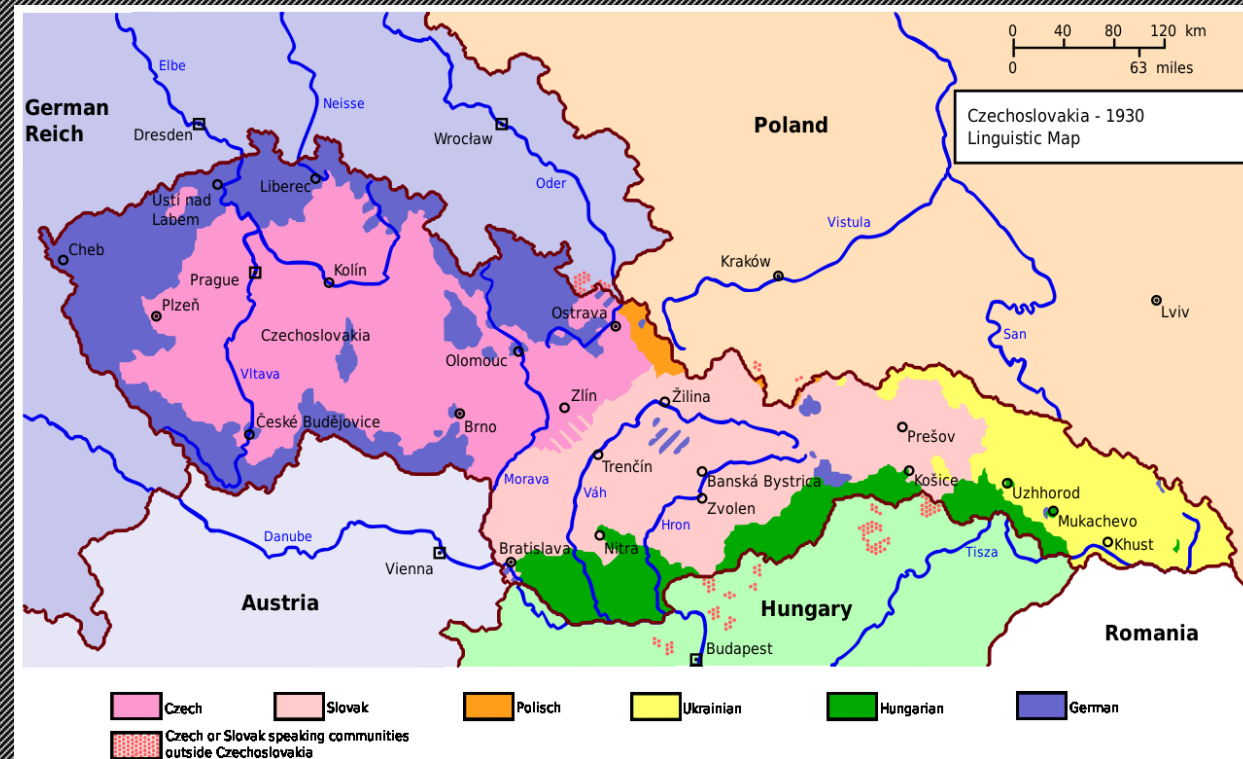


Far Right in Central Europe

Vera Stojarová

CDS 441 Far Right and Left Parties

Czech Republic





Czech PRR an unsuccessful story

SPR-RSČ and DAWN (SPD)

- SPR-RSČ 1992: Federal Assembly (with 6.48% of ballots cast for the Chamber of the People and 6.37% of those for the Chamber of Nations) and in the Czech National Council (with 5.98%)
- SPR-RSČ 1996 : 8.01%
- SPR-RSČ since 1998 non-parliamentary party
- DAWN 2013: 6.88% of the vote.
- Dawn split internally in 2015: SPD
- SPD 2017, 10.64%



Political opportunity structures

no major group that would feel forgotten or under threat

- the number of anti-system parties is high
- the 5% electoral threshold
- Historically, these parties have not attracted large numbers of adherents
- the anti-establishment niche in the Czech party system is already occupied by the 'patriotic' Communist party.
- The PRR parties have consistently failed to come up with a compelling programme.
- Their organizational is weak, charismatic leaders are lacking, and internal tensions have run high.
- The Czech Republic is ethnically homogenous
- **Topics the PRR might otherwise exploit to its benefit have become political capital for virtually all the players**

