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The Co-Operation among European Right Wings Populist Parties and the Zionist Right Wings

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Abstract

The research reviews the historical development of the relationship and cooperation between the European extreme right-wing populist parties and the right-wing in "Israel" and the commonalities that unite the two parties despite the historical stance of the European extreme right in anti-Semitism. International events, including the events of 9/11/2001 in the United States, and linking terrorism with Islam, which provided an encouraging climate for the formation of a unified front of extreme right-wing forces against the so-called "Islamic terrorism." The research reviews the implications of cooperation between these parties and the Israeli right on the Palestinian issue, and what are the proposals and steps To confront this alliance and limit its negative repercussions on the Arab world in general and the cause and rights of the Palestinian people in particular.

Keywords

The European Populist Right, the Israeli Right, Anti-Islam, the Zionist Movement, Anti-Semitism.

Introduction

Since the birth of the Jewish nationalist movement in Europe in the 19th century, a minority of European anti-Semites have defended the Jewish settlements in Palestine* which was one of the reasons why the British Foreign Secretary (Arthur Balfour) sought the British government's support for the Zionist movement in what would later be known as the Balfour Declaration of 1917. The literature and

history of the extreme populist European right include a huge amount of anti-Semitic ideologies, although a large part of these parties' roots and ideologies are rooted in Nazi and anti-Jewish fascist ideologies. In recent decades, most populist right-wing parties and movements have sought to renew their image with the aim of achieving electoral gains. So they have opened a new page in relations and cooperation with the "Israeli" right; Open and enthusiastic support has become the ideological credo of most of these parties, a scenario unimaginable decades ago.

Research Importance

The importance of the research lies in highlighting the relationship of cooperation and coordination between the right-wing populist parties in Europe and the right in Israel and the implications of this cooperation on the Palestinian issue.

Research objective

The research aims to show the risks of cooperation between right-wing populist parties in Europe and Israeli governments, and the motives and patterns of cooperation and its negative repercussions.

The Research Problematic

The relationship and cooperation between the right-wing populist parties and the "Israeli right" has taken on unprecedented dimensions and patterns in recent decades, and this requires answering the following questions:

- 1. What are the intellectual factors and motives behind the relationship between the European populist right and the Israeli right?
- 2. What are the modalities and mechanisms of cooperation between the two parties and the implications of cooperation on the Palestinian issue?

Research Hypothesis

The research hypothesis goes to explain the relationship between the European right-wing populist parties and the "Israeli" political system, which is a relationship with interest motives dictated by the conditions of the international political scene after the rise of populist parties in the European political scene.

First- Intellectual, Political and Relationship History

Intellectual and political joint ventures

After announcing the establishment of the Zionist entity, or what has come to be known as "Israel," the ideology of most of the political parties and forces in the aforementioned entity, with its various right-wing or left-wing orientations, until the beginning of the twenty-first century, focused on boycotting any extreme right-wing populist party in Europe, as it generally promotes prejudice against them due

to their hostile past. For the Jews; this policy, which was adopted by most Zionist governments, began to change in recent decades, and this change in the foreign policy of the occupying power can be explained for two main reasons:

- 1. Is the result of the ideological convergence between the extremist right-wing populist parties in Europe and the Zionist entity, especially the idea of the return of a Christian democratic Europe, free from the ties of the European Union¹.
- 2. The populists are seen as facing with the Zionists an alleged "common enemy" Islam and right-wing populists in Europe support the policy of settling in the occupied territories².

Since the mid-1990s, successive Zionist governments dominated by the right, led by Benjamin Netanyahu's* Likud party, have realized the importance of containing far-right populist parties as part of the specific Zionist stance towards European politics in general. This cooperation between the European right-wing populist currents and the entity as a state that embodies the Zionist project, which began to strengthen when the extreme right-wing currents began to rise in the European political scene, so that the Zionist entity government saw this as a great opportunity to form alliances with an old enemy, but it is an enemy that brings together different interests with the occupying state. The foreign policy and pressures of the Zionist entity have focused through several channels on exploiting the anti-Semitism card to achieve several goals within its interests, and to mitigate criticism and allegations regarding the increasing anti-Semitism in Europe, the European Union established in 1998 a specialized center to monitor racism and xenophobia (European Union Center for Monitoring Racism and Xenophobia) And the European Commissioner set in October 2001 a framework on racism and xenophobia among other things to define behaviors classified as anti-Semitic, including any denial or public reduction of the "Holocaust" as crimes punishable by law³. The Organization for Cooperation and Security in Europe**, in cooperation with the European Union in Berlin, also condemned the increase in anti-Semitism and enlisted 55 of its member states to fight anti-Semitism⁴.

