



QUESTIONNAIRE

“The rise of far-right in Europe and the impact to labour”

In accordance with the principles and the role of ECTUN, the Trade Unions in the European capitals and regions have a responsibility to pay attention to urban and regional development policies from the perspective of defending and promoting the quality of life and work of workers and the respect of labour and human rights.

The annual ECTUN Conference in Madrid in November 2024, decided the setup of a Working Group to examine the rise of the far right in European Capitals and Regions, the impact on labor and the actions of the trade unions to face this threat.

QUESTIONNAIRE

“The rise of far-right in Europe and the impact to labour”

Capital city: Athens, Greece
Trade Union Organization: EKA
Name and surname: Christina Theochari

1. What is the percentage of the far right parties gained in the last elections?

In capital/regional elections

In national elections

Far right parties, percentages, seats at National level in the last elections in 2023.

- Spartans, 4,68%, 12 seats (now reduced to 5 seats)
- Velopoulos - Greek Solution, 4,45%, 12 seats
- NIKI, 2,92%, 8 seats
- “Voice of reason” was created in 2023. In the European elections in 2024 obtained 3% and one seat in the EU Parliament

Note: The total number of seats in the Greek Parliament is 300

2. Are they part of the government?

NO

3. If yes, leading or partner?

4. Which were their main topics in the election campaigns?

- Promising everything to everyone.
- Projecting a face social profile while hiding their racist and anti-democratic beliefs.
- Spreading lies and fake news.
- Using secret funding from oligarchical and authoritarian regimes.

5. What consequences on the existence and work of democratic trade unions do they have?

No impact.

6. The role of the social media

A part of social media and the mass media promote the positions of far-right parties, especially when they are accompanied by "theatrical" moves that attract the public.

7. Trade Union responses

At workplace

There is no official trade union expression of the far right.

At community level

The reaction is not unitary.

Trade Union Agenda

TUs are very clear in combating the far-right toxic rhetoric.

8. Which policies failed in which areas and fuelled the rise of the far right in your capital/country?

- In combatting the high cost of living.
- In migration policies.
- In effectively supporting the most vulnerable.
- In effectively countering the ideologies of the far right.
- Lack of knowledge of history and the criminal role of the far right in it.

9. Common actions of ECTUN members as a roadblock to the onslaught of the far right

- Coordinated information and awareness-raising campaigns exposing the lies and the corrosive role of far right groups.
- Make visible the anti-labour positions/interventions in the European Parliament and in any European institutions where they participate.

QUESTIONNAIRE

“The rise of far-right in Europe and the impact to labour”

Capital city: Belgrade, Serbia
Trade Union Organization: CATUB
Name and surname: Dragan Todorovic

1. What is the percentage of the far right parties gained in the last elections?
In capital/regional elections
In national elections

In Belgrade about 52.8 percent.
In national elections about 51.77 percent;

2. Are they part of the government?

YES

3. If yes, leading or partner?

It is the leading party.

4. Which were their main topics in the election campaigns?

“Serbia must not stop” - Future for our country, safety and security for citizens, as well as more factories, built schools and hospitals, but also higher salaries and pensions.

5. What consequences on the existence and work of democratic trade unions do they have?

Social dialogue exists, but it is not essential, form is before content, there are no conflicts because the government obstructs, except on some local topics. In public companies, institutions, etc., where there is direct disagreement with them, pressure is put on the union in the form of pressure to expel members and create new unions by the employer.

6. The role of the social media

The role is important insofar as there is a significant possibility of obtaining information about a certain topic, but one should be careful in the context of the truthfulness of the information, depending on who places it. Pressure, labelling, bullying of an individual are present if they publish some socially relevant content.

7. Trade Union responses

At workplace

We are trying to focus on the rights of employees and respecting their rights and increasing wages.

At community level

Concrete actions against the right do not exist because the right gained space and importance because the other side is not doing well, and its bad work is being condoned.

Trade Union Agenda

There are pressures, but they are not direct, so there are no concrete actions by the trade unions.

8. Which policies failed in which areas and fuelled the rise of the far right in your capital/country?

Low standard of employees, corruption, absence of rule of law, inequality within legal system etc.

9. Common actions of ECTUN members as a roadblock to the onslaught of the far right

The far right is a consequence of the neoliberal concept, i.e. the concept of globalization, the alienation of power from the citizens, the forcing of certain agendas - welfare for the citizens, and increasing profits. In the economic sense, citizens are feeling the negative consequences, and profits are growing. Joint action would be a pressure on the existing ruling structures, that the human being - the worker is in the foreground and to reduce the gap between the interests of capital and the interests of ordinary people.

