

POPULISM OR THE BROKEN PROMISES OF DEMOCRACY. CONCEPTS, CAUSES AND SOLUTIONS

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DOI: 10.24193/subbeuropaea.2020.2.14

Published Online: 2020-12-30

Published Print: 2020-12-30

Abstract

Europe's response to the consequences of the Two World Wars was the need for joint association in a European project. Later on, the communist revolutions have sparked hopes on the European continent in creating a much-dreamed prosperity. One by one, the Eastern European Countries have joined the European project, the last country being Croatia in 2013. Time has passed, but not all problems seem to be resolved, on the contrary, we could say, extremism is on the rise, intolerance of migrants and foreigners it's a topic on any internal debate. And s as if it weren't enough, Brexit, in conjunction with the rise in the voting intentions for the populist leaders like Marine Le Pen with The National Front in France, Matteo Salvini with Lega Nord in Italy and Nigel Farage with UKIP and later on with Reform Part. This Article aims to provide some clarifications in relation with the conceptual nature of populism, in order to define the concept and identifying and analyzing the main key messages within the populist speech, and also to identify why such messages have success, using as a starting point the idea that populism is only the result of stagnation of the current political class, as well as of the shortcomings of the democratic system.

Keywords: democracy, populism, unemployment, civic-unrest, crisis, elitism, fake-news.

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Introduction

"I simply don't see any competitors to modern democracy"¹ they represented some of Francis Fukushima's words at the time in which he published his article entitled "The End of History" and later his book entitled "The End of History and The Last Man" which they were best-sellers. And after all, with all of Huntington's manifesto, the first, continued his rhetoric by saying that "what we are witnessing is not just the end of the cold war, or a passing of a particular period of postwar history, but the end of history as such: that is, the end point of mankind's ideological evolution and the universalization of western liberal democracy as the final form of human government."² In his view, this was "the end point of mankind's ideological evolution and the universalization of Western liberal democracy"³ and it was inevitable, using as an argument the reforms that were taking place in Russia and China. And, after all, who was to contradict him in the light of the events which were in progress at that time: the anti-communist revolutions in Eastern Europe in 1989, the fall of the Berlin Wall, free elections won by the new democratic parties in the former communist countries where there were young hopes like Viktor Orban in Hungary. In such a situation, the future seemed to be the of the following kind: "in the post-historical period, there will be neither art nor philosophy, just the perpetual caretaking of the museum of human history. I can feel in myself, and see in others around me, a powerful nostalgia for the time when history existed."⁴ But euphoria didn't last long. In 1991 the war in Yugoslavia began, the World Trade Center attacks were taking place in 2001, and then the American invasion in Iraq, and later, the Russian invasion in Georgia and the annexation of the Crimean Peninsula by the same country in 2014. This is only in terms of the military aspect of the

¹ James Atlas, "What Is Fukuyama Saying? And to Whom Is He Saying It?", *NY Times*, Oct. 22, 1989, [<https://www.nytimes.com/1989/10/22/magazine/what-is-fukuyama-saying-and-to-whom-is-he-saying-it.html>], accessed on 2 October 2020

² Francis Fukuyama, "The End of History", *The National Interest*, Summer 1989, p. 1 [https://www.embl.de/aboutus/science_society/discussion/discussion_2006/ref1-22june06.pdf], accessed on 2 October 2020

³ *Ibidem*.

⁴ *Ibidem*, pp. 17-18.

post-USSR era. In regard with the financial side of the world, wake-up came in 2008 with the start of the financial crisis. This event was of particular significance because “free markets have not only enlarged the gap between rich and poor, but have also reduced average incomes across the developed and developing worlds.”⁵ In response, the masses redirected their disappointment and anger towards parties and by switching sides in favor of those with extremist views, sweeping through voting left-wing parties and bringing to power personalities like Geert Wilders, Donald Trump, Matteo Salvini, and as a turning point there were the presidential elections with the finals between Marine Le Pen and Emmanuel Macron, and the pearl of populism, Brexit. Above all, and a wave of rising racism, anti-Semitism and multi-culturalism against the backdrop of the migration crisis against the backdrop of the war in Syria and Iraq, as well as the terrorist attacks in France.

“What is going on? The continuation, at all costs, of a weary world? A salutary crisis of that world, racked by its victorious expansion? The end of that world? The advent of a different world?”⁶ These statements are perfectly justified in a world that seems to be like that he lost his compass, societies seem to be getting more and more attracted to the unknown amid dissatisfaction with the failure of liberal society. Of course, the benefits of democracy are undeniable, both in terms of citizens' rights and freedoms, the technological and economic progress, the comparison between the liberal and the totalitarian world does not exist, yet, the current democratic system has been wrong on numerous occasions.

To begin with, the financial crisis has revealed weaknesses and the stiffness of the capitalist system that believed in solving of its own problems by itself. In return, the crisis revealed the worst in it: institutional corruption, money laundering, financial fraud.