¹⁻ Al-Mahdi Al-Zaydawi, The European Right and Israel, the story of "Forbidden Love" targeting Arabs and Muslims, available at the link: https://www.aljazeera.net/midan/reality/politics/2021/12/14/%D8%A7%D9%84%D9%8A%D9%85%D9%8A%D9%86-%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%A3%D9%88%D8%B1%D9%88%D8%A8%D9%8A-%D9%88%D8%B3%D8%B1%D8%A7%D8%A6%D9%8A%D9%84-%D9%82%D8%B5%D8%A9-%D8%B9%D8%B4%D9%82

² Right-Wing Populism in Europe and Israel Common Challenges and Policy Options Barcelona, Spain, 15-16 October 2017, Israeli European Policy Network, Friedrich Ebert Stifutng, Israel Office,p2.

^{*} The Likud Party is a Zionist party of the liberal right. It believes in the ideology of neo-conservatives. The Likud was formed by the merger of two parties, the Liberal Party and Herut (founded by former Prime Minister Menachem Begin in 1948), to form together a centrist party leaning more towards the right, in 1973. The Likud arrived To power for the first time since its founding in 1977, with Menachem Begin's victory over then-leader of the Labor Party Shimon, the "Likud" party ruled Israel between 1977 and 1984, then between 1986 and 1992, and between 1996 and 1999, and the party came to power between 2001 and 2005, led by Ariel Sharon, and after him Benjamin Netanyahu will assume the leadership of the party until 2009. Who headed the Israeli government for six times, the last of which was the current coalition government.

¹ Yonatan Touval, Combating Anti-Semitism: Monitoring the EU-Israel Action Plan Tel Aviv: Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung & Israeli European policy network, 2006.p 261.

^{**} The largest regional security institution in the world, with 56 participating countries from three continents – North America, Europe and Asia.

² Atef Abu Seif, Israel and the European Union, The Soft Partnership, Palestinian Center for Israeli Studies, Ramallah, 1st edition, 2011, p. 47

The attacks of 9/11/2001 in the United States represent a pivotal event in rebuilding the discourse of the extreme right and the populist right to focus on a new enmity centered on Islam phobia and replace it with anti-Semitism, which was considered an essential part of the thinking of the extreme right-wing parties in the past. Although hostility to Islam and Muslims was not a spur of the moment, but rather has extended historical roots, it was part of a spectrum of diverse enmities for the parties of the far right that includes refugees, immigrants, minorities, and Jews, and takes many forms, such as the enmity of Turkish immigrants in Germany and Moroccans in France, and in this context, The most important projections of 9/11 is the transformation of Islam phobia into a pivotal common denominator for the neo-fascist right, the populist right, and the radical right on its multiple and extended spectrums¹.

And some far-right leaders, such as (Jean-Marie Le Pen), leader of the French National Front, and (Jürg Haider), founder of the far-right Austrian Freedom Party, expressed that the attacks had become a terrifying and brutal embodiment of the essence of the clash of civilizations that Samuel Huntington spoke about in 1993. And the neo-fascism after 9/11 invested in Islam phobia, and turned it into extremist antagonism in the essence of its political programs and media discourse.