Diffusion of PRR topics into public sphere



Průběh a obsah Česká-Germánská Deklarace

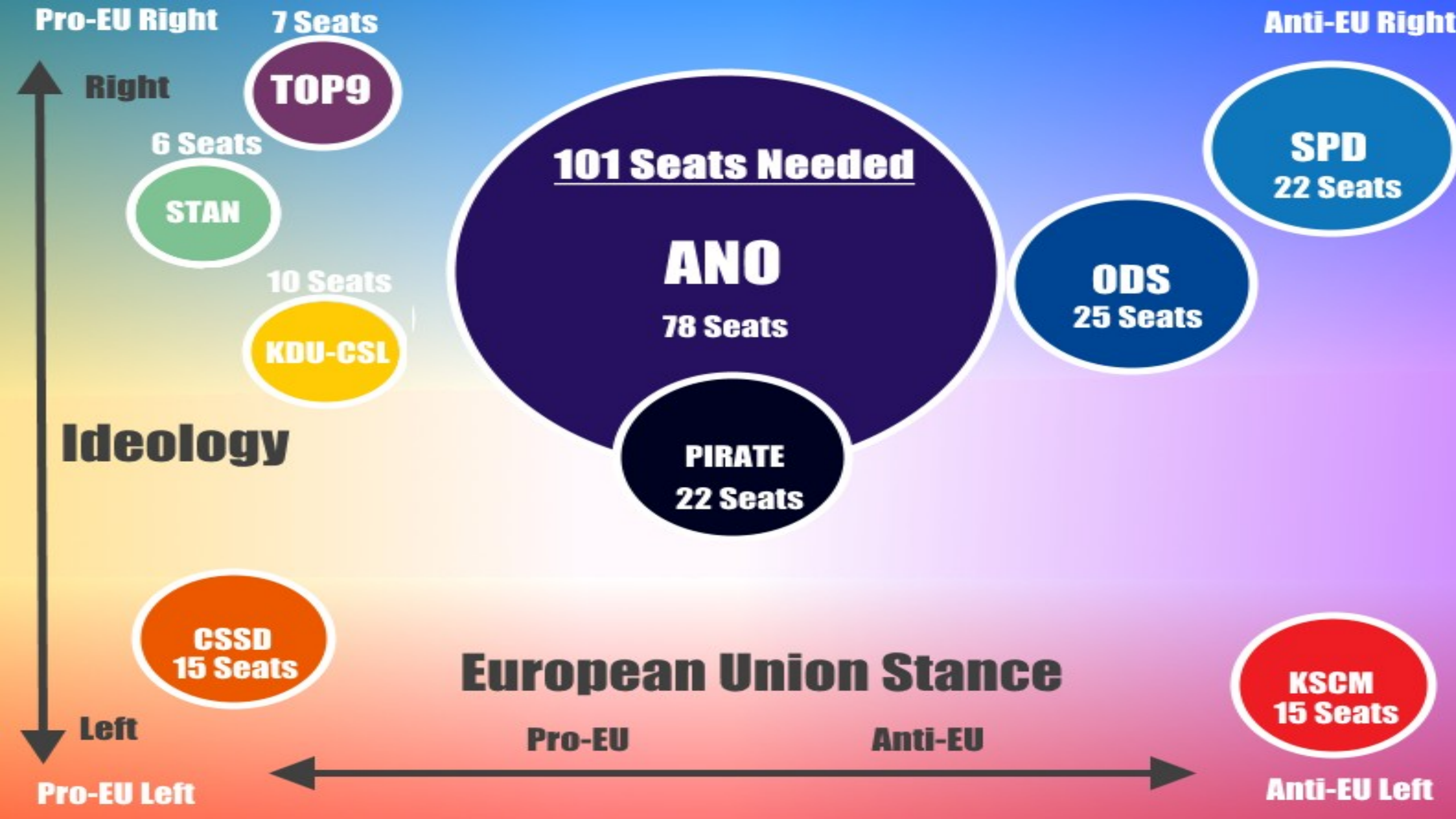
- Migration quotas, EU
- This legitimation of nationalism at the highest levels of government has been reflected at lower levels of the political hierarchy as well: Roma issue