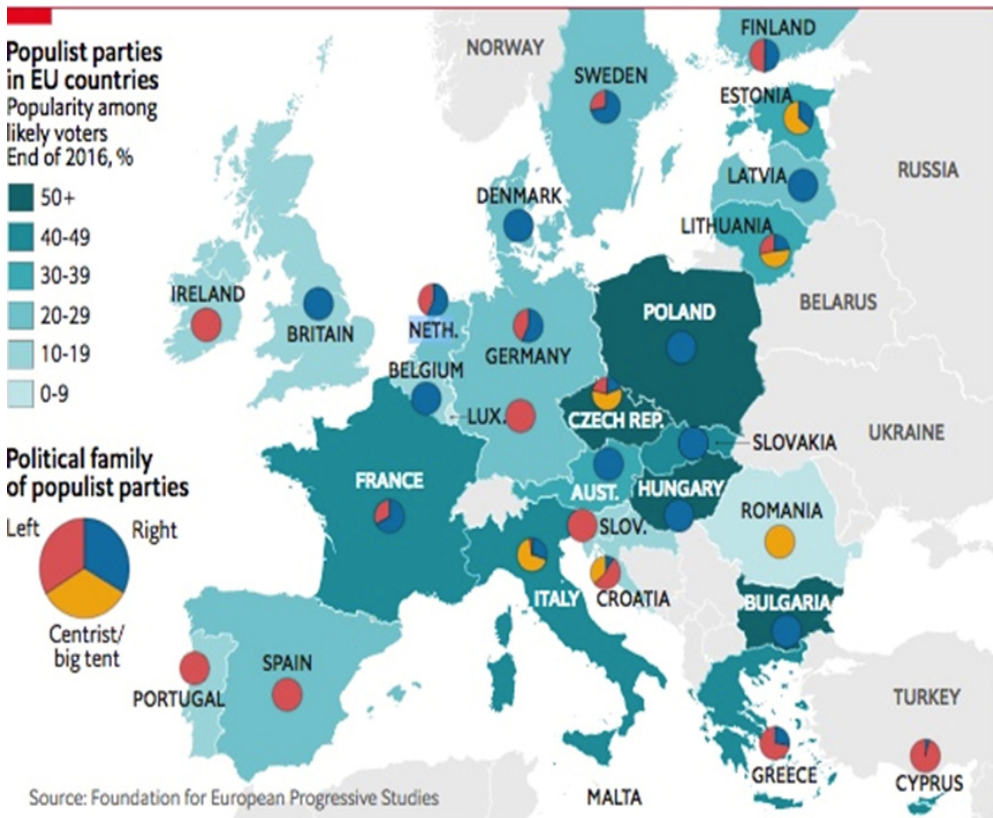
Secondly, from the political establishment, we saw exactly the same gaps as in the case of the banking and financial institutions. Likewise, they also thought that when it comes to political elections, we are only going to have a cyclicity and that the European elections are only a kind of protest

⁵ Thomas Piketty, *Capital in the Twenty-First Century*, Cambridge, Massachusetts/ London: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press; Reprint Edition, 2017.

⁶ Alain Badiou, *The Rebirth of History. Times of Riots and Uprisings*, London, New York: Verso; 1st Edition, 2012.

valve, as protest votes which are only held in the case of these elections. They preferred to mime reforms or not to take them in time, so that they would not lose votes. In addition, we are in a situation where we can see a fall in the training of politicians, proven by their public appearances, and in the way in which the public policies are made up. Thus, the dissatisfaction needed a name and some “heroes”, the latter being politicians like Nigel Farage, Marine Le Pen, Matteo Salvini and the “culprits” were the classic political parties, the political and the financial system which were portrait as being the world elite, interested not in solving the pressing problems of society, because otherwise they would have to lose power.

Of course, except for Brexit, the results are not threatening, (for now) but they have an obligation to take a note. These movements would not succeed if they did not have at least a kernel of truth in the way they lay problem.



I am not at all in the same way in the belief that citizens are to be blamed for the way the society looks by choosing the populist and nationalist leaders, after all, it is their right to choose and the obligation of politicians to find the appropriate solutions and, if they wish to find those who are guilty, they can find them inside their own parties, and in the lack of courage and vision in implementing institutional and educational reforms in order to prevent the advance the daily fake-news.