As a result of the so-called global campaign to combat terrorism, some right-wing, populist, and extreme right-wing parties, who had a long record of anti-Semitism and racism against the Jews, began working to appease the Zionist entity. Rather, it came to some parties that considered the entity a western bridgehead inside enemy territory. In Belgium, a party The Flemish bloc established relations with the Zionist right and won a minority of Jewish voters, although it was founded on anti-Semitism and established the establishment of neo-Nazism. Its leader (Philippe Deonter) visited the occupied territories in 2005 and met with members of the Knesset and declared from there that Islam is the first enemy, not For Europe alone, but for the whole free world.²

Anti-Semitism is the main distinguishing characteristic of far-right populist parties. Indeed, the stigma of anti-Semitic reputation prevented different far-right parties from cooperating with each other across national borders, because they were afraid of carrying the burden of bad reputation that their counterparts bear from the parties, and here we can consider the National Front party Founded by Jean-Marie Le Pen, is a typical example of this process. The party has always underestimated the Jewish Holocaust and was considered a racist, anti-Semitic party. When Le Pen tried to present himself as a defender of European Judaism, no one believed him. When his daughter Marine succeeded him in the leadership of the party and ran for the 2012 presidential elections, she worked. to improve her party's image by stopping anti-Semitism and focusing only on the "Islamic threat"³.

³ FARID HAFEZ, "Shifting borders: Islamophobia as common ground for building pan-European rightwing unity". Patterns of Prejudice, 2014 Vol. 48, No. 5, 479–499, http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/0031322X.2014.965877

¹ Arun Kondnani, Muslims are Coming: Islamophobia, Extremism, and the Internal War on Terrorism, translated by Shukri Mujahid, Arab and International Relations Forum, Doha, 1st edition, 2015, pp. 299-300.

² Farid Hafez, From Anti-Semitism to Islamophobia, Strategic Transformation of the European Extreme Right, Islamophobia, Islamophobia, Arab and International Relations Forum, Doha, 1st edition, 2017, pp. 167-168

In light of this transformation, the leaders of the populist right-wing parties and the far-right are marketing the struggle on a new basis in which the Judeo-Christian West, which represents the forces of light and civilization, is positioned in the face of extremist Islam and its various expressions that include Palestinian organizations. Greet Wilders, the leader of the Dutch Freedom Party, summarized Him commanded: "Every patriot, apart from being democratic in his definition, must also be a true friend (of Israel). A patriot cannot be an anti-Semite." With the fact that the Israeli right has been at the forefront of the political scene during the last two decades, it has realized the importance of forming alliances. With the European right, on the grounds that it is an ally that supports settlements and is hostile to the Palestinian national project. The Zionist right also realized the "benefit" of European anti-Semitism by pushing more Jews to emigrate to the occupied territories.

As Benjamin Netanyahu stated in his speech at the United Nations session on September 29, 2014, Hamas and ISIS are two branches of the same poisonous tree... The war against armed Islam is indivisible. He added, "The (Israeli) people are praying for peace, but the hope is in danger because of the progress of armed Islam, whose followers aim to control the world." And the matter was not limited to parties. The success of the populist right in India and Brazil made it possible to move relations between them to a new, unprecedented stage. In 2019, Brazil opened a commercial office in Jerusalem as a prelude to moving its embassy During the opening ceremony, as for India, which refrained until 1992 from opening an embassy to Israel, its relationship after the election of Prime Minister (Narendra Modi), head of the ruling far-right Hindu Nationalist Party, witnessed a quantum leap in which (the Zionist occupation state) became the second largest country that exports arms to India after Russia¹.

The History of the Relationship and the Stages of Its Development

The Zionist right's policy towards the European Union stems from the fact that it is a challenge to some of its policies, and it even comes to the point that it is considered aggressive in many cases, due to the decisions rejecting settlements taken by the European Union, and its criticism of the occupation policies in some issues specifically in terms of settlements and Jerusalem, as well as the difference in vision about Managing the Iranian file. Many right-wing parties in the Zionist entity find criticism of the union and attacking it a lever in order to achieve political gains, so the attempt to establish alliances with populist extremist right-wing parties ruling in some European countries in order to achieve the required balance is important for them, from this perspective the Zionist foreign policy attaches

importance To weave relations with the European populist right in several European countries, and many see the inevitable internal contradiction of that policy; That is, considering the populist extreme right as a political ally on the one hand, in front of the policies of the European Union, and a number of decisions against the policies adopted by the occupation government¹.

