	Holds that national law should always have priority over international law
Political-strategic	Identifies the nation-state as the primary instrument to protect national interests Restricts or rejects any transfer of national competencies to supranational organizations Accepts participation in intergovernmental organisations only insofar and only as long as it serves the interests of the nation-state

Table 2.2 Characteristics of Populist Sovereignism

3 WHERE DOES POPSOV COME FROM?

3 Where Does PopSov Come from?

Populist sovereignism did not begin with Brexit nor did it end with Marine Le Pen losing the French Presidential election in May 2017. The sentiment and support that has roiled recent elections has simmered and grown within Western democracies for decades, from the French and Dutch "No" votes in 2005 to the rapid growth of the American Tea Party in the late 2000s.

Populist sovereignist parties themselves, as well as the underlying socio-economic or other structural conditions that enable their success, hold the potential to impact international relations and security. One example of that potential impact is President Trump's call for allies to 'pay their fair share', which made European defense budgets into an American campaign promise. Populist sovereignists in Europe rally around downsizing or dismantling the European Union. Within the state, the populist sovereignist movement reflects a common feeling that outsiders and foreign forces threaten people's economic security, cultural security (identity), and even physical security. Once people believe that their security and prosperity are threatened – and especially if they believe the government cannot or will not adequately address the threat – they may give up on the social contract and stop supporting the state and the societal order.

Whether parties and leaders foment or capitalize on populist sovereignist sentiment, preparing for the future requires considering the dynamics surrounding the rise of populist sovereignism. This section outlines several explanations for what has caused the rise of populism as well as populist sovereignism, and provides of a brief overview of evidence[85] for each.

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85   Several studies have attempted to test the various the validity of these explanations of what drives populism. See, for example, Norris and Inglehart, "Trump, Brexit, and the Rise of Populism: Economic Have-Nots and Cultural Backlash"; Matt Golder, "Explaining Variation In The Success Of Extreme Right Parties In Western Europe," *Comparative Political Studies* 36, no. 4 (May 2003): 432–66, doi:10.1177/0010414003251176.Bram Spruyt, Gil Keppens, and Filip Van Droogenbroeck, "Who Supports Populism and What Attracts People to It?," *Political Research Quarterly* 69, no. 2 (June 1, 2016): 335–46, doi:10.1177/1065912916639138.

Common explanations for the increasing success of populist movements fall into two general categories: popular 'demand' and political 'supply'. Demand-side explanations focus on economic or socio-cultural trends that predispose the general population towards populism, usually economic insecurity and cultural backlash. Supply-side explanations focus on the ability (or inability) of mainstream parties to address the concerns of the general population, and the strategies of populist parties that move to fill the resulting vacuum. Supply-side theories also encompass institutional explanations, which focus on electoral rules that help or hinder the entrance of new or non-mainstream parties into legislative bodies.[86] For example, populist parties are more electorally successful when the district magnitude, or the number of seats assigned to a district, is large.[87] Demand-side explanations, supply-side explanations, and institutional explanations are not mutually exclusive; the success of populist parties likely arises from a combination of such factors.[88]

The drivers of populist sovereignism are rooted in a combination of structural causes – economic and social, and driven by popular demand and political supply. Populist sovereignism is not new in American and European politics. Recent successes by populist sovereignists are peaks within a phenomenon that has developed and deepened over several decades.

3.1 Demand-Side Explanations: Economic Insecurity and Cultural Backlash

Economic insecurity and cultural backlash to progressive social norms are two common explanations of the popular demand for populism. The two are not mutually exclusive; rather, the threat of outsiders or outside powers is often perceived as a tripartite threat: to economic security, to cultural security (identity), and to physical security.

3.1.1 Economic Insecurity

According to the perspective that economic insecurity drives populist demand, economic insecurity and inequality engender resentment among the people left

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86   Pippa Norris, "Understanding the Rise of the Radical Right," in *Radical Right: Voters and Parties in the Electoral Market* (Cambridge University Press, 2005), 3–34, https://www.tcd.ie/Political_Science/undergraduate/module-outlines/ss/political-parties/PolP/NorrisCh05.pdf; Norris and Inglehart, "Trump, Brexit, and the Rise of Populism: Economic Have-Nots and Cultural Backlash."
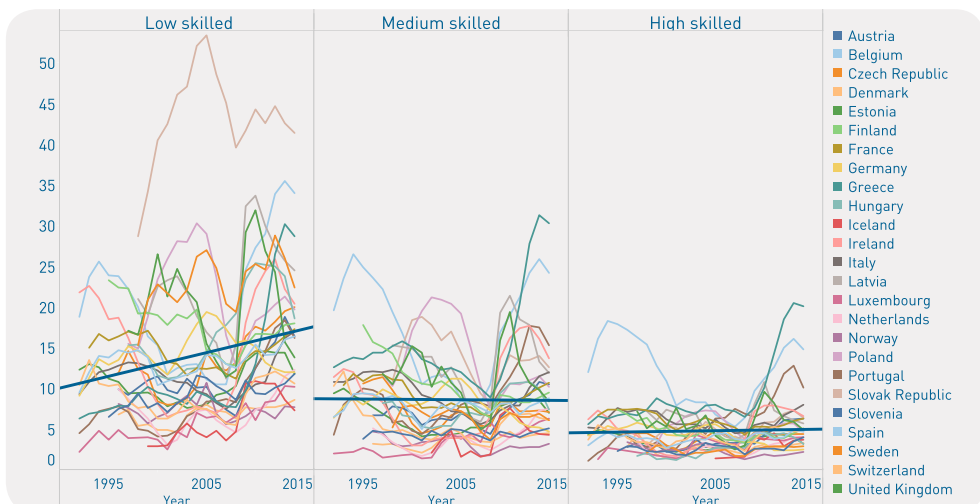87   Golder, "Explaining Variation In The Success Of Extreme Right Parties In Western Europe."
88   Norris, "Understanding the Rise of the Radical Right"; Norris and Inglehart, "Trump, Brexit, and the Rise of Populism: Economic Have-Nots and Cultural Backlash."

behind by economic changes. The political and economic elites who purportedly promoted and benefited from those changes are a common target of that resentment.[89] Laborers and low-skilled workers have been harmed by "the rise of the knowledge economy, technological automation, and the collapse of manufacturing industry, global flows of labor, goods, peoples, and capital (especially the inflow of migrants and refugees), the erosion of organized labor, shrinking welfare safety-nets, and neo-liberal austerity policies".[90] The Great Recession further compounded the economic security of already vulnerable populations.

Strong evidence exists that material insecurity and economic inequality have increased within Western countries.[91] Unemployment among low-skilled workers has increased (Figure 3.1), as has the number of working-age adults with temporary contracts (Figure 3.2). At the same time, labor income share as a percentage of GDP has decreased (Figure 3.3). These trends point to increasing economic insecurity and increasing income inequality. The timeframe for the rise of populist sovereignism correlates with the increase of economic insecurity and inequality.

Figure 3.1 Unemployment rate among low, medium, and high skilled workers in selected European OECD countries and US (1990-2015)

89   Colgan and Keohane, "The Liberal Order Is Rigged"; Golder, "Explaining Variation In The Success Of Extreme Right Parties In Western Europe"; Norris and Inglehart, "Trump, Brexit, and the Rise of Populism: Economic Have-Nots and Cultural Backlash"; Noam Chomsky, Populism and Terror: An Interview with Noam Chomsky, interview by Kenneth Palmer and Richard Yarrow, January 18, 2017, http://hir.harvard.edu/populism-terror-interview-noam-chomsky/; Spruyt, Keppens, and Van Droogenbroeck, "Who Supports Populism and What Attracts People to It?"
90   Norris and Inglehart, "Trump, Brexit, and the Rise of Populism: Economic Have-Nots and Cultural Backlash" p.3.
91   Ibid. p. 3.
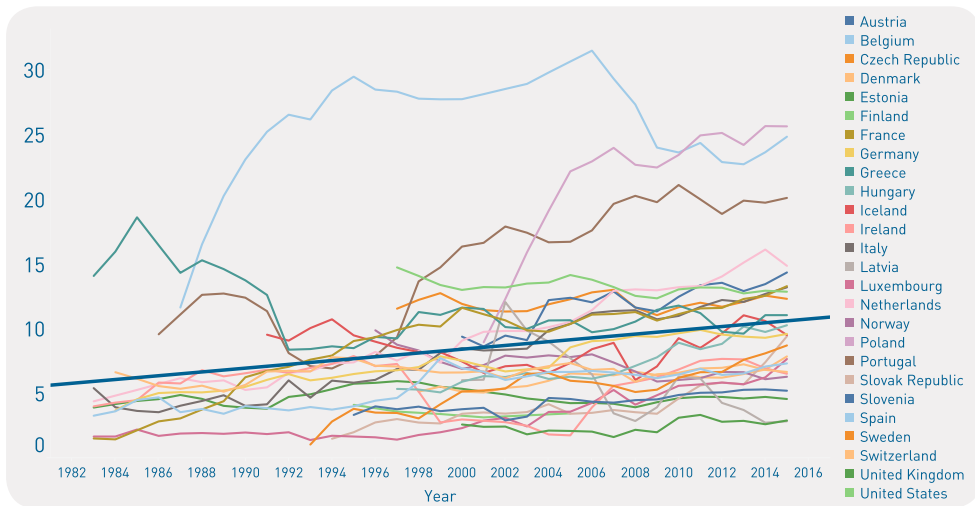
Figure 3.2 Share of temporary contracts in selected European OECD countries and US (1980-2015)
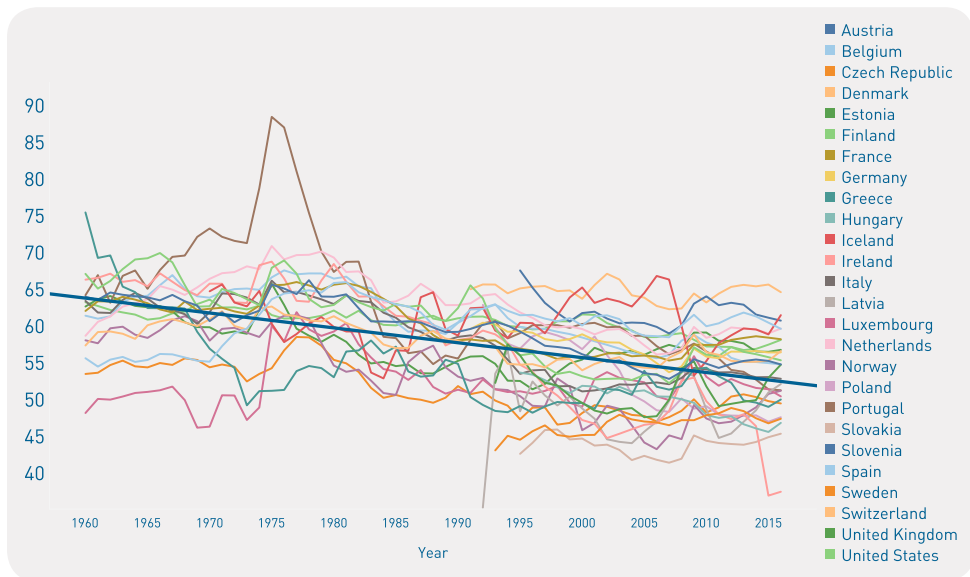
Figure 3.3 Labor income share as a percentage of GDP in selected EU OECD countries and US (1958-2015)

However, evidence that economic insecurity drives populist sentiment is mixed. In favor of the economic insecurity thesis, empirical studies have found that support for populist parties is strongest among the unemployed, blue collar workers, less educated segments of the population, and among men.[92] Against the economic insecurity thesis, other studies have found that "the strongest populist support ... remains among the petty bourgeoisie – typically small proprietors like self-employed plumbers, or family-owned small businesses, and mom-and-pop shop-keepers – not among the category of low-waged, unskilled manual workers".[93] Populists also tend to do worse – not better – among those dependent on social welfare benefits. Moreover, while the unemployed were more likely to support populist parties, populist parties do not necessarily receive a higher share of the vote in countries with high unemployment.[94] Finally, populist parties receive strong support in relatively egalitarian and economically secure countries with robust welfare systems, such as Sweden and Denmark. Yet, populist parties have not gained a significant foothold in other European countries with relatively troubled economies, such as Portugal.[95] While economic insecurity may contribute to support for populist parties, economic insecurity is not likely the sole driver of popular demand for populism.

3.1.2 Cultural and Physical Insecurity

Cultural backlash is another common explanation of popular demand for populism. At least since the 1970s, progressive cultural values have become more mainstream in Western societies, emphasizing "tolerance of diverse lifestyles, religions, and cultures, multiculturalism, international cooperation, democratic governance, and protection of fundamental freedoms and human rights".[96] At the same time, the values of liberalism have become increasingly embedded within and reinforced by institutions such as the UN. These changes have become further entrenched through successive generational replacements, with each new generation more accepting of progressive values than the previous generation.[97]

A threat to identities – including national identities – constitutes a threat to personal or national cultural security. The cultural backlash thesis posits that "less educated and older citizens, especially white men, who were once the privileged majority

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92   Lubbers, Gijsberts and Scheepers summarized in Ibid.; Spruyt, Keppens, and Van Droogenbroeck, "Who Supports Populism and What Attracts People to It?"
93   Norris and Inglehart, "Trump, Brexit, and the Rise of Populism: Economic Have-Nots and Cultural Backlash" p.5.
94   Ibid.
95   Balfour et al., *Europe's Troublemakers. The Populist Challenge to Foreign Policy*; Norris and Inglehart, "Trump, Brexit, and the Rise of Populism: Economic Have-Nots and Cultural Backlash."
96   Norris and Inglehart, "Trump, Brexit, and the Rise of Populism: Economic Have-Nots and Cultural Backlash"p.30.
97   Ibid. p. 30.

culture in Western societies, resent being told that traditional values are 'politically incorrect'".[98] Resentment therefore drives a cultural backlash against tolerance, multiculturalism, international cooperation, and other progressive values, resulting in potential supporters for populist sovereignist parties. In support of the cultural backlash theory, Norris and Inglehart found that five "cultural value scales" consistently predicted support for populist parties: "anti-immigrant attitudes, mistrust of global and national governance, support for authoritarian values, and left-right ideological self-placement".[99] Beyond a cultural threat, foreigners or outsiders are often also perceived as a threat to the physical security of the populace. Terrorist attacks and (real or perceived) high crime rates in immigrant neighborhoods reinforce the perception that outsiders threaten physical security.

Economic, cultural, and physical security need not be mutually exclusive; rather, the threat that foreigners and outsiders pose often appears as a tripartite security threat. General feelings of vulnerability and insecurity – whether economic or cultural in origin – may drive people towards populism's mission of protecting the in-group against 'others'.[100] A relationship exists between anti-immigrant sentiment and support for populist parties.[101] Immigration may drive populism by inflaming the resentment of economically insecure people who believe outsiders are taking their jobs. Or, within the cultural backlash thesis, immigrants may appear threatening to national identity and culture.[102] A strong relationship also exists between educational attainment and support for populism.[103] Higher education results in a higher income and greater economic security, but education could also impart progressive social values.[104]

3.1.3 Bridging Economic Insecurity and Cultural Backlash: Globalization

Another subset of theories regarding the drivers of populism posit that populism is a rejection of globalization and the international liberal order.[105] Within the anti-

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98   Ibid. p. 30.
99   Ibid. p. 5.
100   Spruyt, Keppens, and Van Droogenbroeck, "Who Supports Populism and What Attracts People to It?"
101   Golder, "Explaining Variation In The Success Of Extreme Right Parties In Western Europe"; Norris and Ingle-hart, "Trump, Brexit, and the Rise of Populism: Economic Have-Nots and Cultural Backlash."
102   Golder, "Explaining Variation In The Success Of Extreme Right Parties In Western Europe."
103   Norris and Inglehart, "Trump, Brexit, and the Rise of Populism: Economic Have-Nots and Cultural Backlash"; Spruyt, Keppens, and Van Droogenbroeck, "Who Supports Populism and What Attracts People to It?"
104   Spruyt, Keppens, and Van Droogenbroeck, "Who Supports Populism and What Attracts People to It?"
105   Balfour et al., *Europe's Troublemakers. The Populist Challenge to Foreign Policy*; Colgan and Keohane, "The Liberal Order Is Rigged"; Schori Liang, "Chapter 1: Europe for the Europeans: The Foreign and Security Policy of the Populist Radical Right."

globalization frame, definitions of populism tend to emphasize the sovereignty of the nation-state in addition to 'the people' versus 'the elite' dichotomy. Colgan and Keohane, for example, define populism as "faith in strong leaders and a dislike of limits on sovereignty and of powerful institutions".[106] Theories that attempt to find the drivers of populist movements that "dislike [..] limits on sovereignty" attempt to find the drivers of populist *sovereignism*, as distinct from other types of sovereignist or populist movements.

Within the anti-globalization frame, the drivers of populism are rooted in three major effects of globalization: "increased economic competition, heightened cultural diversity and cultural competition, and increased political competition between the state and all kinds of supranational organizations".[107] These theories cross the dividing lines of explanations that focus on economic insecurity, cultural backlash, and elite consensus and ideological convergence. They posit that transnational flows of ideas, goods, and people have driven tolerance and acceptance of multiculturalism and alternative lifestyles – and perhaps also driven a backlash against them. Multinational corporations have uprooted manufacturing facilities, taking blue collar jobs with them and leaving economic insecurity in their wake.[108] Ideological convergence among economic and political elites has spurred along globalization and has been a key driving force behind the development of the liberal world order.[109]

Globalization has increased encounters with foreign cultures. Analysis of data from the OECD by HCSS shows that the share of immigrants within the total population has increased in Western countries from approximately 3 percent of the population to approximately 6 percent (Figure 3.4). The increase in the share of foreigners and immigrants in the population has remained relatively low in some countries where populist sovereignist parties have strong support, such as Poland. However, other countries have seen a sharp increase in their foreign-born populations. In Switzerland, for example, the share of the total population that is foreign-born increased from 21 percent in 1994 to 28 percent in 2013. Unfortunately, the data from the OECD does not encompass 2015, when large numbers of refugees, asylees, and migrants streamed into the European Union. That crisis is often credited with tipping electoral scales increasingly in the favor of populist sovereignist parties.
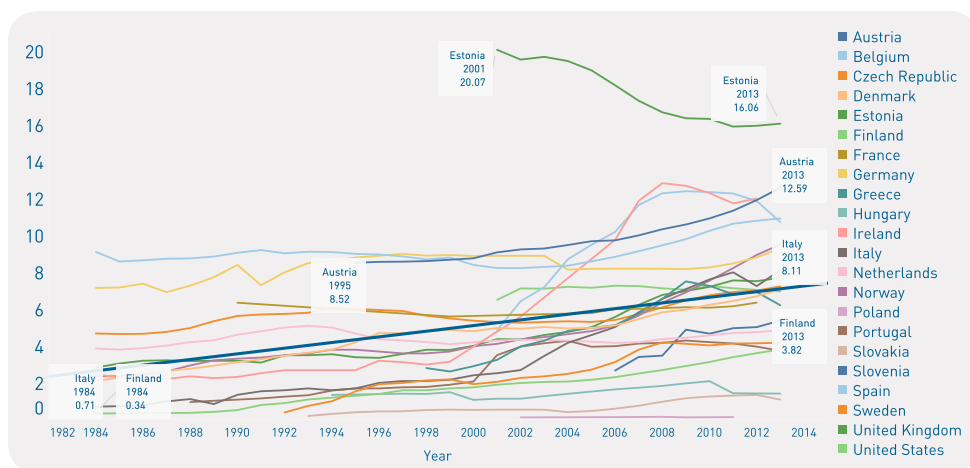
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106   Colgan and Keohane, "The Liberal Order Is Rigged."
107   Spruyt, Keppens, and Van Droogenbroeck, "Who Supports Populism and What Attracts People to It?"
108   Colgan and Keohane, "The Liberal Order Is Rigged"; Spruyt, Keppens, and Van Droogenbroeck, "Who Supports Populism and What Attracts People to It?"
109   Colgan and Keohane, "The Liberal Order Is Rigged."

Figure 3.4 Share of immigrants in the total population (1983 – 2014)

In this line of argument, Colgan and Keohane posit that a loss of national solidarity following the end of the Cold War and "multilateral overreach" drive populism.[110] The end of the Cold War, they claim, removed the 'other' against which several Western nations formed their national identity as well as the force compelling popular attachment to Western alliances. Populism, proposing a new 'other' in the form of elites and outsiders, filled the void.

The second force that Colgan and Keohane claim drives populism – or, in our terms, *populist sovereignism* – is "multilateral overreach". Multilateral cooperation requires countries to concede authority to international institutions. Yet, the natural tendency of institutions, their leaders, and the bureaucracies that carry out their work is to expand their authority. … The cumulative effect of such expansions of international authority, however, is to excessively limit sovereignty and give people the sense that foreign forces are controlling their lives. Since these multilateral institutions are distant and undemocratic—despite their inclusive rhetoric—the result is public alienation…. That effect is compounded whenever multilateral institutions reflect the interests of cosmopolitan elites at the expense of others, as they often have.[111]

Based on HCSS's analysis of data on 16 countries from the World Values Survey, confidence in international institutions such as the UN (Figure 3.6) and EU (Figure 3.5) has indeed decreased. In 1995, slightly over 30 percent of respondents stated that they had "not very much" confidence in the EU; in 2014, approximately 45

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110   Ibid.
111   Ibid.

percent of respondents expressed that opinion. A similar trend can be seen regarding confidence in the UN: the percentage of respondents saying they had "not very much" confidence in the institution increased while the percentage stating had "quite a lot" or "a great deal" of confidence in the UN decreased.

These trends may underlay a popular sense of dissatisfaction or disillusionment with multilateral institutions. When stuck between being responsible to international agreements and responsive to an electorate, governments have tended to blame international institutions for their inability to deliver on promises (even as they claim responsibility for successes).[112] This may create a sense that democratic accountability requires reducing international constraints on the nation-state, a common demand of populist sovereignists.
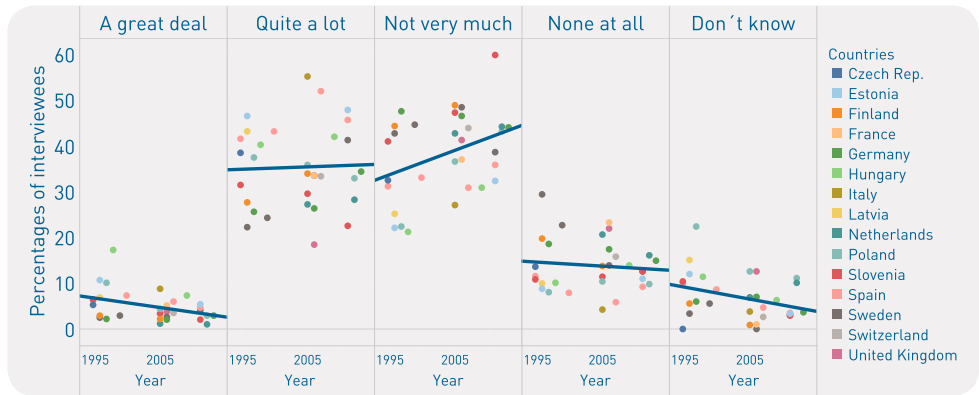

Figure 3.5 Confidence in the EU in selected EU countries (1995-2014)
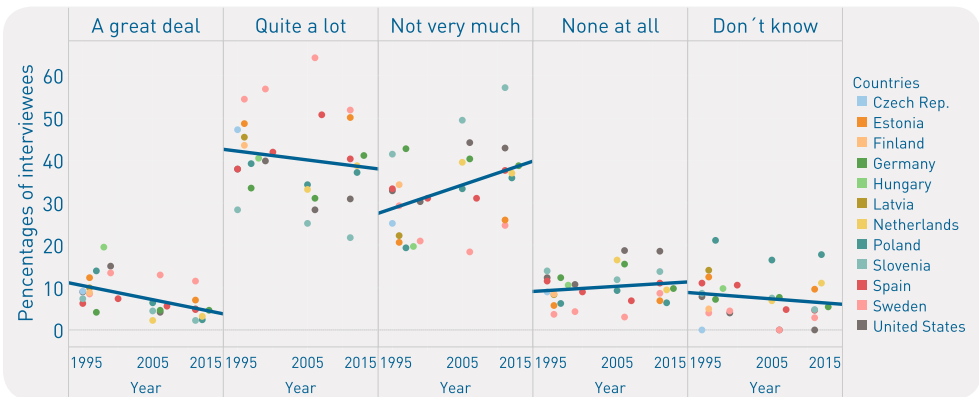

Figure 3.6 Confidence in the UN in selected EU countries and the US (1995-2014)

112   Balfour et al., Europe's Troublemakers. The Populist Challenge to Foreign Policy p. 25.

The rhetoric of populist sovereignism frequently denounce trends that are linked to globalization, such as increases in immigration and increasing authority for supranational institutions. Globalization may increase economic insecurity by increasing the mobility of companies and capital, or may introduce more foreigners into a population than can be assimilated easily. Globalization and liberal policies may drive populist sovereignism, or may simply interact with or compound other drivers of populist demand by exacerbating, for example, economic insecurity and cultural change.

Despite populist sovereignists' strong critiques of aspects of globalization, the populist sovereignist movement is not equivalent to the anti-globalization movement, although the two may find common ground on certain desired reforms. The anti-globalization movement often critiques neoliberalism, international financial institutions, and multinational corporations. Populist sovereignists may offer similar critiques. However, populist sovereignists, as noted previously, are marked by their focus on the state. The nation-state is the primary vehicle for reasserting the self-determination of 'the people' in the face of globalization – in particular through reasserting the sovereignty of the state.

3.2 Supply-Side Explanations: Elite Consensus and Ideological Convergence among Mainstream Parties

Whether economic or cultural factors (or both) drive demand for populism, another subset of theories submit that the success of populist movements is determined by political supply. Dissatisfaction with political systems and parties that drives people to populist alternatives is a recurring element in supply-side explanations. Populist parties may fill a void when elite consensus keeps sensitive issues off the table, or when ideological convergence among mainstream political parties leaves popular concerns unaddressed.[113]

According to such supply-side theories, parties across the political spectrum in several European countries pushed for "a common agenda that called for integration through the EU, multiethnic societies, and neoliberal economic reforms" at the end of the twentieth century.[114] In this perspective, ideological convergence among parties

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113   Mudde, "Radical Right Parties in Europe."
114   Cas Mudde, "Europe's Populist Surge," *Foreign Affairs*, October 17, 2016, https://www.foreignaffairs.com/arti-

meant that popular mistrust of immigration policies and EU integration were not sufficiently addressed by mainstream European parties. Voters who are dissatisfied with politics-as-usual either become disillusioned and develop anti-establishment views or turn to populist parties as a means of protesting their lack of options.

Among the voting public in the West, support for existing political systems has decreased along with popular conviction that it is essential to live in a democracy.[115] From the mid-1990s through the mid-2010s, on average the majority of voters in European and North American countries say they have "not very much" confidence in political parties (Figure 3.7). As strategic actors, populist politicians and party leaders, it is argued, have moved to take advantage of such sentiments and claim the empty space left by mainstream parties.[116] Political supply can therefore spur the success of populist parties at the national level.
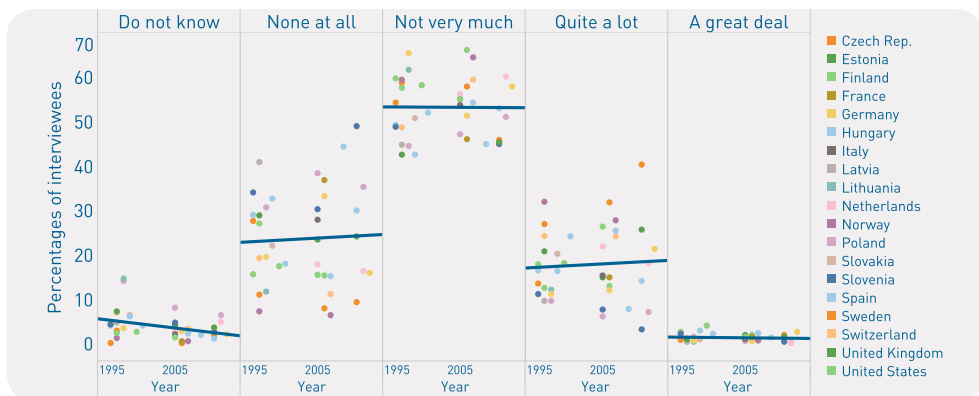
Figure 3.7 Confidence in political parties in the European and North American countries (1995-2015)

The complex phenomenon of populist sovereignism does not have one precise cause. Economic, societal, and political factors drive populist sovereignists supply and demand. In particular, economic insecurity, cultural insecurity, and physical insecurity define the threat seen by populist sovereignists: immigrants undermine national identity and unity; mobile multinational corporations decimate communities and families when they close facilities; international institutions constrain the ability of the national government to respond to these threats. Despite differences in opinion,

cles/europe/2016-10-17/europe-s-populist-surge.
115   Foa and Mounk, "The Limits of Diversion."
116   Norris and Inglehart, "Trump, Brexit, and the Rise of Populism: Economic Have-Nots and Cultural Backlash."

not addressing the concerns of populist sovereignists brings its own threat. Once people believe that their security and prosperity (living standards) are threatened, they may give up on the social contract and stop supporting the state and the societal order.

These economic, social, and political drivers of PopSov have developed over decades. Populist sovereignist parties and leaders are already in positions where they can and do affect the politics and the policies of their national polities and, by extension, international relations and international security; neither they nor their movements will disappear overnight. In order to understand how populist sovereignists envision the future, their national, foreign and security policy positions are analyzed in chapter 4. Chapter 5 then assesses their potential consequences for tomorrow's security environment.

4 A BENCHMARK OF POPSOV POLICY MANIFESTOS

4 A Benchmark of PopSov Policy Manifestos

What do populist sovereignist parties actually want? News reports and articles foretell an illiberal and undemocratic future for the United States and Europe should these parties gain more support. The United States, the long-time advocate of free trade, now has a President who ran on a campaign of scrapping free trade agreements and increasing tariffs. Calls to reform or reject increasing European integration within the European Union (EU) culminated in Brexit. Marine Le Pen's promise to leave the integrated command structure of NATO should she have been elected President and President Trump's skepticism towards the organization were thought to bode ill for the alliance. Calls for increasing cooperation with Russia and denunciations of sanctions against Russia by populist sovereignists have been interpreted as an impending rupture between Europe and the United States. Border walls and barbed-wire fences symbolize isolationist and anti-globalization sentiment. Even though there is a heated debate on the potential implications of such developments, the actual policy proposals of populist sovereignist parties are often wrapped in speculation and hearsay. Understanding how these parties – or their views, should they be absorbed by the mainstream – may influence policies concerning democratic reform, national culture, the protection of borders, the liberal international economic order, international cooperation and alliances, and security and defense postures, requires first and foremost knowledge of their stated policies.

This chapter therefore takes a closer look at the policy positions of populist sovereignist parties in Europe and the US along four key themes: popular rule and protection of the nation-state; the role of the nation-state in the international arena; attitudes towards international relations and alliances; and foreign and defense policies. The first theme, *Nation of 'the people': Popular rule and protection of the nation-state* (section 4.3), covers policies regarding democratic reform, protecting the national way of life, immigrants and foreigners, as well as border controls and territorial security. The second theme, *Revising the liberal world order: The nation-state in the international arena* (section 4.4) covers policies designed to reassert national sovereignty at the international level, including within the European Union

(EU) and within trade and economic policy. The third theme, *Stability and influence: International relations and alliances* (section 4.5) covers attitudes towards European Union defense cooperation; NATO and the United States; and Russia. The final section, *'Focusing on home: The foreign and defense policies of populist sovereignist parties'* (section 4.6) covers policies related to military capabilities and procurement; military intervention; development aid; and the promotion of democracy and human rights abroad.