QUESTIONNAIRE

“The rise of far-right in Europe and the impact to labour”

Capital city: Berlin, Germany
Trade Union Organization: DGB
Name and surname: Katja Karger, Chair DGB Berlin-Brandenburg

1. What is the percentage of the far right parties gained in the last elections?

In capital/regional elections

In national elections

- In Berlin: 9.1%, regional 31.5% Brandenburg
- Federal election 2021: 10.3%
- European election 2024: 15.9%
- Election results among trade union members 10 % to 15%

2. Are they part of the government?

NO

3. If yes, leading or partner?

4. Which were their main topics in the election campaigns?

- Focus of their election campaign: migration
- Neoliberal, neoconservative in terms of economic and social policy combined with nationalist ideas

5. What consequences on the existence and work of democratic trade unions do they have?

- Intimidating and threatening functionaries and members
- Massive disruption of company meetings and trade union meetings
- Take over works council
- Shitstorms and agenda setting against trade unions
- Threatening to restrict the right to strike, forcing trade unions out of collective bargaining, cancelling collective agreements, reducing the welfare state

6. The role of the social media

AfD is a leader in social media campaigns. Fast, professional, wide reach. Currently focussing on TikTok.

7. Trade Union responses

At workplace

- Educate people about their programmes and goals. AfD is against workers.
- Speeches at works meetings

At community level

- Political talks with parties to prevent cooperation
- Strengthen democratic networks and alliances.
- Democracy festivals/ Christopher-Street-Days in countryside, support local democratic structures.
- Demonstrations against far-right party conferences, marches and members of parliament

Trade Union Agenda

- Incompatibility decision: exclusion of simultaneous membership of AfD and trade union
- No stage! Three principles:
1. DGB officials do not take part in AfD events
 2. DGB does not invite the AfD to its own events
 3. If third parties invite the AfD and the DGB to events, discussions will be held with them
- Speeches and inputs at works meetings, the 1st of May, union member conferences.
 - Politicise employers and hold them accountable

8. Which policies failed in which areas and fuelled the rise of the far right in your capital/country?

- We see the tendency getting towards to 'normal party' by the media, politicians and employers
- The economic situation and existential fears are fuelling employees' support for right-wing ideologies

- Personal feelings of being overwhelmed favour supposedly simple right-wing solutions
- The situation is complex - the right-wingers have simple answers
- Conservative parties pick up on AfD content and push it forward, making right-wing issues socially acceptable
- Dissatisfaction among the population is not sufficiently addressed by established parties

9. Common actions of ECTUN members as a roadblock to the onslaught of the far right

The framework conditions of the countries and the orientation of the rights are very different.

QUESTIONNAIRE

“The rise of far-right in Europe and the impact to labour”

Capital city: Brussels (Mons-La Louvière)
Trade Union Organization: CSC
Name and surname: Sidi Amraoui

1. What is the percentage of the far right parties gained in the last elections?

In capital/regional elections

In national elections

In Belgium, we have two different Area:

1) Walloon Area French-speaking where is my federation MONS LA LOUVIERE 52 km from capital Brussel

Chez nous : Score in the last legislative elections: 0.92%

Represented in the national parliament: no Represented in the European parliament: no

2) Flemish Area Dutch-speaking : Vlaams Blang Score in the latest legislative elections: 13.77%

Score in the last European elections: 14.5% Represented in the European Parliament: yes

Between This two area we have capital Brussel

2. Are they part of the government?

YES but only in Flemish Area

NO in wallone Area we try to block any expansion through muncial politics and associations and our union

3. If yes, leading or partner?

4. Which were their main topics in the election campaigns?

Flemish nationalism to clearly separate Flanders from Wallonia and Migration and asylum European Union division

5. What consequences on the existence and work of democratic trade unions do they have?

attacks on fundamental rights: pensions, equal opportunities, repression of minorities..

6. The role of the social media

In Belgium, we have what is called the “cordon sanitaire”, but despite this, Vlaams Belang influences right-wing parties to push demands even further to the right than they should be.

7. Trade Union responses

At workplace

Awareness-raising, leafleting, press, continuing education

At community level

come together with local politicians, encourage voting for the right political parties, public information sessions, press, union and associative actions to denounce the programs of the right and far right, blogging candidates' voices in antifascist municipalities

Trade Union Agenda

8. Which policies failed in which areas and fuelled the rise of the far right in your capital/country?

Coalition of left-wing parties, not enough firm reaction in Flanders even though in Wallonia we are very attentive to far-right parties. The Vlaams Belang is a party that continues to gain ground and is based on Flemish nationalism, securitarianism, and inequality: Islam is in the crosshairs of this party.