2017 elections campaign

~~country with no refugees but refugees main topic~~

- Country with no violence but EU regulation about wearing a gun main topic
- Country which profitted mostly from the EU, Czexit a topic
- Country with Václav Havel heritage truth and love voted for STB agend being sued by the courts for misappropriation of the EU funds
- Victory of protest parties
- Victory of professional Political campaign - language, FB, newspapers, radio, TV



Far right and its repertoire

- Direct democracy, anti-establishment, referendum
- targets Islam, the EU and advocates a nationalist state sovereignty as the remedy for the crisis.
- never an anti-Semitic or anti-LGBT agenda
- Anti-Roma, anti-Vietnamese
- Anti-EU, anti-NATO
- Russia big friend, anti-German



WWW.SPDCZ

HNUTISPD

Anti-EU Far Left : KSČM



- Politically isolated for a long time as being extremist
- Did not drop „communist“ from the name
- After 2012 accepted as ally in regional elections with social democrats
- Against quotas, sovereignty not Brussels dictate
- Dissolution of NATO



Conservative right ODS

- For the EU and NATO but...
- Václav Klaus jr.
- Freedom to have gun vs. EU regulations



ANO

- Populist

complete change of the political system, reduction

of local autonomies

- Opportunist

- EU??

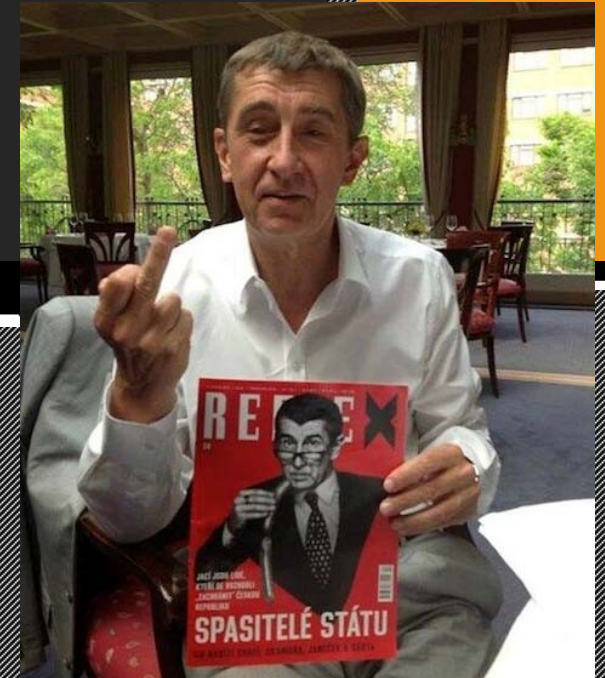
- To use the EU for assertion of Czech national interests

- Czech sovereignty

- Against migration quotas

- Against euro

- https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=WNvxlm9CQ_U



Pirates

- Protest party without clear programme
- Unreadable
- Direct democracy
- Democratisation of the EU
- Czech republic active within the EU



KDU-ČSL

- Pro-EU but
- Stabilisation of the failed states
- Accepting war refugees
- Protection of borders
- For the EURO



ČSSD

- For the EU BUT
- Wing of Milan Chovanec and migration quotas
- For EURO



STAN

- For the EU
- For EURO
- marginal

STÁT MÁ SLOUŽIT, NE PŘEKÁŽET



STABILIZACE EVROPSKÉHO PROSTORU

Budeme klást důraz na spolupráci NATO a EU a apelovat na nutnost zvyšování obranných schopností s rovnoměrným přispěním všech spojenců.



MIGRAČNÍ KRIZE

Budeme předcházet konfliktům efektivním cílením rozvojové pomoci a přijímat jen ty migranty, kteří nepředstavují žádné riziko.



ČERPÁNÍ PENĚŽ Z EVROPSKÝCH FONDŮ

Prosadíme snížení počtu operačních programů, zjednodušíme pravidla čerpání v souladu s moderními trendy v EU a využijeme zjednodušené či paušální platby.