The degree of influence of populist sovereignist parties depends on the level of popular support they enjoy and the amount of latitude they have to effect change. While ruling alone may give parties wide latitude to enact policy changes, ruling as a part of a governing coalition requires concessions and compromise. Also, democratic checks and balances can circumscribe policy changes, as US President Trump found out twice when his order to close off US borders to citizens of seven countries was reversed by the judiciary. The power of populist sovereignist parties in the opposition is mostly limited to agenda setting and discourse framing.

This chapter first describes the criteria used to select 17 populist sovereignist parties and explains the method used to analyze their manifestos. (The stances of US President Trump and the Republican Party are considered separately in the benchmark, even though they are technically one party. Thus, there are 18 separate groups benchmarked in the platform.) Following that section on methodology, the second section of this chapter considers the current support for and influence of populist sovereignist parties in the United States and Europe. The third section contains the benchmark and provides an overview of their policies along these four themes. The conclusion wraps up and identifies the overall takeaways of the benchmark.

4.1 Methodology

This benchmark[117] was based on the detailed coding of policy manifestos of 16 European populist sovereignist parties, as well as the manifesto of the US Republican Party and the proposals of US President Trump.

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117   For more on our overall approach towards benchmarking, see Stephan De Spiegeleire, "Towards a Benchmarking Methodology for Defence" (The Hague: TNO, 2006); Stephan De Spiegeleire and Miguette Jadoul, "Learning to Learn. Validating the TNO Defence Benchmarking Planning Guide," TNO report for the Dutch Defence Organization (The Hague: TNO Defence and Security, November 2007).

4.1.1 Selection of Populist Sovereignist Parties

The selection of parties to be included in the benchmark was based on a number of criteria that were relevant for this study. First, the geographical area of interest was Europe and the United States. To come up with a sample of parties that are both populist and sovereignist, we developed a long list of 50 European and American (USA) parties identified as populist within the academic literature and reports by research institutes on populism written between 2013 and 2017.[118] Second, we are interested in mapping the views of parties that are both populist and sovereignist. To ensure that the parties within our sample fit our definition of populism and sovereignism, we coded the manifestos or manifestos of these parties for populist and sovereignist rhetoric.[119] Any parties that did not meet the criteria were eliminated.

The populist sentiments coded included a positive appeal to 'the people'; a negative reference to an 'elite' person or group; a polarizing and Manichean 'us vs. them' sentiment; and positioning the party as 'anti-party' or 'anti-establishment'. Any party whose manifesto did not contain at least two populist appeals (two separate 'populist' codes) was eliminated from our list. For sovereignism, we similarly coded for sovereignist rhetoric and eliminated any parties whose manifestos did not contain

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118   Sources for the long list of parties were Balfour et al., *Europe's Troublemakers. The Populist Challenge to Foreign Policy*; Ben-Hur Levy, "The Undiplomats: Right-Wing Populists and Their Foreign Policies"; Cas Mudde, "Populism in Europe: A Primer," *OpenDemocracy*, May 12, 2015, https://www.opendemocracy.net/can-europe-make-it/cas-mudde/populism-in-europe-primer; Denitsa Raynova and Ian Kearns, "The Foreign and Security Policies of Populist Parties in Europe," ELN Quick-Guide (European Leadership Network, May 2014); Torreblanca and Leonard, "The Continent-Wide Rise of Euroscepticism"; Dennison and Pardijs, "The World According to Europe's Insurgent Parties.". Although the most thorough way to determine a list of all populist sovereignist parties in Europe and the United States and their pol-icies would be to code the manifestos of all political parties and then narrow down the list, such an intensive research design was beyond the time and manpower limits of this project.

119   The benefit of analyzing the rhetoric in manifestos to determine if a party is populist and sovereignist is that it provides a relatively objective measure in comparison to the labels indiscriminately applied to parties by outside ob-servers. SYRIZA, for example, is often portrayed as pro-Greece, anti-EU. While SYRIZA does denounce economic 'elites' who promote neoliberal and austerity policies, including within the EU, the party's International Relations and Peace Affairs Department calls for pan-European "cooperation and coordinated action of the left forces and social move-ments" to transform Europe into a "democratic, social, peaceful, ecological and feminist Europe, open to a future of so-cialism with democracy and freedom" (emphasis in the original). International Relations and Peace Affairs Department of SYRIZA, "Who We Are," ΣΥΡΙΖΑ (SYRIZA), June 2015, http://www.syriza.gr/page/who-we-are.html#.WTormcm1uRs. While SYRIZA does contain populist rhetoric of freeing 'the people' from the policies of 'neoliberal elites', including within the European Union, SYRIZA's political agenda includes a vision of transnational class and social solidarity that is not sovereignist in nature. SYRIZA may therefore be portayed popularly as more sovereignist than it is. However, using manifestos also has drawbacks. For example, a manifesto may not capture ideological variation between various factions of the party, or between the party leader and the party itself. The Republican Party manifesto may be a case in point. While factions of the Republican Party are neither populist nor sovereignist, the 2016 Republican manifesto did contain both sentiments. However, this may reflect that elements of President Trump's style and message were incor-porated into the official party manifesto rather than that the party itself is a populist party. Regardless, the following quote from the Republican Party manifesto demonstrates the populist sovereignist language within it: "That is why the many sections of this manifesto affirm our trust in the people, our faith in their judgment, and our determination to help them take back their country. This means removing the power from unelected, unaccountable government". Republican National Committee, "Republican Platform 2016," 2016, http://tmiller.faculty.arizona.edu/sites/tmiller.faculty.arizona.edu/files/Seminar%20Readings%20edited%209-20-16.pdf.

it. Sovereignist statements were operationalized as those that assert that the state should have more exclusive control over its territory and internal affairs. Therefore, assertions that the influence of foreign powers within the state must be decreased, or that the state should have the ultimate authority to control its own affairs, were coded as sovereignist. Again, a manifesto had to contain at least two instances of a 'sovereignist' sentiment (two separate coded excerpts) for the manifesto to be included in the benchmark. To be consistent across all parties, no speeches were used to determine whether or not a party was populist, with the exception of President Trump due to his lack of a manifesto.

Third, we only wanted to include those parties with sizable support as they are more likely to be able to affect national policies. For countries with no upcoming election, we therefore eliminated parties that received less than 10 percent of the vote in a recent election or hold less than 10 percent of the seats at the national or EU level as of March 2017. For countries with an upcoming 2017 election, we included parties polling above 10 percent of the vote as of March 2017. Only the Alternative for Germany (AfD) passed the latter condition but not the first condition. The final list of populist sovereignist parties examined for this benchmark are listed in Table 4.1.

Party Name (English)	Party Acronym	Country
Alternative for Germany	AfD	Germany
Austria Freedom Party	FPÖ	Austria
Danish People's Party	DPP	Denmark
Fidesz	Fidesz	Hungary
Five Star Movement	M5S	Italy
Golden Dawn	LS-CA	Greece
Law and Justice	PiS	Poland
Movement for a Better Hungary	Jobbik	Hungary
United Patriots	TB/LNNK	Latvia
National Front	FN	France
Party for Freedom	PVV	Netherlands
Patriotic Front	IMRO-NFSB-Ataka	Bulgaria
Republican Party (GOP)	GOP	United States
Republican Party (Trump)	Trump	United States
Slovak National Party	SNS	Slovakia
Sweden Democrats	SD	Sweden
Swiss People's Party	SVP	Switzerland
United Kingdom Independence Party	UKIP	United Kingdom

Table 4.1 Final list of populist sovereignist parties

We then collected the most recent manifesto or the official current manifesto for the remaining parties, as well as official party memoranda and policy documents when specific foreign and security policy positions were not covered by the manifesto or when the current, official manifesto was more than five years old.[120]

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120   The official manifesto of the Danish People's Party, for example, was written in 2002 but is still listed as the

For 6 European parties,[121] however, gaps remained in their security and foreign policy positions. In addition, the Trump faction of the Republican Party did not have a manifesto.[122] For these 6 parties plus President Trump, speeches and op-eds by party leaders about the topics included in the benchmark were collected and coded to supplement the manifestos. To assess the reliability of the speeches for approximating party positions, we assessed whether the positions within the speeches matched the positions within the party manifestos for each party whose documents included both a speech and a manifesto. To do this, we randomly selected four operationalized (yes/ no) codes[123] and counted how often the party manifesto agreed or disagreed with the party leader.[124] In five cases, the position within the manifesto and speech agreed. In two cases, the manifesto itself contained a 'mixed' message (excerpts coded 'yes' *and* excerpts coded 'no' for one category), while the speech contained only an excerpt coded 'yes' *or* an excerpt coded 'no'. In no case did the manifesto and speech definitely disagree – no speech had an excerpt coded 'no' for which a manifesto was coded 'yes' or vice verse. Based on this analysis, the positions in the speeches likely do not directly contradict a clear policy position in the manifestos, although manifestos may contain a 'mixed' position where a speech contains a 'yes' or 'no' position.

Approximately 75 percent of all coded documents were published between 2015 and 2017. Moreover, for the 6 parties for which speeches were collected, excerpts from speeches accounted for less than 50 percent of the total number of excerpts; the majority of recorded positions for those parties came from the official party documents rather than a speech or op-ed.

4.1.2 Coding Scheme and Process

Elements of the coding scheme were based on the codebook developed for measuring the populist discourse of the Alternative for Germany (AfD) party[125] as well as the codebook developed by the Manifesto Project for coding party manifestos

current official manifesto on the party's website.

121   Speeches supplemented party documents for the Austria Freedom Party (FPÖ), Fidesz, the Five Star Movement (M5S), Golden Dawn (LS-CA), the National Alliance (TB/LNNK), the National Front (FN), and the Party for Freedom (PVV).

122   The positions of President Trump were considered separately from the official manifesto of the Republican Party (GOP) because of the unique nature of the de facto two-party system in the United States which in current the polarized political climate environment of the US has resulted in strong intra-party factions.

123   Codes selected were: 'Decrease EU integration or number of EU competences' (Yes/ No), 'Increase free trade or decrease trade barriers' (Yes/ No), 'Security cooperation with NATO and/or USA' (Yes/ No), and 'Supports monoculturalism as opposed to multiculturalism' (Yes/ No).

124   Because speeches were sought to fill gaps in the manifestos, the overlap was minimal.

125   Simon T. Franzmann, "Codebook for Calling the Ghost of Populism: The AfD's Strategic and Tactical Agendas until the EP Election 2014," *German Politics* 25, no. 4 (October 2016): 457–79, doi:10.1080/09644008.2016.1201075.

in general.[126] However, neither of these codebooks contained codes that assessed positions on foreign and security policy at the level of detail required for our analysis. Therefore, we developed additional codes to cover these missing areas.

Intercoder reliability was assured through three means. First, the coding scheme and its definitions were developed collaboratively by the coders. Second, following the initial coding, a second coder double-checked all of the applied codes. Third, disagreements over coding were discussed through an online, collaborative forum and voted on so that at least two of three coders agreed on the final coding. Moreover, all coders did a final test comparing how each coder would apply codes as compared to how codes were actually applied to excerpts. In this test of intercoder reliability, all coders received a pooled kappa score greater than 0.81, indicating high agreement within the coding. For a more detailed explanation of the methodology, see Annex A

4.2 Populist Sovereignism in Europe and the United States

The recent successes of populist sovereignists are the culmination of a long-term trend rather than an indication of a new phenomenon. In fact, the average age of the parties in this study is 24 years old – with the oldest, the Freedom Party of Austria, founded in 1956. Currently, populist sovereignist parties rule alone or are part of the governing coalitions in 8 countries, including the US, and they hold more than 10 percent of a total of 11 countries' seats in the European Parliament.

This increasing power held by populist sovereignist parties does not necessarily mean that they will enact the policies and proposals that they promised in their campaigns. Discrepancies exist between what politicians and parties say they will do; what they actually do while in power; and what impact their policies actually have.[127] Reforms by politicians or parties can furthermore be constrained by the international agreements and organizations that their country is embedded within, or by other branches of government. Many politicians or parties often change their positions once in power. However, there are three general means through which parties can affect policy-making, depending on whether they are in opposition; supporting a governing coalition; or leading a coalition and/or holding key posts.[128] When out of government or in opposition, the party's influence depends largely on its ability

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126   Annika Werner, Onawa Lacewell, and Andrea Volkens, "Manifesto Coding Instructions (5th Edition)" (Wissen-schaftszentrum Berlin für Sozialforschung (WZB), February 2015).
127   Balfour et al., Europe's Troublemakers. The Populist Challenge to Foreign Policy.
128   Ibid.

to frame popular narratives, shape public opinion, and set the agenda, especially through the media. For example, during the Eurozone crisis, an unprecedented number of Members of Parliament (MPs) from the German CDU/CSU voted against additional support for Athens, echoing the rhetoric of the Alternative for Germany and calling for a 'Grexit'. Influencing budgets constitutes a significant part of a party's power if the party is supporting a governing coalition.[129] For example, as supporting parties, both the Danish People's Party and Dutch Party for Freedom pushed for deep cuts in development aid.[130] If a party wins the Presidency or is leading a governing coalition, it has wider latitude to direct policy or appoint its members to key posts.[131] For example, President Trump signed 90 executive orders in his first 100 days of office with wide-reaching implications.

The governing coalitions in legislatures of 7 European countries currently include populist sovereignist parties (Figure 4.1). In addition, populist sovereignist parties hold both houses of Congress in the United States. Other parties, such as the Freedom Party of Austria and Dutch Party for Freedom, are not in current government coalitions but do have governing experience. The President of the United States, President of Poland, Prime Minister of Poland, and Prime Minister of Hungary are populist sovereignists. Two of the seven members of Switzerland's Bundesrat come from a populist sovereignist party, as does the Third President of the National Council of Austria.

A party's capacity for influencing foreign, economic, and security policy in particular depends on the degree of responsibility for them within the legislature and/or appointments to key posts.[132] Key ministerial roles and other posts appointed by populist sovereignist parties include: the Hungarian Minister of Foreign Affairs and Trade; the US Secretaries of State and Defense; the Polish Ministers of National Defense and Foreign Affairs as well as the Minister Coordinator of Special Forces; the Slovakian Minister of Defense; and the Latvian Ministers of Culture and Justice. Populist sovereignist parties are not 'upstarts' or 'insurgents'; they are established members of national governments in the United States and throughout Europe.
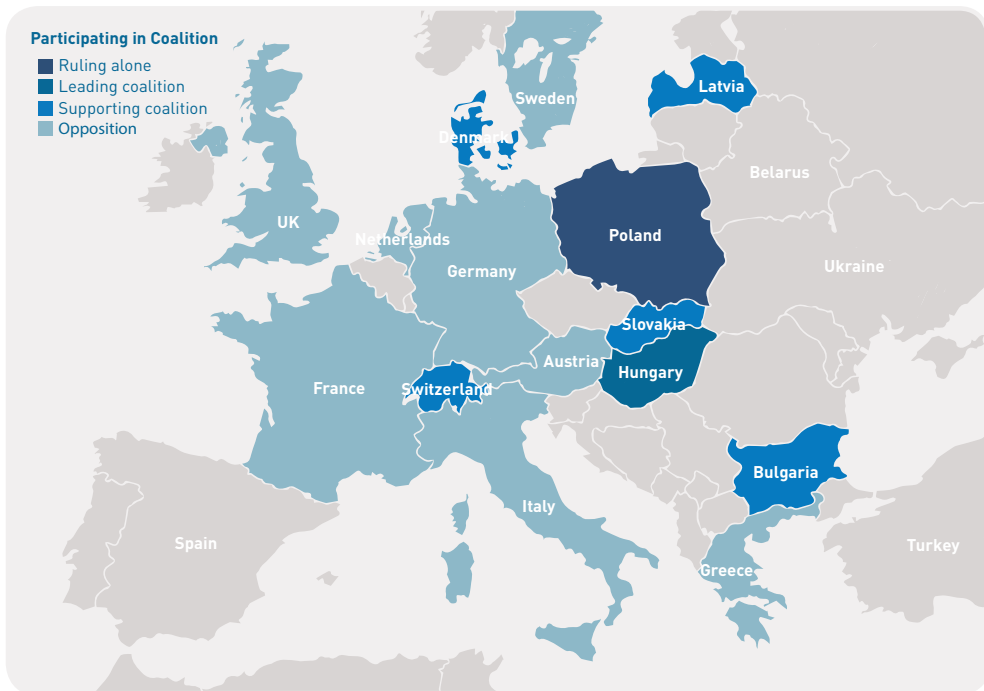
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129   Ibid.
130   Ben-Hur Levy, "The Undiplomats: Right-Wing Populists and Their Foreign Policies."
131   Balfour et al., Europe's Troublemakers. The Populist Challenge to Foreign Policy.
132   Ben-Hur Levy, "The Undiplomats: Right-Wing Populists and Their Foreign Policies."

Figure 4.1 Populist sovereignist parties in national legislatures of selected countries

Populist sovereignists are also strongly represented within the European Parliament, and hold a higher proportion of seats at the EU level than the national level in 5 countries. The United Kingdom Independence Party and French National Front respectively won 12.65 percent and 13.6 percent of the vote in their countries' most recent parliamentary election, versus 27.49 percent and 28.9 percent of the vote in the most recent EU Parliament election. As previously mentioned, in the European Parliament, 11 populist sovereignist parties hold over 10 percent of their countries' seats (see Figure 4.1). Europe of Nations and Freedom (ENF), Europe of Freedom and Direct Democracy (EFDD), and European Conservatives and Reformists (ECR) are some of the groups within the European Parliament that include populist sovereignist parties.[133] In addition, Prime Ministers Viktor Orbán of Hungary and Beata Szydlo of Poland are both members of the European Council. Beyond direct representation in governance structures, domestic and European politics are so interwoven that decisions at either level are likely to impact both levels and constrain political room to maneuver.[134]

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133   Balfour et al., *Europe's Troublemakers. The Populist Challenge to Foreign Policy*; Ben-Hur Levy, "The Undiplomats: Right-Wing Populists and Their Foreign Policies."
134   Balfour et al., Europe's Troublemakers. The Populist Challenge to Foreign Policy.
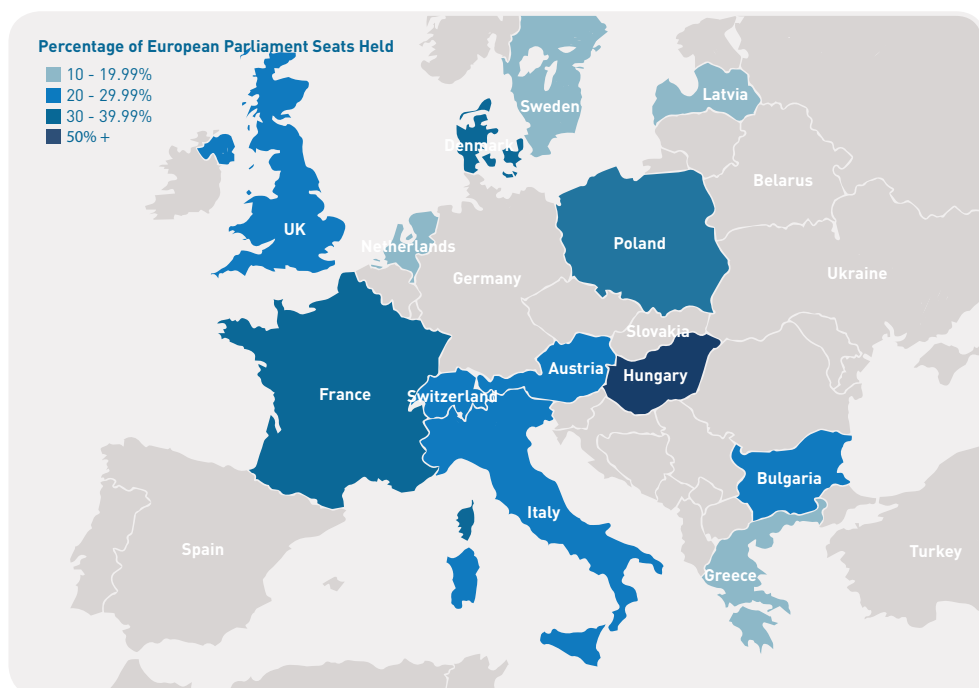
Figure 4.2 Percent of seats country's European Parliament seats held by populist sovereignist parties

Brexit and the election of President Trump were not the first expressions of populist sovereignist sentiment. Rather, they were two peaks in a long-term trend that, as this overview shows, has gained increasing amounts of electoral success in Western countries. To give an overview of the types of policies espoused by populist sovereignist parties, the remaining sections of this chapter benchmark their policy positions along four key themes.

4.3 Nation of 'the People': Popular Rule and Protection of the Nation-State

Modern democracy has emerged in intimate symbiosis with the nation state. Democracy means government by the people and the Sweden Democrats' view is that one cannot completely ignore the word "people" in the concept of government by the people, and that democracy is ultimately likely to be very difficult

to maintain in a state inhabited by many people, where there is no consensus on who should belong to the people, and where it might not even exist a common arena for debate because the residents of the state do not speak the same language. Thus, we see the existence of a common national and cultural identity among the population of the state as one of the most fundamental pillars of a strong and well-functioning democracy.

— Sweden Democrats manifesto[135]

Populist sovereignism within the nation-state and within national security means promoting the rule of 'the people' while protecting their homeland. This section benchmarks national-level policies related to democracy, the national way of life, immigration, and border controls. In general, the 'populist' element of populist sovereignism calls for an increase in direct democracy – to give power back to 'the people'. An exclusive, nativist definition of 'the people' lies at the core of populist sovereignist perceptions on democracy and nation-state, as illustrated by the quote from the Sweden Democrats at the beginning of this section. Multiculturalism is typically claimed to undermine national unity and democracy, while immigrants and foreigners are seen as a concrete and existential hazard for the ethno-culturally defined nation. Protecting the nation-state therefore also means protecting national culture. Nearly all parties identify the need to protect the national way of life as a priority. While several parties do allow limited numbers of immigrants or refugees under specific circumstances, near universal support for increasing border controls and border security are part of this larger project of protecting the nation-state – and the national culture – from outsiders.

4.3.1 Direct Democracy

The Constitution may not be changed, and no significant international treaty be entered into, without the direct approval of the German people. Vice versa, the people themselves should have the right to initiate changes to the Constitution. In particular, the relinquishing of national sovereignty to the EU and other institutions would be scotched without prior approval by the German people.

— Alternative for Germany[136]

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135   Sweden Democrats Sverigedemokraterna, "Vår Politik [Our Policy]," *Sverigedemokraterna*, 2017, https://sd.se/var-politik/.
136   Alternative for Germany Alternative für Deutschland, "Programm der Alternative für Deutschland [Program of

Parliament no longer represents citizens, who cannot choose the candidate, but only the party's symbol. The Constitution is not applied. The parties have replaced the popular will and subverted their control and judgment.

— *Italy's Five Star Movement*

|			Increase direct Democracy (i.e. more referenda)
AT		FPO	✔
BG		IMRO-NFSB-Ataka	✔
CH		SVP	✔
DE		AfD	✔
DK		DPP	✔
FR		FN	✔
GB		UKIP	✔
GR		LS-CA	✔
HU		Fidesz	✔
HU		Jobbik	○
IT		M5S	✔
LV		TB/LNNK	✔
NL		PVV	✔
PL		PiS	○
SE		SD	✔
SK		SNS	○
US		GOP	✖
US		Trump	○

✔ Yes ✖ No ▲ Mixed ○ Unstated

Figure 4.3 Coding results for 'Direct Democracy'

Populist sovereignist parties tend to see themselves as fundamentally democratic,

the Alternative for Germany]," 2016, https://www.afd.de/programm-grundsatz/.

even though they not all parties necessarily equate democracy with *liberal* democracy.[137] Popsov parties promise to wrest power from what they consider the illegitimate elite and return decision-making power to the people: nearly three-quarters (13 out of 18 parties) support reforms to increase direct democracy.

Increasing the number of referenda or making referenda binding is a goal for more than half of the examined parties (10 out of 18). Several cite instances when legislation went against the outcomes of national referenda as evidence that their governments do not represent the will of the people. In addition, nearly half of the parties propose reforms in order to elect currently appointed officials through a direct popular vote; several others propose reforming electoral systems in ways that they claim would increase the proportional representation. Platforms and policies co-developed with input from 'the people' (party members and citizens) are a hallmark of Italy's Five Star Movement. Policies are posted on an online platform called Rousseau, and people vote on what should be the priorities of the party.

A direct link between a party or leader and 'the people' that circumvents government institutions underlies part of populism's authoritarian threat. However, increasing direct democracy does not necessarily mean governing outside of or abolishing existing rules and institutions. Of the 10 parties that advocate increasing direct democracy, 6 explicitly affirm their commitment to their country's constitution or the rule of law. Others imply that stance through their emphasis on reform. While the Greek Golden Dawn's ideal of revolution may portend institutional changes if the party gains greater power, only the Polish Law and Justice (PiS) manifesto advocated centralizing previously independent government offices or institutions under the president's authority. Only one party opposes increasing direct democracy: the US Republican Party (GOP) opposes a National Popular Vote in favor of the electoral college. The majority of PopSov parties, however, once in power, say that they will implement reforms that will decrease the distance between policy-making, government institutions, and 'the people'.

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137   Where 'liberal democracy' is generally defined as: "a form of democracy concerned with the securing of individual and minority rights, a clear demarcation between state and civil society, personal freedoms, the rule of law and limited possibilities of popular participation." Corduwener, "The Populist Conception of Democracy Beyond Popular Sovereignty" p. 4.

4.3.2 National Culture and Way of Life

The ideology of multiculturalism is blind to history and puts on a par imported cultural trends with the indigenous culture, thereby degrading the value system of the latter. The AfD views this as a serious threat to social peace and the survival of the nation state as a cultural unit. It is the duty of the government and civil society to confidently protect German cultural identity as the predominant culture.

– Alternative for Germany[138]

			Protect and up-hold the national or traditional way of life	Supports mono-culturalism as opposed to multi-culturalism
AT		FPO	✔	✔
BG		IMRO-NFSB-Ataka	✔	✔
CH		SVP	✔	✔
DE		AfD	✔	✔
DK		DPP	✔	✔
FR		FN	✔	✔
GB		UKIP	✔	✔
GR		LS-CA	✔	✔
HU		Fidesz	✔	✔
HU		Jobbik	✔	▲
IT		M5S	◯	◯
LV		TB/LNNK	✔	▲
NL		PVV	✔	✔
PL		PiS	✔	✔
SE		SD	✔	✔
SK		SNS	✔	▲
US		GOP	✔	✔
US		Trump	✔	✔

✔ Yes   ✘ No   ▲ Mixed   ◯ Unstated

Figure 4.4 Coding results for 'National Culture and Way of Life'

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138   Alternative für Deutschland, "Programm der Alternative für Deutschland [Program of the Alternative for Germany]."

Our legal system has to take suitable steps to ensure that the problem of Islamism does not become more acute. It must be made clear that our rules apply to all members of religious communities and that anyone who wishes to live in this country must adapt to them. Equality before the law always applies. Dispensations from swimming lessons, cancelling Christmas carols in kindergartens or special funeral arrangements are therefore unacceptable. Anyone who fails to support our free and democratic basic rights without reservation must not be granted Swiss citizenship. – Swiss People's Party[139]

Protection of the nation-state includes protection of the national or traditional way of life, a priority within nearly every PopSov party's manifesto. Patriotism and nationalism, often celebrated and normalized in the manifestos, are the driving forces behind this goal.

Patriotic curricula in schools are advocated by 4 parties as a way to protect and promote national identity. In addition, Alternative for Germany believes that the German perspective on history should be widened beyond what they consider an excessive and narrow emphasis on the *Third Reich*. Four parties focus on legal protection or financial support for cultural heritage as a means to promote and protect the national way of life. The French Front National (FN), for example, proposes amending the constitution to include the defense and promotion of French history and culture.

Multiculturalism is a threat to national identity as well as national unity in the worldview of many of the PopSov parties. The Sweden Democrats (SD), for example, claim that democracy requires that 'the people' share a common language and cultural identity. Therefore, the majority of parties propose policies meant to enforce a monocultural 'ideal'. Laws requiring immigrants to integrate into the dominant culture are promoted as a way to protect national unity. Language laws, for example ordering that a minimum percentage of media content be in the national language, are another means of advancing monoculturalism. All 3 parties with mixed views towards mono- versus multiculturalism (Slovak National Party, Latvian For Fatherland and Freedom/ LNNK, and Hungarian Jobbik, see Figure 4.4) promote protections for traditional ethnic groups while opposing multiculturalism in general.

The Greek Golden Dawn (LS-CA) goes a step further than all other parties in the protection and promotion of the national way of life, claiming that the purpose of the state is the development of the "nation-race", where the nation, which "springs from

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139   Sverigedemokraterna, "Vår Politik [Our Policy]."

the existence of the People", is "the highest spiritual entity".[140] However, pride in the nation and policies designed to protect and uphold the national way of life do portend a return to nationalism within their domestic and international policies.

4.3.3 Immigration and Refugees

EVERY FOREIGN WORKER, ONE GREEK UNEMPLOYED: Expulsion of all illegals means hundreds of thousands of new jobs for the Greeks.

— Manifesto of the Greek Golden Dawn[141]

Law on Bulgarian Language – Only those who have a basic education and are fluent in Bulgarian should have the right to vote.

— Bulgarian United Patriots (IMRO-NFSB-Ataka)

More than other policy areas, anti-immigration manifestos have translated into popularity and electoral success for PopSov parties, especially as intra-EU migration streams, the refugee crisis and terrorist attacks have appeared to lend credibility to their long-standing positions.[142] The majority of parties would allow immigration in limited numbers or in specific circumstances (i.e., when immigrants fully integrate or are highly skilled). However, anti-immigrant and anti-foreigner attitudes and policies are present in more than three-quarters of the manifestos (14 of 18). Demographic decline in European countries often further compounds fears that immigrants are overtaking native populations.

Strengthening or closing borders is the most commonly promoted policy response to migration and immigration (see section 4.3.4). Beyond border control, a majority of parties promote lowering the cap on the number of asylees and refugees that their country will accept, and rejecting at the border any asylee or refugee from a 'safe' country. Some, such as the Sweden Democrats (SD), propose reducing money spent on in-country refugees and asylees and instead increasing humanitarian assistance in conflict areas. The French National Front, Swiss People's Party, and Alternative for Germany support limiting or eliminating possibilities for family reunification. Quotas set by the EU regarding how many refugees each country should accept are vehemently rejected, especially by Hungarian parties Jobbik and Fidesz.

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140   Golden Dawn Χρυσή Αυγή, "Πολιτικές Θέσεις [Political Views]," *Popular Association Golden Dawn*, accessed July 12, 2017, http://www.xryshaygh.com/kinima/thesis.
141   Ibid.
142   Balfour et al., Europe's Troublemakers. The Populist Challenge to Foreign Policy.

	Pro (im)migrants, refugees, asylees, or other foreigners	Full rights minorities, non-citizen immigrants and foreigners	The welfare system must be protected from immigrants
AT FPO	No	Unstated	Unstated
BG IMRO-NFSB-Ataka	No	No	Unstated
CH SVP	No	Unstated	Yes
DE AfD	No	Unstated	Yes
DK DPP	No	No	Yes
FR FN	No	No	Yes
GB UKIP	No	Unstated	Yes
GR LS-CA	No	No	Unstated
HU Fidesz	No	Yes	Unstated
HU Jobbik	Unstated	Unstated	Unstated
IT M5S	No	Unstated	Unstated
LV TB/LNNK	No	No	Unstated
NL PVV	No	No	Unstated
PL PiS	Unstated	Unstated	Unstated
SE SD	No	Unstated	Unstated
SK SNS	Yes	No	Unstated
US GOP	Mixed	Unstated	Yes
US Trump	No	Unstated	Unstated

✔ Yes   ✘ No   ▲ Mixed   ◯ Unstated

Figure 4.5 Coding results for 'Immigration and Refugees'

As to migrants or refugees and asylees already in the country, many parties emphasize that they must return to their home countries as soon as possible. Any person for whom asylum or refugee status is denied must be deported immediately. Furthermore, the Party for Freedom (PVV) advocates revoking all residence permits that have already been granted for asylum seekers, while the Golden Dawn wants to solve unemployment by deporting all migrants.