2. Concepts in understanding populism

Given the waves made by this phenomenon, it is not surprising that the world is overexcited about this subject. Often referred to as “the great ambiguity”⁷ or by other authors such as Cas Mudde as an ultra-widespread concept, a kind of label combining political parties, leaders belonging to the movement which are even opposed from a doctrinal point of view.⁸ Margaret Canovan made the following remark about the difficulty of defining and identifying the elements that make up populism “there exists a shoe - the word “populism” - for which somewhere exists a foot. There are all kinds of feet which it nearly fits, but we must not be trapped by these nearly fitting feet. The prince is always wandering about with the shoe; and somewhere, we feel sure, there awaits a limb called pure populism.”⁹

Thus, the study of populism has inevitably led to interesting debates, reaching into the place that populism has become studied not only as a self-standing phenomenon in politics, but also in mass-media,¹⁰ law,¹¹ agriculture, or because populism is considered to be an evolutionary process¹², in this the early stage there presented as historical populism and

⁷ Yves Mény et Yves Surel, *Democracies and the Populist Challenge*, London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002, pp. 1-21

⁸ Sergiu Gherghina, Sergiu Mişcoiu, and Sorina Soare, *Contemporary Populism: A Controversial Concept and Its Diverse Forms*, Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2013, p. 6.

⁹ *Ibidem* apud. Margaret Canovan, *Populism*, New York and London: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1981, p. 7.

¹⁰ Moshe Loeb Gat, *The Media and Neo-populism: A Contemporary Comparative Analysis*, Santa Barbara: Greenwood Publishing Group, 2003.

¹¹ John Pratt, *Penal Populism*, London and New York: Routledge, 2007.

¹² Sergiu Gherghina, Sergiu Mişcoiu, and Sorina Soare, *op.cit.*, p. 15

on his is evolution he has turned into an advanced populism. In my opinion, I believe that populism is not divided, but is a discursive phenomenon present in the political world, and that evolutionism is necessary to adapt to the masses in order to attract support. Thus, media and legal populism come as a result of society's predisposition in favor of the populist message, each theory representing the missing piece to characterize and identify populism.

From other point of views, populism is a phenomenon that transcends the social classes, and encourages greater resistance to modernization by illustrating the peasants' riots in the new urban dimension. He also identified the reasons for increasing support for populism, namely: the inability of urban workers to form autonomous organizations and a culture; the increase in the number of marginalized people due to rapid migration and urbanization; the expansion of cities, therefore this has created difficulties for the rural area.¹³ This idea will also be supported by Andrej Walicki, who identifies some features of populism: reluctance to capitalism, confrontation between local culture (Russian) and foreign culture (Western), attracting on the side of the populist phenomenon not only of the more conservative class (farmers), but of all the discontented.¹⁴

For Mény and Surel, the process of defining populism starts from understanding globalization by showing the functioning of the liberal democratic system through the perspective of the trident and the interdependence between sovereignty-constitutionalism-citizens, bringing new elements in order to identify and understand populism.¹⁵

In their view, sovereignty is the basic element of the strength and consistency of democracy, which re-enacts institutions and which gives the institutions authority, and on the other hand, it legitimizes social criticism, the system of public control of the institutions, as well as the source of the limitation of institutional power. Thus, popular sovereignty has a dual role: to legitimize and de-legitimize institutions.

¹³ Ghita Ionescu, Ernest Gellner, *Populism: its meaning and national characteristics*, London: Weidenfeld and Nicholson, 1969, pp. 28-62.

¹⁴ *Ibidem*, pp. 62-96

¹⁵ Manuel Anselmi, *Populism. An Introduction*, New York/London: Routledge, 2017, pp. 35-36

Constitutionalism is the fundamental law of the state which sets certain limitations on institutional power in order to avoid an institution becoming able to benefit from discretionary powers and also to defend the rule of law.

Populism, on the other hand, promises a more direct representation and connection with citizens, a top-down relationship, by removing barriers and institutions with a role in mediation. In addition, populism has a double role: both in de-legitimizing of institutions and legitimizing, depending on the actual situation. In the end, however, populism proposes an erosion of the rule of law, regardless the consequences. Thus, populist politicians clamping popular support oppose the politicians elected in the same way, as well as the institutional way of working by virtue of the fact that they build a different understanding of sovereignty.

Moreover, Mény and Surel also identify 3 types of communities essential for the good functioning and success of the populist society: The sovereign people at political level, the people as a social class in economic terms and the nation-state from a cultural perspective.

The Community of the sovereign people refers to the nation and its power to legitimize and de-legitimize institutions, and it is the source of political order in this respect, and political power must act in the interests of and as part of the citizens.

The Community as a social class is the community which is in constant conflict with those perceived as the higher economic class, and thus, they feel themselves oppressed by them, and is therefore advocating against globalization and economic expansion beyond the borders of the local community.

The Community-nation relies on sentimental belonging to the local area, that there is a feeling of exception in that the individual belongs to a specific geographical area, a geographical area which gives him unity in terms of culture, values and tradition and therefore, this space must be preserved from the foreign influences.¹⁶

¹⁶ Yves Mény and Yves Surel, *Democracies and the Populist Challenge*, New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2001, p. 187

In Edward Shills's view, populism is a phenomenon that manifests itself and is successful as a result of societal problems.¹⁷ Shills's study is based on an analysis of the relationship between public opinion, conspiracy theories, using the US political system during the Cold War, and later on a comparison between the US and British political systems as a case study.