STAROSTOVÉ
A NEZÁVISLÍ 

TOP 09

- Clearly and openly For the EU
- For EURO
- Refugees welcome
- liberal, city voters



The Green Party

- Liberal city voters
- For the EU
- Marginal



Other players

- Svobodní - Czexit, against the euro, 1 MEP
- Jana Volfová
- <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=X9uRgi0voi8>



Top statesmen and the EU

- Miloš Zeman
- Václav Klaus



President of the Czech Republic: Miloš Zeman



- Populist techniques
- „I am the people“ - Working class
- Immigration, muslims
- EU foreign policy (Izrael/Palestina, Ukraine, Russia, China)
- Inclusion at schools
- People around Zeman



Czech presidential elections 2018

- Zeman
- Drahoš
- Horáček
- Marek Hilšer
- Tonda Blaník



Czech foreign policy

- Prime minister and president
- Externalisation of responsibility
- Self-victimisation
- Domestication of the topics
- No interest in the foreign affairs
- Polarisation
- Utilitarian politicisation



Czechs and the EU

- 2003 A referendum on joining the European Union : was supported by 77.3% of voters, with a turnout of 55.2%
- 2004 EU enlargement
- 2017, 29% of Czechs were in favour of introducing the euro while 70% were opposed and 1% undecided.
- there is no target date by the government for adopting the euro.

Czexit??

2015 parliament 11 MPs

asked for Czexit

- 2016 debate about the Czexit referendum in the parliament : 29 communists and 12 from ODS for debate
- After Brexit referendum Campaign of Svobodní party We offer Czexit



Polarisation of the society

EUROoptimists/for
euro/for
immigration/
liberal/ anti-
#ZemanBabiš

Anti-EU directivism, Czech
nativism/Czech national
interests/anti-
immigration/conservative



For# ZemanBabiš

- Zeman, Klaus,
- SPD, ODS, KSČM
- Martin Konvička
- Alternative for Czech Republic
- Angry mothers
- No pasarán

Andrej Babiš



- TOP09, Green party
- Prague café
- Sluníčkáři
- Pravdoláskaři
- „those welcoming migrants“
- NGOists
- Liberals and anarchists
- „Inclusionists“
- „Anti-vaccinationists“

Public discourse, social initiatives

- Václav Klaus
- Martin Konvička
- Alternative for Czech Republic
- Angry mothers
- No pasarán



Populist pop



- Olivie Žižková: Europe, breathe
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=meXpKEhXKxw>
- Dominika Myslivcová - youtube star, blogger, model, candidate for president
- <http://www.myslivcova.com/volby/> voltebarbie.cz
- Vilém Čok: „Lets hold the identity of own nation. Spring will give us new patriots!.
- Tomáš Ortel : competition Czech nightingale 3. place
- Aleš Brichta singing on Tomio Okamura meetings: Red, blue Foreigner in own land
- Pepa Nos also on Tomio Okamura demonstrations
- **Trend is from neo-Nazi subcultures into mainstream pop**
- Jana Yngland Hrušková - singer and candidate for a president



Hungary

• a



Hungarian Political parties



Fisher's appropriation of nationalism

- MSZP - discredited, rejecting nationalism
- LMP - green, pro-European, in opposition
- DK - discredited
- Jobbik: Trianon Treaty, and revisionism, anti-Semitism, anti-Ziganism, anti-EU and anti NATO, becoming mainstream
- MIEP: Trianon Treaty, and revisionism, anti-Semitism, anti-Ziganism, anti-EU and anti NATO
- The scholar Heller notices that the lines between the discourses of moderate right and radical right politics have been blurring. As the boundaries become more and more porous, the languages of right wing radicalism become more and more accepted in Hungary (Heller 2010)