Restricting the rights or freedoms of foreigners or minorities is promoted by 7 parties. Such restrictions usually pertain to property rights or freedom of religion. Parties in Eastern European countries, including the Slovak National Party, Latvian For Fatherland and Freedom/ LNNK, and Bulgarian United Patriots, consider foreign

land ownership a threat to national sovereignty. Muslim immigrants, refugees, and asylees from the Middle East and North Africa are portrayed not only as a potential terrorist threat but also as a threat to Christian or Judeo-Christian values and way of life. The Dutch Party for Freedom (PVV), Danish People's Party (DPP), and Swiss People's Party (SVP) claim that Muslim traditions and attitudes are incompatible with freedom and democracy. Several parties support increasing the requirements needed for immigrants and foreigners to obtain citizenship rights.

Anti-immigrant – as well as anti-emigrant – stances also apply to intra-European migration. Parties such as the United Kingdom Independence Party (UKIP) and Freedom Party of Austria (FPÖ) describe European migrants as a threat to national health systems and jobs. On the other side, Latvia's For Fatherland and Freedom/LNNK (TB/LNNK) and Hungary's Jobbik lament brain drains caused by "European prices, third-world wages"[143] within their countries.

Overall, while several parties do welcome limited numbers of immigrants under specific circumstances, populist sovereignist policies would generally reduce immigration over current levels.

4.3.4 Border Controls and Territorial Security

Austria now needs a sectoral and temporary closure of the labor market immediately. … There must be an end of it, rolling out the red carpet for migrants from all over the globe. Austria cannot be the general importer of the economic and labor market problems of half the world.

— Freedom Party of Austria[144]

Seventeen of 18 parties favor reinstating or reinforcing border controls. Nearly all favor increasing security along their own borders in particular, with 8 advocating securing the EU's internal borders until the EU's external borders are secure. The French Front National (FN) favors permanently suspending the Schengen Agreement, and closing the UK's border (or as UKIP calls it, closing the drawbridge) with Europe was one of the drivers behind UKIP's push for Brexit. The Bulgarian United Patriots, by contrast, wish to join the Schengen area.

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143   Jobbik, "Kimondjuk. Megoldjuk. A Jobbik országgyűlési választási programja a nemzet felemelkedéséért [Saying. We solve. The Jobbik Parliamentary Election Program for the Ascension of the Nation]," 2014, https://jobbik.hu/sites/default/files/cikkcsatolmany/kimondjukmegoldjuk2014_netre.pdf.
144   Freedom Party of Austria Freiheitlichen Partei Österreichs, "Parteiprogramm der Freiheitlichen Partei Österreichs (FPÖ) [Party Program of the Freedom Party of Austria (FPÖ)]," June 2011, https://www.fpoe.at/fileadmin/user_up-load/www.fpoe.at/dokumente/2015/2011_graz_parteiprogramm_web.pdf.

		Reinstate or reinforce border controls	Increase territorial security
AT	FPO	✔	✔
BG	IMRO-NFSB-Ataka	✔	✔
CH	SVP	✔	✔
DE	AfD	✔	✔
DK	DPP	✔	✔
FR	FN	✔	✔
GB	UKIP	✔	✔
GR	LS-CA	✔	✔
HU	Fidesz	✔	◯
HU	Jobbik	✔	◯
IT	M5S	✔	✔
LV	TB/LNNK	✔	✔
NL	PVV	✔	✔
PL	PiS	✔	✔
SE	SD	✔	✔
SK	SNS	◯	✔
US	GOP	✔	◯
US	Trump	✔	✔

✔ Yes   ✘ No   ▲ Mixed   ◯ Unstated

Figure 4.6 Coding results for 'Border Controls and Territorial Security'

Parties in several European Union border countries (i.e., Bulgaria's United Patriots, Italy's Five Star Movement, Latvia's For Fatherland and Freedom/LNNK, and Hungary's parties) affirm their commitment to protecting the EU's borders. All call on greater commitment and support from other EU member countries either in securing the borders, in managing or stopping migrant flows, or both.

The majority of PopSov parties (15 of 18) support increasing territorial security. Examples of these policies include "Law and Order" type provisions, including ramping up police forces, building more prisons, and increasing penalties for criminal offenses. Several parties promise to secure the country against threats caused by immigrants in particular, often by expelling immigrants who commit crimes or

stripping them of visas and permits. Others focus strongly on specific minorities, especially Roma groups. Policies to control subversive, anti-government activities were also advanced by the Latvian For Fatherland and Freedom/ LNNK (TB/LNNK), which sees Russian groups within the country as a threat.

For nearly all PopSov parties, closing the borders is a clear way to protect the nation-state, especially against foreigners who carry the threat of both terrorism and multiculturalism.

4.4 Revising the Liberal World Order: The Nation-State in the International Arena

This key phrase is not the one quoted by most people – "America First" – but this: "it is the right of all nations to put their own interests first". This represents a great change. ... This means that the era of multilateralism is at an end, and the era of bilateral relations is upon us. For us this is good news, because it is an unnatural state of affairs when, influenced by external pressure, one dare not state that one's own country comes first when governing, making decisions, or considering what the central bank should do.

— Hungarian Prime Minister Viktor Orbán of Fidesz[145]

At the international level, populist sovereignism is a rejection, in whole or in part, of globalization and the past 70 years of policies promoting international integration, especially within the European Union.[146] Within the PopSov worldview, international or supranational organizations usurp authority from the nation-state and therefore from the people, who are the sovereigns of the nation-state.[147] Populist sovereignist parties do not reject multilateral cooperation outright. Instead, their goal is reducing the influence of supra- or international organizations and institutions that they see as infringing upon the sovereignty of the nation-state. Populist sovereignism proposes an international order in which the nation-state, guided by the interests of the native, ethno-cultural population, is the primary actor at the international level. This section provides an overview of populist sovereignist policies regarding the role

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145   Orbán, "Prime Minister Viktor Orbán's Speech at the Lámfalussy Conference."
146   Schori Liang, "Chapter 1: Europe for the Europeans: The Foreign and Security Policy of the Populist Radical Right"; Balfour et al., *Europe's Troublemakers. The Populist Challenge to Foreign Policy*.
147   Balfour et al., Europe's Troublemakers. The Populist Challenge to Foreign Policy.

of the nation-state in the international arena, including strengthening the role of national decision-making bodies in international organizations, decentralizing the European Union, and reasserting national control over trade and economic policy.

4.4.1 National Sovereignty versus Liberal Internationalism

The nation-state remains the true foundation for happiness and harmony. I am skeptical of international unions that tie us up and bring America down, and will never enter America into any agreement that reduces our ability to control our own affairs.

— President Trump[148]

			Increase national control over inter/ supranational organizations	National law has priority over inter-national law	Participate in international laws and organizations	Take back / maintain national control of poli-cy-making
AT		FPO	✔	✔	○	✔
BG		IMRO-NFSB-Ataka	✔	○	○	✔
CH		SVP	✔	✔	✗	✔
DE		AfD	✔	○	✔	✔
DK		DPP	✔	○	✔	✔
FR		FN	✔	✔	✔	✔
GB		UKIP	○	✔	▲	✔
GR		LS-CA	○	○	✗	✔
HU		Fidesz	✔	✔	○	✔
HU		Jobbik	✔	✔	○	✔
IT		M5S	✔	○	○	✔
LV		TB/LNNK	✔	✔	✔	✔
NL		PVV	✔	○	○	✔
PL		PiS	✔	✔	✔	✔
SE		SD	✔	○	✔	✔
SK		SNS	✔	✔	✔	✔
US		GOP	✔	✔	▲	✔
US		Trump	✔	○	○	✔

✔ Yes   ✗ No   ▲ Mixed   ○ Unstated

Figure 4.7 Coding results for 'National Sovereignty versus Liberal Internationalism'

148   Trump, "Donald J. Trump Foreign Policy Speech."

Latvia must implement a more aggressive policy in international organizations based on its national interests and existing legislation. The benefits of participating in specific international bodies, compared with the resources invested and eventual sovereignty constraints, should be seriously assessed. It is unacceptable that international institutions indirectly participate in the Latvian state administration through a directive and binding recommendations. – For Fatherland and Freedom/ LNNK[149]

One of the primary foreign policy objectives for all populist sovereignist parties is to reduce supranational control that circumscribes national self-determination. The majority of parties either explicitly support their country's continuing participation in international laws and organizations – for some European PopSov parties excluding the EU – or imply that position through their emphasis on reform. However, nearly all PopSov parties want to reassert national control over inter- or supranational organizations.

Several parties state positions similar to that of Latvia's For Fatherland and Freedom/ LNNK, which asserts that it will "seriously assess the benefits of membership in certain international bodies, comparing it with the invested resources and contingent sovereignty limitations".[150] The Republican Party takes this stance farther than other parties by stating in which international organizations and laws the US will not participate. More than half of all parties (10 of 18) state that national law has priority over international law and reject the jurisdiction of international courts.

Although most parties support participating in international organizations, two parties do not. The Swiss People's Party does not support Swiss involvement in international organizations, which they see as slowly eroding Swiss neutrality because Switzerland, they fear, gets increasingly integrated into the goals and missions of such organizations. The Greek Golden Dawn's antagonistic stance rests on a rejection of liberal internationalism in general.

Putting the nation-state first in the international arena diverges from the post-WWII dominance of 'embedded liberalism' that put strong emphasis on multilateral cooperation within the rules-based Bretton Woods institutions.[151] While only 2

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149   For All Latvia! - Fatherland and Freedom / LNNK Visu Latvijai! – Tēvzemei un Brīvībai/ LNNK, "Nacionālās apvienības 'Visu Latvijai!' – "Tēvzemei un Brīvībai"/LNNK" PROGRAMMA (Versija 4.1. 03.12.2012.) [National Association 'For All Latvia!' - 'Fatherland and Freedom' / LNNK PROGRAM (Version 4.1. 03.12.2012)]," March 12, 2012, http://www. nacionalaapvieniba.lv/wp-content/uploads/2016/03/Nacionalas_apvienibas_VL_TB-LNNK_programma_v4.1.pdf.
150   Ibid.
151   John Gerard Ruggie, "International Regimes, Transactions, and Change: Embedded Liberalism in the Postwar Economic Order," *International Organization* 36, no. 02 (1982): 379–415.

parties support leaving international organizations entirely, none want to see a more integrated and interconnected world.

Taking back or maintaining control of national policy is a foreign policy goal for all parties (18 out of 18) ([see Figure 4.8](#)). Often, that means reasserting national control over decision-making at the supranational level that constrains national action. When broken down by policy area, trade and economic policy are the most frequently cited policy areas that parties want to retake (11 out of 18 parties). Seven out of 18 parties want to retake control of foreign policy, while only 6 out of 18 parties say they want to retake control of defense policy. Thirteen parties either stated they want to retake control of policy-making in general, or to retake control of another policy area, most often agricultural or immigration policy.

			Policy-making in general / other category	Trade and economic policy	Foreign policy	Defense Policy
AT		FPÖ	✔	◯	◯	◯
CH		SVP	✔	◯	◯	◯
DE		AfD	◯	✔	◯	◯
DK		DPP	✔	◯	◯	◯
FR		FN	✔	✔	◯	◯
GB		UKIP	✔	✔	✔	✔
GR		LS-CA	◯	◯	◯	◯
HU		Fidesz	✔	✔	◯	◯
HU		Jobbik	✔	✔	✔	✔
IT		M5S	◯	◯	✔	◯
LV		TB/LNNK	✔	◯	✔	◯
NL		PVV	✔	✔	✔	✔
PL		PiS	✔	✔	✔	✔
SE		SD	◯	✔	◯	◯
SK		SNS	✔	✔	✔	◯
US		GOP	✔	✔	◯	✔
US		Trump	✔	✔	◯	◯

✔ Yes   ✘ No   ▲ Mixed   ◯ Unstated

Figure 4.8 Coding results for 'Taking back control'

4.4.2 Attitudes towards the EU

The ongoing sell-off of Dutch interests and the Dutch identity is most visible in the manner in which politicians hand over more and more sovereignty to a caste of bureaucrats from Brussels

— Geert Wilders of the Dutch Party for Freedom[152]

We respect the current contractual anchoring of the Slovak Republic in international structures. But we deny that our country was only a gray region in a European superstate in which the Slovaks, in their own state, will be vassals of transnational structures! We see the future of Slovakia as a supremely sovereign state in the family of European nation-states.

— Slovak National Party[153]

Reclaiming the sovereignty and self-determination of European nations is the main goal of PopSov parties where it concerns the EU. Several populist sovereignist parties therefore argue for a confederation of European states held together by looser supranational structures than currently exist:[154] a 'Europe of the Fatherlands' (Austria's FPÖ), a 'Community of Communities' (Hungary's Fidesz), or a 'Europe of Nations and Freedoms' (the name of the EU group founded by France's Front National and joined by several of these parties).[155]

Populist sovereignist parties generally insist that authority should shift away from Brussels towards the national legislatures of individual countries. Several parties propose significantly restructuring, leaving, or holding a referendum on leaving the EU or the euro. Others hope to significantly alter the current EU framework and EU competencies, such as reinstating border controls between EU countries.

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152   Geert Wilders, "Onafhankelijkheidsverklaring [Declaration of Independence]," *Partij Voor de Vrijheid*, March 13, 2005, https://www.pvv.nl/index.php/component/content/article/30-publicaties/684-onafhankelijkheidsverklaring.
153   Slovak National Party Slovenská národná strana, "Naša vlasť si zaslúži viac [Our country deserves more]," 2015, http://www.sns.sk/engine/assets/uploads/2015/06/kosicke_tezy.pdf.
154   Schori Liang, "Chapter 1: Europe for the Europeans: The Foreign and Security Policy of the Populist Radical Right"; Balfour et al., *Europe's Troublemakers. The Populist Challenge to Foreign Policy*.
155   Balfour et al., Europe's Troublemakers. The Populist Challenge to Foreign Policy.

	The EU is generally good of benificial	Decrease EU integration or number of EU competencies	Leave the EU / hold a referendum to leave the EU	Leave the euro/ the euro is detrimental
AT 🇦🇹 FPO	✖	✔	◯	◯
CH 🇨🇭 SVP	✖	✔	◯	◯
DE 🇩🇪 AfD	◯	✔	◯	▲
DK 🇩🇰 DPP	✖	✔	✖	◯
FR 🇫🇷 FN	✖	✔	✔	✔
GB 🇬🇧 UKIP	✖	✔	✔	◯
GR 🇬🇷 LS-CA	✖	◯	◯	✔
HU 🇭🇺 Fidesz	✖	▲	◯	▲
HU 🇭🇺 Jobbik	✖	✔	▲	✖
IT 🇮🇹 M5S	✖	✔	◯	◯
LV 🇱🇻 TB/LNNK	✔	▲	✖	✖
NL 🇳🇱 PVV	✖	✔	✔	◯
PL 🇵🇱 PiS	◯	✔	✖	✖
SE 🇸🇪 SD	✖	✔	✔	▲
SK 🇸🇰 SNS	✖	▲	✔	✖
US 🇺🇸 GOP	◯	◯	◯	◯
US 🇺🇸 Trump	◯	◯	◯	◯

✔ Yes   ✖ No   ▲ Mixed   ◯ Unstated

Figure 4.9 Coding results for 'Attitudes towards the EU'

4.4.3 Economic Nationalism versus the Liberal Economic Order

Support French companies in the face of unloyal international competition through the establishment of intelligent protectionism and the restoration of a national currency adapted to our economy, the lever of our competitiveness.

— Front National (FN), France[156]

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156   Front National, "144 Engagements Présidentiels [144 Presidential Commitments]," 2017, https://www.ma-rine2017.fr/wp-content/uploads/2017/02/projet-presidentiel-marine-le-pen.pdf.

We recognize and respect the fact that Sweden is highly dependent on its environment and international cooperation in the economic field is, therefore, in the national interest. As in other areas, we believe however that it is of utmost importance that these partnerships are characterized by ... respect for the different states' sovereignty.

— Sweden Democrats (SD)[157]

		Increase free trade or decrease trade barriers	Supported TTIP
AT	FPO	No	No
CH	SVP	Yes	Yes
DE	AfD	Yes	No
DK	DPP	Unstated	Unstated
FR	FN	No	Unstated
GB	UKIP	Yes	Yes
GR	LS-CA	No	Unstated
HU	Fidesz	Yes	No
HU	Jobbik	No	No
IT	M5S	No	Unstated
LV	TB/LNNK	Yes	Unstated
NL	PVV	Yes	Unstated
PL	PiS	Yes	Unstated
SE	SD	Yes	Unstated
SK	SNS	No	Unstated
US	GOP	Mixed	Unstated
US	Trump	No	Unstated

Yes ✔   No ✘   Mixed ▲   Unstated ◯

Figure 4.10 Coding results for 'Economic Nationalism versus the Liberal Economic Order'

Surprisingly, almost the same number of PopSov parties support protectionist policies (7 out of 18) as support increasing free trade or decreasing trade barriers (8 out of 18). Of the parties that support free trade, 5 agree with the liberal position that increasing trade decreases conflict. At the same time, the rise of populist sovereignism may portend an overall increase in trade restrictions and beggar-thy-

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157   Sverigedemokraterna, "Vår Politik [Our Policy]."

neighbor policies in the economic realm, as 6 PopSov parties put forward policies designed to protect domestic markets.

The protection of domestic agriculture and food production are important strategic considerations for 7 of them. Most are concerned about "food sovereignty"[158] (in the words of the Slovak National Party) and security, although some, such as the Greek Golden Dawn and French National Front, are also concerned about cultural protection. President Trump and the Freedom Party of Austria focus more strongly on protecting domestic labor markets. President Trump's threats to increase tariffs on imports coming into the United States signals a possible reversion towards protectionism within the US, should Congress also support such measures. While the Republican Party (GOP) strongly supports free trade, the party – at least for the time being – also affirms its support for a President who "will insist on parity in trade and stand ready to implement countervailing duties if other countries refuse to cooperate".[159] Greece's The Golden Dawn goes beyond protectionist policies by advocating a planned economy that "ensures the maximum self-sufficiency without dependence on international markets and control of any multinational companies".[160]

Alongside strong support for free trade among nearly half of PopSov parties, the majority of parties (12 out of 18) prioritize reasserting national control over trade and economic policy. Multinational corporations and free trade agreement clauses that increase the power of corporations relative to national governments are seen as threats to national sovereignty. Nearly all parties that opposed TTIP did so not because they disagreed with free trade but because of a clause that would have allowed multinational corporations to sue governments in supranational courts.

Moreover, the majority of PopSov parties (11 out of 18) view multinational corporations as a threat, whether because of tax evasion, unequal competition for domestic companies (protectionist PopSov parties), or because of an inability to keep corporations – and jobs – within the country (protectionist and free trade PopSov parties). Whether pro-free trade or pro-protectionism, the common theme uniting the economic policies of PopSov parties is prioritizing the interests of the nation-state in the economic realm and national control over economic policy-making.

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158   Slovenská národná strana, "Naša vlasť si zaslúži viac [Our country deserves more]."
159   Republican National Committee, "Republican Platform 2016."
160   Χρυσή Αυγή, "Πολιτικές Θέσεις [Political Views]."

4.5 Stability and Influence: International Relations and Alliances

For the people of Russia, we affirm our respect and our determination to maintain a friendship beyond the reach of those who wish to divide us. We have common imperatives: Ending terrorism, combating nuclear proliferation, promoting trade, and more. We also have a common problem: The continuing erosion of personal liberty and fundamental rights under the current officials in the Kremlin. Repressive at home and reckless abroad, their policies imperil the nations which regained their self-determination upon the collapse of the Soviet Union. We will meet the return of Russian belligerence with the same resolve that led to the collapse of the Soviet Union.

— Republican Party (GOP)

This section analyzes populist sovereignist parties' positions towards European defense cooperation, including within the framework of the EU; positions towards NATO and the Transatlantic relationship; and attitudes towards Russia. The majority of populist sovereignist parties are pro cooperation, especially defense cooperation. In particular, the majority support the NATO alliance, even though the majority also express cooperative attitudes towards Russia.

Rejecting EU defense cooperation generally results from these parties' overall Eurosceptic viewpoint rather than from specific skepticism about the benefits of EU defense and security cooperation. While the Front National (FN) of France has made headlines by opposing NATO and Trump questioned the value of NATO during his campaign, the majority of parties, including Trump, ultimately support the Transatlantic alliance. Claims that these parties are pro-Russia also overstate the position of most. The majority of parties are cooperative towards Russia, but most of those parties also support the NATO alliance. There are exceptions, such as the Greek Golden Dawn, which favors military cooperation with Russia and rejects cooperation with the United States. However, warm attitudes towards Russia most often reflect a pragmatic desire to not antagonize a powerful country in Europe's neighborhood. Both the commitments to the Transatlantic relationship and cooperation with Russia are both means of protecting the nation-state: through collective defense enshrined in NATO's Article V and the security derived from peaceful relations with a powerful neighbor.

4.5.1 European Union Defense Cooperation

The AfD rejects the idea of a combined European military force, and subscribes to well-equipped and trained German Armed Forces as the pillar of German sovereignty. This does not preclude the continuous cooperation of the German Armed Forces with its Allies.

— Alternative for Germany[161]

			Increase EU defense cooperation	Increase other Europian/regional defense cooperation
AT		FPO	✔	○
BG		IMRO-NFSB-Ataka	✔	○
CH		SVP	✖	○
DE		AfD	✖	✔
DK		DPP	✖	○
FR		FN	✖	○
GB		UKIP	✖	✔
GR		LS-CA	○	✔
HU		Fidesz	✔	✔
HU		Jobbik	✖	○
IT		M5S	▲	○
LV		TB/LNNK	✔	✔
NL		PVV	✖	○
PL		PiS	✔	○
SE		SD	○	✔
SK		SNS	✔	✔
US		GOP	○	✔
US		Trump	○	○

✔ Yes ✖ No ▲ Mixed ○ Unstated

Figure 4.11 Coding results for 'European Defense Cooperation'

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161   Alternative für Deutschland, "Programm der Alternative für Deutschland [Program of the Alternative for Germany]."

Approximately 40% of the European parties (7 out of 16, including the Swiss People's Party[162]) do not support increasing defense cooperation within the framework of the EU. The majority of these parties, including the Front National of France, claim that creating a European military would require member states to further surrender their sovereignty to an already overreaching European Union. Others, such as the Danish People's Party, object to creating a defense force independent from NATO that may bolster isolationist forces in the United States and thereby harm Transatlantic relations.

Four of the European parties do support increasing defense cooperation within the framework of the EU. Of those parties, 3 take a 'both/ and' approach: Law and Justice, the Slovak National Party, and Fidesz support continued close defense cooperation with NATO as well as increasing defense cooperation within the EU. Strache of the Austrian Freedom Party supports the creation of an EU military in order to avoid US domination in Europe through NATO – while maintaining Austria's neutral position. The Five Star Movement in Italy would also support EU defense cooperation as a means of reducing American influence, but claims that key European states are too pro-American and thus this would fail.

Beyond defense cooperation within the EU or NATO, several parties support defense and security cooperation through the OSCE (including parties that do not support increasing EU defense cooperation, such as the UK Independence Party and Alternative for Germany). In addition, 8 parties support other (non-EU and non-NATO) bilateral or regional defense cooperation arrangements, for example among Nordic or Baltic states.

Notably, the two populist sovereignist parties leading governing coalitions in Europe – Law and Justice of Poland and Fidesz of Hungary – do support increasing EU military cooperation. However, Euroscepticism makes that an unpopular position among the majority of parties.

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162   The Swiss People's Party sees any change within the EU as ultimately affecting Switzerland and often necessitating a change, to some degree, within Swiss policy, often to match EU policy. Therefore, the Swiss People's Party often takes explicit stances on issues related to the EU.

4.5.2 NATO and the Transatlantic Alliance

As an independent and free nation, Denmark should be a member of NATO, to which our country should make the necessary contributions. Thus we will work towards a credible and effective national defense with an army, a navy, an air force and a home guard.

— Danish People's Party[163]

Figure 4.12 Coding results for 'NATO and the Transatlantic Alliance'

163   Danish People's Party Dansk Folkeparti, "The Party Program of the Danish People's Party," October 2002, http://www.danskfolkeparti.dk/The_Party_Program_of_the_Danish_Peoples_Party.

Leave the integrated military command of NATO so that France is not drawn into wars that are not its own. Ensure an autonomous defense capability in all areas. Reconstitute a French industrial base in all areas of defense to meet the needs of our armies and guarantee our strategic independence. – French Front National[164]

We will completely rebuild our depleted military, and the countries that we protect, at a massive loss, will be asked to pay their fair share. – President Trump[165]

The majority of populist sovereignist parties in Europe (9 of 16) as well as both Trump and the Republican Party support continued security cooperation with NATO or the United States. The need for Western nations to stand together against the 'Islamification' of the West (e.g., the Dutch Party for Freedom) or to counterbalance Russia (e.g., Poland's Law and Justice) underlay parties' support for NATO. Most parties that support security cooperation with NATO see the alliance as integral to their country's defense. However, both Trump and the Five Star Movement of Italy have questioned whether NATO is beneficial or worthwhile, even as they ultimately support the alliance.

The Sweden Democrats support security cooperation with NATO within specific programs, for example with Partnerships for Peace, but ultimately want Sweden to remain outside of the NATO alliance. Instead, the Sweden Democrats support forming a defense pact with Finland.

Of the 5 European parties that do not support security cooperation with NATO, 3 parties (the National Front of France, Golden Dawn of Greece, and Jobbik of Hungary) do not support the alliance. Golden Dawn and the National Front both support leaving NATO. For Jobbik, the costs of the alliance outweigh the benefits, but no alternative to NATO exists and exit is therefore not yet likely. The remaining 2 parties that do not support defense cooperation with NATO (the Freedom Party of Austria and Swiss People's Party) emphasize neutrality.

While some PopSov parties and leaders – notably including US President Trump – have expressed doubts about the benefits of the NATO alliance, PopSov parties overall support Transatlantic security cooperation.

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164   Front National, "144 Engagements Présidentiels [144 Presidential Commitments]."
165   Donald Trump, "Donald J. Trump Republican Nomination Acceptance Speech," July 21, 2016, https://assets.donaldjtrump.com/DJT_Acceptance_Speech.pdf.

4.5.3 Relations with Russia

It is necessary to return to a reliable and realistic relationship with Russia. We want Polish-Russian relations, by basing them on a steady mutual respect, truth and openness, respect for the principles of international law, withdrawing from the conviction of the special status of some countries relative to others, as they are a permanent element of European stability.

— Law and Justice of Poland[166]

			Cooperative towards or supportive of Russia	Supports military cooperation with Russia
AT		FPO	✔	◯
BG		IMRO-NFSB-Ataka	◯	◯
CH		SVP	◯	◯
DE		AfD	✔	◯
DK		DPP	◯	◯
FR		FN	✔	◯
GB		UKIP	✔	◯
GR		LS-CA	✔	✔
HU		Fidesz	▲	◯
HU		Jobbik	✔	◯
IT		M5S	✔	✔
LV		TB/LNNK	✖	◯
NL		PVV	✔	◯
PL		PiS	✔	◯
SE		SD	✖	◯
SK		SNS	✔	◯
US		GOP	▲	◯
US		Trump	✔	◯

✔ Yes   ✖ No   ▲ Mixed   ◯ Unstated

Figure 4.13 Coding results for 'Relations with Russia'

Attitudes towards Russia among most PopSov parties range from pragmatic to warmly cooperative, with the majority (11 out of 18) being relatively cooperative towards or

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166   Prawa i Sprawiedliwosci, "Program Prawa i Sprawiedliwosci [Law and Justice Program]."

supportive of Russia. The Sweden Democrats, are uncooperative towards Russia. Latvia's For Fatherland and Freedom/LNNK states that "relations with Russia need to follow the principle of a safe distance" as a means of limiting Russian influence.[167]

Several populist sovereignist parties have a pragmatic attitude towards Russia. Five of the 11 take the position that due to Russia's size and influence, stable relations with Russia bolster national and/ or regional stability. Others, such as the UK Independence Party (UKIP) and the Dutch Party for Freedom (PVV), are not necessarily 'pro-Russia' but are against EU policies that could provoke a confrontation with Russia. According to the Party for Freedom and UK Independence Party, EU actions in Ukraine provoked Russia and escalated EU-Russia tensions, rather than the reverse. The Dutch Party for Freedom, UK Independence Party, Freedom Party of Austria, and Italian Five Star Movement denounce sanctions against Russia.

However, cooperative attitudes towards Russia do not portend a major shift in allegiance from the United States to Russia. Of the 11 parties that are cooperative towards Russia, 7 also support security cooperation with NATO. Four explicitly prioritize NATO over Russia or support cooperation with Russia through NATO. Italy's Five Star Movement, for example, advocates NATO-Russia counterterrorism cooperation.

Four anti-NATO parties are cooperative towards Russia: the Greek Golden Dawn, the French Front National, the Hungarian Jobbik, and the Freedom Party of Austria. However, only the Golden Dawn supports defense and security cooperation with Russia instead of NATO. Although Russia was not mentioned in the French Front National manifesto, Marine Le Pen has stated that she sees Russia as a part of a shared Christian civilization, recognizes Crimea as a part of Russia,[168] and wants to join with Russia in combatting ISIS.[169]

Notably, no populist party that has been in power or supported a governing coalition (including Fidesz in Hungary and Law and Justice in Poland) has undermined unified European Union decisions on Russia, such as the sanctions that followed the Russian annexation of Crimea and its meddling in Eastern Ukraine.[170]

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167   Rihards Kols, "Latvijas ārpolitika sākas šeit — Latvijā, nevis kaut kur Austrumos vai Rietumos! [Latvian foreign policy starts here -- Latvian, not somewhere in the east or west!]," *Visu Latvijai! - Tēvzemei un Brīvībai/LNNK (For All Latvia! - Fatherland and Freedom / LNNK)*, January 22, 2015, http://www.nacionalaapvieniba.lv/aktualitate/latvijas-arpoli-tika-sakas-seit-latvija-nevis-kaut-kur-austrumos-vai-rietumos/.

168   Ben-Hur Levy, "The Undiplomats: Right-Wing Populists and Their Foreign Policies."

169   Balfour et al., Europe's Troublemakers. The Populist Challenge to Foreign Policy.

170   Ibid.

While PopSov parties tend to be more cooperative towards Russia than current official EU and Western policy, that position mostly derives from a pragmatic desire not to antagonize a powerful state in Europe's neighborhood. Some, like the French National Front and Greek Golden Dawn, do express a more-than-pragmatic warmth towards relations with Russia. However, the majority of PopSov parties that are cooperative towards Russia also prioritize the Transatlantic relationship.

4.6 Focusing on Home: The Foreign and Defense Policies of Populist Sovereignist Parties

Making a good foreign policy is very important for the future of the country. It means not committing the same mistakes of the past, meaning to say no to another Libya, to another Iraq; but, above all, it means restoring our sovereignty to the eyes of the world to be finally free to decide what is best for us. And for our children.

— Italy's Five Star Movement

As with US President Trump's proclamation of "America First", populist sovereignist parties prioritize their own nation-state and people within their foreign and defense policies. This section covers populist sovereignist policy positions on military capabilities and defense budgets; military interventions; development aid; and the promotion of democracy and human rights abroad.