The study was all the more interesting not only in terms of the fact that the period was under great tension and sometimes even paranoia, but because these things were public because according to Shills, the American society was built in a certain way and was more prone to react in a certain way than other nations.

Thus, the study is based on an analysis of liberal democracy, which in its view should include a balanced connection of three elements: privacy and secrecy. A comparative analysis is carried out between the UK and the US to illustrate this. In the first case, the conclusion is that the mix between the two is perfect, where the most vulnerable were defended from government abuses, where hierarchies were respected, private life enjoys great respect, the advertising was not overdone and the fears were not fed. According to the author, the American society was the opposite of the British society, a society in which the public dimension was very important to society, an aspect which was attributed to the lack of confidence of the middle class in aristocracy and hierarchical forms of organization, a society based on individualism and where institutional identity was weak. All these attitudes led to other generalized reactions in society: fear of secrets, dependence on secrets and a strong dependence on advertising, all of which created a political leaning toward the conspiracy theories.

He believed that populism should not be seen from a political perspective but rather as social mentality issue, a phenomenon that needs to be studied from a social and cultural point of view. Populism therefore calls for aggressiveness against elites, traditional forms of institutional organization, hierarchical organization, in a word, of the way the state is organized by promoting the elimination of the check-and-balance mechanism, the institutions and the idea of political plurality. As a counterbalance to this phenomenon, Shills is advocating in favor of the strengthening of pluralism within the society.

¹⁷ Manuel Anselmi, *op.cit.*, pp. 16-17

Canovan study was based on the “theory of similarity” built by Ludwig Wittgenstein and argued that there is a variety of populism, each having distinct characteristics depending on the historical and social context in which they appeared and where they manifested themselves.¹⁸ Therefore, she proposed a classification of populism based on case studies.

Agrarian populism has been based on the study of the agrarian movement in Eastern Europe, especially of Russian populism and in the radical character of the American farmers, with the movements being directed against the elites and traditional politicians. Although in most of the cases, these movements had their logos within the society, as a result of the need for representation and with people of a rural nature as promoters. Russian populism was the creation of intellectuals as a tool of promoting the country's glorious past, a means to glorify the tradition and religious character of the country as a quintessence of the country, a shield against modernization.

In the case of political populism, also called dictatorial populism¹⁹ it is considered to include the following elements: it has an urban character, the presence of a charismatic leader and there is a similar organization to that of a party in classical form. These elements do not exclude that political populism cannot include elements specific to agrarian populism.

The populist democracy refers to that populism which wants an increase in the participation of the masses in political life, as well as in the process of government. This form of democracy advocates for a more direct interaction of citizens with the state by removing barriers such as institutions, procedures, practically all intermediaries or at least reducing them to a symbolic level.

Reactionary populism is characterized by a xenophobic, nationalist, anti-modernization, traditionalist, in favor of return to the roots.²⁰ Political populism refers to the actions and the gestures taken by politicians to gain popular support. This type of populism can be found both in the democratic parties and in radical parties, anti-political parties or in locomotive parties.²¹

¹⁸ Ludwig Wittgenstein, “Logisch-Philosophische Abhandlung”, in *Annalen der Naturphilosophische*, XIV, 3/4, 1921 (*Tractatus Logicus-Philosophicus*, translated by D. F. Pears and B. F. McGuinness), London, Henley: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1974, pp. 185-262.

¹⁹ Margaret Canovan, *op.cit.*, pp. 136-172

²⁰ *Ibidem*, pp. 225-231

²¹ *Ibidem*.

Building on Marxist ideology, Laclau introduced the principle of political antagonism which says that the development of a society, as well as its understanding, takes place on the basis of conflicts between citizens and the ruling classes. However, he considered the concept of proletariat and that of class are inappropriate to the events of time, thus building a need to introduce new concepts that are much more appropriate to the economic development. This is how the populism concept that is considered to be of a neutral nature, considered to be neither good nor bad, and put in the negative light attributed to the concept on the neoliberal literature that discrediting the masses. He argued that the neutrality of populism was due to the fact that it was a phenomenon of a linguistic and social nature, which thanks to its way of being, in particular, its symbolic nature, it manages to incorporate elements that would otherwise be together with more difficulty, giving them a macro-identity to these elements called people. Populism is thus a way of building a political dimension with the property of giving a collective identity, or in Laclau's view, the way we build collective identities is a crucial step in building political power. Its neutral nature is the lack of a clear ideology that allows populism to fit on any side of the political spectrum.