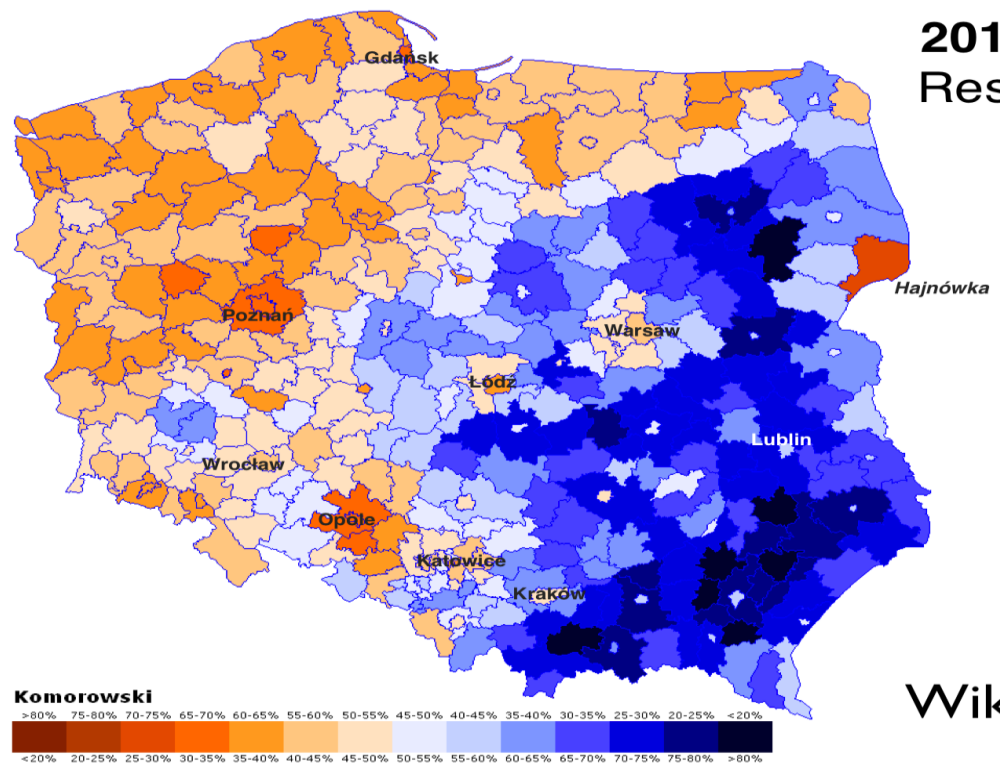


Polarisation in Hungary



- Fidesz and Viktor Orbán
1998-2002,
- Jobbik
- Magyar Garda
- Népszabadság
- Euro-optimists, against Orbánistán
- Together - Party for a New Era -
movement transformed into party
in 2013, anti-Orbán, for democracy,
liberal (out of Patriotism and
Progress Association, One Million
for Press Freedom (Milla) and
Hungarian Solidarity Movement)

Poland



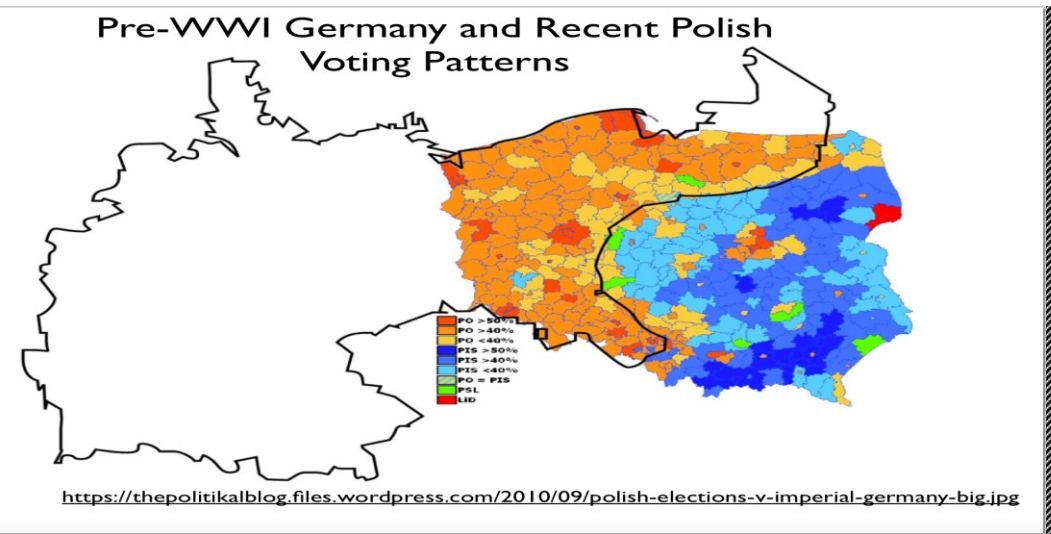
Komorowski
 >80% 75-80% 70-75% 65-70% 60-65% 55-60% 50-55% 45-50% 40-45% 35-40% 30-35% 25-30% 20-25% <20%