All populist sovereignist parties, with the exception of Italy's Five Star Movement, want to increase defense budgets and/or capabilities. However, the majority of PopSov parties disavow interfering in the affairs of other countries, whether through military interventions or the promotion of democracy and human rights. Development aid is a low priority or, in the opinion of the Dutch Party for Freedom and United Kingdom Independence Party, money better spent at home. The dominant themes within PopSov foreign and defense policies are beefing up defense budgets and military capabilities while taking on a more restrained when it comes to in intervening in other countries or regions.

4.6.1 Military Capabilities

In the Danish People's Party we are proud of Denmark; we love our country and we feel a historic obligation to protect our country, its people and the Danish cultural heritage. This sense of obligation implies the need for a strong national defense, and secure and safe national borders. Only in a free Denmark can the country develop according to the will of the people.

— Danish People's Party[171]

			Manpower	General	Hardware	Cyber
AT		FPO	Unstated	Yes	Yes	Unstated
BG		IMRO-NFSB-Ataka	Yes	Yes	Yes	Unstated
CH		SVP	Yes	Unstated	Yes	Unstated
DE		AfD	Yes	Yes	Yes	Unstated
DK		DPP	Yes	Yes	Yes	Unstated
FR		FN	Yes	Unstated	Yes	Unstated
GB		UKIP	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
GR		LS-CA	Yes	Unstated	Unstated	Unstated
HU		Fidesz	Unstated	Yes	Unstated	Unstated
HU		Jobbik	Yes	Yes	Unstated	Unstated
IT		M5S	Unstated	Unstated	Unstated	Unstated
LV		TB/LNNK	Unstated	Yes	Unstated	Unstated
NL		PVV	Unstated	Unstated	Unstated	Unstated
PL		PiS	Yes	Yes	Yes	Unstated
SE		SD	Yes	Unstated	Yes	Unstated
SK		SNS	Yes	Yes	Yes	Unstated
US		GOP	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
US		Trump	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes

✔ Yes   ✖ No   ▲ Mixed   ◯ Unstated

Figure 4.14 Coding results for 'Military Capabilities'

All PopSov parties, with the exception of Italy's pacifist Five Star Movement (M5S), support increasing military spending, military capabilities, or both. Three-quarters

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171   Danish People's Party Dansk Folkeparti, "Arbejdsprogram [Working Program]," *Vores Danmark*, 2009, https://www.danskfolkeparti.dk/Arbejdsprogram.

of parties (14 out of 18) want to maintain or – more often – increase the defense budget. Of those, 5 parties support increasing defense spending to 2 percent of GDP or higher. Increasing mobility, flexibility, and rapid response capabilities are a general goal for several parties.

Increasing military manpower is a goal for 13 of 18 parties. While several parties mention increasing manpower in general, only some give specifics. The National Front of France wants to add approximately 50,000 troops and re-establish a mandatory minimum 3 months of military service. US President Trump wants build an active army of 540,000 troops, an increase of 50,000 troops over current levels. In addition, he wants to increase the number of marine battalions from 23 to 36. The Swiss People's Party, insistent that maintaining neutrality requires a strong army, wants a minimum of 140,000 troops in Switzerland (up from 100,000). In addition, the Sweden Democrats, Greek Golden Dawn, Danish People's Party, and Bulgarian United Patriots want to introduce or extend conscription. The United Patriots of Bulgaria and the Slovak National Party want to increase reserve forces or opportunities for volunteering. Alternative for Germany does as well, and has an overall goal of restoring the German armed forces.

More than half of the parties (12 of 18) want to maintain or (again, more often) increase the amount of military capabilities. In terms of specific goals, Law and Justice of Poland and the United Patriots of Bulgaria support increasing research and development for armaments, seeing not only an opportunity for profitable exports but also security in manufacturing military equipment within the nation-state. The Swiss People's Party proposes a complete overhaul of the Swiss Air Force. The French Front National, UK Independence Party, and Trump all propose increasing the number and modernization of ships, aircraft, and vehicles, especially tanks. The National Front proposes adding an aircraft carrier to France's fleet. Trump, meanwhile, has specified that he wants to equip 22 cruisers with Ballistic Missile Defense capabilities, increase the Navy from 276 to 350 ships and submarines, and increase the Air Force from 1,113 to 1,200 fighter aircraft. The US Republican Party and Trump share a vision of building a multi-layered missile defense system.

The French National Front, UK Independence Party, US Republican Party, and US President Trump describe plans to maintain and/or upgrade their country's nuclear arsenals. President Trump laments that the US nuclear weapons arsenal "has been allowed to atrophy and is desperately in need of modernization and renewal".[172] The

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172   Donald Trump, "Donld J. Trump Military Readiness Remarks," September 7, 2016, https://www.donaldjtrump.com/press-releases/donald-j.-trump-military-readiness-remarks.

UK Independence Party disavows discussions about nuclear disarmament.

While the majority of parties describe a strong focus on hardware and manpower, few focus on cyber. Six parties do mention cyber as a threat, but only the UKIP, the GOP, and Trump state plans to build up cyber capabilities. The only other party that mentions increasing cyber defenses, Poland's PiS, calls on the United States to defend NATO allies against cyber threats.

Not every PopSov party is in a position to increase military spending or capabilities, or, once in power, to act unilaterally. Trump, for example, proposed a $54 billion increase in US military spending; the latest budget approved a $15 billion increase. However, should more populist sovereignist parties assume positions of power, the result would likely be several countries simultaneously ramping up their military power.

4.6.2 Military Intervention

> *Participation in international missions of political interest: Hungary is also involved in international missions whose justifications and truths can, in a nutshell, be questioned. Jobbik will put an end to the servant attitude of selling Hungarian soldiers and giving up our discretion regarding participation in international missions.*
>
> — Hungary's Jobbik[173]

Danish People's Party considers general rights as the foundation of every ordered society and therefore wishes that these rights are respected by all nations, but the West should generally be wary of seeking freedom and democracy introduced or accelerated by force of arms in countries outside our culture. Where Denmark or NATO security interests dictate – for example in the fight against international terrorism – of course we must make our contribution. – Danish People's Party[174]

While nearly all PopSov parties want to increase military spending and/or capabilities ([see section 4.6.1](#)), several are skeptical of the efficacy of military interventions except in cases where the security of their nation-state is directly threatened. Interventions to topple authoritarian regimes, such as past interventions in Libya, are unacceptable. Four parties affirm their commitment to participating in foreign interventions, while five either do not or express strong reservations.

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173   Jobbik, "Kimondjuk. Megoldjuk. A Jobbik országgyĐlési választási programja a nemzet felemelkedéséért [Saying. We solve. The Jobbik Parliamentary Election Program for the Ascension of the Nation]."
174   Dansk Folkeparti, "Arbejdsprogram [Working Program]."

	Participate in foreign military interventions	Participate in peace-keeping missions
AT — FPÖ	No	Unstated
BG — IMRO-NFSB-Ataka	Unstated	Unstated
CH — SVP	No	Unstated
DE — AfD	Yes	Unstated
DK — DPP	Unstated	Yes
FR — FN	Unstated	Unstated
GB — UKIP	Yes	Unstated
GR — LS-CA	Unstated	Unstated
HU — Fidesz	Yes	Unstated
HU — Jobbik	No	Unstated
IT — M5S	Unstated	Unstated
LV — TB/LNNK	Yes	Yes
NL — PVV	Unstated	Unstated
PL — PiS	Unstated	Unstated
SE — SD	No	Unstated
SK — SNS	No	Yes
US — GOP	Mixed	Unstated
US — Trump	Unstated	Unstated

✔ Yes ✘ No ▲ Mixed ○ Unstated

Figure 4.15 Coding results for 'Military Intervention'

Parties that do support participation in foreign military interventions often support them only in specific cases, such as to fight terrorist groups (e.g., US President Trump and the Dutch Party for Freedom) or defend Christians (e.g., Hungarian Prime Minister Orbán). The United Kingdom Independence Party (UKIP) and Jobbik do not reject participating in foreign interventions outright, but both express strong reservations about joining. UKIP asserts that, "we should stand firmly alongside our allies around the world, but cannot continue committing troops into conflict at the drop of a hat – often under-resourced".[175]

The Sweden Democrats will only participate in peacebuilding and peacekeeping missions with a UN mandate. The Freedom Party of Austria and the Swiss People's Party emphasize the importance of maintaining their countries' neutrality and therefore reject participating in foreign interventions.

175   United Kingdom Independence Party, "Believe in Britain: UKIP Manifesto 2015," 2015, http://www.ukip.org/manifesto2015.

While nearly all parties want to build up military budgets or capabilities, several do not want to become entangled in interventions abroad. The only exceptions are, for some, UN-mandated peacekeeping operations or addressing direct threats to the nation-state, especially terrorist threats.

4.6.3 Development Aid and Promoting Democracy and Human Rights Abroad

> *If we continue to subordinate stability to building democracy in regions where its chances of success are extremely doubtful, then we will not be building democracy, but we will instead be creating instability.*
>
> — Hungarian Prime Minister Viktor Orbán of Fidesz[176]

> *UKIP will repeal recent legislation committing aid spending to 0.7 percent of GNI. We object to taxpayers' money being sent to already economically thriving countries; countries with poor human rights' records; and to money being spent on politically correct vanity projects that do nothing to lift developing nations out of poverty. We also believe charity should begin at home.*
>
> — UK Independence Party[177]

While 3 parties do support development aid or the promotion of democracy and human rights abroad, 7 parties do not and 2 express mixed views. Reducing or ending development aid is one of the issues that PopSov parties such as the Dutch Freedom Party and Danish People's Party have successfully pushed through while participating in governing coalitions.[178]

Several parties take the position that the conditions within other countries should not be a concern of their national governments. The Sweden Democrats, for example, support protections for human rights abroad but also states that responsibility for cultural change is "not primarily for us Swedes, or on any other nation, but for these countries' own populations".[179]

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176   Viktor Orbán, "Viktor Orbán's Presentation at the 27h Bálványos Summer Open University and Student Camp – Miniszterelnok.Hu" (Tusnádfürdő (Băile Tuşnad), July 23, 2016), http://www.miniszterelnok.hu/viktor-or-bans-presentation-at-the-27h-balvanyos-summer-open-university-and-student-camp/.
177   United Kingdom Independence Party, "Believe in Britain: UKIP Manifesto 2015."
178   Balfour et al., Europe's Troublemakers. The Populist Challenge to Foreign Policy.
179   Sverigedemokraterna, "Vår Politik [Our Policy]."

			Support for dev. aid/ promote democracy or human rights abroad
AT		FPO	⊚
BG		IMRO-NFSB-Ataka	⊚
CH		SVP	✖
DE		AfD	✖
DK		DPP	✖
FR		FN	✔
GB		UKIP	✖
GR		LS-CA	⊚
HU		Fidesz	✖
HU		Jobbik	⊚
IT		M5S	✔
LV		TB/LNNK	⊚
NL		PVV	✖
PL		PiS	⊚
SE		SD	▲
SK		SNS	✔
US		GOP	▲
US		Trump	✖

✔ Yes   ✖ No   ▲ Mixed   ⊚ Unstated
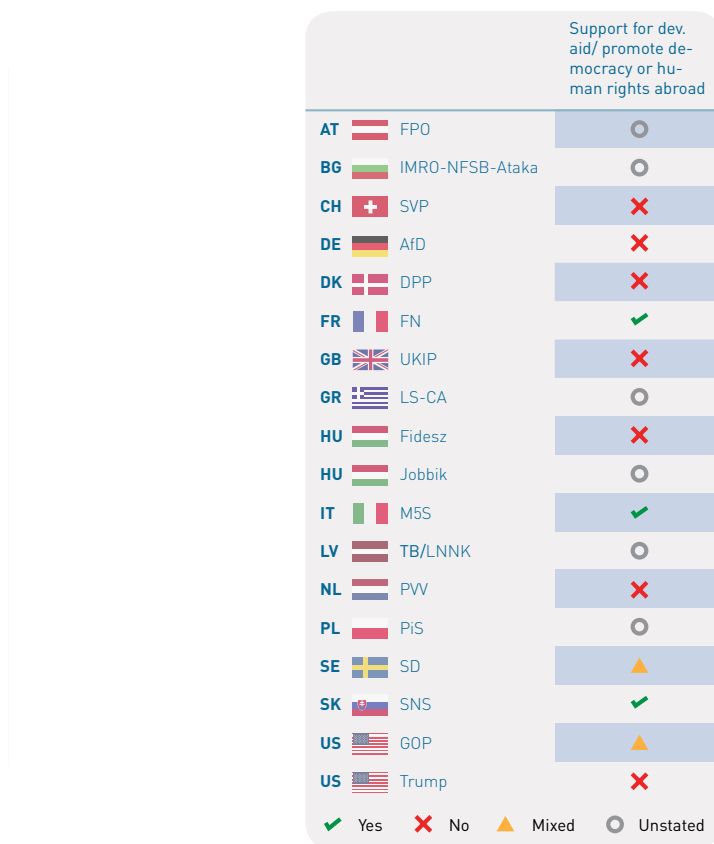
Figure 4.16 Coding results for 'Development Aid and Promoting Democracy and Human Rights Abroad'

Four parties express skepticism about the efficacy of aid or promotion of democracy and human rights. The Dutch Party for Freedom and UK Independence Party reject development aid on the grounds that it drives corruption or that free trade is the best aid. US President Trump and Hungary's Prime Minister Orbán both take the stance that promoting democracy where people do not desire it is useless, while attempting to insert democratic regimes can engender national security threats. In particular, side-effects may include power vacuums filled by terrorist groups, such as ISIS, or increases in the number refugees headed West.

However, decreasing aid or focusing more on domestic issues does not necessarily indicate a return to isolationism or a complete retreat from the international arena. For the most devastating conflicts, several parties support providing humanitarian assistance through the United Nations, rather than development aid from national governments, to reduce outflows of refugees.

Promoting democracy and human rights abroad creates security threats by toppling stable – if authoritarian – regimes. For PopSov parties, the threats to their nation-states this causes outweigh the benefits of spreading democracy and human rights abroad. Instead, PopSov parties generally prefer focusing money and energy at home.

4.7 Findings and Key Takeaways

The previous chapter coined the term populist sovereignism to describe a societal and political movement that is manifest on both sides of the Atlantic. That chapter identified several core tenets of populist sovereignist ideas and described the broader context in which this movement has emerged in different national settings. This chapter has taken a closer look at the support for populist sovereignist parties in select countries and analyzed the policy positions of 16 populist sovereignist parties in 15 European countries, as well as those of the GOP and President Trump in the US. The benchmark was organized around the four themes: Popular Rule and the Protection of the Nation-State, the Liberal World Order, International Relations and Alliances, and Foreign and Defense Policies. The principal objective here was to offer an overview of their proposed policies to provide the basis for a discussion about the potential consequences that may stem from the implementation of such policies in the future. This examination has yielded a number of relevant findings and takeaways that are summarized below.

4.7.1 Support for Populist Sovereignist Parties in Europe and the US

Brexit and the election of Donald Trump were two peaks in a phenomenon that has built over decades. The Belgian Vlaams Belang (previously Vlaams Blok) inspired headlines about populism and sovereignism in Europe in the mid-2000s. The Dutch and French "No" votes in 2005 and the late 2000s Tea Party Movement in the United States were indicative of building populist sovereignist sentiment.

Populist sovereignist sentiment is not a new phenomenon, and populist sovereignist parties are not necessarily new to having electoral success, let alone to electoral politics. Populist sovereignists currently rule either alone or as part of the governing coalitions in the United States and 7 European countries: Denmark, Switzerland, Latvia, Poland, Hungary, Slovakia, and Bulgaria. They have been a part of governing coalitions in Austria and the Netherlands in the past. In other countries, such as France and England, populist sovereignist parties are more successful in the European Parliament elections than national elections. They hold more than 10 percent of a total

of 11 countries' seats in the European Parliament. The roots of populist sovereignism go back several decades; whether populist sovereignist electoral fortunes rise or fall in the near-term, populist sovereignist parties are not newcomers to European politics and will likely remain an element of European politics.

4.7.2 Nation of the People: Popular Rule and the Protection of the Nation-State

Populist sovereignist parties both in Europe and the US commonly define the interests of the nation-state in terms of the interests of the ethno-cultural people. Advocating the interests of the nation-state typically includes advocating a nativist vision that protects national culture and the national way of life. As Hungarian President Viktor Orbán said, "Multiculturalism means the coexistence of Islam, Asian religions and Christianity. We will do everything to spare Hungary from that".[180]

Decreasing immigration and thereby decreasing multiculturalism is seen as a way to maintain the unity of the nation-state, while several parties propose legal protections for national languages and foods. The United Patriots of Bulgaria advocate that only people who are fluent in Bulgarian should have the right to vote.[181] The Swiss People's Party wishes to preserve its culture by setting mandates on what cultural activities members of society must follow, including swimming lessons, singing Christmas carols in schools, and using specific funeral arrangements.[182] The Danish People's Party expresses this sentiment in language common to populist sovereignist parties:

The country is founded on the Danish cultural heritage and therefore, Danish culture must be preserved and strengthened. This culture consists of the sum of the Danish people's history, experience, beliefs, language and customs. Preservation and further development of this culture is crucial to the country's survival as a free and enlightened society. Therefore we wish to see action on a broad front to strengthen the Danish national heritage everywhere.[183]

For populist sovereignist parties returning power to 'the people' means returning power to the native, non-elite people of the state. Several populist sovereignist

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180   Quoted in Balfour et al., Europe's Troublemakers. The Populist Challenge to Foreign Policy.Bal, p. 35
181   United Patriots, "Изборна програма на обединени патриоти - нфсб, атака и вмро - 2017 [election program of united patriots - nfsb, ataka and vmro - 2017]," 2017, http://www.vestnikataka.bg/wp-content/uploads/2017/03/2180202_%D0%BB%D0%B8%D1%81%D1%82%D0%BE%D0%B2%D0%BA%D0%B0.jpg.
182   Schweizerischen Volkspartei, "SVP - die Partei für die Schweiz [SVP - the party for Switzerland."
183   Dansk Folkeparti, "The Party Program of the Danish People´s Party."

parties propose illiberal reforms, including reforms to liberal democratic institutions. Various populist sovereignists advocate, for instance, reforming liberal democracies to increase popular control over public institutions and opportunities for direct democracy. In practice, such reforms carry the potential to undermine the strength of democratic institutions as well as the checks and balances between government branches. Once in power, Law and Justice and Fidesz both reformed, and arguably weakened, the judicial branches of Poland and Hungary. As another example of illiberal reforms, several parties propose limited rights for non-native people. Thus, the proposed popsov reforms are not anti-democratic *per se*, but they do contradict key characteristics of liberal democracy in its current incarnation.

4.7.3 Revising the Liberal World Order: The Nation-State in the International Arena

Reducing supranational jurisdiction that circumscribes national self-determination is an important foreign policy objective for nearly all populist sovereignist parties. More than half take the position that national law has priority over international law. This marks a clear departure from the embedded liberal status quo that has pushed for increasing levels of multilateral cooperation within rules-based institutions such as the United Nations and European Union. While only 2 parties support leaving international organizations entirely, none want to see a more integrated and interconnected world.

Yet, populist sovereignist parties do not necessarily reject international engagement. Participation in intergovernmental organizations is deemed to be acceptable so long as it serves the interests of the nation-state. Rather than being isolationist, populist sovereignist parties advocate strategies that cherry-pick international commitments that suit one's purpose.[184] This contrasts with the liberal commitment to multilateralism, based on the belief that international cooperation is beneficial to all participating parties, rather than a zero-sum game.

Populist sovereignist parties despise the creation of a 'United States of Europe' or a 'European Superstate' in particular. European parties describe their ideal EU as 'Europe for the Europeans', a 'Europe of the Fatherlands', or 'Europe of the Nations'. The majority of populist sovereignist parties still want cooperation across European states. However, nearly all insist that authority should shift away from Brussels and towards the national legislatures of individual countries. Ideas about how to

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184   Benhabib, "The New Sovereigntism and Transnational Law"; Ikenberry, "Liberal Internationalism 3.0: America and the Dilemmas of Liberal World Order"; Spiro, "The New Sovereigntists" p. 9.

decrease EU integration take two courses: either reform the EU or leave the EU. While 5 parties advocate leaving or holding a referendum to leave the euro or the EU, a la Brexit, the majority do not. At the same time, they imagine a vastly reformed EU with less control over nation-states and less integration. The idea of an 'ever closer union' is one they decidedly reject.

Populist sovereignist parties across the board want to increase national control over trade and economic policies in particular. However, that does not necessarily imply a return to protectionism in all cases. If all of the populist sovereignist parties included in our benchmark study gained power over their countries' economic policies, there would be as many countries writing more free trade agreements as there would be countries writing protectionist policies. Within our study, 7 parties *do* propose policies designed to protect domestic markets. Of those, the majority want to protect the agricultural industry and domestic food production. However, almost the same number of parties propose policies to *increase* free trade or *decrease* trade barriers.

4.7.4 Stability and Influence: International Relations and Alliances

Although populist sovereignists want to shift the balance of power between national and international levels of governance, the alliances that they support do not generally herald a sea change in the international balance of power between states. The majority of parties support defense cooperation with NATO and the United States. Of the 5 parties that do not support the alliance, 2 are in non-NATO countries (Austria and Switzerland) that emphasize military neutrality.

However, most parties do not support defense cooperation within the framework of the European Union. Their objection derives more often from a general aversion to increasing EU integration rather than from a rejection of defense cooperation specifically. Other forms of intra-European defense cooperation, including regional cooperation among Baltic or Nordic states, bilateral defense agreements, or cooperation within the OSCE, are supported by several parties.

The majority of populist sovereignist parties are also cooperative, or at least non-antagonistic, towards Russia. However, the majority of parties that are cooperative towards Russia also support continued defense cooperation with NATO. A common position is that due to Russia's size and influence, stable relations with Russia bolster national or regional stability. Several are not necessarily 'pro-Russia' but are against EU policies that in their views could provoke a confrontation with Russia, including sanctions.

4.7.5 Focusing on Home: Foreign and Defense Policies

Almost all parties want to either increase military spending or reinforce military capabilities, or both (the exception being Italy's pacifist M5S party). Policies to increase military manpower are the most commonly proposed type of policy. More than half of the parties also want to increase military capabilities.

Similar to US President Trump's promise of "America First", populist sovereignist parties believe that the interests of their own country should come first in international engagement and intervention. Several parties are generally skeptical that the costs of military interventions abroad are worth the benefits that accrue from it at home. They are generally against both 'regime-change' interventions and 'nation-building' missions which, in their view, can cause increases in refugees that pose a threat to national security. However, some parties do advocate interventions in specific circumstances, predominantly in fighting terrorism. Similarly, while 3 parties support development aid or promoting democracy and human rights abroad, in general parties have reservations about one or both. Besides providing humanitarian assistance to alleviate the impact of the most devastating conflicts and to reduce outflows of refugees, what happens in other countries should in their view not be a national concern. Several see development aid as money that is better spent at home.

This is again a break with the embedded liberal status quo in which the promotion of democracy and human rights is a way to improve the lives of people within foreign states and to expand global export markets whilst at the same time reducing the threat of war. Protecting human rights has in this view made it permissible for one sovereign state to interfere in another sovereign state to protect the people there against abuses. With the exception of the Greek Golden Dawn and the Swiss People's Party, the parties in our study are not completely opposed to international intervention or engagement. However, they do reaffirm the norms of national sovereignty and only promote intervention or engagement when doing so is seen to be in the interest of the nation-state.

Populist sovereignist parties promote nationalist policies designed to protect the unity and interests of native populations both within the nation-state and at the international level. Key positions for the studied parties include increasing direct democracy within the state and reasserting the norm of national sovereignty in the international system. At the national and international level populist sovereignist parties reject or want to revise key aspects of the embedded liberalism status quo.

However, populist sovereignists are not isolationist per se. In the same manner that the United States has a history of cherry-picking which international agreements and institutions to engage in, populist sovereignists also propose taking an a la carte approach to international engagement.

4.7.6 What Does This Mean?

Our benchmark reveals a picture of PopSov policies that are, at times, at significant odds with the prevailing status quo. Populist sovereignist parties are not illiberal per se, and they are not necessarily isolationist. Yet, their proposed reforms at times sit uncomfortably with the tenets of liberal democracy, in particular protections for minorities. Reasserting the sovereignty of the nation-state by reducing the power of international organizations pushes back against a decades-old trend of increasing multilateral cooperation through strong, rules-based institutions. While most populist sovereignist parties support NATO, most are also supportive of warm relations with Russia. With the exception of 1, all populist sovereignist parties want to significantly boost military and defense capabilities over current levels.

Yet, the implementation of these policies is dependent on a variety of factors: whether or not PopSov parties are elected into office; whether or not they have to compromise with coalition partners; and the extent to which they will face constraints from other branches of government. And should these policies be implemented, the consequences are far from clear. The following chapter will build on the findings from the benchmark and construct four future scenarios to explore the potential consequences. The chapter also explores the implications of these potential outcomes in general as well as for the European and Dutch security environments.

5 POTENTIAL IMPLICATIONS FOR INTERNATIONAL SECURITY

5 Potential Implications for International Security

5.1 Introduction

Much has been written on the *political* and *economic* dangers that accompany the rise of populist forces in Europe and beyond.[185] This report focuses on its possible *security* implications.

In order to analyze these, the HCSS team crafted a number of PopSov-relevant future scenarios. We have already highlighted a number of definitional characteristics of the PopSov movement in chapter 2, examined different drivers in Chapter 3, and analyzed the positions of PopSov parties concerning important aspects of the future national and international order in Chapter 4. Based on this analysis we have identified different *futuribles*: individual plausible elements of the future that can, re-combined in many – both expected and unexpected – ways, coalesce into myriad possible futures.[186] Scenarios make choices about such futuribles and then combine choices that are thought to be compatible, plausible, and also stimulating and thought-provoking. As is always is the case with scenario exercises, our scenarios do not aspire to be exhaustive. Instead they aim to be illustrative of a number of different potential futures for how populist sovereignism might evolve. The main aim of the scenarios is to assist in preparing decision-makers' minds so that they can 'get there early'.[187]

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185   Naoko C. Kojo et al., "Polarization and Populism" (The World Bank, November 1, 2016), http://documents. worldbank.org/curated/en/494811479976405381/Polarization-and-populism.

186   We borrowed (and adapted) this term from the French futurist Bertrand De Jouvenel's Bertrand de Jouvenel, "L'art de La Conjecture Politique," *La Table Ronde, Sépal*, 1962.. See also Bertrand de Jouvenel, *Futuribles* (Rand, 1965), http://www.rand.org/content/dam/rand/pubs/papers/2008/P3045.pdf; P. Malaska and E. Masini, *Philosophical Essays of Knowledge of the Future* (Futura, 2009); P. Malaska and I. Virtanen, "Theory of Futuribles and Historibles," *Futura* 28, no. 1 (2009).. For more recent HCSS work on futuribles, see Eline Chivot et al., "European Capabilities Assessment Game – Towards Scenario Ensembles," HCSS Report for the European Defence Agency (*The Hague Centre* for Strategic Studies, 2013); De Spiegeleire, Stephan, Duijne, Freija van, and Chivot, Eline, "Towards Foresight 3.0: The HCSS Meta-fore Approach - A Multilingual Approach for Exploring Global Foresights," in *Anticipating Future Innovation Pathways Through Large Data Analysis*, ed. Tugrul U. Daim et al. (New York, NY: Springer Berlin Heidelberg, 2016), http://dx.doi. org/10.13140/2.1.2054.5605.

187   Bob Johansen, *Get There Early: Sensing the Future to Compete in the Present*, 1st ed (San Francisco, Calif: Ber-

In this case, HCSS opted for relatively short-term scenarios, also to indicate how volatile these PopSov developments tend to be – as we have already witnessed in these past few years, with unexpected turn-arounds in the outcomes of a number of elections, as well as in the sometimes-quixotic behavior of some PopSov leaders.

The actual choices we made about which futuribles to include and which values to select for each of them were based on a parameterization exercise. Building on the literature review and the benchmark analysis of the policy manifestos, the team identified what it saw as the most important parameters of the nexus between populist sovereignism and defense and security dynamics. The dynamics were chosen based on their potential relevance to the European and international security environment. One important futurible, for instance, is how populist sovereignism itself is likely to develop in the future, with possible values ranging from "It disappears into the background again" to "It takes over world politics". The futuribles we ultimately selected were chosen from an overview in which the team mapped the various parameters that might guide possible pathways that lead from populist sovereignism to defense and security consequences. These pathways were analyzed along three levels of analysis that are often used in the international relations literature: the individual level; the nation-state level; and the international system level.[188]

This chapter describes the four scenarios, which are written up as future newspaper articles. The parameterization of the futuribles that were used in the scenarios is provided in Annex II. The scenarios will be presented in no particular order, followed by a discussion on the possible global, European and Dutch implications as well as on policy options. These implications and policy options were informed by an online survey that HCSS organized and in which HCSS staff members, civil servants from various Dutch government departments, representatives from the wider Dutch defense and security ecosystem and selected international experts on populism were invited to formulate some ideas about what the scenarios might mean for the Netherlands and for Europe. The chapter concludes with some reflections on the scenario exercise.

rett-Koehler Publishers, 2007).
188   Waltz, *Theory of International Politics* (Reading: Addison-Wesley, 1979); J. David Singer, "The Level-of-Analysis Problem in International Relations," *World Politics* 14, no. 1 (1961): 77–92.

5.2 Four Scenarios

5.2.1 Living in a PopSov World
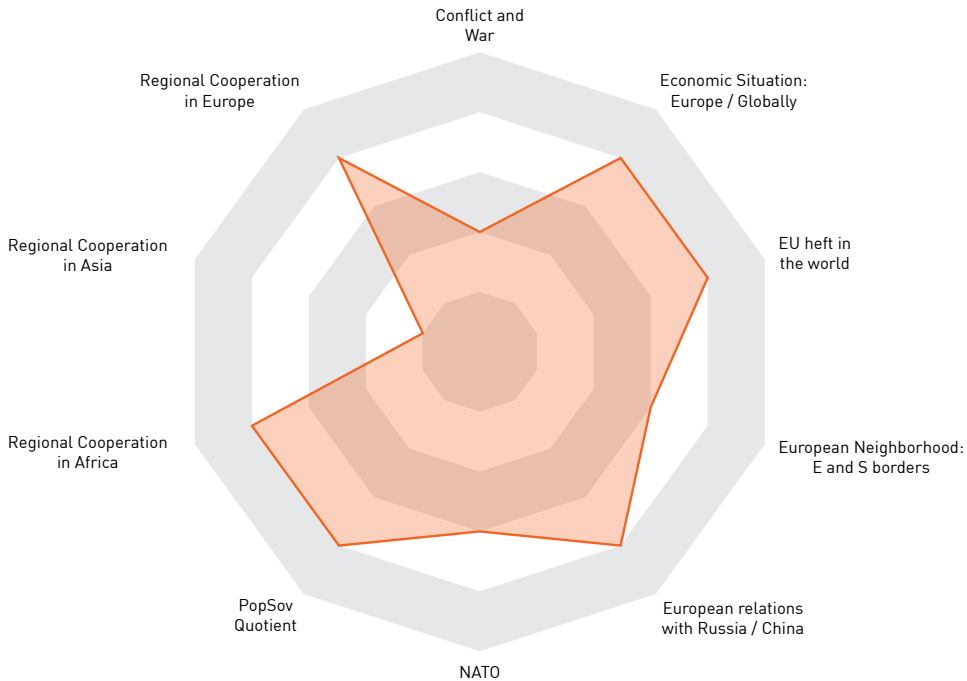
Figure 5.1 Scenario 1: Living in a PopSov world

Wednesday, November 4, 2020. This morning, Europeans woke up to the news that American voters have re-elected Donald Trump for a second term in office. What came as a dramatic shock to them four years ago, today no longer does. The world seems to have become accustomed to living in what the Dutch think tank HCSS labeled 'a PopSov world' back in 2017.