The ethos of populism, it is the moment when there is social demand or social need. If this demand is not taken into account, then masses become aware of their common identity, which is reflected in the desired social need and thus demand becomes democratic.²²

Thus, despite the fact that the process of populism classification is different from one author to another, however, researchers have mostly come to the drawing up of a scale on which we can identify the presence of populist attitudes in the political message namely:

- it is anti-intellectual, anti-elite, anti-establishment, science and technology
- inclined toward the promotion of conspiracy theories and short violence for a short period of time
- susceptibility to corruption
- the gestures and leaders' behavior are essential in relation to the movement's support

²² J. Uldam, A. Vestergaard, *Civic Engagement and Social Media: Political Participation Beyond Protest*, New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015

- promotion of historical nostalgia
- demonising of foreigners
- the contesting of inequality promoted by the institutions but support when they are produced as a result of traditions
- can also have an urban character, not just rural.

Considering all the points mentioned, we can say that populism is a message that exploits society's failures because of the failures of the liberal society they are using a "we" vs. "they" rhetoric, giving them the fuel to criticize the globalization and multiculturalism, to hate the foreigners, and to support the fake-news.

3. The Populist Discourse

The populist discourse is not a whole, but rather a cocktail of elements that are central to the respective societies. Thus, the central topics of debate will be presented with only half of the truth in order to get votes, regardless of their consequences or how Machiavelli would say "the end justify the means". Thus, there are some central ideas in the populist message, namely: anti-elitism, anti-migration and globalization, the use of a highly emotional language plays its part in the process of flattering the people, by giving them the possibility of reliving the historical golden age of the state in which they "the real people",²³ they will do it better, by presenting simple solutions to complicated problems. In the populist sense, it is not a classic debate in which the opposing party is an individual with different opinions, an opponent, but rather, it is portrait as being the enemy, the source of all evil and disasters in society, whether we are talking about other political leaders, whether we are talking about institutions or crises with a significant impact such as migrants. Within this paradigm there is not "we" as a society, but rather "us" against "them".

²³ Zoe Williams, "Nigel Farage's victory speech was a triumph of poor taste and ugliness", *The Guardian*, 2016, <https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2016/jun/24/nigel-farage-ugliness-bullet-fired>, accessed on 4 October 2020.

They understand by the idea of elites those people or institutions that come with some expertise in finding the best solutions, but which are not in line with the populist message. After Brexit, the following way of working appeared “I think the people of this country have had enough of experts with organisations with acronyms saying that they know what is best and getting it consistently wrong”²⁴ or as Marine Le Pen said “it is time to free the French people from an arrogant elite”.²⁵ This message is particularly important because in the populist sense of the elite, educational institutions or NGOs have the role of putting things in a certain context, or the last thing any demagogue politician wants is to wake up the electorate. In the theory of populism there is a new typology, namely, of educational populism that acts in total opposition to the traditional educational system, that is why all false conspiracy and fake-news derive and that must be presented as absolutely worthy scientific proof in favor of populism.

Then we have the tickling of the electors' opinion presented as being “the real people”,²⁶ “the true majority”, whose will go beyond any rules and institutions: „populism proclaims that the will of the people as such is supreme over every other standard, over the standard traditional institutions, over the autonomy of institutions and over the will of other strata. Populism identifies the will of the people with justice and morality”.

Then we are moving to portray globalization, strangers and the migration process as harmful to society. Thus, we have “savage globalization”,²⁷ the foreigners are “scum”²⁸ or in other cases they are

²⁴ Tim Wallace, “Voters really have had enough of experts: trust in economists has slumped since referendum”, *The Telegraph*, 2019, <https://www.telegraph.co.uk/business/2019/11/22/voters-really-have-had-enough-experts-trust-economists-has-slumped/>, accessed on 5 October 2020.

²⁵ Kim Willsher, “Marine Le Pen heads to the rust belt to celebrate French election success”, *The Guardian*, 2017, <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2017/apr/23/marine-le-pen-french-presidential-election-success> accessed on 5 October 2020

²⁶ “EU Referendum: Farage declares ‘independence day’ ”, *BBC*, 2016, <https://www.bbc.com/news/av/uk-politics-eu-referendum-36613295>, accessed on 5 October 2020

²⁷ “Marine Le Pen rejette la ‘mondialisation sauvage’ d’Emmanuel Macron”, *Le Point*, 2017, https://www.lepoint.fr/presidentielle/en-direct-presidentielle-entre-le-pen-et-macron-la-bataille-du-1er-mai-01-05-2017-2123911_3121.php accessed on 5 October 2020

presented as “Islamic invasion”.²⁹ These elements attack the purity of the nation, the jobs of citizens, without mentioning that those who come in, often get the lowest paid jobs that the natives do not want or do not take, in those cases the employer is forced to find a workforce in sensitive areas.

That is why Platon calls such a speech as being demagogue “the demagogue is one who preaches doctrines he knows to be untrue to men he knows to be idiots”.³⁰ The demagogue in this case is the statement of a problem, real or not, but by presenting simple solutions. But in a global world, free trade agreements are not being made from today to tomorrow. Labor is needed to support economic growth and it is the duty of the employer to find solutions when citizens do not want to take a certain job. It is, of course, the state's duty to offer skill and skill programs for entering the labor market, but it is not the state's duty to offer job by force.