9. Common actions of ECTUN members as a roadblock to the onslaught of the far right

To summarize

Strengthen the ties and communication between the different unions, work on sharing strategies for struggle and propaganda, harmonize the fight at the European level by engaging the European MPs from the concerned countries, solidarity through information exchange between countries during elections.

QUESTIONNAIRE

“The rise of far-right in Europe and the impact to labour”

Capital city: Lisbon

Trade Union Organization: União dos Sindicatos de Lisboa/ CGTP-IN

Name and surname: João Coelho

1. What is the percentage of the far right parties gained in the last elections?

In capital/regional elections

In national elections

National Parliamentary elections held on 18 May 2025, CHEGA Got 22.76% (1,442,194 votes) elected 60 MPs, making it the second largest political force in parliament

2. Are they part of the government?

NO

3. If yes, leading or partner?

4. Which were their main topics in the election campaigns?

Among many things, they exploited the alleged lack of security, blaming the migrants for the situation. Although official data contradicted them, they persisted in their lies. They also accused migrants of draining the resources of the national health service, and of draining the resources of social security, saying that they came to the country only to earn benefits without working. A lie that also made its way although official data also denied them.

The anti-corruption discourse remained central, associating the image of figures from the two largest parties and a banker in court, but also associating 50 years of democracy with corruption. The discourse against what it calls ‘gender ideology’ and against what it calls ‘socialism’.

Another very present theme was that of justice, which he considers to be "soft", and the need for heavier sentences (chemical castration for paedophiles, life imprisonment, etc.).

5. What consequences on the existence and work of democratic trade unions do they have?

For the time being, there is a direct consequence, which has to do with the permeability of workers (including unionised workers) and some members of the structure who have assimilated his discourse, mistakenly believing that this party would have some solutions to the most immediate problems.

However, we mustn't lose sight of the fact that in November 2022, Chega announced its intention to create a trade union centre, called 'Solidarity', according to the party's leader, along the lines of VOX in Spain.

It hasn't succeeded so far, but there are some professional groups that have been more permeable (notably the security forces and firefighters), and the hand of the far right can be seen behind some of the "spontaneous demonstrations")

6. The role of the social media

This party dominates social media. They know the statistical workings of information distribution on these networks very well, as well as the algorithmic workings.

They have hundreds, if not thousands of fake profiles that are constantly spreading lies and hatred, rewriting history, and the lie circulates and becomes the truth for many people.

But also the media, which has given more prominence to this party and its leader than to any other party, and this has been happening since its formation in 2019, bears a lot of responsibility for this election result.

7. Trade Union responses

At workplace

Our presence in the workplace is very important. We need to clarify and point out the contradictions of this party. It's also very important to help us reflect in order to combat the falsehoods and lies of the far right.

Trade unions have a very important role to play in contact with workers, contributing through their action in the workplace to the defence of democracy, the fight against hate speech, building and promoting the values of solidarity and unity among workers.

Plenaries with films to stimulate debate; the creation of moments with group dynamics that promote reflection, positioning and discussion on the issues that are on the agenda of the extreme right and that require a strong fight and clarification among workers can be some strategies to consider in this fight.

At community level

Contacting and carrying out joint actions with the associative movement, particularly with immigrant associations, but also with other associations and informal groups

The creation of events that promote enlightenment, the fight against hate speech, the values of democracy among the population (by the unions and together with other structures, associations, cultural workers).

Organising common actions and struggles against racism and xenophobia, among others.

Trade Union Agenda

8. Which policies failed in which areas and fuelled the rise of the far right in your capital/country?

Social policies have failed, wages are extremely low and cannot cope with the brutal increase in the cost of living, especially in basic necessities, energy and housing. Public services such as the National Health Service and public schools are deteriorating as a result of the neoliberal and right-wing policies of successive governments. People listen to messianic speeches and tend to believe that they have the solution to all the problems they face.

9. Common actions of ECTUN members as a roadblock to the onslaught of the far right

Sharing information and exchanging experiences, materials and actions between ECTUN unions on this issue can be an essential element in strengthening union action against the extreme right in capital cities.

Create a common label with a strong image and phrase, such as "ECTUN: Trade Unions against Fascism in the Capital Cities"; "ECTUN: Trade Unions against Racism and Xenophobia in the Capital Cities", which can be incorporated into some of the ECTUN trade unions' materials or websites.

QUESTIONNAIRE

“The rise of far-right in Europe and the impact to labour”

Capital city: Madrid
Trade Union Organization: CCOO de Madrid
Name and surname: Paloma Vega López

1. What is the percentage of the far right parties gained in the last elections?
In capital/regional elections
In national elections

So far they have not had any victories, there have been no elections, but the trend in the polls is that they would become the third political force in the country, in the region and in the city.