Europe itself has changed dramatically over the past 4 years, with almost half of Europe now being ruled by governments with various degrees of populist sovereignist participation. Even in those European countries where they are not in power, the PopSov movement has grown more influential than four years ago. The initial pickup of economic growth that was fueled by PopSov import substitution policies quickly petered out. Those initial gains were dwarfed by the subsequent growth-dampening effects of the double whammy that followed. The first of those was the economic

damage that was inflicted by the devastating effects of various forms of beggar-thy-neighbor policies. The second one was the large-scale job displacement through the unexpectedly quick uptake of automation and artificial intelligence in various key industries (as well as in government itself) that was actually accelerated by many PopSov regimes' insistence on bringing production 'back home'.

Rump-EU – what is left of the European Union after the various 'Xexits' – has gone through a new integrationist spiral. The internal processes within a more homogeneous and Franco-German-led rump-EU run much more smoothly now. The EU has rallied behind the narrative that it is the last standing Western bastion of common sense in a world run amok. Its still sizeable and open internal economic market sees to it that its standard of living tends to be higher than those of its neighbors. But managing relations between rump-EU and non-EU European countries (especially the UK but also a growing number of other ones) absorbs an inordinate amount of time and energy of a now much more inward-looking EU.

On paper also, a re-energized and more dominant[189] Commission is now playing an ever more important role in a significantly more streamlined and integrated EFSDP – the merger of what used to be called CFSP and CSDP, but now with a bigger focus on not just the 'common' elements but on *all* national and EU-level instruments of power. In reality, however, rump-EU's greatly diminished international heft means that it no longer has the wherewithal to realize its international ambitions. This was illustrated most vividly last month, when a large-scale planned military exercise in Estonia had to be cancelled because the PopSov buffer zone that has emerged between rump-EU and Estonia (and Russia) refused to grant the new EU Federated Army transit rights.

Rump-EU stumbled onto a new modus vivendi with Trump-US. On certain international policy issues the two can still find common ground, but the more transactional and erratic preferences of the US government make for a much more cumbersome and less predictable Transatlantic decision-making process. NATO has suffered a similar fate, as the US basic foreign policy instinct throughout the first Trump administration has been to either not do anything (as in Tunisia or Moldova), or to go it alone (as in Syria). Initial US calls for a fairer sharing of the burden within NATO yielded slightly higher defense expenditures from most European allies; but when confronted with further declining economic fortunes, that modest initial boost tapered off and reversed itself, leading to new tensions with an increasingly prickly US.

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189   Although some tensions remain between the Commission on the one hand; and the now European-wide and not nationally-elected Parliament and a more submissive and cooperative European Council on the other hand.

Russia, where President Putin was narrowly re-elected in 2018, has been able to strengthen its position throughout its Western and Southern neighborhood from Central Europe (even in many FEU (former EU) countries that have turned PopSov, but also in Ukraine) over the Middle East and the Caucasus to Central Asia. Its (both conventional, hybrid and nuclear) military power has been boosted significantly in this period, and although economically it is still heavily dependent on hydrocarbons whose price keeps declining, its freedom of maneuver in this PopSov world has only increased. This has led – in stark contrast to the First Cold War – to some arms being fired in anger between Russia and NATO (most dramatically in the Moldovan conflict in 2018), but the nuclear condition still made cooler heads on both sides prevail and prevented large scale conflict.

Even bigger changes have occurred outside of Europe, where President Trump's unpredictable policy course has propelled China into the uncontested leader of Asia and – in some areas, including renewable energy and AI – even the world. China itself has skillfully positioned itself as the new champion of Asian integration (on its own idiosyncratic terms) through various China-backed initiatives. Its own trade bloc (RCEP) has taken over from the now defunct US-initiated TPP, but similar pushes have been made in other (including foreign, security and defense) policy areas. Even lukewarm countries like Australia, Japan or Singapore have realigned themselves much more closely with the Chinese party line.

5.2.2 The Clash of PopSovs

Wednesday, November 8, 2017. Exactly one year after his election, US President Trump this morning issued European leaders his final ultimatum: either they join US forces militarily in their struggle with the People's Republic of China and its allies; or the US will invoke Art. 13 of the Washington Treaty and present its notice of denunciation.

Events have unfurled at a frenetic pace that nobody would have thought possible in the beginning of this year. The first months of this year were filled with heated discussions about PopSov movements in the West: the constant policy zigzags of the incoming US administration, hardening positions between the UK and the EU around Brexit and the threat of more impending PopSov regime changes in other European countries. It was, however, their Asian PopSov counterparts that proved to be the key catalysts of the most dramatic upheavals in global defense and security since the late 1930s.
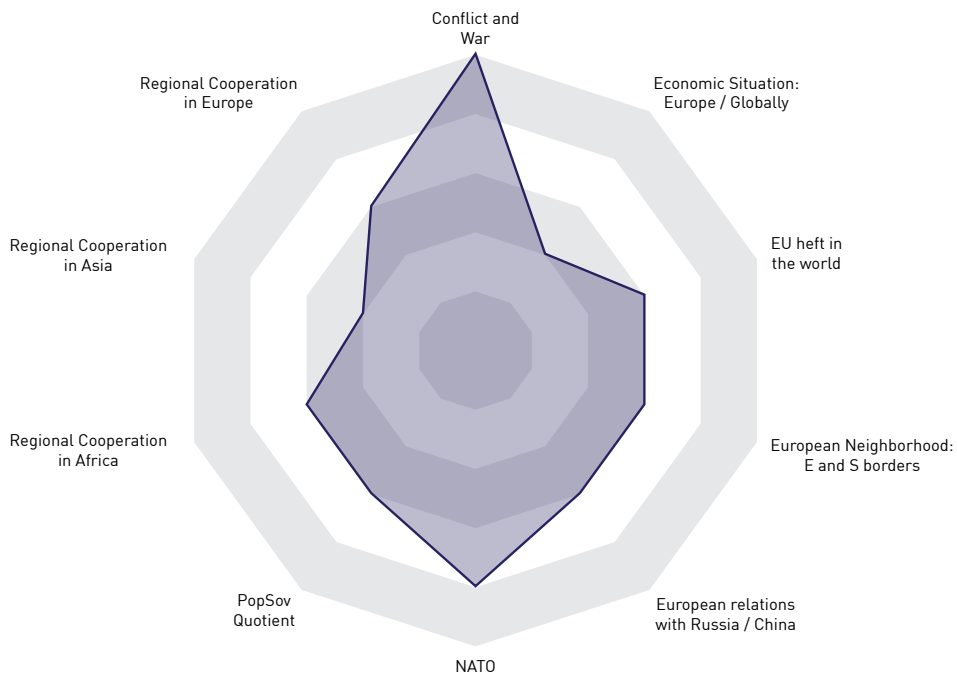
Figure 5.2 Scenario 2: The clash of PopSovs

Already elevated tensions between the US and North Korea escalated dramatically in the aftermath of the Hermit Kingdom's – unexpectedly successful – nuclear ICBM test late September. This test demonstrated that the rogue state now possesses the ability to strike the United States' homeland. The United States responded by further building up its military presence throughout the Asia-Pacific region. Whereas China and other Asian powers initially appeared eager to talk down tensions, the situation took a dramatic turn for the worse last week when an incident at sea between a Chinese military frigate and elements of a US aircraft battle group led to the death of 10s of soldiers on both sides. Chinese media have since ratcheted up their anti-Western PopSov rhetoric to unprecedented levels, leading to increasingly massive and irate patriotic demonstrations in many key Chinese cities. The Chinese leadership immediately decided to break off its diplomatic relations with the United States and to declare the highest stage of military readiness for all of its troops. Western media are reporting large-scale naval movements and there have been unconfirmed reports of deadly clashes between Chinese (or even Russian) and US submarines. UK Prime Minister Theresa May, fresh from her small electoral victory in the snap elections in June 2017 was the only European leader to declare her unwavering support for the United States. She has allocated 500 million pounds to expedite the

early commissioning of the HMS Queen Elizabeth and has declared her intention to dispatch the aircraft carrier to the South China Sea by the end of this year.

A bewildered European continent has not been able to come up with a coherent response to these quickly unfolding events. Increased fears of war and plummeting stock markets appear to be turning the political tides by pulling a sizable part of vacillating centrist voters back to the more traditional parties and established institutions. Still powerful European PopSov parties, however, are arguing that Afghanistan and other far-away battles have shown how ill-guided such out-of-area military expeditions are and that events in Asia are not Europe's battle. They claim that a US-China war would enhance Europe's position in the world and its prosperity as those two giants wear themselves out. Russia has strongly condemned what it called US military recklessness, but has not officially offered any statements of support to the Chinese leadership.

President Trump will attend an unprecedented joint meeting of the European Council and the North Atlantic Council in Brussels later today. A number of European leaders have expressed their fears that this meeting might make or break the Western Alliance. Immediately after the one-hour meeting in Brussels, President Trump is expected to fly to Russia for a day-long visit with President Putin.

5.2.3 War in the European Union?

Wednesday, June 4, 2020. Today will go into history as the day when – for the first time ever – armed forces of two member states of both the European Union and NATO fired at each other in anger.

Hungary and Romania share a troubled history which has seen their borders move back and forth. The most dramatic change occurred 100 years ago to this day with the Treaty of Trianon, which reallocated almost three quarters of Hungary's territory and two thirds of its population to its neighbors. Hungarian resentment about this has always simmered beneath the surface but had been held at bay – first by the Soviet empire and then by the European Union. The political rise of popular sovereignism in both countries, however, once again unleashed it onto the political surface, and started fanning the flames of conflict.

In past years, Hungarian nationalists had become increasingly vocal about what they claim are infringements of the legitimate minority rights of the ethnic Hungarian minorities living in Romania, Slovakia and Ukraine.
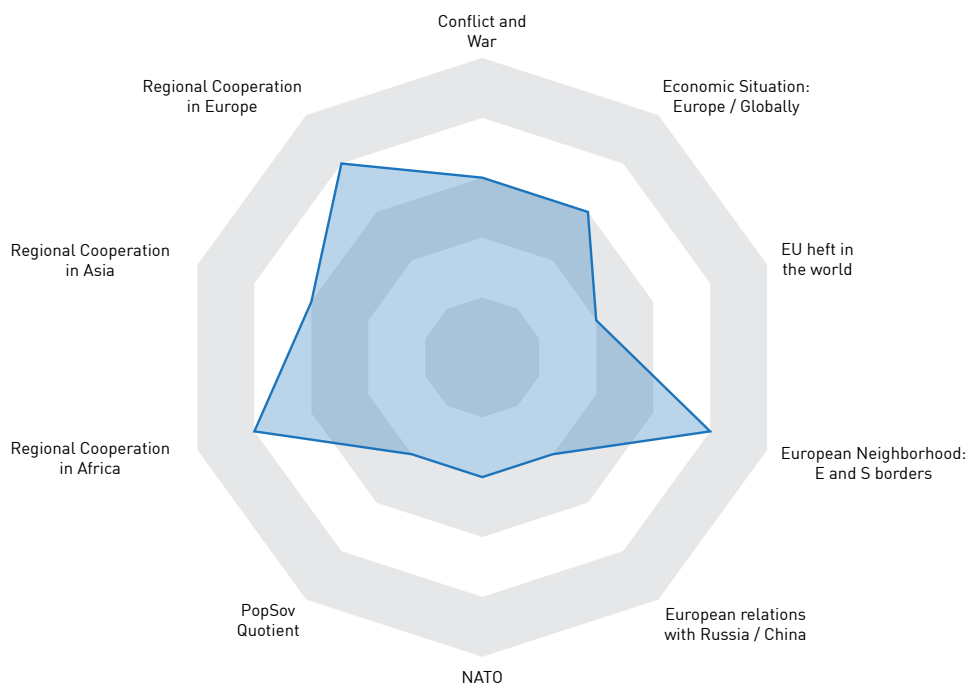
Figure 5.3 Scenario 3: War in the European Union?

Nowhere has this growing Hungarian verbal assertiveness been more acute than in what is known as Székely Land, an ethnically mostly Hungarian ethno-cultural region in eastern Transylvania – especially in the counties of Covasna and Harghita. The Székely issue first made headlines in 2012 during the so-called 'war of the flags', when Romanian authorities' first decided to ban the display of the Székely flag on administrative buildings in Romania, whereupon the Székely flag was hoisted in Budapest by a defiant Hungarian parliament. The ensuing diplomatic spat between the two countries was subsequently deescalated through discrete European Union intermediation, but pressures kept building, also fueled by the economic hardship in both countries. Senior European diplomats claim that this is a typical case of 'the tail wagging the dog'.

Tensions flared up in early 2018, however, when a number of initially peaceful Székely pro-autonomy rallies were brutally disbanded by Romanian police forces. This led to even larger demonstrations in the region that became increasingly separatist in tone and violent in nature. Growing numbers of irredentists Hungarian citizens crossed the border to participate. Escalating tensions swept extreme national political

parties into power in both countries during elections in 2018. The result was ever more incendiary rhetoric which the EU, fully engrossed in major disputes with the United Kingdom over Brexit and the US administration over trade and security, has so far been unable to calm down. Both countries steadfastly refuse any mediation attempts by third parties, claiming that their reawakened people want to finally break out of their externally imposed shackles and are determined to take their destinies firmly back into their own hands.

Both governments have used extant EU and NATO calls to increase military spending to dramatically build up their military capabilities over the past 2 years. They now spend almost 3% of their GDP on defense – much of it by acquiring new Chinese and Russian weapon systems. Military analysts concur that the scale and nature of their investment choices as well as their deployment patterns suggest that these investments are not intended to honor alliance commitments but are firmly aimed at each other.

Last week the Romanian government fully closed the Romanian-Hungarian border and reinforced all entry and exit points with sizeable military troop and weapon deployments in order to – as they put it – restore the country's territorial integrity and the inviolability of its borders. In return, Hungarian forces also started deploying equivalent numbers of troops and equipment along the Hungarian side of the border. The international community, in its various guises, has repeatedly expressed its grave concern about the situation and has urged both parties to step back from the brink. It has so far proved unable, however, to agree on a possible interposition force that could separate both parties.

It is against this background that things came to a head tonight with the largest demonstrations to date in Csengersimai Határátkelőhely, a small border crossing point that has become one of the main flashpoints in the crisis. The rally appears to have been organized spontaneously on Instagram and Snapchat over the past two days – ostensibly to commemorate the Treaty of Trianon. Social media caused tens of thousands of Hungarians to congregate on both sides of the border. According to eyewitnesses, one encircled Romanian military unit started firing warning shots in the air in both directions. In the ensuing melee, Hungarian military forces initially returned fire until more senior military commanders agreed on a temporary local ceasefire.

5.2.4 Upwards and Onwards!

Wednesday, November 4, 2020. This morning, Europeans woke up to the news that American voters have denied Donald Trump a second term in office.
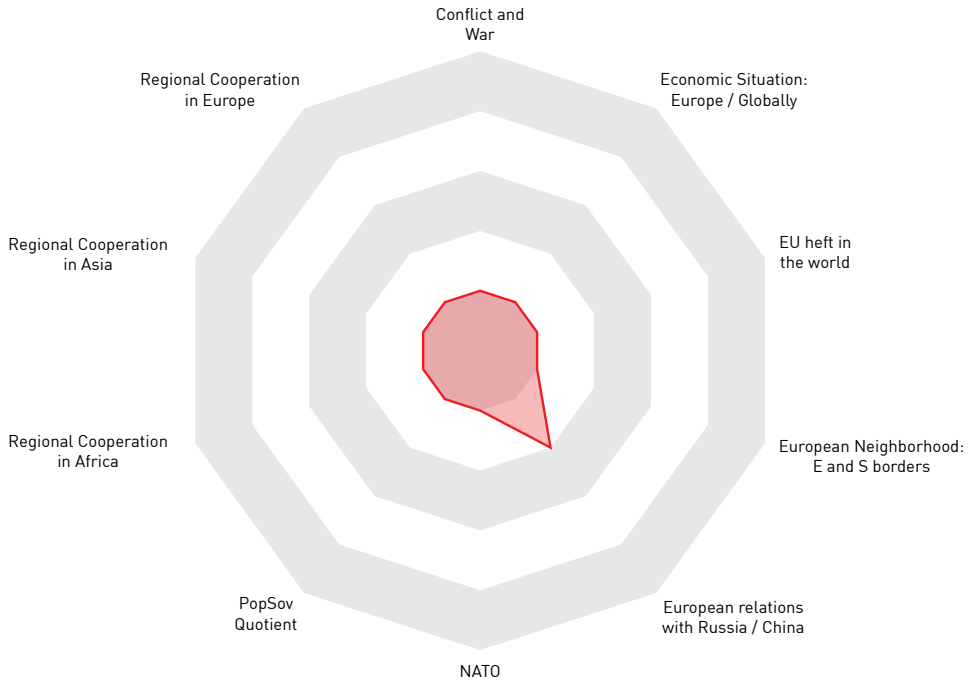
Figure 5.4 Scenario 4: Upwards and onwards!

When Donald Trump was elected in 2016, it seemed like his firebrand form of popular sovereignism was about to ignite the word. Many European populist movements (among which the Dutch populist sovereignist Geert Wilders) bandied the term 'patriotic spring' to describe what they saw as a wildfire of patriotic awakenings that had been ignited in countries like Hungary, Poland and the UK (Brexit) and would soon enflame the entire world. They saw Trump's election as the major turning point that would lead other key countries like France and maybe even Germany to fall in the hands of like-minded parties.

The wildfire was quenched. In retrospect, the Dutch elections in March 2017 marked a turning point. They led to a – surprising – victory of more mainstream parties. French and German elections in 2017 also brought more mainstream parties to power – even though the PopSov ideology continued to gain quite a bit of traction in various segments of the population.

One of the key drivers behind this turn-around was the economy. Already in 2017, there were signs that the world economy was finally starting to recover from the major blow it had suffered in the aftermath of the financial economic crisis of 2008-09. The tortuous negotiations between the EU and the UK in 2016-2018, and the painful realization by the UK of what 'divorce with the EU' actually meant to the pocketbook of every individual Briton put a big damper on the aspirations of other countries that were entertaining similar notions of seceding from the Union. Public opinion data suggest that this sobering experience exercised a significant deterrent effect on other European voters.

The European Union therefore survived the PopSov scare relatively unscathed: the – already always ambivalent – UK did end up seceding in March 2019 and two other smaller countries are about to follow suit. But these (mutually) agonizing divorce proceedings have only forged more unity and determination amongst the remaining EU member states. It has proved quite difficult to build more integrationist momentum amongst the – still quite heterogeneous – EU members states, but the mere size of the EU still proves to be powerful magnet for both current (and prospective – also in the EU's neighborhood) member states.

The new incoming US administration has already expressed its intention to re-establish closer ties with the European Union. Rather than only focusing on the remaining security threats (many of which remain salient – including terrorism, fragile states, organized crime, cyber and (increasingly) AI-threats), the new administration is also increasingly prioritizing new security opportunities. A powerful global, technologically-driven, economic growth spurt is lifting middle classes across the world into economically and societally unprecedented opportunities. This is, however, also leading to tensions – including in critically important countries like China or Russia – that have to be resolved. The EU and the US are increasingly re-evaluating their defense and security investment portfolio to make sure that their – globally still uniquely powerful – security and defense spend also yields sustainable defense and security benefits. China and – to a globally less, but regionally still important degree – Russia continue to present difficult defense and security challenges to that new transformational global agenda.

5.3 Cross-Scenario Implications and Policy Options

All four scenarios highlight the potential security risks that lurk behind the global rise of PopSovism. The siren calls to reclaim national identity, sovereignty, and control over one's future that were allegedly taken away by hostile alien forces emerge in a societal context characterized by liquid modernity.[190] The addition of PopSov liquidity to already tense geodynamics has made scenarios like the ones presented here much more thinkable than they used to be. Just a few years ago, many would have brushed off such scenarios as excessively alarmist. The mere fact that most of us are less inclined to do so today should in and of itself give us cause to pause.

The scenarios presented in this study hark back to some of darkest and cruelest choices that confronted European national decision-makers during the particularly Euro-fratricidal decades that preceded the rebuilding of Europe after a new muster in the wake of World War II. Then too, many new European nation-states, sweeping up and swept up by nationalist publics clamored for 'my nation first' policies to redress real and/or perceived (and/or invented) historical injustices. Then too, unpredictability was high, paranoia was the constant state of statecraft, and brinkmanship was the name of the strategic game. By and large, today's European decision-makers have been spared such dark and cruel choices – at least within the European Union. Could PopSovism jeopardize this strategic insouciance?

To explore the implications of these scenarios, we invited a number of practitioners and researchers to participate in an anonymous online survey that was sent personally to 140 individuals – 76 male and 64 female. The majority (70) were professionals from the Dutch public sector with 42 working at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 14 at the Ministry of Defence, 3 at the Ministry of the Interior and Kingdom Relations, 3 at the Ministry of Finance, 3 at the Ministry of Security and Justice, 2 at the Ministry of Economic Affairs, 2 at the Ministry of Infrastructure and the Environment, and 1 working at the Ministry of Education, Culture and Science. From the legislative branch of the Dutch government 2 individuals were invited. Civil society was represented by 5 invitees, the private sector by 3, and the media by 12. Finally, in the category academia/ think tanks/ knowledge institutes 6 were invited, plus 30 staff

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190   In the 1990s, Bauman coined the term 'liquid modernity' to describe a contemporary world in such flux that individuals are left rootless and bereft of any predictable frames of reference. In books including *Liquid Times* (Zygmunt Bauman, *Liquid Times: Living in an Age of Uncertainty* (John Wiley & Sons, 2013).) and *Liquid Modernity* (Zygmunt Bauman, *Liquid Modernity* (John Wiley & Sons, 2013).) he explored the frailty of human connection in such times and the insecurity that a constantly changing world creates where traditional institutions no longer fill the wells of common understanding and experience.

members of HCSS and in the category young professionals/ students 12 individuals were invited to take part in the online survey. Finally, the survey was also opened up to 'Team Populism', a community of interest that brings together renowned scholars from Europe and the Americas that are studying the causes and consequences of populism.[191] The actual implications presented here include some of these ideas but remain the sole responsibility of HCSS.

This section consists of three subsections that deal, respectively, with the overall implications, the implications for Europe, and the implications for the Netherlands.

5.3.1 Overall Implications and Policy Options

5.3.1.1 Tackling the Root PopSov Causes: Foreign and Security Policy Starts at Home

The main strategic imperative that leaps out of these four scenarios is that our polities have to urgently forge more effective structural policy solutions[192] for the structural domestic problems that are propelling PopSovism. These root causes are widely acknowledged to be primarily socio-economic and/or cultural[193] in nature (see also Chapter 3) - not military or security-driven. It therefore stands to reason that these are the policy areas where sustainable solutions will have to be found – both for their own sake, but also to mitigate potential security threats. This is all the more important since, as some of our scenarios suggest, these causes, if not properly addressed, could grow ever more toxic in the mid- to long-term future.

Our polities will first and foremost have to regain broad-based performance legitimacy by crafting more effective and comprehensive policy responses to the PopSov challenge – responses that should also take into account its defense and security dimensions. Although the public faces of PopSovism tend to be the political strongmen and -women who are spearheading them, the real center of gravity of this movement resides in those parts of our societies that are and/or feel left behind by technological change, globalization. A growing sense of insecurity – physical, economic, and cultural has descended over them. Getting our domestic policies

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191   Kirk A. Hawkins, "Team Populism - Teams," *Team Populism*, 2017, https://populism.byu.edu/Pages/Teams.
192   It is clear that PopSovism will also require an adequate political response by various more centrist political parties to avert some of the more dire scenarios sketched here, or to minimize their impact. For some ideas in that area, see Alina Polyakova and Anton Shekhovtsov, "On The Rise: Europe's Fringe Right," *World Affairs* 179, no. 1 (2016): 70–80.. This paper, however, deals only with the policy implications from a defense and security point of view.
193   Ronald Inglehart and Pippa Norris, "Trump, Brexit, and the Rise of Populism: Economic Have-Nots and Cultural Backlash," SSRN Scholarly Paper (Rochester, NY: Social Science Research Network, July 29, 2016), https://papers.ssrn.com/abstract=2818659.

'right' for all constituencies – including the PopSov one – is therefore a critical element in restoring and revitalizing the social contract between state and society. Getting there has a procedural and a substantive component

Procedurally, it requires that the overall policy efforts of our various government departments become more aligned. Governments fulfill various public functions that can be roughly clustered in three broad sectors: an economic one (finance, economic affairs, trade, etc.); a societal one (health, education, social affairs, etc.); and a security one (law and order, defense, etc.). It has always been understood that any policy that is initiated in any of these areas by any one government department is likely to have impact on other ones. Fully mapping these linkages before taking a decision has been virtually impossible under current circumstances. It is already extraordinarily difficult today to get all key stakeholders even within just one specific policy domain aligned around a policy initiative. The panting nature ('hijgerigheid') of our policy and political processes also makes it even harder to take our time to really think through the complex interconnections between various policy initiatives. Looking back, for instance, it does appear plausible that some macroeconomic policy decisions that were made in response to the financial-economic crises and the subsequent euro-crises played an important role in strengthening populist sovereignism, with all the ensuing possible defense and security implications that were evoked suggestively in the more negative scenarios. To what extent were these potential societal and security externalities factored into those financial-economic decision-making processes?

The 'comprehensive approach' has become a quite popular term in Western defense and security organizations, who have increasingly accepted that their approach towards various security challenges should be less stovepiped and more integrated.[194] The concept is currently mostly applied in the context of external military stabilization efforts and as something to be done after a crisis erupt. Our scenarios suggest that we also have to start thinking even more comprehensively about that comprehensive approach. This would mean:

First, that the interlinkages between strategic decision-making across various policy domains must be better elicited, acknowledged, and thought through. From a defense and security point of view, this 'comprehensiveness' should ideally work both ways: non-defense and security actors should be sensitive to and appraised

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194   Margriet Drent, "The EU's Comprehensive Approach to Security: A Culture of Co-Ordination?," *Studia Diplomatica* 64, no. 2 (2011): 3–18.. For official Dutch policy on this, seeDutch Ministries of Foreign Affairs, Defense, and Security & Justice, "Leidraad Geïntegreerde Benadering" (The Hague: Dutch Ministries of Foreign Affairs, Defense, and Security & Justice, 2014), http://www.kpsrl.org/browse/download/t/leidraad-geintegreerde-benadering..

about possible DSP-implications of their policy initiatives; and defense and security planners should be appraised about and sensitive to the broader (also domestic) policy requirements. Looking forward, therefore, governments will have to pay more attention to various second- or third-order effects of their socio-economic policies, including from a security and defense perspective.[195]

Second, more genuinely comprehensive policy approaches may also lead to concrete implications for our defense and security organizations, as any increased defense and security efforts should be carefully balanced against other fiscal priorities that directly impact the (national and international) security environment. Just as various leaders in our defense and security sector have often spoken out in favor of sound economic policy[196] or international aid and diplomacy[197] in the past, so too will **they have to factor in these other policy priorities into their own planning and budgeting efforts**. As HCSS has emphasized before, getting better insight into the actual 'security utility' of various types of public action (the 'value' of any policy intervention – be it security-related or not – from a pure security point of view) is in our view one of the most lacking aspects of our current approaches to defense and security.

Finding more truly strategically integrated solutions across the myriad trade-offs that crisscross the various policy domains is likely to prove an extraordinarily tough challenge for our current governments. The re-emergence of various acute security challenges closer to our doorsteps – from terrorism over refugees to cyberattacks – is leading in many countries to new, more integrated 'security' approaches. The recent discussion in the Netherlands, for instance, about the need for a national security council is a good example of that trend. However welcome these trends are (and HCSS has been and remains a staunch proponent of them), we have to be keenly

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195   We also want to point out, that the explosion in availability of big data coupled with recent advances in artificial intelligence may present unprecedented opportunities in this area. See and Sally Percy, "Artificial Intelligence: The Role of Evolution in Decision-Making," *The Telegraph*, March 23, 2017, http://www.telegraph.co.uk/business/digital-leaders/horizons/artificial-intelligence-role-of-evolution-in-decision-making/. and for an application to defense and security Stephan De Spiegeleire, Matthijs Maas, and Tim Sweijs, *Artificial Intelligence and the Future of Defense: Strategic Implications for a Small Force Provider* (The Hague, The Netherlands: HCSS, 2017).

196   Former chairman of the US Joint Chiefs of Staff Admiral Michael Mullen famously remarked that "The most significant threat to our national security is our debt." He strongly argued for a more holistic understanding of guns vs butter issues (see): "It's a very important message to understand that the best way to get there is together, as opposed to everybody fighting each other. We all have to contribute here to make sure we are whole and well-prepared for the future." Ian Swanson, "Joint Chiefs Chairman Reiterates Security Threat of High Debt," Text, *TheHill*, (June 24, 2010), http://thehill.com/homenews/administration/105301-mullen-reiterates-threat-excessive-debt-poses-to-nation.. See also US President Dwight D Eisenhower's "Chance For Peace" speech in 1953.

197   Witness the more than 100 retired U.S. generals who pushed back against a White House proposal to cut nondefense spending to offset a planned hike in the military budget.Sidney Traynham, "Over 120 Retired Generals, Admirals on State and USAid Budget: 'Now Is Not the Time to Retreat,'" *U.S. Global Leadership Coalition*, n.d., http://www.usglc.org/2017/02/27/over-120-retired-generals-admirals-on-state-and-usaid-budget-now-is-not-the-time-to-retreat/.

aware that sustainable comprehensive solutions to any of today's policies will have to be truly transversal across government and probably even beyond that across the entire ecosystem.

Alongside this more procedural dimension of 'getting policy right', there is also a strong **substantive** dimension. Making decisions more together is no guarantee for substantively better decisions. Currently dominant policy prescriptions for dealing with the root causes of PopSovism combine a number of more traditional recommendations with some new ones. There is debate as to whether actual income inequality is the principal driver for the 'Angst' that has overtaken certain segments of our societies,[198] but it is clear that relying solely on more traditional *financial redistribution* efforts through taxes and transfers is unlikely to achieve the desired results. Therefore, international financial institutions are currently leaning more towards measures to ensure equality of opportunity across our societies through more investments in education, health services, and infrastructure that serve a wide range of people; more efforts to retrain workers who lose their jobs; rethinking the architecture of social protection (possibly with an enhanced role of government in incentivizing life-long learning); etc. Former US Federal Reserve chairman Ben Bernanke recently highlighted the opportunity that populist disruptions represent for such substantive changes in policy-making:

> If the populist surge we are seeing today has an upside, it is to refocus attention on both the moral necessity and practical benefits of helping people cope with the economic disruptions that accompany growth.[199]

5.3.1.2 Resist Knee-Jerk Reactions and Address Legitimate Grievances

Many early knee-jerk policy responses to PopSovism have in all likelihood not contributed to sustainable solutions and may even have made them harder to achieve. PopSov politicians and voters have often been demonized as neo-fascists and ostracized. The legitimate grievances they raise have at times been brushed aside as inane spasms by ignorant masses that should either be ignored or can easily be fixed by a better PR strategy ("We just have to explain them better why what we do is good for them"). These knee-jerk responses to PopSov are highly unlikely

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198   Even though it has become clear that the rising global tides have not lifted all boats equally, but mostly the poorest makeshift rafts and a few super-yachts. See Branko Milanovic' now famous "elephant chart" of global income distribution Branko Milanović, *Global Inequality: A New Approach for the Age of Globalization* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2016).
199   Ben S. Bernanke, "When Growth Is Not Enough" (Remarks prepared for delivery on June 26, 2017, at the European Central Bank Forum on Central Banking at Sintra, Sintra, Portugal, 2017), https://www.brookings.edu/wp-content/uploads/2017/06/es_20170626_whengrowthisnotenough.pdf.

to help us prevent some of the negative security challenges highlighted by the first three scenarios.