4. How did we get here?

It would be counterproductive to consider Brexit as the central event alongside Donald Trump's election as mere history accidents. In particular, they are the result of stagnation in the best case of the policy since the fall of communism in 1989. This is why we should start from the analysis of the populist discourse to see if the said words do not contain a certain truth and then we should also pass on to the liberal political spectrum.

A first aspect to be considered is that of globalization and migration, as the two are interrelated. A universally accepted definition of globalization does not exist, but we can see its impact or its effects on society. In particular, when we talk about globalization, we refer to a number of interdependencies generated by exchanges between economic and political actors, exchanges that generate interactions and major changes in the market, not least in term of culture. In short, the term

²⁸ Robin McKie, “Far-right leader Geert Wilders calls Moroccan migrants ‘scum’ “, *The Guardian*, 2017 <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2017/feb/18/geert-wilders-netherlands-describes-immigrants-scum-holland>, accessed on 5 October 2020

²⁹ Yoruk Bahceli, “Wilders tells Dutch parliament refugee crisis is ‘Islamic invasion’”, *Reuters*, 2015, <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-europe-migrants-netherlands-idUSKCN0RA0WY20150910>, accessed on 5 October 2020

³⁰ H.L. Mencken, *Notes on Democracy*, New York: Holmes Press, 2007, p. 76

interdependence can be combined into one concept, namely globalization.³¹ This means that globalization at societal level takes place through three dimensions: society or socialization, economy and politics. These 3 are due to the change in the paradigm of inter-state relations in Western Europe post-1945 by creating the European Economic Area and by lifting restrictions on the free movement of goods, product and persons, and gained further momentum after the fall of communism.

The globalization of social relations requires, above all, a reconsideration of time and space in social life. People's lives are increasingly influenced by events that are far from the social context in which they carry out their daily activities.³² Thus, through the interactions with citizens from other countries on the occasion of relocation of activity, cultural events, exchanges of experience due to Erasmus-type student programs, and tourism, followed later in some cases of permanent or temporary establishment in other countries, we have a process of cultural exchange, with faster or slower adaptability, depending on the case. A good example is the situation of citizens who had established in west after the fall of communism. This interaction can often create cleavages. In this respect, it is important that there is a process of European integration, among many other unifying measures, that the EU integration process is one of the most important, a "Europe without borders", the elimination of reciprocal exclusivity – under conditions the coexistence of closed systems at the level of the nation states, which involves among other things, the creation of a common culture or a process of diffusion an existing culture, whether as a collective participatory process to create a new one.³³ This only implies the habit of peaceful and cultural coexistence between native and foreign nationals. It is the political dimension that ultimately determines the policy of globalization, the directions and the strategies, the steps toward achieving global society. She is the one that makes and breaks alliances of all nuances, structure markets, induce changes in the sovereignty of states, disturbing existing identity structures, etc., all determined by the factor of interest, it is assumed by the general human interest.

³¹ Vasile Stănescu, *Societatea civilă în fața globalizării*, București: Editura Expert, 2001, p. 21

³² *Ibidem*.

³³ *Ibidem*, p. 22.

In this context, globalization appears as the greatest defiance and challenge of the century but also as a threat. Because “global society” or “the world system” does not only appear on the basis of the interdependence and mutual ties of its parties, globalization can move forward in both the direction of freedom and domination. The classic example is the relationships between “center” and “periphery”. With the objective of this process, in which economies, markets, capital, will no longer have borders, where competition and efficiency become benchmarks, the role of man, education, professionalism and pragmatism, its intelligence and ingenuity, and power is becoming a defining factor, of the power to adapt to an increasingly mobile world. Sustainable human development remains the main (human) dimension, which ensures overall development, the democratization of society, ensures human dignity, solidarity, participation in decision-making process, fair distribution and the protection of the natural environment.³⁴ Globalization is therefore an objective process characterized by improvement and modernization, efficiency, productivity and flexibility, understanding and adaptation, alignment of states, their attributes with democratic values and institutions, which aim to become widespread and create a single world, an interrelated system of networks using the same language, generally codified, of technologies and systems of interest, based on cooperative, participatory coordination, which will change the universal way in which humanity works.³⁵

Within the economic dimension, economic operators with economic power are emerging in some cases even higher than some countries and through the capital injections in the new states, through the creation of new jobs, as well as other direct investments such as taxes and taxes paid to the budget requires a new organization for those employed by introducing internal procedures, a working method and promotion based on merit rather than loyalty, and transparency of expenditure. They are valuable in the way they have shaped the world we live in, namely: they have contributed to the increase of the living standards, transfer of technology and know-how to reduce the gaps , they produce in some cases cheap high quality products and and not least, perhaps a large proportion of local

³⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 25

³⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 26

entrepreneurs were formed as a result of the organizational culture they joined during their employment in a multinational company, this is important because organizational culture means a set of specific practices from which the main company comes and teaches you how to act in order to be effective . The fault appears after an in-depth analysis of these 3 components.