2. Are they part of the government?

NO

3. If yes, leading or partner?

4. Which were their main topics in the election campaigns?

Immigration, historical memory, equality, LGTBI rights, climate denialism, anti-public services etc

5. What consequences on the existence and work of democratic trade unions do they have?

At the moment it has none for practical purposes, as we are not in the governments, but what they are proposing is the withdrawal of our presence in the bodies of institutional representation that we are guaranteed by law and by the Constitution.

6. The role of the social media

They promote hoaxes, smear campaigns against trade unions and progressive parties, as well as hate campaigns against the most vulnerable groups.

7. Trade Union responses

At workplace

They tried to create a trade union but they have not been successful in the electoral processes in the companies, so we maintain the capacity to respond from the legal representation in the workplaces to combat their campaigns of disinformation and intoxication of the workforces.

At community level

All political and trade union forces, together with other social entities, respond to these kinds of attacks, but there is no single reaction. Normally, we do not respond publicly to their provocations, but we argue in the face of their outlandish proposals.

Trade Union Agenda

We continue with our agenda, which we believe is the best thing to do. We have held many awareness-raising conferences and campaigns, analysing in detail the impact of the extreme right from different points of view, but we focus on our proactive work and on defending the productive model, historical memory and democracy.

8. Which policies failed in which areas and fuelled the rise of the far right in your capital/country?

Issues related to citizen security, economic crisis of the middle classes, a divided left, and loss of quality of public services.

9. Common actions of ECTUN members as a roadblock to the onslaught of the far right

- Information days on the impact of the extreme right on everyday aspects of the economy, public services, citizens' rights, etc.
- European campaign appealing to the progressive vote
- Discussion of the members to analyse together what initiatives could be taken at city or country level to fight them
- Fighting false information from our unions

QUESTIONNAIRE

“The rise of far-right in Europe and the impact to labour”

Capital city: PARIS
Trade Union Organization: CFDT IDF
Name and surname: Olivier CLEMENT

1. What is the percentage of the far right parties gained in the last elections?
In capital/regional elections
In national elections

Région Ile de France : 20.91 %
France in whole : 37.59 %

2. Are they part of the government?

NO

3. If yes, leading or partner?

4. Which were their main topics in the election campaigns?

“la preference nationale” (the national preference) : this favorit issue for the French far-right partys intend to disorganize the social system in fostering the division of the French society while this one is indivisible. The national rally and reconquête want to exclude all persons not resembling European culture according to their racists ethnic and social criterias.

5. What consequences on the existence and work of democratic trade unions do they have?

Our trade union is preparing every time to counter this far-right rising. We wrote and outline a plan to our militants with the aim to face this situation in the companies in awareness raising approach among workers and over territories too. we can training whole the militants that express the demand it.

6. The role of the social media

During different old elections we use social media to counter the far-right taking the floor. But we don't use it to talk about our plan. We prefer extend it in the work place.

7. Trade Union responses

At workplace

We have a principal aim to race the citizen workers to don't trust in far-right policies. We must demonstrate to workers it's important to preserve the social system too.

At community level

The french and whole of the European society must counter to the far-right rising. For that, we need to change our trade union software to fight more effectively against this situation with workers and different associations partners too.

Trade Union Agenda

We begin our plan in holding different working meetings with militants...

8. Which policies failed in which areas and fuelled the rise of the far right in your capital/country?

The national social policies failed and the labours has been the first part of the population condemned by this lack of attention. With low foundings in public function let expressing a general discontent. These nationals policies hit all the country and particularity Paris with the big difficulties of housing.

9. Common actions of ECTUN members as a roadblock to the onslaught of the far right

I think it's important to make actions constructed as close as possible to workers. But we can choose to hold different others deeds.

QUESTIONNAIRE

“The rise of far-right in Europe and the impact to labour”

Capital city:	PARIS
Trade Union Organization:	UNSA
Name and surname:	CHEKKAL Kaïna

1. What is the percentage of the far right parties gained in the last elections?

In capital/regional elections

In national elections

In 2021, the far right won approximately 13% of the vote in the first round of the regional elections. In the 2024 early legislative elections, the far right first round nationwide, and in the 2024 European elections, the far right won over 31% of the vote.

2. Are they part of the government?

No, they are not officially part of the government.

3. If yes, leading or partner?

Although the RN is not formally in government, it exercises significant influence on national policy, particularly at the level of the Ministry of the Interior on issues of immigration and security.