Instead of dismissing the concerns of PopSov supporters as backwards or unfounded, we should get better at parsing fact from fiction and legitimate from contrived grievance and – most importantly – at addressing both, preferably by anticipating them.

First, rather than just repeating the mantra that immigration is good for societies and economies overall (which most theoretical and empirical studies do indeed underscore[200]), our polities should **develop more selective immigration policies that also ease the transition for both the immigrants and the receiving community.** Governments should make sure they are better able to screen incoming refugees and/or immigrants; assist them in their organic integration into our societies; and remedy some of the consequences of displacement for local people (including older immigrants) with similar skill sets.

Second, rather than just claiming that turning back the clock on some aspects of globalization or Europeanization (for instance through 'redomination' – returning to a country's former national currency) is foolhardy and unwise, governments need to **explore how to tackle the various tensions and inequalities that have accompanied these developments (e.g. by trying to impose a common currency area on a group of economies** knowing full well that no area is ever quite as optimal as proponents of the 'optimal currency area' theory propound[201]). Rather than saying that erecting barriers to economic integration and free trade is self-defeating, governments need to work diligently to **find workable solutions to counteract the negative consequences of economic factor flows** – which are equally well known, also by neo-classical economists.[202] To rephrase Bill Clinton, "It's the society, stupid"!

A final general observation is that there also lies an opportunity in all of this, as nicely worded in a recent *World Economic Forum* report (very much along the same lines of the Ben Bernanke quote in the previous section):

200   For a succinct recent overview of the evidence by the OECD, see Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development, "Is Migration Good for the Economy?," *Migration Policy Debates*, no. 2 (May 2014): 4.
201   For a recent thought-provoking analysis of this as applied to the Euro, see Martin Sandbu, *Europe's Orphan: The Future of the Euro and the Politics of Debt* (Princeton University Press, 2017)..
202   See Joseph Stiglitz' (recipient of the Nobel Memorial Prize in Economic Sciences in 2001; former senior Vice President and Chief Economist of the World Bank and former member and chairman of the (US president's) Council of Economic Advisers who was one of the few 'insiders' who raised critical notes on mainstream economic thinking behind

The potential upside to the tremendous uncertainty that many around the world feel is that we essentially are confronted with a clean slate. With previous presumptions, biases, and taboos having been erased, it may be possible to create something better.[203]

5.3.1.3 Give Democracy a Chance

Alongside these *policy* imperatives, it is also crucial for our polities to skillfully navigate the *political* rapids that whirl around PopSovism. Some parts of the world have historically felt (and at times succumbed to) a more authoritarian temptation to deal with such potentially dangerous popular outbursts. In some cases, this even went so far that the armed forces took over power in the guise of 'neutral' technocrats who – as they put it – felt compelled to step up to the plate to save their motherland from dangerous populists – typically with decidedly mixed results[204]. Just in the past couple of years, we have seen vivid examples of this in Egypt with General Abdel Fattah al-Sisi or in Thailand with two military coups aimed against the populist Thaksin party. There is also still the unique – and so far, remarkably successful – Singaporean model of a lighter-touch top-down technocratic attempt to preemptively quell possible populist upwellings.

Although the jury is still out on the world's liberal democracies' ability to withstand the current PopSov maelstrom, recent developments in the United States and in various European countries suggest that the more traditional democratic model may not be ready for the dustbin of history quite yet. In the United States, the democratic institutions (the courts, Congress, the states, and also various private 'resistance' groups) are playing their expected (and intended) role as checks and balances against a PopSovist president that is increasingly seen as an international threat.[205] Also in a number of European countries, the moderating influence of PopSov participation in government[206]; the recent electoral 'losses' of some high visibility PopSov icons

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the 'Washington consensus') notions on 'bringing society back in' in his foreword to the second edition of Karl Polanyi's magistral Great Transformation ("Foreword." In *The Great Transformation: The Political and Economic Origins of Our Time*, 2 edition. Beacon Press, 2001.). We want to point out that this is interestingly analogous to the recent focus on 'human' and 'societal' security in security studies.

203   Spence, Michael. "Four Certainties About Populist Economics, According to a Nobel Laureate." *World Economic Forum*, January 31, 2017. https://www.weforum.org/agenda/2017/01/four-certainties-about-populist-economics-according-to-a-nobel-laureate/.

204   FREE Policy Brief Series, "Evaluating the Political Man on Horseback–Coups and Economic Development," 2015, https://freepolicybriefs.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/05/freepolicybrief_may25.pdf.

205   Gideon Rachman, "America Is Now a Dangerous Nation," *Financial Times*, August 14, 2017, https://www.ft.com/content/308e0f90-80ce-11e7-94e2-c5b903247afd.

206   Richard Milne, "Nordic Populists Struggle with the Burdens of Power," *Financial Times*, August 10, 2017, https://www.ft.com/content/8443f894-7cf4-11e7-9108-edda0bcbc928.

such as Marine Le Pen, Theresa May or Geert Wilders; and the co-optation of some PopSov policy themes by more mainstream parties give cause for cautious optimism.

In an interesting 2011 Chatham House policy paper, Matthew Goodwin usefully identified 6 potential response strategies to populist extremist parties: 'exclusion' (blocking them from accessing public office and influencing debate – a controversial tactic that has yielded mixed results[207]), 'defusing' (shifting the focus away from social and cultural issues and towards economic ones), 'adoption' (embracing more restrictive policies on immigration, integration and law and order), 'principle' (making the case for cultural diversity and globalization), 'engagement' (making more serious investments in countering populist sentiments at the grassroots) and 'interaction' (putting greater effort into supporting contact and dialogue between different ethnic and cultural groups within a given community).[208] What we have seen emerge in many Western democracy is a bespoke admixture of many of these ingredients into a context-specific political elixir[209] that – spiked with some of the more substantive policy decisions that are being made – seems to provide a fairly effective anti-dote to the PopSov challenge.

5.3.1.4 Prepare for the Defense and Security Challenges: Develop Homeland Defense and Bolster Resilience

At the same time, however, the scenarios we sketched also vividly illustrate that there are some very real defense and security challenges that might still emerge from these causes and that require appropriate defense and security responses. Each of these scenarios contains an important homeland defense dimension – be it against terrorist, cyber, or other third parties influencing operations. In two of these scenarios, there are also potential requirements for more high-end capabilities for

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207   Cas Mudde, "Fighting the System? Populist Radical Right Parties and Party System Change," *Party Politics* 20, no. 2 (March 2014): 217–26, doi:10.1177/1354068813519968.

208   Matthew J. Goodwin, *Right Response: Understanding and Countering Populist Extremism* (The Royal Institute of International Affairs, Chatham House, 2011), https://kar.kent.ac.uk/54401.

209   For examples of these differences, see Giovanni Capoccia, *Defending Democracy: Reactions to Extremism in Interwar Europe* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 2005); Roger Eatwell and Cas Mudde, eds., *Western Democracies and the New Extreme Right Challenge*, 1 edition (London ; New York: Routledge, 2003); Jaap van Donselaar, *De Staat paraat?: De bestrijding van extreem-rechts in West-Europa* (Amsterdam: Babylon-De Geus, 1995).. For instance, Italy, Austria and Denmark have pursued a relatively open and accommodating approach towards populist challengers; whereas in countries like France and Belgium, a more repressive and exclusionist approach has been followed vis-a-vis the Front National (FN) and the Vlaams Blok/Vlaams Belang (Laurent Kestel and Laurent Godmer, "Institutional Inclusion and Exclusion of Extreme Right Parties," *Western Democracies and the New Extreme Right Challenge* 133 (2003): 49; David Art, "Reacting to the Radical Right: Lessons from Germany and Austria," *Party Politics* 13, no. 3 (May 2007): 331–49, doi:10.1177/1354068807075939; Sarah De Lange, "From Pariah to Power Broker: The Radical Right and Government in Western Europe," in *Extrême Droite et Pouvoir En Europe/Delwit, Pascal [Edit.]*, 2007, https://repository.uantwerpen.be/link/irua/63522; Michael Minkenberg, "Repression and Reaction: Militant Democracy and the Radical Right in Germany and France," *Patterns of Prejudice* 40, no. 1 (February 2006): 25–44, doi:10.1080/00313220500482662.)William M. Downs, *Political Extremism in Democracies: Combating Intolerance*, 2012 edition (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012).

territorial defense: in the *PopSov World* scenario, where there are armed clashes between NATO and Russia, as well as in *War in Europe*, where Russia might exploit ongoing events between Hungary and Romania to redress some more presumed historical 'injustices'. There are also potential requirements for a robust interposition of forces between reasonably modern (in this case even NATO) countries.

Many of the defense implications described in our scenarios are not unique to PopSovism. Although Russian (and even Chinese) PopSovism played a role in the re-emergence of these high-end threats to Western Defense and Security Organizations (DSOs), they are also covered in many of the more state-centric threat analyses that are driving many of our defense efforts. The same applies to the cyber or more hybrid aspects are also already covered in ongoing efforts to bolster our defensive capabilities. In various recent reports, HCSS has highlighted a number of areas where we feel our DSO's strategic option portfolio should be adjusted to include these changes in our security environment[210].

But if we try to discern truly PopSov-specific aspects from our analysis that may require specific and increased attention by our DSOs, we would submit that they lie less in what we have called the realm of the 'agents of conflict' ('the enemy') as in the realm of the 'agents of resilience'[211]. In the former realm, our DSOs – including the Dutch one – are already starting to relearn the grammar of conflict and are actively re-calibrating their capability portfolio towards the more (both kinetic and cyber) high-end threat that Russia and China increasingly present. Even some of this report's PopSov scenarios lend support to that overall priority. The most PopSov-specific DSO portfolio adjustments to result from this study, however, lie more in the area of resilience – both on 'our' side ("how do we make our societies, economies and polities more resilient against internal and/or external attempts to weaken our resilience?"), but also in third parties ("how can we strengthen societal resilience in countries where PopSov political entrepreneurs are trying to whip up their constituencies in directions that might lead to conflict?"). This would apply especially to countries within the European Union in which PopSovism might start to lean towards domestic

210   Stephan De De Spiegeleire and Tim Sweijs, *HCSS Strategic Monitor 2016-2017: Volatility and Friction in the Age of Disintermediation,* 2017; Frank Bekkers and Tim Sweijs, "Op, Neer En Zijwaarts. De Militaire Dimensie van Crisisman-agement" (The Hague: *The Hague Centre* for Strategic Studies, January 31, 2017), http://hcss.nl/report/op-neer-en-zi-jwaarts-de-militaire-dimensie-van-crisismanagement; Stephan De Spiegeleire, Tim Sweijs, and Frank Bekkers, *HCSS Strategic Monitor 2015-2016: The Wheel of Fortune: Up and Down, Round and Round, Faster and Faster. (The Hague Centre* for Strategic Studies, 2016), http://hcss.nl/sites/default/files/files/reports/Strategic_Monitor__The_Wheel_of_For-tune_%28NL%29.pdf; Tim Sweijs et al., *HCSS Strategic Monitor 2015: The Return of Ghosts Hoped Past? Global Trends in Conflict and Cooperation* (The Hague, The Netherlands: *The Hague Centre* for Strategic Studies, 2015).
211   Stephan De Spiegeire et al., *Si Vis Pacem, Para Utique Pacem. Individual Empowerment, Societal Resilience and the Armed Forces* (The Hague, The Netherlands: *The Hague Centre* for Strategic Studies, 2015), http://www.literatuur-plein.nl/boekdetail.jsp?boekId=1078494.

and/or international violent conflict (as in our *War in the EU* scenario); but also to various other places in the world where similar dynamics can be observed. In an earlier report this year, we have suggested that artificial intelligence might open up new investment opportunities in that area that might provide excellent (defense) value for (defense) money even for small- to medium-sized force providers[212].

5.3.2 European Foreign, Security and Defense Policy

The European Union is a primary target of most European PopSov parties and movements, who see it as one of the main impediments to their country's ability to make the sovereign decisions they think are in their best interest.[213] It may therefore seem counter-intuitive that (part of) the solution to the European PopSov quandary may lie in that very same European Union. And yet, the EU in many ways remains the best-positioned and -endowed actor to find more effective ways to combine the benefits of open markets and European integration with social equity and protection. This section teases out some implications and policy options for Europe across the four scenarios at the European level.

5.3.2.1 Implications

5.3.2.1.1 Europe's Weight in the World: Influence Through Multi-Level and Para-Diplomatic Means

The three negative scenarios all point in the direction of a globally significantly weakened European Union in a (mostly) more inward-looking Europe. In the *PopSov world* scenario, an internally more efficient but still diminished and non-contiguous rump-EU expends most of its political capital and energy trying to manage Europe. In the *Clash of PopSovs* scenario, it must work hard to forge a coherent European response to a US ultimatum to join it in a perilous military adventure in the South China Sea. And in the *War in the EU* scenario, keeping peace within Europe itself is the all-overarching and -consuming policy imperative. In all of these scenarios, a more defensive EU is a much-diminished force for good in the world. This waning geodynamic position also runs the risk of inviting various external actors (Russia, Turkey, terrorist and/or criminal groups, etc.) to take advantage of this weakness, potentially further aggravating Europe's conundrum.

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212   De Spiegeleire, Maas, and Sweijs, Artificial Intelligence and the Future of Defense: Strategic Implications for a Small Force Provider.
213   Even though the European Parliament and (in the case of at least Hungary and Poland) the European Council are also arenas where these parties operate.

But while Europe's overall heft may be diminished in these scenarios, there remain ample ways in which **Europe can continue to weigh on geodynamics – albeit in possibly different (multi-level[214] and para-diplomatic[215]) ways**. This is most strikingly the case vis-a-vis the US, a country that – beyond the many policy differences that bedevil Europe's relationship with it – is still widely recognized as Europe's closest ally. In all scenarios in which 'Trump-US' pursues a foreign and security policy course that is either too erratic, too unilateralist, or even too anti-European for Europe to stomach, Europe's multi-level governance opens up great opportunities to **reach out to individual or groups of US states, cities, or powerful interest groups.** Whereas the US may be the most obvious target for such an approach, **a similar course of action might yield significant benefits vis-a-vis other countries as well, including other European PopSov countries, Russia, China, or others.**

5.3.2.1.2 Get Serious about the Democratic Deficit

We have already highlighted a few times that PopSovists have raised a number of legitimate issues that have already received and continue to deserve serious attention – also from non-PopSov groups. The much-debated democratic deficit of the European Union[216] is certainly one of those. If the loud and clear PopSov signal from below is to be turned into a constructive rectification of some widely accepted imperfections in our current European governance system (as opposed to a clarion call for its destruction), then this is the moment for forthright reform: **further democratize the European Union.**

The European Commission's *White Paper on the Future of Europe* highlights three challenges to restoring trust and legitimacy in the EU. First is the difficulty of communicating how the EU benefits local communities. This is due to the complexity of the EU and its cooperation with Member States, which means, for example, that a benefit partially funded by the EU may also be partially funded by and administered

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214   On European multi-level governance, generally see Liesbet Hooghe and Gary Marks, *Multi-Level Governance and European Integration* (Rowman & Littlefield, 2001), https://books.google.com/books?hl=en&lr=&id=xZmMb5E-Jni8C&oi=fnd&pg=PR7&dq=europe+multi-level+governance&ots=Me9Rv67XrV&sig=pB0uZptSf0jpD4_vE-RKVOlI6PM. and on its role in foreign and security policy Michael Smith, "Toward a Theory of EU Foreign Policy-Making: Multi-Level Governance, Domestic Politics, and National Adaptation to Europe's Common Foreign and Security Policy," *Journal of European Public Policy* 11, no. 4 (January 2004): 740–58, doi:10.1080/1350176042000248124.

215   Paradiplomacy refers to international relations conducted by subnational or regional governments on their own, with a view to promoting their own interests. See Ivo D. Duchacek, Daniel Latouche, and Garth Stevenson, *Perforated Sovereignties and International Relations: Trans-Sovereign Contacts of Subnational Governments* (Greenwood Press, 1988); Alexander S. Kuznetsov, *Theory and Practice of Paradiplomacy: Subnational Governments in International Affairs*, Routledge New Diplomacy Studies (London ; New York, NY: Routledge, 2015); David Criekemans, ed., *Regional Sub-State Diplomacy Today* (Leiden ; Boston: Martinus Nijhoff Publishers, 2010); Rodrigo Tavares, *Paradiplomacy: Cities and States as Global Players* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2016).

216   Robert Rohrschneider, "The Democracy Deficit and Mass Support for an EU-Wide Government," *American Journal of Political Science*, 2002, 463–475.

by the Member State, obscuring the value-added of the EU. Second, expectations of the EU outstrip the EU's capacity to act, as the EU has limited capacity to effect change in certain policy areas. Third, the speed of digital exchange exacerbates these challenges by increasing the difficulty of responding to concerns.[217]

The main problem, however – especially from a PopSov point of view – remains the European Commission itself, which has come to resemble a government (admittedly *sui generis*) much more than 'just' a civil service. Despite the enormous role it plays in European decision-making, it remains an unelected body, since the 28 Commissioners are appointed by the member-states. Various changes have been made in recent years to hold the Commission more accountable, for instance by increasing the overall counterweight of the (directly but imperfectly elected) European parliament. The democratic deficit is even more poignant with respect to the governance of an increasingly integrated euro zone, which has had such a dramatic impact on the lives of many Europeans and whose role seems only set to increase in the future.

A detailed analysis of the various options to remedy the EU's democratic deficit would reach far beyond the scope of this paper, but we find it hard to see how the European Union will be able to realize its unrivalled promise in purifying some of the wellsprings of PopSovism – thereby also minimizing the likelihood of some of the defense and security implications described in our scenarios – without tackling this key problem.

5.3.2.1.3 Improve European Decision-making

One of the most consistent, if admittedly more technocratic, implications – at least across the first three (darker) scenarios – is the existential imperative to drastically improve EU decision-making. This has been a self-avowed ambition of the EU since its very inception. Unfortunately expectations have consistently and vastly exceeded actual progress.[218]

The challenges in the decisions that the EU will have to make in these three scenarios differ and they already contain some ideas about how the current setup might be improved. In the *Living in PopSov world* scenario, a non-contiguous rump-EU has already made important strides forward with a further relegation of national

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217   European Commission ; Directorate-General for Communication, "White Paper on the Future of Europe : Reflections and Scenarios for the EU27 by 2025" (Luxembourg: Publications Office, 2017), https://ec.europa.eu/commission/sites/beta-political/files/white_paper_on_the_future_of_europe_en.pdf.
218   Christopher Hill, "The Capability-Expectations Gap, or Conceptualizing Europe's International Role," *JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies* 31, no. 3 (1993): 305–328.

competencies to a more powerful Commission. In the field of foreign, security, and defense policy, this has led in this scenario to the merger and expansion from CFSP/CSDP to a more (in today's parlance) comprehensive 'EFSDP' which has also – maybe even more importantly – obtained more of a say in national FSDP deliberations. In the *Clash of PopSovs and War in the EU* scenarios, such radical changes are more difficult given the scenarios' specificities. In the first one those pertain to the difference of views within the EU on whether or not to support the US against China; and in the second scenario to the internal paralysis of the Council because of an impending intra-EU war. In all likelihood, developments leading up to these two narratives (but even more so in their aftermaths) would also trigger more dramatic changes towards a multi-speed Europe in FSDP. Some of these might explore how far countries can go with the new 'Permanent Structured Cooperation' (PESCO) provisions that were written into the Lisbon Treaty (Article 42(6)) and that allow subgroups of like-minded Member States to take European defense to the next level within the treaties.[219] But at the same time it cannot be excluded that other avenues of closer, faster and/or more efficient decision-making avenues might be pursued – even outside of the treaties. We already want to highlight that in all of these cases, it would be of the utmost importance for the Netherlands to be an active participant in these existing and/or new forms of more flexible intra-EU cooperation – in words, but even more so in actions.

Also in the fourth, overall more positive scenario, European decision-making may have to change. In this scenario, the EU survived the relatively short-lived PopSov scare relatively unscathed, but it has not made fundamental institutional changes. Even in this case, governance in the European Union will have to continue to evolve adaptively to remain in sync with the many disruptive changes this era may trigger in areas as different as education, health, mobility, but also defense and security. This is especially true if this scenario leads to a renewed economic growth spurt in the transatlantic area and – even more importantly – to further technological and societal changes.[220]

Looking across the scenarios then in search of robust policy options that would minimize the chances of the first three scenarios materializing and maximize the chances of the fourth one doing so, EU decision-making will have to continue the

219   Almut Möller and Dina Pardijs, "How the EU Can Bend Without Breaking," *The Future Shape of Europe | European Council on Foreign Relations*, March 2017, http://www.ecfr.eu/specials/scorecard/the_future_shape_of_europe; European Political Strategy Centre, European Commission, "In Defence of Europe Defence Integration as a Response to Europe's Strategic Moment," *EPSC Strategic Notes*, no. 4/2015 (June 15, 2015): 12.
220   On this last point, see De Spiegeleire, Maas, and Sweijs, Artificial Intelligence and the Future of Defense: Strategic Implications for a Small Force Provider.

positive momentum that has become so palpable in the aftermath of the dramatic PopSov shocks in Russia (2014), the UK (2015 – Brexit), and US (2016 – Trump).

5.3.2.2 European Policy Options

The various PopSov scenarios trigger a number of substantive policy choices, where the European Union, because of its nature (including its multi-level governance options) and its economies of scale and scope may be uniquely positioned to play a key role above and beyond what individual member states such as the Netherlands would be able to do (and should do) on their own.

5.3.2.2.1 Optimize Market Dynamics

One of the most obvious areas where the EU is uniquely well-positioned to contribute to the realization of the fourth more positive scenario and to the prevention or at least mitigation of the negative ones is by tackling the structural causes that have fueled PopSovism – primarily within the European Union, but possibly also beyond its borders. We already made some general suggestions about this in section 5.3.1.1 above. The potential toolbox that the European Union has at its disposal for this is extensive, as was recently also acknowledged by none less than the former chairman of the US Federal Reserve, Ben Bernanke.[221] As we have already indicated, these options will have to go beyond the more traditional financial-economic policy mechanisms in which European actors like the European Commission and the European Central Bank already play a key role. As nicely represented in a recent oversimplified but still usefully illustrative diagram by the Director-General for Economic and Financial Affairs of the European Commission, Marco Buti, the EU can play a countervailing role in strengthening the European market, which is one of the main targets of the PopSov forces, through targeted liberalization and through further integration. On top of that, the EU also has a number of policy levers through which it can affect both pre-market and post-market dynamics through the many (structural, cohesion, and other funds) instruments that fall within the competence of the (supra-national) Commission.

As a matter of fact, the European Union has already implemented a number of these measures. One of those is related to instruments like the EU Structural and Investment Funds (and particularly the European Social Fund), which take a strategic, long-term perspective in anticipating and managing the social impact of industrial change through activities such as life-long learning.

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221   Bernanke, "When Growth Is Not Enough."
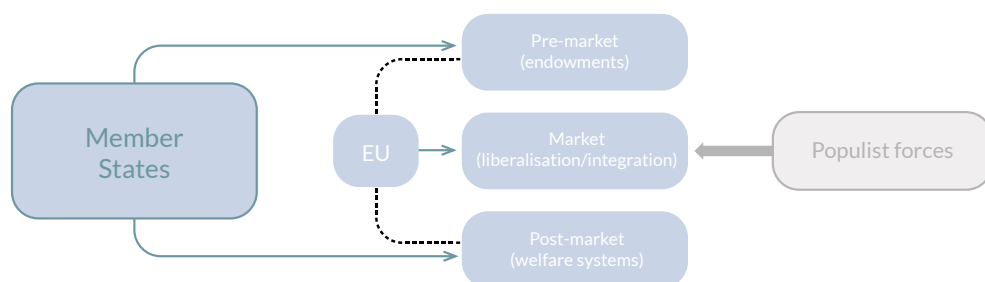
Figure 5.5 EU's (possible) countervailing role in strengthening the European market

There are also some more short-term instruments like the European Globalization Adjustment Fund, which was created already in 2006 (before the financial-economic crisis) and provides support to people losing their jobs as a result of major structural changes in world trade patterns due to globalization, e.g. when a large company shuts down or production is moved outside the EU, or as a result of the global economic and financial crisis. In the period May-June 2017, the European Commission also published a set of Reflection Papers in which it laid out its own vision on how to proceed. The PopSov theme clearly permeates these documents as they try to identify ways in which the EU – differently from most member states – cannot just undergo, but can actually shape globalization in line with what it sees as its shared interests and values. The following box summarizes some of the key insights from these papers.

Texbox 5.1 EU initiatives to deal with the impact of globalization

EU External Responses to Globalization, from the EU Commission:[222]

- Strengthen "the global rulebook": Add regulations for sectors that are currently relatively under-regulated (i.e., the digital realm) and reform regulations that do not ensure a level playing field (i.e., in relation to tax evasion). This includes developing new economic and financial rules, as well as more strictly enforcing currently existing agreements and rules.

- Strengthen and reform multilateral institutions: Coordination of initiatives and enforcement of fair rules will make the distribution of the benefits of globalization more equitable. Create a multilateral investment court to develop a fair and transparent means of settling investor-state disputes that does not rely on arbitration.

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222   European Commission ; Directorate-General for Communication, "Reflection Paper on Harnessing Globalisation," Reflection Paper (Luxembourg: Publications Office, 2017), https://ec.europa.eu/commission/sites/beta-political/files/reflection-paper-globalisation_en.pdf.

- Focus on development: A new European "consensus on development" as well as the proposed "external investment plan" will help reduce migratory pressures while creating new investment opportunities for European countries in areas outside of the Union.

- European economic and cultural diplomacy: Economic diplomacy can foster growth and jobs in Europe by encouraging more open markets and ensuring macroeconomic stability elsewhere. Culture is a significant source of jobs in the EU, while cultural diplomacy is a means of promoting European values abroad.

- Develop a "balanced, rules-based and progressive trade and investment agenda": Reduce unfair competition that causes job losses in the EU and a race to the bottom by encouraging, for example, food safety standards, good working conditions, and environmental protections elsewhere.

EU Internal Responses to Globalization, from the European Commission:[223]

- Increase resilience through robust investments in education and retraining: Both redistributive policies as well as investments in education and skills training can increase the social inclusion of vulnerable populations, such as migrants and low-skilled workers. The European Structural and Investment Funds (ESI) can continue to support the development of human capital, particularly in disadvantaged regions. A more flexible and operational European Globalization Adjustment Fund (EGF) would allow it to be quickly deployed in case of, for example, a factory closure.

- Focus on becoming a more competitive and innovative economy: Support innovation and public-private investment partnerships, strengthen and streamline sectoral policies to meet common goals, ensure that regulation does not cause excess burden, and adapt taxation to modern and digital realities.

5.3.2.2.2 Modulate and Manage Influx Better

A second policy area where the Union can play a major role in addressing some PopSov grievances is in the area of border management and refugee policy. These past few years have already seen a palpable increase in the EU's role in this area, but in a number of the PopSov scenarios, that role may have to be beefed up still more. Especially the *LIving in a PopSov World*, with a non-contiguous rump-EU, and the *War in the EU* scenarios would pose special challenges here.

The European Commission itself sees several possible paths along which European border control may develop. In an arrangement similar to the current status quo, Member States may increase their coordination in managing borders and develop a common asylum system. Alternatively, an even closer union might mean not only increased cooperation in border management but also systematic asylum policies

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223   Ibid.

and counter-terrorism response – while a rump-EU would mean a similarly high level of coordination, but only among a limited number of Member States.[224]

5.3.2.2.3 Help Remove 'Post-' from Fact and Trust

Throughout our PopSov scenarios, it may very well be the less familiar area of restoring trust and overcoming the dangerously quickly spreading post-fact, post-truth sentiments that poses the most daunting policy challenges. When the war of ideas includes manipulation of narratives by foreign powers, restoring such trust requires protecting society as a whole against external meddling whilst at the same time avoiding measures that could curtail the essential rights of citizens to, for example, freedom of speech or privacy. This task has both a soft(-/hard)ware aspect and a wetware (human) one.

Given the size and the scope of this problem (including the fact that some of it may be state-sponsored or -aided[225]), effective *technological* solutions will require economies of scale and scope that transcend those of most (if not all) individual European member states. Better fact-parsing algorithms, more reliable (biometric?) authentication techniques, more secure global distributed ledgers (like Blockchain or IOTA) – the development, roll-out, regulation, etc. of all of these and other core information technologies will require (at least initially) the involvement of truly global players – private and public. Many key private actors like Google, Facebook, or Baidu are already developing and deploying artificial intelligence-based solutions for filtering or countering posts containing objectionable content like hate-speech.[226] Governments, as the responsible public custodians of their societies, will have to jostle to find an appropriate place and role in these developments. National European governments clearly can play (and are already playing) a part in this, but this seems to be an area where the EU might be better placed to effectively interact with and lean on these outsized players.

There is of course also a critically important *human* dimension to the basic challenges posed by different alt-fact and post-truth trends. Some of the tools to rebuild trust in this changed world lie within the organizational setup of government;

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224   European Commission ; Directorate-General for Communication, "White Paper on the Future of Europe : Reflections and Scenarios for the EU27 by 2025."
225   This includes the leak of powerful and controversial malware exploits from the United States NSA, which was subsequently used by hackers in a number of large-scale cyber-attacks. Bruce Schneier, "Why the NSA Makes Us More Vulnerable to Cyberattacks," *Foreign Affairs*, May 30, 2017, https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/2017-05-30/why-nsa-makes-us-more-vulnerable-cyberattacks.
226   Issie Lapowski, "Tech Companies Have the Tools to Confront White Supremacy," *WIRED*, August 14, 2017, https://www.wired.com/story/charlottesville-social-media-hate-speech-online/.

within programs, products, and technologies that can build transparent narratives based on facts; and within the empowerment of civil society.[227] Governments can instill media literacy and critical thinking courses in secondary and tertiary school curricula in order to develop a more discerning public. They can proactively engage in debates when false arguments are used – a strategy that avoids censorship and propaganda while developing discernment among the populace. Governments can also, for example, create rules for transparency in funding of political parties and civil society organizations. When disinformation comes from an external source and governments lack the capabilities to respond, the EU (and NATO) can provide support with strategic communication. Needless to say, the onus for this Herculean task of rebuilding trust does not lie solely with the European Union, but also with our educational systems, our (old and especially new) national media landscape, our corporations, and our citizens.

5.3.2.2.4 More European Defense

As daunting as these different European economic, demographic and informational policy quandaries are, some of the most perilous policy decisions might still lie in a different domain: the military one. A number of our PopSov scenarios have defense dimensions that go significantly beyond what Europe has been called upon to do militarily in the past few decades. In the *PopSov World* scenario, the armed skirmishes with Russia that have already taken place could easily escalate into something much bigger; in the *Clash of PopSovs*, Europe might have to either join its US ally in potentially high-scale warfare against the PLA or may have to start shouldering most of the burden for its own (full-spectrum) defense effort; and the *War in the EU* scenario would require a robust interposition force beyond what was required, for instance, in Kosovo – as both Romania and Hungary would have, after increased two decades, significantly more potent military capabilities than the post-Yugoslav armed forces had during the Balkan wars.