Firstly, it is true that the arrival in other markets of large companies has created a boost by creating new jobs, but often they have been characterized as greedy, and as having only one purpose: that is to make the most profit at the lowest cost.³⁶ The main problem in many eyes is that some companies have come to have a higher turnover than dozens of states and therefore they can use their financial strength to influence states in policies such as tax deductions and tax regime.

Of course, the way corporations act and the way globalization look now is far from perfect, but it is not right to consider the big companies to blame for the current situation. First, in the case of global warming, there has been talk of the need for car manufacturers to find a solution to the pollution problem (which electric cars will be seen to be) but not a word about the behavior of the buyer.

Secondly, companies often take advantage of political opportunism and ambiguous legislation to circumvent taxes and duties. Let us not mention the numerous cases of state aid that governments knowingly grant.

And last but not least, the question of profit. We must say that the purpose of any business is to make the greatest profit at the lowest cost. Companies are not charities or NGOs. Of course, those who apply for a position within a department within a company will have a remuneration that is directly proportional to the position they are located in the company and therefore to the profit or the status they have. In other words, the higher the rank in terms of hierarchical position and therefore the responsibilities, the higher the remuneration.

³⁶ Joseph Stiglitz, *Making Globalization Work*, New York: W. W. Norton & Company; Reprint Edition, 2007, p. 163.

The benefits of globalization, multiculturalism and the European project are far greater than the disadvantages, we only need to analyse the impact of tourism on GDP,³⁷ or increase in per capita income.³⁸

However, the problem arises within the context of social inequality, the center over the periphery paradigm where the poor have not only remained the same, but the situation has worsened, and thus, they are cut off from quality educational services, and they are not in the labor market, leading them to criminal groups or without education, they will believe everything they are told, and they will become the mass of maneuver for politicians who do not only want to exploit them, but they want to maintain the existing status-quo given the minimum effort they have to make to win votes. After all, it is easier to say that they are a “privileged” group, oppressed by an elite who use foreigners to take jobs than to deal with their real problem. After all, they were the main pool of supporters for Brexit. And this is where the fault is largely also on the side of classic politicians. Current society has forgotten inclusion, believing that those at the margins of society are not important, often accusing them of having reached the same place because of them, that their vote does not count, however, by counting the results at important voting times where the results often were different because of them. Of course, this does not mean that the state must become a socialist-type union, with production jobs for the sake of pointless production, but without giving them a meaning, a purpose, they will find a purpose in something else. And we see why there is an adherence to conspiracy theories, to fake-news, to racism and xenophobia. Because if the current political class disregards them, the populists give them a meaning, even if only formal.

Another problem is the decline in political confidence at global level, which exudes totalitarian regimes, the quality of politicians in the parties, let's say traditional. Because the general public might understand the need to tighten the belt for a while, to understand that the alternative presented by extremist parties is not a solution, but the minimal logic forces us to

³⁷ J. Luty, “Travel and tourism in Europe - Statistics & Facts 2020”, <https://www.statista.com/topics/3848/travel-and-tourism-in-europe/>, accessed on 6 October 2020

³⁸ “European Union Wage Growth”, <https://tradingeconomics.com/european-union/wage-growth>, accessed on 6 October 2020

question the moment when top people come up with proposals or words at best humorous, If not tragic , demonstrating that Sarah Palin is not the only one, in the case of the UK it is competition: Michael Gove,³⁹ Chris Grayling, Grant Shapps,⁴⁰ David Tredinnick, Jeremy Hunt.⁴¹ Of course, politicians from the other spectrum are not below, on the contrary, those named above represent those who, by their way of being, make the average man with the everyday problems, to wonder what qualities the above-mentioned possess (or does not possess) that would be worth leading a country's destiny. In such a situation, confidence in politicians is at alarmingly low levels.⁴²

What can be done?

After the victory in the elections, Mark Rutte said his that victory was one of “the good populism against the bad populism”,⁴³ that those who do not abide the dutch law should leave,⁴⁴ others like the Austrian Chancellor have co-opted in the government populists.

1. First of all, the adoption of this rhetoric by the Liberal parties only legitimizes these messages even more, in the last minute they are unable to gain electoral capital from it,⁴⁵ like the German Social Democratic Party

³⁹ Mark Burdman, “Britain: The Case of Desperado Michael Gove”, *Executive Intelligence Review*, Volume 29, Number 48, December 13, 2002, pp. 40-42.