Binyamin Netanyahu's foreign policy and strategy toward Europe have been characterized by the uniqueness of EU countries in forging bilateral relationships, especially with those countries where far-right populist parties hold sway. These relationships are an additional factor in the divergence between Netanyahu and other European countries that find this close alliance with the populist right parties a threat to their values and a contribution to weakening EU power and reducing the chances for consensus among its members. Moreover, this strategy presents a clear contradiction in Netanyahu's policy, as his government seeks, on the one hand, to strengthen its alliance with Yemen's populist extremist parties, and invests anti-Semitism in propaganda on the other hand. The relationship with the far-right has put Netanyahu in conflict not only with some European countries, but also with the Jewish communities in Europe, due to the role of the extreme right-wing parties in Europe in spreading anti-Semitism².

For their part, the European populist Yemeni parties consider the occupation state an amazing model for the country they dream of. It is an ethnic and nationalist state firmly controlling its borders and successfully fortifying itself in an anti-Islamic region. In addition, the fascists show a kind of sympathy with Tel Aviv, which shares with Europe the Christian-Jewish heritage, which considers the right as the spearhead of the cultural and religious war with the Islamic East. The extremist right-wing likes Great Wilders, as we said, the leader of the Dutch Freedom Party, known for his fierce hostility towards Islam, when he described Israel as "the canary in the middle of a coal field" and the first line of defense of the West against Islam.

In a move to win the sympathy of Tel Abeb, the Jewish communities, and Jewish pressure groups in Europe, most of the leaders of the right-wing populist parties adopted the phenomenon of the influx of immigrants and refugees, a Zionist discourse par excellence calling for confronting the Islamic threat and protecting Christians and Jews in Europe from that danger alike, so that (Marine Le Pen), The leader of the French National Assembly, known for the adoption of a number of its leaders and members of the Nazi thesis, had called in 2014 on the Jewish community in France to vote for her party because it is the only one capable of confronting that common enemy of Christians and Jews alike ()³. And the matter was not limited to the extreme right-wing populist parties, but it also came to the point that members of the Knesset established relations with parties representing

 $^{^{1}}$ Palestinian Center for Israeli Studies, Strategic Report 2020, The Israeli Landscape 2019, Ramallah, p. 99.

 $^{^{\}frac{1}{2}}$ Palestinian Center for Israeli Studies, Strategic Report 2021, The Israeli Landscape 2020, Ramallah, pp. 99-100.

¹ harles Hawley, Europe's Right-Wing Populists Find Allies in Israel https://www.spiegel.de/international/europe/the-likud-connection-europe-s-right-wing-populists-find-allies-in-israel-a-777175.html

neo-Nazism, which indicates Zionist support for these parties that arose on the idea of anti-Semitism, as we mentioned above. What prompted Professor Moshe Zimmerman, a specialist in the history of Germany and the Nazi Holocaust, and a lecturer in the Department of General History at the Hebrew University in Jerusalem, to publish an article in the newspaper "Globes", on December 27, criticizing (2016)¹, in which he explained the nature of the new relationship between the opposites of yesterday?

In light of the foregoing, it is clear to us that the development of the relationship between the right-wing populist European parties and the Zionist entity has taken a long time due to the anti-party rhetoric of the Jewish narrative of the Holocaust and that successive Zionist governments viewed these parties as an enemy. Due to the escalation of the Palestinian uprising and the operations carried out by Palestinian organizations, especially the Hamas organization, 9/11, and the beginning of the global campaign against terrorism, and with the entry into the second decade of the twentieth century, the so-called Arab Spring revolutions and their consequences, and the aggravation of the phenomenon of immigration to European countries, and the United States, these events have paved the way for the rise of right-wing extremist populist forces and the expansion of Islam phobia and Muslim hatred The EU and Libya, particularly those who support Palestinian rights and oppose settlement policies.

Second - Patterns and Mechanisms of Cooperation and Repercussions on the Palestinian Case

Patterns and Mechanisms of Cooperation

forms and patterns that can be summarized as follows: The views of populist right-wing parties in Central and Western Europe are divided regarding dealing with the Zionist entity. While some of them in Central Europe declare their explicit rejection of his policy of "enslaving the Palestinians" and its impact on the directions of the US government; Some right-wing populist parties in Western European countries support the occupation policies, based on their belief that the threats facing security in the occupied territories and Europe - alike - stem from Muslims, and that they are fighting the same opponent, and this requires broad cooperation and coordination², and as part of its plans the occupying state has given importance High in the presence of an active lobby that puts pressure on the outputs of European politics, consisting of the offices of the American Jewish Committee, the European Jewish Congress, and the "Sons of the Covenant" organization, in addition to the emergence of an alliance within the European Parliament in 2006 under the name "European Friends of Israel (EFI), noting that the sources of

² The Israeli Al-Mashhad Newspaper (Ramallah) Palestinian Center for Israeli Studies, Issue 374, 2/2/2016, p. 3.