Two manifestations of PopSovism (Brexit and Donald Trump's election followed by his subsequent behavior) have already triggered tangible momentum in the area of CSDP – especially last year with the so-called 2016 'Winter Package'[228] that included a European Defense Action Plan proposed by the European Commission to increase

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227   Upcoming HCSS Report, Countering Russian Disinformation and Societal Interference.
228   For an excellent overview of where things stand as of July 2017, see European Parliamentary Research Service, Elena Lazarou, and Georgios Barzoukas, "European Defence – a Year on from the Global Strategy" (European Parliament, July 2017), http://www.europarl.europa.eu/RegData/etudes/BRIE/2017/608640/EPRS_BRI(2017)608640_EN.pdf.. See also Steven Blockmans, "The 2016 'Winter Package' on European Security and Defence: Constitutional, Legal and Institutional Implications. in-Depth Analysis" (European Partliament, Directorate General for Internal Policies, Policy Department for Citizens' Rights and Constitutional Affairs, 2016), http://www.europarl.europa.eu/RegData/etudes/IDAN/2016/571405/IPOL_IDA(2016)571405_EN.pdf.

defense research and capabilities. It highlighted three goals for European defense cooperation. First, greater security and defense cooperation within the EU would align strategic cultures and threat assessments across Member States. Second, as the transatlantic relationship changes, greater EU security cooperation would allow Europe to take charge of its own security, while continuing a close partnership with NATO. Finally, defense cooperation would mean greater economies of scale within the defense industry, allowing for both increased innovation as well as decreased duplication in systems and capabilities.[229]

In the three darker scenarios, the possibility of a Trump-US that would return even more to its early election rhetoric and turn its back on a 'freeriding' Europe (which is not a given in either scenario, but is certainly not excluded either) begs the question as to whether these still relatively timid steps will prove sufficient to face the bigger challenges it represents.

An important European challenge in this area will be to figure out what optimal subsidiarity would mean for the more PosSov-specific defense and security resilience tasks that our scenarios suggest. Europe's economies of scale and of scope suggest also here that quite a bit of the heavy lifting on certain technological aspects of resilience-enhancement may still best be entrusted to the European level. The new European Defense Fund could possibly play a major role in this alongside the Commission's broader societal-security-related efforts in the Framework Programs for Research and Technological Development. Given the specific challenges that resilience poses at the national and even local levels, however, it seems plausible that those layers of European governance are still likely to play key roles in experimenting with and developing bespoke resilience-enhancing solutions for the communities they know best.

5.3.2.3 European Cooperation Options

Our four scenarios have some important implication for Europe's international cooperation portfolio.[230]

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229   European Commission; Directorate-General for Communication, "Reflection Paper on the Future of European Defence," Reflection Paper (Luxembourg: Publications Office, 2017), https://ec.europa.eu/commission/sites/beta-politi-cal/files/reflection-paper-defence_en.pdf.
230   Sijbren de Jong et al., *Better Together. Towards a New Cooperation Portfolio for Defense* (The Hague, The Nether-lands: *The Hague Centre* for Strategic Studies, 2016).

Like all other international actors, Europe invests in relationships across a number of different 'baskets'[231] of international actors. This portfolio concept is perhaps best explained by the example of the financial investment world, where such 'baskets' might include asset classes (e.g. stocks vs. bonds); cap-sizes (small-medium-big); geographical regions (Europe, the US, Asia, Africa); technology areas (mining, telco, finance, etc.); ownership structure (listed, privately owned), risk profile (high, medium, low), etc. Given the uncertainties of the market, investors typically want to spread their investment risk across these baskets. The essence of portfolio management is to keep adjusting one's portfolio in search of the optimal mix across these different choices based on changing circumstances. Countries make analogous investment choices across different categories of international cooperation options. Here the baskets tend to be: differing levels of investment in multilateral versus bi- or mini-lateral; in relations with certain regions of state versus with non-state-actors; in region A or region B; etc. One of the great comparative advantages of the European Union is the vastly superior weight it can bring to the management of its cooperation portfolio, when compared with those of individual member states. HCSS developed the concept of the cooperation portfolio in its 2016 study *Better Together*.[232]

Cooperation with the US has been the main external cooperation portfolio option that European political leaders and elites have relied upon since the end of the Cold War. It has not always been an easy, popular, or only positive one and it certainly has witnessed many ups and down. On balance, however, the enduring strength of this relationship and the uninterrupted importance of NATO for most Western European countries for almost 7 decades clearly demonstrate that this investment option continues to be highly valued. Our more negative PopSov scenarios suggest significant additional efforts on that important part of our portfolio. In our analysis of this, we want to differentiate between three different *cas de figure*: preventing the negative US scenarios from occurring; damage limitation in case they do; and thinking about how to minimize the negative consequences of anything we do in our damage limitation mode for the post-PopSov period.

A first and – in our opinion overriding – imperative is that the more negative US (sub-)scenarios should be avoided. Even with the current Trump administration that has so far not been impossible. Despite all of the President's rhetoric – so far, the main factual signal the Trump administration has sent to Europe is that it has almost quadrupled the money allocated to the US European Reassurance Initiative from $789m in 2016 to $3.4bn in 2017. Keeping the US on board is therefore one of

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231   We use this term in analogy to the different investment classes in financial portfolio management theory. For a good introductory text in that subject, see
232   Jong et al., Better Together. Towards a New Cooperation Portfolio for Defense.

Europe's quintessential priorities, and one that is certainly not (yet) beyond the realm of the possible. This may require making certain tactical compromises. But not at any cost. Which leads us to our second consideration: what to do in case the US does turn its back on Europe – at least on certain issues and/or for a certain period of time.

Each of the three most daunting scenarios may include a more Europe-averse US sub-scenario. We have already noted that such an outcome is by no means preordained in either of them. If our scenario narratives were to develop along those more negative lines, however, Europe may indeed have no alternative but to put autonomous options much higher on the European political (and financial) agenda. But even in this case, efforts to sustain or to even strengthen healthy positive relationships with the more cooperative segments of the US political system will likely gain in importance. Although it is important to recognize that Trump continues to represent the views of a significant part of the US population,[233] he still does not mirror the preferences or sentiments of the majority of US citizens, let alone of the US Congress (or in all likelihood even of all of his cabinet members) – especially when it comes to some key elements of foreign and/or security policy. This means there is still ample opportunity to reach out to 'mainstream America' through some sort of 'holding operation', in which a short-term damage limitation policy already looks ahead at a post-Trump future. The fact that a push for more European autonomy will (probably) translate into enhanced European capabilities will certainly play in the hand of the mainstream US foreign and security policy elites (even some that are near to Trump).

This brings us to our third consideration, which is that – unless (US or European) national or geodynamics were to change dramatically – a Trump-US is highly unlikely to last for longer than 4 years (if that long). This suggests that even if circumstances were to force Europe to pursue a significantly higher degree of FSDP-autonomy – beyond the degree that is now comfortable in Brussels and in other national capitals today – this pursuit should not be followed *coute que coute* (at any cost). It is only in the very direst of future security environments that Europe would ever be willing to contemplate going it alone. Full autonomy is in our view still highly likely to always remain Plan-Z rather than Plan-B. Plan-A will always remain to share responsibility for regional (and hopefully also increasingly wider) security and stability with other responsible actors in the international system – whoever they may be. This is very in line with what Europe has been able to achieve within its own European zone of stability, in which PopSov-philosophies of the past have now been replaced by more (certainly internally, but, until the PopSov movement started

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233   Although their relative share has declined somewhat from the post-election level of 40% (Gallup, Economist special on Trump-US), it remains above 35% after the first 5 (turbulent) months of his presidency.

turning Europe more inwards, also increasingly externally) inclusive strategies. If Plan-A were to prove unattainable in the short run, it would still behoove Europe, in our opinion, not to make decisions that would irrevocably impair future relations with more responsible PopSov successor regimes – wherever they emerge. This maxim would apply, in our opinion, first and foremost to the US.

One interesting observation on the cooperation portfolio is that across many scenarios, the Chinese investment option is probably the one most likely to deserve a renewed – and more positive – look. In the PopSov World scenario, China becomes *a* major – and maybe even *the major*, depending on the degree of self-diminution of Trump-US – pole in the international system that increasingly presents a bandwagoning[234] temptation for Europe. This holds especially in the (admittedly unlikely) case in which China were to decide to play the 'Europe'-card in a possible NATO-Russia altercation. In the *Clash of PopSovs* – essentially a clash between US and Chinese PopSovism – the key issue might be more one of (depending on whether or not European leaders decide to honor a US request to support it in its clash with China) maintaining equidistance between the US and China – which would *de facto* still represent a significant upgrade of the Chinese investment part of our cooperation portfolio. In the *War in the EU* scenario, too little information was given about the extra-EU dynamics around this intra-EU hotspot. In our survey, most participants focused on potential attempts by the Russian Federation to take advantage of events to sow further discord within Europe and to possibly even expand its own influence further West again. Few focused on how China might leverage these dynamics – and also here various sub-scenarios are thinkable. In some sub-scenarios China might, for instance, condone or even support Russian attempts to meddle in the conflict for its own gains; but in others, China might present itself as a constructive broker – either with the US, or, in case the US would have left this problem to the Europeans to solve, as a replacement superpower. Finally – also in the more positive *Upwards and Onwards* PopSov scenario, China might, depending on the course it will decide to pursue, either be a spoiler of a new post-PopSov international order or one of its constituent pillars. In either case, however, China's weight in our cooperation investment portfolio has to be upgraded once again.

The other major European cooperation investment choice that would have to be adjusted across the different PopSov scenarios is the Russian one. In recent years, because of events in Georgia and Ukraine, because of Russian propaganda and armaments efforts, and because of its (self-)reasserted role in the Middle East

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234   For the concept of bandwagoning vs balancing in international relations, see Randall L. Schweller, "Bandwagoning for Profit: Bringing the Revisionist State Back In," *International Security* 19, no. 1 (1994): 72–107.

again, Russia has adroitly managed to reclaim for itself a role in geodynamics that is entirely out of proportion with its (dramatically declining) economic or even energetic role in the world. For Europe, the Russian Federation will always remain the giant nuclear Eastern European neighbor that has to be (at worst) accommodated or (at best) integrated. In the *PopSov World and War in the EU* scenarios, Russia is somewhat of a rogue opportunist that tries to take advantage of turmoil to boost what it sees as its own self-understood interests. In the *Clash of the PopSovs* scenario, it is the vacillating power that is willing to entertain the gambits of both China and the US – thereby (again) bypassing Europe.

5.3.3 Dutch Foreign, Security and Defense Policy

Texbox 5.3 Box on Dutch PopSovism

HCSS built an assumption into all scenarios that Dutch PopSovism will remain a minority movement in the Netherlands. This assumption reflects current mainstream thinking in the country,[235] even though trends in some of our scenarios may start undermining today's confidence in that assumption. These include the combination of more economic hardship and more job displacement by machines and/or artificial intelligence in the absence of any mitigating measures. Prudent strategic decision-makers might therefore be well advised to at least contemplate what the implications would be of a PopSov Netherlands for its institutions.

The Dutch government's National Risk Profile already contains a scenario in which the integrity of its civil service starts becoming compromised – in the initial scenario by a new political party with close ties to criminal elements.[236] Even though a PopSov regime is undoubtedly a challenge of a different nature, it does raise similar questions. When the NRA scenario was first analyzed in 2009, it was then already judged to be 'probable' and 'very serious' and in some of these PopSov scenarios both its probability and its impact might have to be ratcheted up a few notches. Whereas we do not specifically address the implications of a Dutch PopSov government in this section, we can already see the difficult position in which this puts civil servants dealing with foreign, defense, and security policy in countries like the US, Turkey, Hungary, and Poland.

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235   Especially after the March 2017 elections in which Dutch PopSov parties PVV and FVD 'only' obtained 22 out of 150 seats in Parliament -- significantly less than earlier public opinion had predicted. Many analysts, however, pointed to the impact of the Russian and Turkish governments' attempts to influence the elections which may have given mainstream parties an unexpected boost.
236   Scenario 'Beïnvloeding openbaar bestuur' in Ministerie van Binnenlandse Zaken en Koninkrijksrelaties., Directoraat-Generaal Veiligheid, "Nationale Veiligheid. Scenario's Nationale Risicobeoordeling 2008/2009" (The Hague, 2009), http://www.heteindevandewereld.nl/natrisico.pdf.

5.3.3.1 Implications for the Netherlands

The first three negative scenarios bode ill for the Netherlands. In all of them, the current mainstream centrist consensus on both domestic and external policy is likely to become increasingly uncomfortable. As Europe's weight in the world would decline, so would that of the Netherlands. All three of these scenarios would require a significantly increased defense effort – in a *PopSov World* possibly against Russia; in a *Clash of PopSovs* possibly against China; and in *War in Europe* to contribute meaningfully to an interposition force in a non-permissive environment. Such an increased effort would probably become a slightly easier political sell in the country under those circumstances, but would even then in all likelihood still be resisted by many – not least by some of the Dutch PopSov forces themselves.

5.3.3.2 Dutch Cooperation Options

The Netherlands' current international cooperation portfolio puts much stock – like all other European countries – in international organizations. Front and center stage here stand the European Union and NATO; but the portfolio also includes investments in other international organizations, in some selected countries, and also in a number of non-state actors. These choices can be thought of as a cooperation portfolio, which – just like its financial counterpart – has to be constantly recalibrated based on changing circumstances. (see Texbox 5.1)

We feel that these 4 scenarios probably require the most significant adjustments in this specific area. They may also do so in ways that might stretch the country's elite's current comfort zone. In all three negative scenarios, the current balance between the Netherlands' European and transatlantic orientations will likely prove hard to sustain. In all of these scenarios, specific choices will have to be made, but on balance the European (/EU) investment option seems to gain in attractiveness in most scenarios. The more the US distances itself from Europe, the more the Netherlands will have few alternatives but to upgrade its European portfolio option. Dependent on the state of the EU in the respective scenarios, this enhanced European focus will be targeted at the European Union especially if a – possibly even geographically non-contiguous – rump-EU leaps forward in a new integrationist spiral. We already suggested that the Netherlands might be best served by working hard to remain in that 'core group'. Even in the *Clash of PopSovs* scenario, with a US threatening to withdraw from NATO, it is hard (though – as our survey showed – not entirely inconceivable) to envisage how the Netherlands could sustain following a UK government that might be the only European power willing to support the US militarily against China.

The net result of all of this is that the Netherlands will have to pursue an even more proactive position in the European Union. This does not mean abandoning its other partnership choices (US, UK, GE, EU, UN, etc.), but it does suggest an upgraded position for the EU portfolio option, probably also accompanied by a strengthening of the German and (depending on what happens in that part of Europe) Scandinavian elements within it. Another interesting partnership implication is that in any scenario that includes a further fragilization of the European Union, other 'minilateral'[237] groupings may grow in importance to and attractiveness for the Netherlands. This includes existing ones – with the Benelux as an obvious example[238] – but possibly also new ones – e.g. with other like-minded European countries.

Just as we noted for Europe as a whole, the Chinese cooperation option is the other big 'winner' from these scenarios – also with respect to the Netherlands – in our three negative PopSov scenarios. Even here, engaging with China through the European Union may have some advantages; but the Netherlands still has a number of unique selling points that could certainly also still be leveraged bilaterally.

It is interesting that the Russia option within the Netherlands' overall cooperation portfolio remains particularly difficult across most scenarios – at least as long as the Putin regime lingers on. The remarkably deep (and internationally often underappreciated) political and especially economic ties that the two countries had forged in the post-Soviet period received a devastating blow in 2014 with Russia's blatant violation of Ukraine's sovereignty and the – at least in Western perception – Russia-attributed death of almost 200 Dutch citizens on MH17. For most of our PopSov scenarios, many participants in our survey foresaw few possibilities for returning the pre-2014 status-quo-ante. But some still anticipated that in the *PopSov World* scenario 'detente' with Russia might still prevail (with Ukraine being sacrificed); and that in the *Clash of PopSovs* scenario, Europe might have an interest in preventing a Sino-Russian anti-US (or anti-NATO) Alliance. The *War in the EU* scenario was generally assessed more negatively on this point, as survey participants anticipated/ feared that Russia – either at Hungary's request, or on its own initiative – might become a spoiler in the conflict.

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237   This term is used in contrast to bi-lateral (two parties) and 'multi-lateral' groupings (a large number of parties), to denote smaller groupings of countries. See Miles Kahler, "Multilateralism with Small and Large Numbers," *International Organization* 46, no. 03 (June 1992): 681, doi:10.1017/S0020818300027867.
238   Depending on future developments in Belgium and Luxembourg.

5.3.3.3 Dutch Policy Options

We have already suggested that Dutch interests and values can, in most of our PopSov scenarios, best be upheld (maybe ironically, but therefore not any less effectively) through the vehicle of the European Union and – through it – of the various institutional instruments of global governance. This does not, however, absolve Dutch policy-makers from their responsibility to also harness national policy instruments to tackle the root causes of PopSovism and to forge sustainably effective policy solutions.

Also at the national level, it is important to recognize that foreign and security policy – especially in scenarios that are driven by internal dynamics – do start at home. The Netherlands remains, by most measures, a highly successful liberal democracy that scores disproportionally high on most international rankings. The think tank of advanced industrialized countries, the OECD, for instance, finds that,

> *The Netherlands performs well in many measures of well-being relative to most other countries in the Better Life Index. The Netherlands ranks top in work-life balance and above the average in jobs and earnings, housing, education and skills, subjective well-being, environmental quality, personal safety, and health status.*[239]

The only two indicators where the country scores lower are civic engagement and community, which while not undisputed, may suggest increased Dutch efforts in those areas.[240] Also purely economically speaking, the country receives generally high marks from international organizations. After a double-dip recession, the Netherlands is now in the third year of a gradual recovery and it has been steadily accelerating, as witnessed in rising house prices, gradually improving household balance sheets, and rising consumption.[241] The PopSov constituency in the Netherlands is an equal beneficiary of these positive conditions just like the country's other inhabitants.

Yet, despite these relatively propitious conditions, populism – and, more recently, PopSovism – has been and remains a factor of political importance in this country.[242]

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239   Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development, "How's Life in the Netherlands?" (OECD Publishing, May 2016), https://www.oecd.org/statistics/Better-Life-Initiative-country-note-Netherlands.pdf; Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development, "OECD Better Life Index - Netherlands," *OECD Better Life Index*, 2016, http://www.oecdbetterlifeindex.org/countries/netherlands/.
240   Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development, "How's Life in the Netherlands?"; Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development, "OECD Better Life Index - Netherlands."
241   International Monetary Fund European Department, Kingdom of the Netherlands-Netherlands: 2016 Article IV Consultation-Press Release; Staff Report; and Statement by the Alternate Executive Director for the Kingdom of the Netherlands-Netherlands, vol. 77, IMF Country Report 17 (International Monetary Fund, 2017).
242   For some historical antecedents of Dutch populism, see A. P. M. Lucardie, "Rechts-Extremisme, Populisme

In some of our PopSov scenarios, that importance might even increase, a prospect that the body politic of this country should be willing to anticipate and be able to manage – politically, substantively, and procedurally.

The Dutch *polity* has, so far, shown sufficient resilience to be able to absorb some potent PopSovism blows through its democratic institutions. Various PopSovist parties have been able to find their way into Parliament where they vigorously represent the interests of their constituencies. In the case of Geert Wilders' PVV of, they even spent one and a half year as the de-facto partner of a center-right government coalition. Dutch domestic policies – implemented by coalitions of different stripes and colors – have also always looked for ways to design socially equitably solutions that still uphold the country's international competitiveness. The political process to strike that balance has – as in most other countries – not always been frictionless or beyond dispute, but by and large it has managed to generate a high level of performance legitimacy amongst the population. The ongoing coalition negotiations provide a nice illustration of how the country is starting to make some PopSov-induced policy adjustments in a pragmatic way, without reneging on its core policy tenets. Most parties that are currently negotiating a coalition agreement spoke out in favor of more development aid during their electoral campaigns, but are now injecting some PopSov policy elements into this approach by more tightly coupling development aid to migration-mitigating measures.

We have argued that the European Union, because of its economies of scale and scope, remains in a unique position to address some of the root causes behind PopSovism. In the European logic of subsidiarity ("problems should be solved at the lowest possible level"), however, there remain a whole range of *substantive* policies that could usefully be (and – to a large extent – are) pursued at the national level to **reinvigorate the social contract.** Providing a comprehensive list of such policies would again transcend the scope of this paper (and the competence of its authors), but based on the literature we surveyed, this might include expanding additional job training and re-training opportunities, especially for the more lowly educated; alleviating legislative and/or regulatory hurdles to the speedy and successful assimilation of immigrants and/or refugees that add value to the country's human

of Democratisch Patriotisme," *Opmerkingen over de Politieke Plaatsbepaling van de Partij Voor de Vrijheid En Trots Op Nederland,* 2007, 176–190; H. te Velde and others, "Van Regentenmentaliteit Tot Populisme. Politieke Tradities in Nederland," 2010, https://openaccess.leidenuniv.nl/bitstream/handle/1887/20836/Van%20regentenmentaliteit%20tot%20populisme%204e%20druk.pdf?sequence=6; Koen Vossen, "Van Marginaal Naar Mainstream? Populisme in de Nederlandse Geschiedenis," *BMGN-Low Countries Historical Review* 127, no. 2 (2012), http://www.bmgn-lchr.nl/articles/abstract/10.18352/bmgn-lchr.8072/; Henk te Velde, *Paul Lucardie En Gerrit Voerman, Populisten in de Polder*, 2013, http://www.bmgn-lchr.nl/articles/10.18352/bmgn-lchr.9191/galley/9581/download/.

capital; providing transition assistance for displaced workers; promoting community relations at the grassroots level; etc. These national measures are all the more important to demonstrate to PopSov constituencies that the nation-state does indeed still very much have a say in their own future.

Getting these substantive policy options 'right' also has a *procedural* dimension. The Dutch government has made great strides in moving towards the types of truly whole-of-government, whole-of-society and even whole-of-ecosystem approaches and procedures that complex challenges of this nature demand. This is not only the case in what we now call the 'comprehensive approach' for foreign, defense and security policy ('de geïntegreerde benadering' in Dutch), but across the board. Attempts to reorganize (and rethink) governance in fields like cybersecurity or 'hybrid challenges' – also in this country – provide excellent early examples of truly transversal efforts that increasingly involve the entire ecosystem. Effectively dealing with a challenge like PopSovism will mean finding analogous ways of formulating and executing purposive public and private action across areas (at home and abroad) like urban planning, education, social policy, information management, etc.

5.3.3.4 Dutch Defense and Security Capability Options

As we referenced in the global and European defense and security sections of this chapter (see sections 5.3.1.4 and 5.3.2.2.4), also Dutch planners are constantly readjusting their prospective defense and security investment priorities in light of changing internal and external policy triggers. Many of the futuribles that were worked into the scenarios are already being addressed there – including how to deal with the multi-faceted (high-end and hybrid – including cyber) threats once again posed by Russia and other state- and non-state actors to the European Union and to the Atlantic Alliance. Most (though not all) of those efforts are primarily targeted at 'the enemy'

Our analysis of the more PopSov-specific resilience tasks that flow from our four scenarios has positioned those parts of our own societies (and of the societies adjacent to Europe) that are particularly susceptible to the PopSov siren song as the real center of gravity of our defense and security planning efforts. We already mentioned that the subsidiarity discussion about which level of European governance is best suited to tackle some of those security-resilience-related tasks is likely to still end up on the side of the individual member-states (and even lower levels of governance). Nobody knows the actual societal, economic, political, identity, etc. dynamics of the Netherlands (or of Rotterdam, or of Brabant, or of....) better than the

national and local politicians, civil servants, businessmen, community organizers, etc. When we are therefore talking about how to bolster the resilience of the national, regional or local defense and security ecosystems against various possible PopSov-induced security-threatening tendencies, we suspect that these levels of governance may assume a critical role.

6 CONCLUSION – POPSOVISM AS A CHALLENGE AND AN OPPORTUNITY

6 Conclusion – PopSovism as a Challenge and an Opportunity

The public debate on populist sovereignism has tended to be painted in starkly somber tones. Journalists, pundits, analysts – and the public at large – are clearly mesmerized by some of the larger-than-life PopSov protagonists like Donald Trump, Viktor Orbán, Nigel Farage, Vladimir Putin, and others. There is no denying that they make great copy for the media. This report has argued, however, that the real protagonists of PopSovism are the societal groups that have propelled these leaders into the spotlight. Individual leaders may come and go; the wellsprings that spawn them are likely to prove more enduring. It is those wellsprings, therefore, that represent the center of gravity of any policy efforts to effectively deal with PopSovism.

This report has certainly not swept the very real challenges that PopSov presents under the rug. Most of the future PopSov scenarios that we developed clearly illustrate a number of – all too – plausible ways in which PopSovism could jeopardize global security and peace in Europe. We have emphasized that our defense and security organizations will have to prepare to prevent, deter, *and* manage those external threats. We have also warned against premature professions of 'mission accomplished'. On the surface, the European PopSov challenge looks less daunting in the second half of 2017 than it did throughout the preceding year. This sentiment should not obscure the fact, however, that the root causes that have triggered and keep fueling PopSovist sentiments and actions have not been removed and are still very much with us today. Sizeable parts of our transatlantic populations remain susceptible to the points of view espoused by PopSov politicians. And even if the necessary policy adjustments are made (a definite 'if'), their results may still take some time to materialize. Other technological and/or socio-economic developments may still end up throwing more fuel on the simmering PopSov flames.

This report has framed PopSovism as a powerful signal 'from below' that should not

be contemptuously dismissed but should instead be carefully heeded. The signal is sometimes hidden in infelicitous, cacophonous, and/or counterproductive noise. But the health of a democracy depends on such signals being voiced and – even more importantly – heard. The key requirement here is for our democracies to be able to then design and implement the required policy adjustments. If that ability is present, stressors like PopSov strengthen democracy – therein lies the antifragility of this particular form of governance[243]. The interwar period serves as a powerful historical reminder of what happens if that ability proves failing. Based on the evidence to date, however, the PopSov signal has already triggered corrective policy responses that are only to be welcomed. It remains to be seen, however, to what extent these corrections will prove effective and/or sufficient.

The past need not be prologue. There are relatively good grounds to think that the world, Europe, and the Netherlands are in a better position today in 2017 than we were in previous times in history when we confronted similar political and societal challenges. The quality of our systems of governance is better than in the 19th century or in interwar period – with broader suffrage, better checks and balances; better quality of decision-making. Our economies are far more complex and intertwined; our populations are better educated, more affluent, etc. The presence of various redistributive programs buffers citizens from economic calamities. Our governments have learned to work together in new ways and even to mutualize certain systemic risks. This is especially true in Europe, where, despite all of its imperfections, the European Union remains a beacon for many other parts of the world that want to find new ways of prospering together, thus transcending many security dilemmas. None of these improvements offer iron-clad guarantees against further political, economic, or even military lapses. But taken together, they arguably put our contemporary societies, polities, and economies in a comparatively much more propitious position to weather these adverse political winds. As a recent World Economic Forum report argued, they may even offer our societies a chance to come out stronger:

The potential upside to the tremendous uncertainty that many around the world feel is that we essentially are confronted with a clean slate. With previous presumptions, biases, and taboos having been erased, it may be possible to create something better.[244]

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243   Nassim Nicholas Taleb, *Antifragile: Things That Gain from Disorder*, Reprint edition (New York: Random House Trade Paperbacks, 2014).
244   Spence, Michael. "Four Certainties About Populist Economics, According to a Nobel Laureate." *World Economic Forum*, January 31, 2017. https://www.weforum.org/agenda/2017/01/four-certainties-about-populist-economics-according-to-a-nobel-laureate/.

Such an outcome is far from preordained. The policy and political lessons of the PopSov dynamics of the past few years are still being learned – nationally and internationally. This report argues that the first – and best value-for-money (also in defense and security terms) – policy priority should be to get the policy adjustment right. That is first and foremost a domestic policy priority – even if the linkages with defense and security (including the Nth-order security effects of some of these domestic policy adjustments) should constantly be borne in mind.

If the PopSov signal will not receive adequate domestic policy responses, more vestigial defense and security threats like the ones we illustrated in some of our darker scenarios may once again re-emerge – within the European Union, along its borders and further afield. There are also various additional geodynamic complications that may intersect with these PopSov dynamics in unexpected ways, some of which we illustrated in a few of the scenarios. No prudent strategic decision-maker can ignore preparing for such threats – both in terms of prevention and in terms of response. In various recent reports, HCSS has highlighted a number of areas where we feel our DSO's strategic option portfolio should be adjusted. These are important but are not primarily driven by PopSovism.

If there are any PopSov-specific aspects that this report serves to highlight, however, they probably lie less in the realm of what we have called 'agents of conflict' as in that of the 'agents of resilience'. In the former realm, our DSOs – including the Dutch one – are already starting to relearn the grammar of conflict and are actively re-calibrating their capability portfolio towards the more (both kinetic and cyber) high-end threat that Russia and China increasingly present. Even some of this report's PopSov scenarios lend support to that overall priority.

The more PopSov-specific DSO portfolio adjustments to result from this study, however, lie more in the area of resilience – both on 'our' side ("how do we make our societies, economies and polities more resilient against external attempts to weaken our resilience?"), but also in third parties ("how can we strengthen societal resilience in countries where PopSov political entrepreneurs are trying to whip up their constituencies in directions that might lead to conflict?"). This would apply especially to countries within the European Union in which PopSovism might start to lean towards domestic and/or international violent conflict (as in our *War in the EU* scenario); but also to various other places in the world where similar dynamics can be observed. In an earlier report this year, we have suggested that artificial intelligence might open up new investment opportunities in that area that might provide excellent (defense) value for (defense) money even for small- to medium-sized force providers.

The authors of this report do not believe that a return to a presumably simpler or 'better' past (labeled 'Retrotopia' by the late Zygmunt Bauman[245]) in which our primordial nations still controlled their own destiny – as advocated by the current PopSov movement – is historically accurate, feasible, or desirable. We have instead argued that PopSovism is best framed as a potentially healthy feedback signal about certain negative aspects of the recent rush towards a supposed global liberal utopia that have been underestimated by national, European, and international policymakers. If that policy signal is ignored or mismanaged, it may still lead to some defense and security implications that will be reminiscent of the downwards spirals of the first half of the 20th century. But it need not.

Strategically prudent defense and security organizations should first of all work together with their domestic policy counterparts to make sure that this maybe distorted but still powerful and meaningful signal receives an appropriate comprehensive policy response. As the public custodians of a broader defense and security ecosystem, they should secondly also think about ways in which they can help to bolster the resilience of their own societies, as well as of other societies that might descend into conflict in ways that would affect their societies. Finally, they also have to make sure that as operators they have the wherewithal to deal with the potential hard defense and security consequences that might ensue – both before, during, and after an actual conflict. This is a tall order. It risks getting submerged under the many other security challenges of this day like terrorism, cyber, Russia, etc. We remain hopeful and confident, however, that this particular challenge *and* opportunity will receive the public attention it deserves, and that this report will contribute towards that end.

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245   Zygmunt Bauman, *Retrotopia*, 1 edition (Cambridge ; Malden, MA: Polity, 2017).

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ANNEX A: METHOD FOR CODING POPSOV PARTY MANIFESTOS

Annex A: Method for Coding PopSov Party Manifestos

From Brexit and the election of President Trump to the current popularity of the National Front in France, populist sovereignist movements or parties appear increasingly popular and powerful. Nationalism, protectionism, and illiberalism seem to buoy their success, breaking with the status quo. The goal of this research is to provide a more concrete answer as to what these parties actually propose doing once in power and then assess the implications of their policies for foreign and security policy, international security, and liberalism. We therefore pinpointed electorally successful populist sovereignist parties in the United States and Europe and then coded and analyzed the manifestos and policy proposals. The findings from this coding effort are presented in "A Benchmark of PopSov Policy Manifestos".