4. Which were their main topics in the election campaigns?

The RN focused its campaigns on:

- Immigration: Drastic reduction of legal and illegal immigration
- Security: Strengthening law enforcement and combating crime
- National sovereignty: Opposition to certain EU policies

5. What consequences on the existence and work of democratic trade unions do they have?

The rise of the RN has raised concerns among unions:

- Stigmatization: Risk of marginalization of unions perceived as opposed to the RN's ideas
- Reduction of rights: Fears of a possible undermining of social gains and workers' rights

6. The role of the social media

Social media played a crucial role in the rise of the National Rally (RN):

- Mobilization: Effective use to mobilize voters, especially young people
- Disinformation: Dissemination of simplistic and sometimes misleading messages to gain popularity

7. Trade Union responses

UNSA is actively engaged in the fight against the far right, both in the workplace and at the community level.

At workplace

Education and awareness: UNSA Education has published a detailed guide to countering far-right ideas, providing arguments and resources to help activists deconstruct populist and xenophobic narratives. This guide is accompanied by educational videos with experts and trade unionists available on their YouTube channel.

Training of activists: Training sessions are organized to equip union representatives to deal with far-right discourse, particularly in the education sector where these ideas can influence school policies.

At community level

Inter-union mobilization: The UNSA collaborates with other unions such as the CGT and the CFDT to organize joint actions against the rise of the far right in France and Europe. For example, a meeting was held at the Paris Labor Exchange to coordinate a united union response to this threat.

Public positions: The UNSA publicly denounces the far right's attempts to exploit sensitive issues, such as birthright citizenship, to divide society. The union calls for vigilance against these political maneuvers.

Trade Union Agenda

Defense of Republican Values: The UNSA is committed to defending the principles of fraternity, solidarity, and democracy, firmly opposing the programs of the far right, which it considers dangerous for social cohesion.

Concrete Actions: The union organizes information campaigns, training sessions, and events to raise awareness among workers and the general public about the dangers of the far right and promote an inclusive society, such as a decryption guide or educational videos, demonstrations, dialogue with the authorities, clear political positioning, condemnation of all racist remarks, union charter excluding the opinions of political extremists and the inherent sanctions in the event of non-compliance.

8. Which policies failed in which areas and fuelled the rise of the far right in your capital/country?

Several factors contributed to the RN's rise:

Social inequalities: a sense of abandonment in some regions

Migration crisis: perceptions of ineffective immigration management

Distrust of elites: dissatisfaction with traditional parties

Major lack of interest among all politicians, leading to a loss of confidence and few voters to oppose the RN

Large and growing role for the media to propagate their ideas

9. Common actions of ECTUN members as a roadblock to the onslaught of the far right

ECTUN members must continue to mobilize around actions such as awareness campaigns on the dangers of the far right, organize training sessions to strengthen workers' resilience in the face of extremist ideas and be a driving force for cohesion and federate unions from all European states to share effective strategies.

QUESTIONNAIRE

“The rise of far-right in Europe and the impact to labour”

Capital city: PARIS
Trade Union Organization: URIF-CGT
Name and surname: Laurent Pagnier

1. What is the percentage of the far right parties gained in the last elections?

In capital/regional elections

In national elections

National Legislative Elections - 30 June 2024 (1^{er} round)

The Rassemblement National (RN), received 33.2% of the vote.

European elections - 9 June 2024

The RN received 31.5% of the vote, an unprecedented score for a French party at this scrutiny.

Île-de-France (whole region)

First round : RN obtained 16.41%

Paris: RN obtained 10.7% of the votes cast in Paris, compared with only 3.9% in 2022.

2. Are they part of the government?

No, but the Home Secretary is very close to the far right...

3. If yes, leading or partner?

4. Which were their main topics in the election campaigns?

A speech focusing on immigration, security and national identity.

5. What consequences on the existence and work of democratic trade unions do they have?

The rise of the far right in France will have serious consequences for the existence, role and work of democratic trade unions, for a number of historical, political and institutional reasons. Here are the most important:

Delegitimisation: Rhetoric against 'left-wing', 'ideological' unions

Restriction of action: Fewer resources, less right to strike

Division of workers: Nationalism and rejection of foreigners

Weakening of social dialogue: Rejection of intermediary bodies.

Possible resistance: Anti-fascist mobilisation, local anchoring.

6. The role of the social media

Social networks are playing a central role in the rise of the far right in France - as a tool for communication, mobilisation and bypassing the traditional media. Here are the main dimensions of this role:

Bypassing the traditional media: Direct communication, without filters, mass dissemination of images and discourse.

Controlled and modernised image: De-diabolisation, young personalities.

Possible manipulation: Disinformation, misappropriation of facts.

Organised digital mobilisation: Effective campaigns, active communities.