Duda
 <20% 20-25% 25-30% 30-35% 35-40% 40-45% 45-50% 50-55% 55-60% 60-65% 65-70% 70-75% 75-80% >80%

https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Polish_presidential_election,_2015#/media/File:Wybory_prezydenckie_2015_II_tura_mapa.png

2015 Polish Election Results of the Second Round by Counties

Wikipedia Map



<https://thepolitikblog.files.wordpress.com/2010/09/polish-elections-v-imperial-germany-big.jpg>

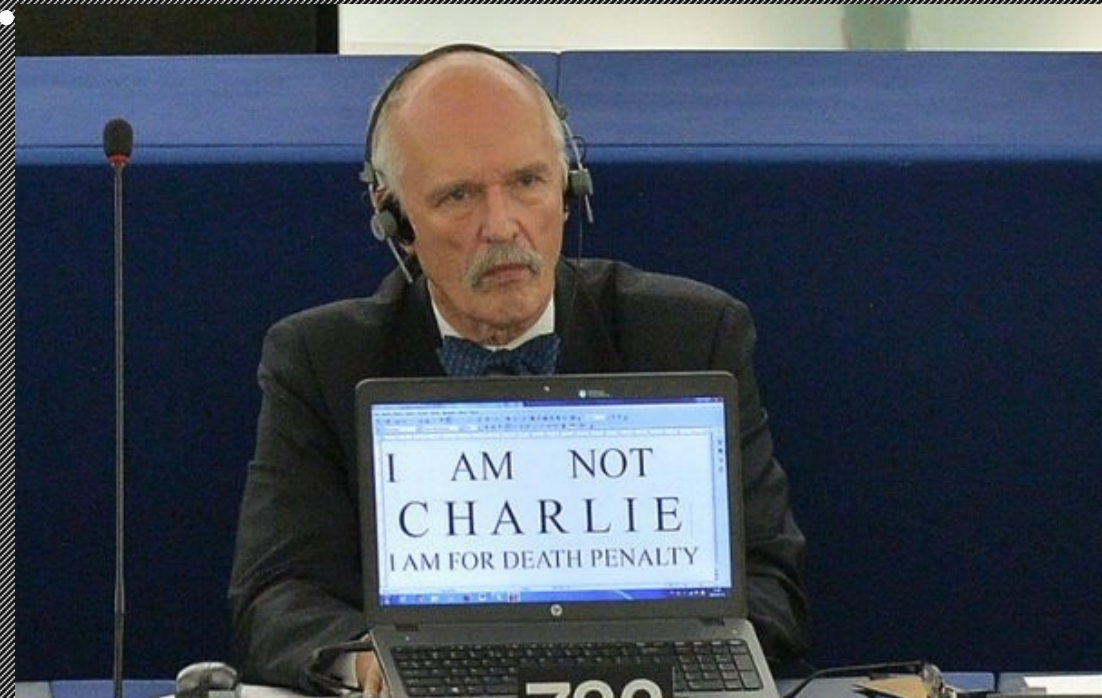
Polish Political parties

- PIS : mainstreaming nationalism
- PSL: conservative
- Modern : pro-European, liberal
- Kukiz : eurosceptic, populist, soft-nationalist
- PO : opposition to nationalism but discredited
- LPR: Euroscepticism, national and Christian narrative, focusing on the national values against the ill liberal Europe (LGBT rights, feminism, right to abortion, legalisation of euthanasia). Becoming marginal



MEP Janusz Korwin Mikke:

~~Several times suspended and fined from the~~
European Parliament for Nazi salute, harsh nationalism referring to migrants as “human garbage” and denigration of women.