¹ Yehuda Ben-Hur Levy, "The Undiplomats: Right-wing populists and their foreign policies ,Center for European reform, Brussels, August 2015, p6.

funding This lobby and its various institutions are not registered in the list of "representatives of special interest groups" in the European Union¹, hence the work began to attract European political forces and parties, including right-wing populist parties, and after the rise of the extreme right forces in Europe and the victory of (Donald Trump) in the presidential elections in the United States in 2016 The rise of the global populist right, especially in India, Brazil and Hungary, and the rise of Islam phobia in Europe due to immigration contributed to providing a network of support for the Zionist right and its rhetoric. To the Palestinian people as a cultural struggle between the forces of good that position themselves within it and build forces Darkness and anti-Semitism, which explains to a large extent the persistent strategic work to push for the politicization of the definition of anti-Semitism, and the adoption of the new definition that considers anti-Israel as a form of anti-Semitism, and linking the boycott movement with anti-Semitism, and recently The decision of the Hague court to start the investigation of war crimes was considered in Palestine as a form of anti-Semitism².

As a result of the realization of governments and politicians in the Zionist entity, especially the parties and forces of the extreme right allied with Benjamin Netanyahu, who heads the right-wing Likud party, that Europe will witness important changes at the level of the European political scene represented in the increase in the strength of the parties of the extreme right in European national politics and in the institutions of the European Union. The last decades have seen a change in the attitudes of the extreme right towards the occupying state and the Jews in general, from its anti-Semitic positions to unconditional supportive positions³, so that the relationship between the two parties takes many and varied

Exchange of visits between the two parties

In this regard, we can indicate that a number of leaders of right-wing populist parties visited the occupied territories, as follows:

Issuing joint party statements for the Zionist extreme right and right-wing populist parties, such as the statement called the Jerusalem Declaration signed by representatives of the Austrian Freedom Party, the Belgian Bloc Party, the German Freedom Party, and the Swedish Democrats, who visited Tel Aviv in 2010 at the invitation of (Haim Moelstein), a member of the Knesset and one of the leaders of the Shas party. Right-wing Zionist.

On December 19, 2010, a delegation consisting of about thirty leaders of the European Alliance for Freedom, representing the Identity and Democracy Group, which includes populist extreme right-wing parties in the European

² Atef Abu Seif,op,cit. p 341.

¹ For the Palestinian Center for Israeli Studies, Strategic Report 2021, op,cit, p. 19.

² Muhannad Mustafa Mashhad, Israeli Foreign Relations: Opportunities and Risks in Israeli International Politics and Discourse, Palestinian Center for Israeli Studies, Ramallah, Strategic Report 2017, p. 115.

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VOLUME 16, NUMBER 3

Parliament, visited the first visit of European extremist right-wing parties since the establishment of "Israel". The delegation included (Geert Wilders).) and (Philip DeWinter) and (Heinz Christian Stracha) from Austria. The delegation conducted several meetings and meetings with government officials and leaders of political forces in Israel and visited some Israeli settlements declaring their support and solidarity with the Israeli settlement policy¹.

In 2016, Matteo Salvini, head of the Italian Northern League party, visited the occupying state and pledged that if he wins the elections, he will change Italy's policy towards "Israel" in international organizations and reconsider Italian financial assistance to organizations such as UNESCO that have biased positions on the Palestinian cause.

The head of the Alternative for Germany (Fruke Petri) visited the Zionist entity in early 2016 and confirmed that rapprochement with "Israel" is not just a way to renew right-wing politics in Europe. If Israel is condoned by the European right, it is also because as an ethno-nation-state it provides a kind of model for a Europe that is struggling to find consensus on how to deal with its borders in the face of refugees, and there is a sense of solidarity with Israel, which is now perceived to share a heritage. Christian Judeo, this heritage must be defended at all costs.