7. Trade Union responses

French democratic trade unions (CGT, CFDT, FSU, Solidaires, UNSA, etc.) have increasingly and explicitly taken a stance against the far right, especially since the rise of the RN and the Reconquête in the political and social arena. Here are the main forms of trade union response to this threat:

Public statements: Inter-union declarations 'Not one vote for the RN'.

Awareness-raising & education: Brochures, training, counter-arguments.

Mobilisation on the ground: Anti-fascist demonstrations, speeches.

Monitoring in companies: Fight against xenophobic comments, dialogue with employees.

Defence of trade union freedoms: Reminder of the risk of authoritarianism and repression.

8. Which policies failed in which areas and fuelled the rise of the far right in your capital/country?

The rise of the far right in France, particularly visible in suburban and rural areas and even parts of the Paris region, is rooted in a number of structural political failures over the last 30 years.

Social policy: Declining public services, inequality. Feeling of abandonment, angry vote.

Security: Perceived laxity, unaddressed violence. Demand for authority, RN vote.

Immigration/integration: Ghettoization, lack of common project.

Rejection of the 'other', identity-based vote

Democracy: Crisis of confidence, abstention Anti-system vote.

Economy/expense: Precariousness, downgrading, housing RN perceived as 'close to the people'.

Paris and Ile-de-France: Although the majority of voters in inner Paris remain on the left, the RN has grown strongly in the working-class suburbs (93, 95, 77) and the outer rural suburbs.

This rise reflects local failures combined with a loss of national bearings.

9. Common actions of ECTUN members as a roadblock to the onslaught of the far right

Joint declarations: Anti-fascist resolutions, public alerts.

Educational campaigns: Leaflets, videos, debates, actions in companies.

Synchronised mobilisations: simultaneous demonstrations and actions in capital cities.

Support and exchanges: sharing strategies, cross-training.

Defending social and inclusive urban policies.

Watch Trade union observatory against the far right.

Communication Campaign 'Trade unionism, not the far right'.

Training Anti-fascist trade union referents.

Local action Trade union-democratic municipality pacts.

Mobilisation Annual European Anti-Fascist Day.

Tools Multilingual anti-fascist toolbox.

Solidarity Support for trade unions under attack in Europe.

QUESTIONNAIRE

“The rise of far-right in Europe and the impact to labour”

Capital city: ROME
Trade Union Organization: CGIL di ROMA e LAZIO
Name and surname: Diana Agostinello

1. What is the percentage of the far right parties gained in the last elections?

In capital/regional elections

In national elections

Enrico Michetti 334.548 (30,1%) CSX
Roberto Gualtieri 299.976 voti (27%) CDX
Al ballottaggio:
Roberto Gualtieri 60,15% CSX
Enrico Michetti 39,85% CDX

2. Are they part of the government?

NO

3. If yes, leading or partner?

4. Which were their main topics in the election campaigns?

Family and child well-being are priorities in the government program of Enrico Michetti, the center-right mayoral candidate. From making banks accountable to protecting social services, with new methods for allocating public housing, the redevelopment of abandoned buildings, the establishment of a social registry, and the integration of foreign children. These are some of the goals the center-right intends to achieve once in power. "The social policies of the Municipality of Rome must return to serving individuals and the most vulnerable. We want to promote a community welfare model: a collaborative pact between institutions, businesses, and the community to address social emergencies," reads Michetti's program.

5. What consequences on the existence and work of democratic trade unions do they have?

The right lost in Rome. There are good labor relations, but the center-left mayor's government is very weak.

6. The role of the social media

In my opinion, social media did not have a significant impact on the Rome mayoral elections.

7. Trade Union responses

At workplace

renew contracts to increase wages

At community level

to raise a dispute on the housing emergency together with other associations to change the policies of entrepreneurs but above all of institutions.

Trade Union Agenda

We have an agenda scheduled for the fall with activities on all these topics with the Municipality of Rome, the Lazio Region, and the Meloni Government.

8. Which policies failed in which areas and fuelled the rise of the far right in your capital/country?

The last time the right-wing won in Rome was in 2008 with Alemanno. The right-wing won by focusing entirely on the hardship in the suburbs and after the murder of an Italian woman by a foreigner on her way home from work that evening.

9. Common actions of ECTUN members as a roadblock to the onslaught of the far right

to be able to reach good agreements that provide solutions, first and foremost, for housing and jobs for the increasingly poor working class.

QUESTIONNAIRE

“The rise of far-right in Europe and the impact to labour”

Capital city: ROME
Trade Union Organization: CISL ROMA CAPITALE
Name and surname: MIRYAM FUENTES

1. What is the percentage of the far right parties gained in the last elections?

In capital/regional elections

In national elections

In capital/regional elections 37%

In national elections 31,05

2. Are they part of the government?

YES

3. If yes, leading or partner?

They are leaders with partners

4. Which were their main topics in the election campaigns?

Immigration, nationalism and blabla

5. What consequences on the existence and work of democratic trade unions do they have?

The dialogue between trade unions and government has stiffened a bit, it is not easy in some cases to achieve union goals for workers, consequently some demonstrations and strikes.