⁴⁰ Suzanne Moore, “Grant Shapps: just how gullible does he think voters are?”, *The Guardian*, 2015, <https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2015/mar/16/grant-shapps-gullible-voters-michael-green-second-job> accessed on 6 October 2020

⁴¹ Polly Toynbee, “Who dares confront Jeremy Hunt, NHS bully-in-chief?”, *The Guardian*, 2015.

⁴² Ipsos MORI, “Politicians trusted less than estate agents, bankers and journalists”, *Ipsos Mori Political Monitor*, February 2013, <https://www.ipsos.com/ipsos-mori/en-uk/politicians-trusted-less-estate-agents-bankers-and-journalists>, accessed on 6 October 2020

⁴³ Cas Mudde, “Good’ populism beat ‘bad’ in Dutch election”, *The Guardian*, 2017, <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2017/mar/19/dutch-election-rutte-wilders-good-populism-bad-> accessed on 6 October 2020

⁴⁴ Cynthia Kroet, “Mark Rutte: ‘Act normal or leave’ ad not aimed at ethnic groups”, *Politico*, 2017, <https://www.politico.eu/article/mark-rutte-act-normal-or-leave-ad-not-aimed-at-ethnic-groups/>, accessed on 6 October 2020

⁴⁵ Markus Wagner, “Tarik Abou-Chadi, The Electoral Appeal of Party Strategies in Postindustrial Societies: When Can the Mainstream Left Succeed?”, in Jeffery A. Jenkins (ed.), *The Journal of Politics*, 81 no. 4, October 2019, pp. 1405–1419, <https://www.journals.uchicago.edu/doi/10.1086/704436> accessed on 6 October 2020.

(SPD), which took over the Alternative for Deutschland (AFD) rhetoric without success.⁴⁶

2. Politicians should be aware of populist issues and come up with solutions, with clear and effective policies, to put the whole problem in a context, because often populist politicians do not come up with solutions, for them, complicated problems have simple solutions.

3. The education system must be rethought in such a way that pupils are given the means to identify lies from the truth. It is fascinating how in the 21st century, in the context where the information is just a click away, to consider diseases to be spread by 5G antennas, to reiterate the geographical assumptions of the Medieval time that have long been eluded and then, after a decision is made at the polls, we have made the mistake by searching the internet as well.⁴⁷ We need to rediscover our critical sense and analysis, to put everything in context without which any problems stated become a pretext.

Conclusions

We have to learn from all these crises and to draw the necessary lessons.

Democracy is not a self-standing building, but the result of philosophical thinking that has been used and in practice has led to the present world. It must be adjusted where necessary so as not to become an exclusive club or a society where some are more equal than others, or the good principle to be put on the front of institutions but impossible to implement. Democracy without change, slips towards extremism or

⁴⁶ Cas Mudde, "Why copying the populist right isn't going to save the left", *The Guardian*, 2019, <https://www.theguardian.com/news/2019/may/14/why-copying-the-populist-right-isnt-going-to-save-the-left>, accessed on 6 October 2020; Christine Coester, "Europe's Left Turns Right on Immigration", *Handelsblatt Today*, 2018, <https://www.handelsblatt.com/today/opinion/rise-of-the-right-europes-left-turns-right-on-immigration/23582516.html>, accessed on 6 October 2020

⁴⁷ Brian Fung, "The British are frantically Googling what the E.U. is, hours after voting to leave it", *Washington Post*, 2016, <https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/the-switch/wp/2016/06/24/the-british-are-frantically-googling-what-the-eu-is-hours-after-voting-to-leave-it/>, accessed on 6 October 2020

becomes only a dictatorship of the majority. Democracy is not only about referendums, but also about principles such as the rule of law and the protection of minority groups, without which we would be in a totalitarian society.

Populism is the mirror of democracy, in the sense that it helps the society to see its defects and shortcomings. Prosperity exists, but the poverty has increased, freedom of movement exists, but it needs an explanation of the integration process, as well as a process of integrating for the new arrivals without affecting their culture, but above all, to feel part of the new house. Politicians must be made aware of the changes of the future, if today some people are taking jobs from other countries because they do a job that the natives do not want to do in context where the first are often poorly paid,⁴⁸ what will do in the context of digitalization and robotization of work,, let alone when many jobs in the construction of machinery and services will disappear by introducing electrical machines.⁴⁹ For now, populism sleeps but will return when the nowadays crisis will stop.

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⁴⁸ Jeanette Seiffert, "Study: Eastern Europeans underpaid in Germany", *Deutsche Welle*, 2014 <https://www.dw.com/en/study-eastern-europeans-underpaid-in-germany/a-17431961>, accessed on 6 October 2020.

⁴⁹ Jeff McMahon, "More Electric Cars Mean Fewer Mechanical Jobs", *Forbes*, 2019 <https://www.forbes.com/sites/jeffmcmahon/2019/05/30/more-electric-cars-fewer-manufacturing-jobs/#29e7b0613378> accessed on 6 October 2020

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