In April 2016, the leader of the Austrian Freedom Party (Heinz Christian Stracha*) visited the occupied territories at the invitation of the right-wing Likud party and met with a number of officials to discuss developing the relationship and changing the position of the Zionist entity towards the party².

The Israeli foreign policy led by the ruling right-wing Likud party, works to build alliances within the European continent, aiming to find allies that are in harmony with its political and diplomatic stances and propositions and allow it to bypass the European Union as a bloc. Benjamin Netanyahu, in his capacity as Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs for a long time, adopted the approach, at a time of the rise of extreme right-wing governments on the European continent, and built deep alliances with them. Netanyahu focused on his familiarity with the Visegrad V4 group of countries (Hungary, the Czech Republic, Poland, and Slovakia), which are ruled by right-wing parties. Netanyahu had participated in the conference of these countries that was held in 2017, and from there he attacked the European Union's policy towards his country, and his position on the nuclear deal. Iranian³.

¹ Benjamin Netanyahu's dangerous connections with the European far right, available at: https://orientxxi.info/magazine/benyamin-netanyahu-s-dangerous-connections-with-the-europeanfar-right, 2659

^{*} Heinz Christian Stracha (1969 -) Austrian politician, head of the Freedom Party, held many government positions, deputy chancellor of Austria and minister several times. A video clip was published from 2017 showing that he had received a bribe. He subsequently resigned from the leadership of the party.

³ Muhannad Mustafa, op,cit. p115-116

¹ Muhannad Mustafa, The Scene of Foreign Relations: Strengthening Israel's Alliances with the International Right Forces, Palestinian Center for Israeli Studies, Strategic Report 2019, Ramallah, p. 106

Coordinating with representatives of right-wing populist parties in the European Parliament through pressure groups associated with the Zionist entity to influence legislation and decisions related to the positions of the European Parliament regarding policies and violations against the Palestinians, and to vote in favor of "Israeli" interests. For example, six out of thirteen founding members of the "Friends of Judea" The Samaras in the European Parliament belong to these currents. Established in 2017, this group is determined to encourage trade with settlements in the West Bank, despite its prohibition under international law¹. The Israel Allies Foundation along with Bert Jan Roesen, member of the European Parliament, invited 24 other international parliamentarians in December 2019, as they advocate "the fight against the boycott movement and the anti-Semitic labeling of Israeli products from Judea and Samaria" (as Israel calls it West Bank). The Court of Justice of the European Union confirmed on November 12 that labeling settlement products is mandatory to comply with European law².

Employing the relationship with populist right-wing parties and investing their presence in national parliaments to pass bills and initiatives in favor of Israel. For example, in 2022, an initiative was presented to the German parliament to announce the Boycott, Divestment and Sanctions movement as a form of anti-Semitism that was presented by the ruling Christian Democratic Party and the Democratic Party The German Bundestag then issued a (non-binding) resolution condemning the movement, considering it anti-Semitic. In this context, the farright Alternative for Germany party put forward a special proposal calling for a complete ban on the BDS movement. According to political economist Sher Hever, the motive for criminalizing BDS stems from a desire to overcome one's own guilt resulting from the Holocaust. After Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu stated more than once that the Grand Mufti of Jerusalem, Hajj Amin al-Husseini, was the first to propose the idea of exterminating the Jews, not Adolf Hitler. Moreover, Heffer explained, Netanyahu was trying to rid Germans of their guilt over the Holocaust. Heffer continued, saying that "instead of feeling guilty about the Holocaust and needing to apologize and take responsibility for those crimes that were committed many years ago, it is possible to transfer this guilt to the Palestinians³.