6. The role of the social media

They are servants of the state/government

7. Trade Union responses

At workplace

post posters after some agreement made to inform them of what was achieved

At community level

you communicate through social media.

Trade Union Agenda

a made some public conferences inviting right-wing rulers to address some pivotal issues for both workers and the community

8. Which policies failed in which areas and fuelled the rise of the far right in your capital/country?

The demagoguery of the political parties of the left, and not having important results for the community

9. Common actions of ECTUN members as a roadblock to the onslaught of the far right

Inform their writings of the program that the right wing is bringing, with its Positive and Negative Points (dangers) to both workers and the community at large.

QUESTIONNAIRE

“The rise of far-right in Europe and the impact to labour”

Capital city: ROME
Trade Union Organization: UIL LAZIO
Name and surname: ALBERTO CIVICA

1. What is the percentage of the far right parties gained in the last elections?

In capital/regional elections

In national elections

In capital/regional elections 37%

In national elections 31,05

2. Are they part of the government?

YES

3. If yes, leading or partner?

They are leaders with partners

4. Which were their main topics in the election campaigns?

Immigration, nationalism and blabla

5. What consequences on the existence and work of democratic trade unions do they have?

The dialogue between trade unions and government has stiffened a bit, it is not easy in some cases to achieve union goals for workers, consequently some demonstrations and strikes. Furthermore, the Government has enacted a regulation that limits the spaces for demonstrations.

6. The role of the social media

They are servants of the state/government and when they express different positions they are opposed

7. Trade Union responses

At workplace

post posters after some agreement made to inform them of what was achieved

At community level

you communicate through social media.

Trade Union Agenda

a made some public conferences inviting right-wing rulers to address some pivotal issues for both workers and the community

8. Which policies failed in which areas and fuelled the rise of the far right in your capital/country?

The demagoguery of the political parties of the left, and not having important results for the community

9. Common actions of ECTUN members as a roadblock to the onslaught of the far right

Inform their writings of the program that the right wing is bringing, with its Positive and Negative Points (dangers) to both workers and the community at large.

QUESTIONNAIRE

“The rise of far-right in Europe and the impact to labour”

Capital city: VALLETTA
Trade Union Organization: GENERAL WORKERS' UNION
Name and surname: Jesmond Marshall

1. What is the percentage of the far right parties gained in the last elections?

In capital/regional elections

In national elections

National Elections 2022: 0.98%

MEP Elections 2024:2.82%

Maltese tend to cast protest votes during MEP Elections, besides there was a popular personality as a Far Right Candidate.

2. Are they part of the government?

NO

3. If yes, leading or partner?

4. Which were their main topics in the election campaigns?

Losing Maltese Traditions. Problems of over population. Illegal Migration. Foreign Workers blamed for low wages.

5. What consequences on the existence and work of democratic trade unions do they have?

NIL

6. The role of the social media

Far-right parties in Malta exploit social media to amplify nationalist rhetoric, spread anti-immigration narratives, and mobilize disaffected voters. Their aggressive online presence sometimes shapes public discourse.

7. Trade Union responses

At workplace

NIL

At community level

NIL

Trade Union Agenda

The General Workers' Union is a leftist Union

8. Which policies failed in which areas and fuelled the rise of the far right in your capital/country?

Illegal immigration in Malta fuelled public anxiety, and provided fertile ground for far-right parties to gain influence and support.

9. Common actions of ECTUN members as a roadblock to the onslaught of the far right

Promote inclusion, counter misinformation, empower youth activism, advocate human rights.

QUESTIONNAIRE

“The rise of far-right in Europe and the impact to labour”

Capital city:	Vienna
Trade Union Organization:	ÖGB Österreichischer Gewerkschaftsbund
Name and surname:	Lisa Sinowatz

1. What is the percentage of the far right parties gained in the last elections?

In capital/regional elections

In national elections

In capital/regional elections 20,35%

In national elections 28,85%

2. Are they part of the government?

NO

3. If yes, leading or partner?

4. Which were their main topics in the election campaigns?

Immigration, Anti-Vax/Covid, Anti-“Globalist”/Nationalism, Anti-Climate Action (Denying Climate Change)

5. What consequences on the existence and work of democratic trade unions do they have?

As in a growing number of countries, also in Austria the radical right is perceived as part of the political system in the form of a party. The movement character seems to be increasingly lost, and the extra-parliamentary apron and corresponding networks are also attributed to the dominant right-wing party. The extreme right is the largest parliamentary group and in many Austrian provinces ('Bundesländer') it is in the regional government. It therefore cannot currently influence all (federal) laws, but it can influence some – the legislation is in principle against the interests of workers and consumers, against environmental protection and social sustainability and protects capital (the party's major donors).