A.1 Selecting the parties

The selection of parties to be included in the benchmark was based on a number of criteria that were relevant for this study. First, the geographical area of interest was Europe and the United States. To come up with a sample of parties that are both populist and sovereignist, we developed a long list of 50 European and American (USA) parties identified as populist within the academic literature and reports by research institutes on populism written between 2013 and 2017.[246] Second, we are

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246   Sources for the long list of parties were Rosa Balfour et al., *Europe's Troublemakers. The Populist Challenge to Foreign Policy* (Brussels: European Policy Center, 2016), http://www.epc.eu/documents/uploads/pub_6377_europe_s_ troublemakers.pdf; Yehunda Ben-Hur Levy, "The Undiplomats: Right-Wing Populists and Their Foreign Policies" (Centre for European Reform, August 2015), www.cer.org.uk; Cas Mudde, "Populism in Europe: A Primer," *OpenDemocracy*, May 12, 2015, https://www.opendemocracy.net/can-europe-make-it/cas-mudde/populism-in-europe-primer; Denitsa Raynova and Ian Kearns, "The Foreign and Security Policies of Populist Parties in Europe," ELN Quick-Guide (European Leadership Network, May 2014); José Ignacio Torreblanca and Mark Leonard, "The Continent-Wide Rise of Euroscepticism," Policy Memo (European Council on Foreign Relations, 2013), http://www.ecfr.eu/page/-/ECFR79_EU-ROSCEPTICISM_BRIEF_AW.pdf; Susi Dennison and Dina Pardijs, "The World According to Europe's Insurgent Parties: Putin, Migration and People Power" (European Council on Foreign Relations, June 27, 2016), http://www.ecfr.eu/

interested in mapping the views of parties that are both populist and sovereignist. To ensure that the parties within our sample fit our definition of populism and sovereignism, we coded the manifestos or manifestos of these parties for populist and sovereignist rhetoric. Any parties that did not meet the following criteria were eliminated:

- The *populist* sentiments coded had to included a positive appeal to 'the people'; a negative reference to an 'elite' person or group; a polarizing and Manichean 'us vs. them' sentiment; and positioning the party as 'anti-party'247 or 'anti-establishment'. Any party whose manifesto did not contain at least two populist appeals (two separate 'populist' codes) was eliminated from our list.

- For *sovereignism*, we similarly coded for sovereignist rhetoric and eliminated any parties whose manifestos did not contain it. Sovereignist statements were operationalized as those that assert that the state should have more exclusive control over its territory and internal affairs. Therefore, assertions that the influence of foreign powers within the state must be decreased, or that the state should have the ultimate authority to control its own affairs, were coded as sovereignist. Again, a manifesto had to contain at least two instances of a 'sovereignist' sentiment (two separate coded excerpts) for the manifesto to be included in the benchmark. To be consistent across all parties, no speeches were used to determine whether or not a party was populist, with the exception of President Trump due to his lack of a manifesto.

- Third, we only wanted to include those parties with *sizeable* support as they are more likely to be able to affect national policies. For countries with no upcoming election, we therefore eliminated parties that received less than 10 percent of the vote in a recent election or hold less than 10 percent of the seats at the national or EU level as of March 2017. For countries with an upcoming 2017 election, we included parties polling above 10 percent of the vote as of March 2017. Only the Alternative for Germany (AfD) passed the latter condition but not the first condition. The final list of populist sovereignist parties examined for this benchmark are listed in Table A.1

Party Name (English)	Party Acronym	Country
Alternative for Germany	AfD	Germany
Austria Freedom Party	FPÖ	Austria
Danish People's Party	DPP	Denmark
Fidesz	Fidesz	Hungary
Five Star Movement	M5S	Italy
Golden Dawn	LS-CA	Greece
Law and Justice	PiS	Poland
Movement for a Better Hungary	Jobbik	Hungary
United Patriots	TB/LNNK	Latvia
National Front	FN	France
Party for Freedom	PVV	Netherlands
Patriotic Front	IMRO-NFSB-Ataka	Bulgaria
Republican Party (GOP)	GOP	United States
Republican Party (Trump)	Trump	United States
Slovak National Party	SNS	Slovakia
Sweden Democrats	SD	Sweden
Swiss People's Party	SVP	Switzerland
United Kingdom Independence Party	UKIP	United Kingdom

Table A.1 Final list of populist sovereignist parties

The benefit of analyzing the rhetoric in manifestos to determine if a party is populist and sovereignist is that it provides a relatively objective measure in comparison to the labels indiscriminately applied to parties by outside observers. SYRIZA, for example, is often portrayed as pro-Greece, anti-EU. While SYRIZA does denounce economic 'elites' who promote neoliberal and austerity policies, including within the EU, the party's International Relations and Peace Affairs Department calls for pan-European

"cooperation and coordinated action of the left forces and social movements" to transform Europe into a "**democratic, social, peaceful, ecological and feminist Europe, open to a future of socialism with democracy and freedom**" (emphasis in the original).[248] While SYRIZA does contain populist rhetoric of freeing 'the people' from the policies of 'neoliberal elites', including within the European Union, SYRIZA's political agenda includes a vision of transnational class and social solidarity that is not sovereignist in nature. SYRIZA may therefore be portrayed popularly as more sovereignist than it is.

However, using manifestos also has drawbacks. For example, a manifesto may not capture ideological variation between various factions of the party, or between the party leader and the party itself. The Republican Party manifesto may be a case in point. While factions of the Republican Party are neither populist nor sovereignist, the 2016 Republican manifesto did contain both sentiments. However, this may reflect that elements of President Trump's style and message were incorporated into the official party manifesto rather than that the party itself is a populist party. Regardless, the following quote from the Republican Party manifesto demonstrates the populist sovereignist language within it: "That is why the many sections of this manifesto affirm our trust in the people, our faith in their judgment, and our determination to help them take back their country. This means removing the power from unelected, unaccountable government".[249] Despite this drawback, manifestos remain the most reliable way of assessing the actual policy positions of these parties, and therefore the most reliable way of assessing what these parties might do in office.

A.2 Selecting the documents

The goal of the document coding and collection was to determine party policy positions. We therefore collected either the most recent manifesto or official current manifesto for all parties listed above. All official party manifestos and documents were downloaded directly from official party webpages. We also collected official party memoranda, statements, and policy documents when foreign and security policy were not thoroughly covered by the manifesto or when the manifesto was more than five years old, including when the old manifesto was still the current official manifesto.

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248   International Relations and Peace Affairs Department of SYRIZA, "Who We Are," ΣΥΡΙΖΑ (SYRIZA), June 2015, http://www.syriza.gr/page/who-we-are.html#.WTormcm1uRs.
249   Republican National Committee, "Republican Platform 2016," 2016, http://tmiller.faculty.arizona.edu/sites/tmiller.faculty.arizona.edu/files/Seminar%20Readings%20edited%209-20-16.pdf.

For 6 European parties,[250] however, gaps remained in their security and foreign policy positions. In addition, the Trump faction of the Republican Party did not have a manifesto.[251] For these 6 parties plus President Trump, speeches and op-eds by party leaders about foreign affairs or defense and security were collected and coded to supplement the manifestos. In a small number of cases, a direct quote from a party leader in a non-official source, such as a newspaper, supplemented the coding. To be consistent across all parties, no speeches were used to determine whether or not a party was populist, with the exception of Trump due to his lack of a manifesto.

To assess the reliability of the speeches for approximating party positions, we assessed whether the positions within the speeches matched the positions within the party manifestos for each party whose documents included both a speech and a manifesto. To do this, we randomly selected four operationalized (yes/ no) codes[252] and counted how often the party manifesto agreed or disagreed with the party leader.[253] In five cases, the position within the manifesto and speech agreed. In two cases, the manifesto itself contained a 'mixed' message (excerpts coded 'yes' *and* excerpts coded 'no' for one category), while the speech contained only an excerpt coded 'yes' *or* an excerpt coded 'no'. In no case did the manifesto and speech definitely disagree – no speech had an excerpt coded 'no' for which a manifesto was coded 'yes' or vice verse. Based on this analysis, the positions in the speeches likely do not directly contradict a clear policy position in the manifestos, although manifestos may contain a 'mixed' position where a speech contains a 'yes' or 'no' position.[254]

Approximately 75 percent of all coded documents were published between 2015 and 2017. Moreover, for the 6 parties for which speeches were collected, excerpts from speeches accounted for less than 50 percent of the total number of excerpts. That means that the majority of recorded positions for those parties came from the official party documents rather than a speech or op-ed.

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250   Speeches supplemented party documents for the Austria Freedom Party (FPÖ), Fidesz, the Five Star Movement (M5S), Golden Dawn (LS-CA), the National Alliance (TB/LNNK), the National Front (FN), and the Party for Freedom (PVV).
251   The positions of President Trump were considered separately from the official manifesto of the Republican Party (GOP) because of the unique nature of the two-party system in the United States which results in strong intra-party factions.
252   Codes selected were: 'Decrease EU integration or number of EU competences' (Yes/ No), 'Increase free trade or decrease trade barriers' (Yes/ No), 'Security cooperation with NATO and/or USA' (Yes/ No), and 'Supports monoculturalism as opposed to multiculturalism' (Yes/ No).
253   Because speeches were sought to fill gaps in the manifestos, the overlap was minimal.
254   However, within a given party there may be different currents or wings, some of which may disagree with the leader's position on some issues.
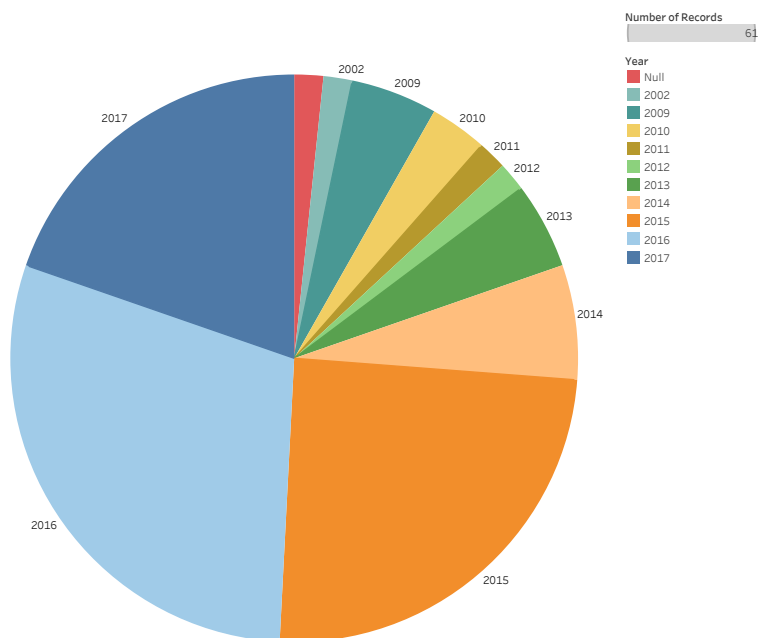
Figure A.1 Year of document publication
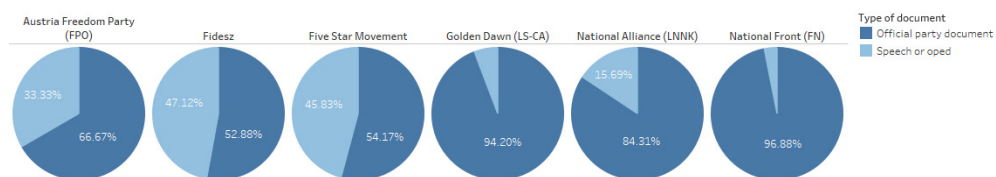
Figure A.2 Percent of total excerpts for a party taken from an official document versus a speech or op-ed

A.3 The coding process

A.3.1 Developing the coding scheme

Elements of the coding scheme were based on the codebook developed for measuring the populist discourse of the Alternative for Germany (AfD) party[255] as well as the codebook developed by the Manifesto Project for coding party manifestos

255   Franzmann, "Calling the Ghost of Populism."

in general.[256] However, neither of these codebooks contained codes that assessed positions on foreign and security policy at the level of detail required for our analysis. Therefore, we developed additional codes to cover missing areas. Although some of these were developed deductively, others were developed inductively after reading through several manifestos.

All codes were operationalized as 'yes' or 'no' (in favor of, or 'pro', the position put forward in the code or against, or 'anti', the statement). A 'mixed' response means that codes were applied for both the pro and anti position. This indicates a policy position more nuanced than a yes/ no code can handle. For example, regarding a party's desire to increase free trade versus decrease trade barriers, a party may wish to protect a specific market or industry, such as the agricultural sector, while supporting free trade in other areas. Such nuances are described in the write-up of "A Benchmark of PopSov Policy Manifestos".

A.3.2 Coding scheme for policy positions

The organization of the coding scheme for policy positions is shown below. Only codes at the lowest level of the outline (the lowest level codes) were applied to excerpts. The descriptions below (in italics) are for a for a 'pro' or 'yes' position in agreement with the statement contained within the code.

- Nation of 'the People': Popular Rule and Protection of the Nation-State
    * Direct Democracy
        ◊ Increase direct democracy (i.e. more referenda): *Position in favor of direct democracy in general, or of reforms to increase direct democracy, i.e. through more referenda*[257]

    * National Culture and Way of Life
        ◊ Protect and uphold the national culture and way of life: *"Favourable mentions of the manifesto country's nation, history, and general appeals," in particular to protecting or preserving them, including appeals to patriotism or nationalism*[258]

        ◊ Supports monoculturalism as opposed to multiculturalism:

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256   Annika Werner, Onawa Lacewell, and Andrea Volkens, "Manifesto Coding Instructions (5th Edition)", Wissenschaftszentrum Berlin für Sozialforschung (WZB), February 2015.
257   Ibid.
258   Ibid, p. 23.

> *Unfavorable towards multiculturalism, diversity, or plurality within domestic societies, including requiring foreigners to integrate into a unified national culture; or, positive towards a unified or homogenous national culture*[259]

* Immigration and Refugees
    ◊ Pro (im)migrants, refugees, asylees, or other foreigners: *Positive position towards immigration, migration, or foreigners and their potential influence on the country*

    ◊ *Full rights for minorities, non-citizen immigrants, and foreigners: Supports the rights of foreign and minority groups, including to practice their own religion and speak their own language*

    ◊ *The welfare system must be protected from immigrants: Immigrants, migrants, or foreigners are seen as a threat to the financial or other integrity of the welfare system*

* Border Controls and Territorial Security
    ◊ Reinstate or reinforce border controls: *Statement or position that border controls must be either reinforced or, where absent, reintroduced*

    ◊ Increase territorial security: *Positions indicating that national and domestic security must be ramped up*

• Revising the Liberal World Order: The Nation-State in the International Arena
    * National Sovereignty versus Liberal Internationalism
        ◊ Increase national control over inter/supranational organizations: *Statement or position that national governments should have greater control and authority within a given international or supranational organization, or that subsidiarity within international organizations should increase*

        ◊ National law has priority over international law: *Statement or position that national law has priority over international law*

        ◊ Participate in international laws and organizations: *Statement or position that the country should not or will not participate in*

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259   Derived from the code 'Multiculturalism: Negative' in ibid, p. 25.

international laws or organizations in general, or that the country should not or will not participate in particular international laws or particular organizations

◊ Take back/ maintain national control of policy-making: *Statement or position that decision-making for a particular area of policy-making should be returned to or remain within the prerogative of the national government*

* Attitudes towards the EU[260]

◊ The EU is generally good or beneficial: *Statement or position that the European Union or aspects of the European Union are beneficial to the country*

◊ Decrease EU integration or number of EU competencies: *Statement or position that EU competencies should either be returned, in whole or in part, to national governments; or, appeals to increase subsidiarity within the EU*

◊ Leave the EU/ hold a referendum to leave the EU: *Statement or position that the country should leave the EU or hold a referendum to leave the EU*

◊ Leave the euro/ the euro is detrimental: *Statement or position that the country should leave the euro, hold a referendum to leave the euro, or that the euro harms the country*

* Economic Nationalism versus the Liberal Economic Order

◊ Increase free trade or decrease trade barriers: *Statement or position in support of free trade or decreasing trade barriers, including general statements, lowering tariffs, supporting trade agreements, etc.[261]*

◊ Supported TTIP: *Statement or position in support of TTIP in particular*

• Stability and Influence: International Relations and Alliances

* European Union Defense Cooperation

◊ Increase EU defense cooperation: *Statement or position that*

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260   Codes derived in part from code 'European Community/Union or Latin America Integration' in ibid, p. 17.
261   Codes derived in part from codes for 'Protectionism' in ibid, p. 20.

European Union defense cooperation should increase or that such an increase would be beneficial

  ◊ Increase other European/ regional defense cooperation: *Statement or position that the country should increase bilateral or regional defense cooperation with another European country or particular European countries*

* NATO and the Transatlantic Alliance
  ◊ Supports security cooperation with NATO and/or the USA: *Supports continued or increasing cooperation with NATO and/ or the United States*

* Relations with Russia
  ◊ Cooperative towards or supportive of Russia: *Supports at a minimum cooperation with Russia or otherwise positive relations, including removing sanctions*

  ◊ Supports military cooperation with Russia: *Supports cooperating militarily with Russia, including bilaterally*

• Focusing on Home: The Foreign and Defense Policies of Populist Sovereignist Parties
  * Military Capabilities
    ◊ Maintain or increase the defense budget: *Supports maintaining the defense budget at current levels or increasing it*

    ◊ Retain or increase military capabilities: *Supports retaining military capabilities or increasing them over current levels*

  * Military Intervention
    ◊ Participate in foreign military interventions: *Supports participating in foreign military interventions in general, or in particular circumstances, i.e. counterterrorism*

    ◊ Participate in peace-keeping missions: *Supports participating in peace-keeping missions*

  * Development Aid and Promoting Democracy and Human Rights Abroad
    ◊ Support for dev. aid/ promote democracy or human rights

abroad: *Supports sending development aid abroad at current levels or sees development as generally beneficial; or, supports promoting democracy and human rights abroad*

• In addition, two supplemental categories were coded for to further flesh out the findings above:

• Increase military capabilities by type

    * General: *A general statement that military capabilities should or will increase*

    * Manpower: *Supports increasing the manpower of the military, i.e. through supporting conscription or increasing the numbers of troops*

    * Hardware: *Supports investing in, updating, or increasing the amount of military hardware, such as tanks, ships, or planes*

    * Cyber: *Supports investing in or increasing capabilities related to cyber*

• Take back/ maintain national control of policy-making by type

    * Trade and economic policy: *Claims that trade and economic policy should be the determined only or primarily by the national government*

    * Foreign policy: *Claims that foreign policy should be the determined only or primarily by the national government*

    * Defense policy: *Claims that defense policy should be the determined only or primarily by the national government*

    * Policy-making in general/ other category: *Claims that policy-making in general or a different area of policy-making (i.e. social policy) should be the determined only or primarily by the national government*

A.3.3 Reliability of the Coding

The reliability of the coding was ensured in several ways. First, co-development of the coding scheme, training, and intensive communication between coders ensured a common understanding of the codes and their meaning. Second, each coder's work was checked by a second coder. Any codes with which the second coder disagreed were discussed openly on the online platform Rizzoma, with the final codes applied decided on by a majority of 2 of the 3 coders. Finally, the platform used to code the documents, Dedoose, allows the coders to take a test that assesses inter-rater

reliability. This test, as well as the results, are described by Dedoose:[262]

Code-specific application results are reported using Cohen's kappa statistic – Cohen (1960), 'A coefficient of agreement for nominal scales.' Educational and Psychological Measurement, 20(1):37-46. Cohen's kappa statistic is a widely used and respected measure to evaluate inter-rater agreement as compared to the rate of agreement expected by chance – based on the coding behavior or each rater. Further, to report an overall/global result for tests that include more than one code, we have adopted the Pooled Kappa, rather than a simple average of kappa's across the set, to summarize rater agreement across many codes as reported in de Vries, Elliott, Kanouse, & Teleki (2008), 'Using pooled kappa to summarize interrater agreement across many items.' Field Methods, 20:272-282.

There are a variety of proposed standards for evaluating the 'significance' of a Cohen's kappa value. Landis and Koch (1977), ('The measurement of observer agreement for categorical data.' Biometrics, 33:378-382) suggest that kappa values of: ←.20 = poor agreement, .21-.4 = fair agreement, .41-.6 = moderate agreement, .61-.8 = good agreement, and .81-1.0 = very good agreement. Cicchetti (1994) – 'Guidelines, criteria, and rules of thumb for evaluating normal and standardized assessment instruments in psychology.' Psychological Assessment, 6:284-290) – and Fleiss (1971) – 'Measuring nominal scale agreement among many raters.' Psychological Bulletin, 76(5):378-382 – suggest similar guidelines that kappa values of: ←.40 = poor agreement, .40-.59 = fair agreement, .60-.74 = good agreement, and .75-1.0 = excellent agreement. Finally, Miles and Huberman (1994) – 'Qualitative Data Analysis.' Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage – suggest that inter-rater reliability should approach .90. While the individual researcher must determine the most appropriate standards for the particular research project, Dedoose visual indicators use the following criteria for interpreting kappa values: ←.50 = poor agreement, .51-.64 = fair agreement, .65-.80 = good agreement, and →.80 = excellent agreement."

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262   Dedoose Version 7.0.23, web application for managing, analyzing, and presenting qualitative and mixed method research data (2016). Los Angeles, CA: SocioCultural Research Consultants, LLC www.dedoose.com.

Coder	Description
A	1.0
B	0.9
C	0.82

Table A.2 Inter-rater reliability for coding of manifestos and policy documents

ANNEX B: SCENARIO PARAMETERS – METHOD

Annex B: Scenario Parameters – Method

From the wider canvas of elements that could plausibly link popular sovereignism with defense and security, the team selected a few important ones in order to craft scenarios that capture internally consistent yet interestingly different aspects of this nexus. The final selection was made primarily based on whether these combinations would allow for a meaningful and rich discussion of what the implications might be for Dutch defense and security policy. In this section we present the final selection of future parameters, which we also operationalize.

B.1 PopSov Quotient – Europe / Global

How 'PopSov' the immediate Dutch security environment/global security environment will become.

1 = PopSovism has returned to smaller segments of the population in Europe and across the globe

2 = PopSovism is a political force in parliaments throughout Europe and in the EP

3 = PopSovism is a major political force in parliaments throughout Europe and is in power in a number of great powers

4 = The majority of European governments are run by PopSov regimes

5 = The majority of regimes in the world (including all great powers) are PopSov

B.2 The European Union: Its heft in the world x its internal decision-making efficiency

The European Union currently is the primary anchor of European/Dutch prosperity and security. Developments of the past few years have shown that this anchor is changing.

This parameter focuses on two aspects of the EU that are in our view key to Dutch FSDP: an external one (how influential Europe will stay/become in the world; and an internal one (whether EU decision-making will become more or (even) less effective).

1 = The EU has turned into a cohesive power that wields more power in its neighborhood and in the world than it did prior to the PopSov era

2 = A post-Brexit EU that had to compromise on a number of issues to change the UK government's mind continues to be as powerful a voice internationally as it was prior to Brexit

3 = A still mostly contiguous rump-EU without the UK has improved its decision-making

4 = A non-contiguous rump-EU (without the UK and France and a few other PopSov regimes) is also politically divided without much interest in, let alone a voice in global politics

5 = The European Union no longer exists

B.3 NATO: US interest in NATO x balance in EU-US partnership x degree of shared threat assessment

Just like the EU is a pillar of European/Dutch stability and security – so too is NATO. Based on previous HCSS research

1 = A rejuvenated and more united NATO with nations that broadly share a similar threat assessment and have found more effective ways to achieve their defense and security goals

2 = The industrial-kinetic burden is shared more equitably between Europe and the US, and there is enough shared threat perception to continue to continue 'business as usual'

3 = The US continues to bear the brunt of the military effort within the current paradigm but also remains willing to shoulder that burden; disagreements in threat perceptions remain acute

4 = PopSov US has lost interest in NATO, and NATO has turned into a sort of OSCE

5 = NATO no longer exists

B.4 Economic situation: Europe/globally

1 = Globalization combined with continued physical, digital and social technological innovation with better national and global redistribution of the wealth thus generated leads to an unprecedented surge of prosperity

2 = Dramatic technological change leads to significant disruptions in labor markets across the world that both governments and new forms of social technologies are trying to address, but with only moderate success

3 = A return to some of the symptoms of the 1930s: rising nationalism leading to beggar-thy-neighbor policies and to a sharp economic global downturn; but in which a new TTIP-2 creates unprecedented prosperity in that part of the world

4 = A return to some of the symptoms of the 1930s: rising nationalism leading to beggar-thy-neighbor policies and to a sharp economic global downturn in which a still single internal European market shelters European prosperity

5 = A return to some of the symptoms of the 1930s: rising nationalism leading to beggar-thy-neighbor policies and to a sharp economic global downturn that also hits Europe hard

B.5 Conflict and war

The degree to which the world – and, in specific, European/Dutch FSD policy likely to be afflicted by conflict and war

1 = The Long Peace, after a relatively short uptick of conflict, resumes it long-term positive pathway

2 = Various conflict metrics (new conflicts, number of displaced people, number of people hurt or killed) stabilize at a slightly higher level than

3 = Conflict comes back to Europe. A number of border skirmishes lead to renewed conflicts within the European Union that have to be managed

4 = Territorial defense becomes an issue again along Europe's border, both along it Eastern and its Southern borders

5 = The Long Peace is shot into smithereens by a combination of renewed great power high-intensity conflict and a variety of smaller conflicts

B.6 Regional cooperation (in Europe, Africa and Asia)

The extent to which regions with endemic security challenges that could affect European/Dutch FSD-policy manage to grow regional cooperation mechanisms that allow for peaceful solutions to various challenges

1 = The region evolved effective cooperation mechanisms that allow it to overcome various political, economic and security challenges – along the lines of what the EU was able to achieve in its heydays

2 = The region improves its cooperation mechanisms in an attempt to overcome various political, economic and security challenges; but its rate of success is checkered

3 = The region continues to muddle through the way it has until now

4 = The region is becoming more fractious without effective cooperation mechanisms

5 = The region becomes Balkanized

B.7 European neighborhood (Eastern and Southern borders)

1 = Europe's entire neighborhood is stabilizing through a combination of technological and political (both by major political-economic changes region itself and in the efficiency of Europe's approach towards it) breakthroughs.

2 = One part of Europe' neighborhood is stabilizing, while other parts descend in a downwards spiral. This allows a more cohesive EU to start applying more efforts to address the latter parts

3 = One part of Europe' neighborhood is stabilizing, while other parts descend in a downwards spiral. It proves politically difficult to find common ground within Europe to reallocate money

4 = Europe finds ways to successfully ward off instability in its neighborhood spilling over into Europe

5 = Europe's neighborhood is up in flames from Belarus all the way to the Western Sahara and is posing a wide variety of prickly and diverse defense and security challenges.

B.8 Relations with Russia / China

1 = Europe's relations with both countries are positive and stable
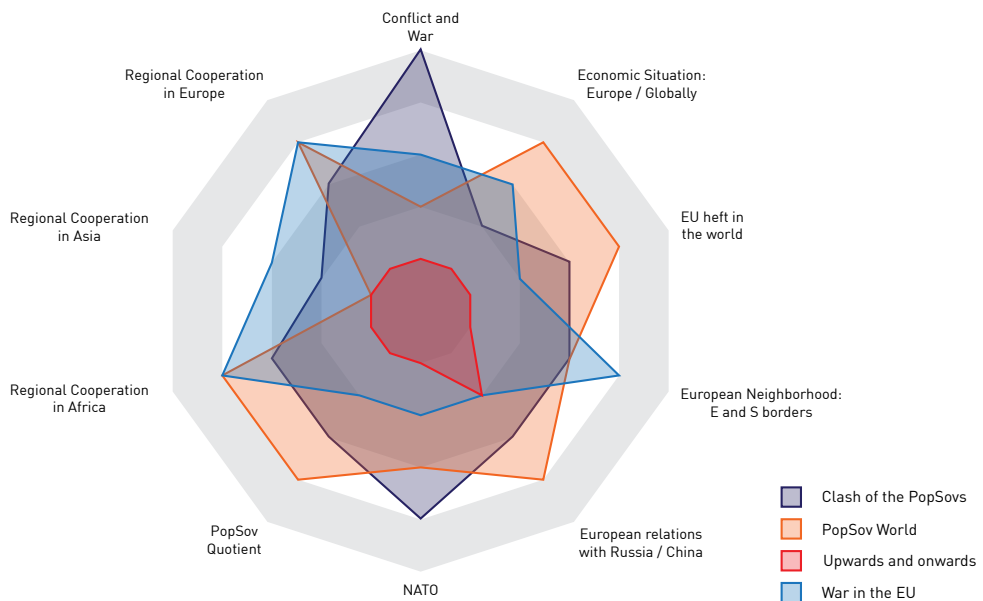
2 = Europe's relations with both countries are difficult

3 = Europe's relation with China is inimical

4 = Europe's relation with Russia is inimical

5 = Europe is at loggerheads with both great powers.

# B.9 Overviews – by scenario and by parameter

The following visual shows the values that were selected for these parameters in each of the four scenarios,

Figure B.1 Parameter values by scenario

The following visual shows the same data displayed by parameter – it illustrates that while not all possible permutations were included, the current set of scenarios does represent quite some variance across the different parameters.

Parameter Values - By Parameter
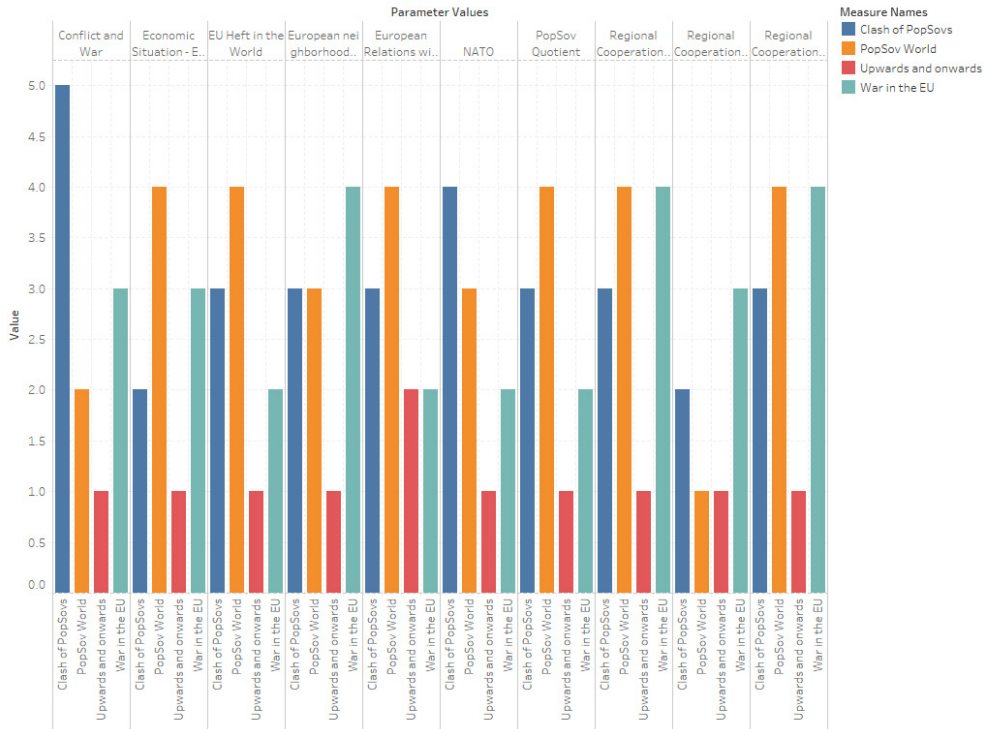
Clash of PopSovs, PopSov World, Upwards and onwards and War in the EU for each Parameter Values. Color shows details about Clash of PopSovs, PopSov World, Upwards and onwards and War in the EU.

Figure B.2 Parameter values by parameter

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