Within the framework of the policy of investing in the relationship with European governments led by the extreme right, Benjamin Netanyahu visited Italy on March 10, 2023 and met with the Italian prime minister and the leader of the extreme right-wing Brotherhood of Italy party (Georgia Meloni). Before this visit, Benjamin Netanyahu announced in a statement that he would try to persuade the president of Italian Ministers Giorgia Meloni recognized Jerusalem as the capital of

² An investigation into Israeli networks of influence in Brussels, available at the link: https://orientxxi.info/magazine/article2885

³ In the European Parliament, Roving Agents for Israel, available at: https://orientxxi.info/magazine/article6288

¹ Nada Elia, for these reasons Germany condemns the BDS movement, available at: https://www.noonpost.com/content/27860

Israel; Saying, I believe that the time has come for Rome to recognize Jerusalem as the capital of the ancestors of the Jewish people for three thousand years, as the United States did in a great gesture of friendship¹, especially since (Matteo Salvini) leader of the populist "Northern League" party, one of the parties to the coalition that formed the Italian government announced before Voting in the legislative elections that were held on the twenty-fifth of September 2022, recognizing Jerusalem as the capital of Israel, declaring to the newspaper "Israel Hayom": "He is fully committed to the people of Israel, and he intends to fulfill his promise².

It is clear from the foregoing that the basis of the relationship and cooperation between the Zionist right, which leads the government, and the right-wing populist parties and the extreme right in Europe are the motives of its interests to achieve multiple political, security and economic goals.

The Repercussions on the Palestinian Case

To be sure, Europe's relationship with the Palestinian issue overlaps and is linked to the (Israeli-Palestinian/Arab) conflict, the bilateral relations between the Palestinian Authority and the occupation state and international legitimacy resolutions, in addition to several factors and determinants, which differ from one country to another. Since the collective position of the European Union affects it in one way or another the positions of its countries, depending on the nature of the issuance of decisions in the foreign affairs of the Union, the occupying state is still the most benefiting from the political rise of the populist and extremist right in several European countries and the United States. Therefore, it worked on coordination and cooperation with the extremist right, which caused the decline of support and support for the Palestinian cause, as well as support for the "Israeli" policies and positions. The repercussions of the relationship between the two parties can be seen as follows:

One of the main goals of the Zionist right's cooperation with right-wing populist parties is an attempt to weaken interest in the Palestinian cause and end the two-state solution. Netanyahu's statements about the Holocaust, Likewise, the administration of US President Donald Trump (2016-2020) took clear practical decisions and steps to liquidate the Palestinian cause and the legitimate Arab rights in the occupied territories since the 1967 war, ignoring the UN resolutions issued, and after moving the US embassy to Jerusalem and freezing bilateral relations between the United States and the Authority, is a clear indication of that. .

The growing strength of the Zionist entity in countries where the populist right controls the political scene; through which he was able to avoid a decision in

² Netanyahu offers Italy "gas in exchange for Jerusalem," available at: https://aawsat.com/home/article/4202166

³ Aya Abdel Aziz - Shaima Arafat, Possible Repercussions: The Impact of the Rise of the Extreme Right in Europe on the Middle East and Egypt, Egyptian Center for Thought and Strategic Studies, Cairo, 2022, p. 9..

the European Foreign Affairs Council on settlement expansion in January 2016; Through the pressure of Benjamin Netanyahu on the governments of Greece, Poland, Bulgaria, Hungary, Slovakia and the Czech Republic. Add to that the European division in the United Nations vote regarding the "Palestinian issue". In March 2017, European Union countries could not take a unified position to denounce settlement activity at the United Nations Human Rights Council¹.

As a result of the "Israeli" moves to consolidate its relations with various European parties, including right-wing populists, the occupying power succeeded in bringing about major changes in European positions on the Palestinian issue, as follows:

The French Parliament adopted in December 2019 the definition of the "International Anti-Semitism Holocaust Remembrance Alliance (IHRA)." The Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs welcomed the decision in an official statement, which is the same definition approved by the European Parliament in 2017 and a group of European countries, including Austria and Germany. In addition to Britain, France also supported him through President Emmanuel Macron's adoption of this definition in a speech he had before the Representative Council of Jewish Institutions (in France)², in which he pledged to expand the concept of anti-Semitism to include anti-Zionism. On January 16, 2019, the Italian Senate organized a conference entitled "New Images of Anti-Semitism from To put pressure on the Italian government to adopt the new definition of anti-Semitism and to consider anti-Zionism as a manifestation of anti-Semitism.