6. The role of the social media

We see massive dominance of the far right on social media as a key reason for their power of discourse - Tik Tok is particularly problematic because it reaches very young people. In Austria the radical right has succeeded very well in establishing a closed factional media world with different channels. In addition, there are a number of private media houses (often family-owned) that cultivate correspondingly capital-friendly reporting and are helping to drive the dismantling of public media for their own profit interests. There's a clear shift in discourse to the right, presumably caused by digital dominance.

7. Trade Union responses

The ÖGB is non-partisan, but takes a clear stance against right-wing extremist and anti-democratic forces. The ÖGB's responses on this topic are guided by the following principles, among others:

1. A clear stance against the right

Right-wing politics divides and attacks our democracy. The ÖGB counters with values such as solidarity, equality and justice.

2. making democracy & co-determination visible

We show how democracy works in everyday life - for example through works councils and genuine co-determination in the workplace. They are the backbone of a fair world of work.

3. solidarity instead of division rights

We focus on cohesion. Our goal (and slogan): A good life for all - with fair work, fair transformation and social equalisation.

4. involve everyone

The ÖGB is not just a spokesperson, but a shaper. Members, works councillors and young people are actively involved - through educational work, participatory formats, street campaigns and everyday support.

5. solidarity - beyond borders

We stand for an EU based on solidarity. Nationalism is not the answer - international trade union work is.

Our mission in our trade union communication:

Setting positive counter-images

We show what we stand for under the slogans #DafürÖGB, #Zusammenhalten or #GemeinsamStark: Solidarity, justice and co-determination - instead of fear and division

Works councils as democratic influencers: We support works councils with mailings, argumentation aids and tools - they are our 'democratic influencers' in the workplace.

Successful example: the ÖGB election check

With the ÖGB election check for the NR election 2024 (= online survey tool such as wahlkabine.at, but specifically tailored to trade union issues), we were able to expose right-wing anti-worker policies with a wide reach - fact-based and low-threshold:

- An online survey tool showed which parties are against the 6th holiday week or minimum wages, for example

- Personalised communication strengthened orientation

- Interactive social media formats mobilised broad target groups

- Our call to action at the time: 'Find out which party is on your side!'

But it is also clear that fact-based communication alone is not enough. We need to engage people emotionally with our hearts and minds. Keyword: personalised storytelling!

8. Which policies failed in which areas and fuelled the rise of the far right in your capital/country?

The political left has been cowardly and did not stand up against Neoliberalism of the 1990s ff. and it allowed itself to become fragmented. It may have focussed on the wrong struggles, to be said on cultural struggle rather than class struggle. Another paradoxical problem is that the trade union and the democratic left were very strong for a long time and therefore experienced a certain degree of bureaucratisation. We need to learn how to be a movement again.

9. Common actions of ECTUN members as a roadblock to the onslaught of the far right

Break right-wing dominance online: The right-wing domination of social media must be broken. In addition to financial resources, we need above all a new culture of communication, not shying away from media-appropriate language and imagery.

Creating sovereignty of interpretation: In addition to substantive positions and organisational issues, trade union renewal must also evaluate our terminology. Take 'justice', for example: in the trade union context, this clearly refers to the fundamental contradiction between capital and labour - for a long time, this was congruent with the generally accepted interpretation. However, shifts in discourse have led to people today applying the term to different relationships of inequality, e.g. those between 'old-established and newcomers'. As a movement, we need clear language and unambiguous terms, otherwise our agitation won't catch on.

Organising is immunising: Scientific findings and practical experience show that organised workers tend to vote less often on the right. This is another reason why we must continue to build up trade union organisational strength.

Creating proximity through usefulness: We must turn our attention to new sectors and target groups and also communicate our expertise more strongly to those who are “left behind”. In other words, with SMEs, micro-enterprises and rural economic structures - even if this means drilling hard holes.

Building personal resilience: We need to strengthen the colleagues who have to stand up to the increasingly anti-democratic and anti-union agitation on the ground in the companies. This includes both the content and technical level (argumentation guidelines, rhetoric, etc.) as well as mental strengthening - including through community experiences.

We would like to thank the members who responded to the questionnaires. We hope that this publication will be useful in your union activities.

The Working Group was made up by:

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- **Lisa Sinowatz** (OGB Vienna)

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