The German parliament adopted a resolution in May 2019 deeming the "boycott movement" a form of anti-Semitism. The text of the resolution stated that "the boycott, divestment and sanctions movement against Israel uses anti-Semitic methods to achieve political goals." The resolution pledged not to provide any financial support to any organization that questions the right of the Zionist entity to exist, projects that call for boycotting it, or organizations that actively support the international boycott movement³.

At the level of the European Union, it began to retreat in its positions, when it condemned what was called "the firing of missiles from Gaza at the occupied territories, which considered the missiles an aggressive act targeting civilians and stability, without any condemnation of the occupying state with a reduction in financial support to the Palestinian Authority, and it demanded in a summit conference At the beginning of 2019, the Authority received incomplete clearing funds, and this is a clear bias towards the occupying state and encouragement to it, and the retreat of the European Union's position regarding what was called

¹ Huw Lovatt, Where You Are is a Secret: What's the Next Step for EU Policy Toward Israel-Palestine?, Co-authors. Palestine Internationally: The Rise of the Right in the World and Redrawing Challenges, Beirut, Institute for Palestine Studies, 2018, pg. 93.

¹ France General Assembly deputies adopt a controversial text on anti-Semitism, available at the link: https://www.france24.com/ar/20191204 -

² Germany classifies the BDS movement as anti-Semitic in a resolution adopted by the German Parliament, available at the link: https://www.aa.com.tr/ar/1481284

"incitement in the Palestinian curricula", although these curricula are Palestinian national curricula that meet the need to resist the occupation in accordance with international law and international law¹.

Conclusion

In the light of the foregoing and after taking note of the history of the relationship between the populist right, the European extreme right, and the Zionist political system in which governments lead the right, the following conclusions were reached:

The Zionist right led by Benjamin Netanyahu, the leader of the Likud party and the most prominent Zionist figure that has served as the prime minister of the occupation state since the mid-1990s until now, has realized the importance of attracting the forces and parties of the extreme populist right in Europe and collaborating with them in a way that ensures the acquisition of supportive political positions, and exploiting the plan of those parties to repudiate their anti-Semitic past, thus lifting the embarrassment of that relationship publicly in front of the Zionist public opinion.

The rise of the parties of the populist right and the extreme right of the Palestinian Authority and their growing influence in the political and electoral scene represented a great opportunity for political investment by the Zionists in achieving important influence within the institutions of the European Union, in particular the European Parliament and national parliaments, in order to achieve political, economic and security goals in adopting legislation, decisions and policies supportive of the occupation policies and weakening support for the Palestinian people and the Palestinian Authority.

The policy of hostility to Islam and the intimidation of the danger and fear of Muslims (Islam phobia) adopted by the European extreme right-wing populist parties instead of anti-Semitism made them stand in one front with the right and the occupying political regime that always seeks to consolidate the image of hatred against Islam and the danger of Muslims and attach the label of terrorism to them and transform The conflict turned into a religious conflict between one party representing the Christian and Jewish civilization, and the other representing the Islamic civilization.

In light of the wave of the rise of the populist extreme right in Europe and the United States and the repercussions of global political and security events, interest in the Palestinian cause declined, and in return the support provided to the Zionists increased politically and in the media. Its violations of the rights of the Palestinian people and the violation of all international agreements and resolutions related to the Palestinian cause.

³ Ahead of the European elections, the rise of the extreme right heralds an escalation of hostility to the Palestinian cause. Available at: https://hadfnews.ps/post/55174

Study Suggestions

The study proposes to Palestinian and Arab academic bodies to expand their activities to expose the occupying power's flagrant violations of international law and defiance of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, and to create an academic world public opinion that contributes to changing views on the Palestinian issue.

Arab decision-makers reconsider strengthening relations with governments run by popular right-wing parties in Europe, due to their negative effects on the Arab and Islamic world in general and the Palestinian cause in particular.

Consider working hard to reach a historic bloc whose interests converge with social and political change inside the Palestinian territories, and Arab countries in order to reform their domestic situations on which to base policies to confront threats, whatever their source, and at the forefront of which is confronting the Zionist occupation policies; They should abandon the unilateral normalization policies and start with a unified stance in order to realize rights and restore normalcy to their healthy state.

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