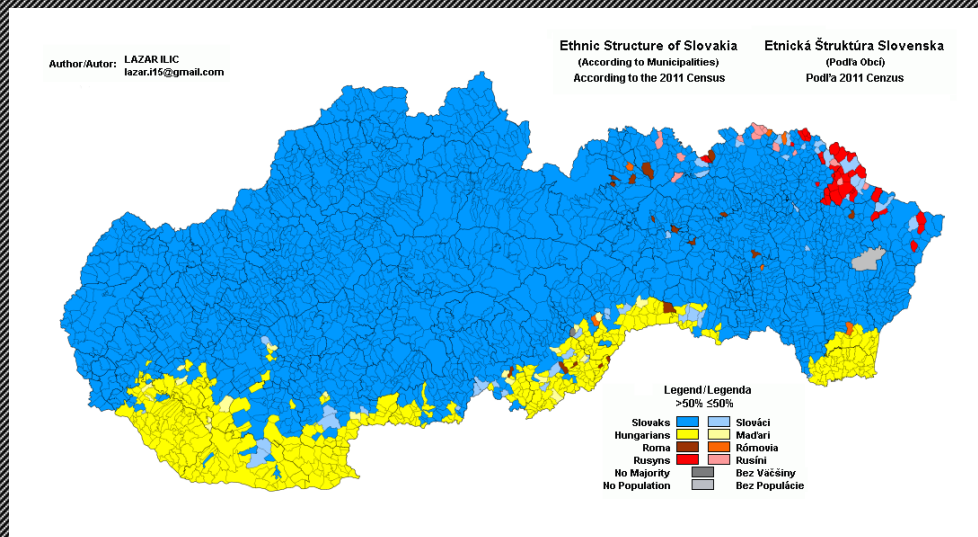


Polarisation in Poland

- League of Polish families - anti-liberal, nationalist, part of Kaczynski government 2006-7
- Law and Justice Party- largest Polish party, national conservatism, Kaczynski, Beata Szydlo PM since 2015 removed EU flag, Polish Constitutional Crisis 2015
 - □ “strong” state instead of a “lawful” state, to be guided by “Polish values” and “Christian traditions,”
- deeply hostile to any political opposition,
- battle with a Europe committed to “totalitarian” ideas like gender equality and resettling refugees.
- □ In the PiS worldview there are no opponents, only traitors
- Krytyka Polityczna - Polish left wing intellectuals and its founder
- Sławomir SIERAKOWKI
- New left
- Feminists and greens

Slovakia

• a



Slovakian Political Parties

- SMĚR: light pragmatic nationalism
- OLANO : light pragmatic nationalism
- We are a family : anti-immigration, eurosceptic card
- Freedom and Solidarity (SaS) “put the immigrants on the military

migrants means less freedom for our citizens” asserting that he is a Slovak nationalist: “As the Mohamed is a key figure in Islam, Jesus is a key figure in Christianity. However, Jesus spread Christianity with word, Mohamed with a sword”.

- Bridge: ethnic hungarian party
- SNS - far right becoming mainstream
- LSNS : admiration to the WWII formations, strong anti-Semitism and anti-Ziganism, Anti-EU, anti-NATO, Heterosexuals vs. Ill homosexuals, anti migrants
- All main competing parties played in the past with nationalism
- BUT NOW U-TURN BACK TO EUROPE - we are the only pro-European island in central europe



Aby sa zo suseda nestal nepriateľ.

Slováci, nenechajte sa oklamať!
Zákon o dvojtom občianstve je v Európe problém číslo jedna.
Nepripomína vám to Juhosláviu, kde bojoval sused proti susedovi?
To musíme byť tiež takí hlúpi?
Nevieme tomu predísť a vyhnúť sa konfliktu?
Nechceme nepokoj, len chceme vysloviť obavu.
Aby sme dokázali zasiahnuť, kým je čas.



Z úcty k našim otcom z lásky k našim mamám.



Polarisation in Slovakia

- Slovak National Party
- Fico and SMĚR- pragmatic in relations with Russia, anti-mandatory quotas on refugees, initially strongly anti-Hungarian and anti-Orbán, anti-migrant rhetoric
- People's Party- our Slovakia and Marián Kotleba, anti-Roma, then anti-immigrants, governor of Banská Bystrica, neo-Nazi background

- Similarities to the Czech case
- Intelligentsia
- New left

Stránka Hnutia slovenskej obrody bola hacknutá

... pretože fašisti sú hlupáci, čo nedokážu spravovať ani vlastný web, nieto ešte štá

Anonymouse crew

Podporujeme:

- Ludskoprávnych svätuškárov a slniečkárov
- Ekonomických imigrantov a emigrantov
- Juvenilnú justiciu a Barnevernet
- Farmafrmy a vakcinovanie
- Chemtrails a čipovanie
- Bratislavskú kaviareň
- Juristútky a presstitútky
- Chazarov a mimovládky
- Potkanov ako Dostál a spol.
- Neomarxistov a neoliberalov
- Prezidenta Bútoru a jeho hovorca Kisku

Kryvými šekelmi nás sponzoruje:

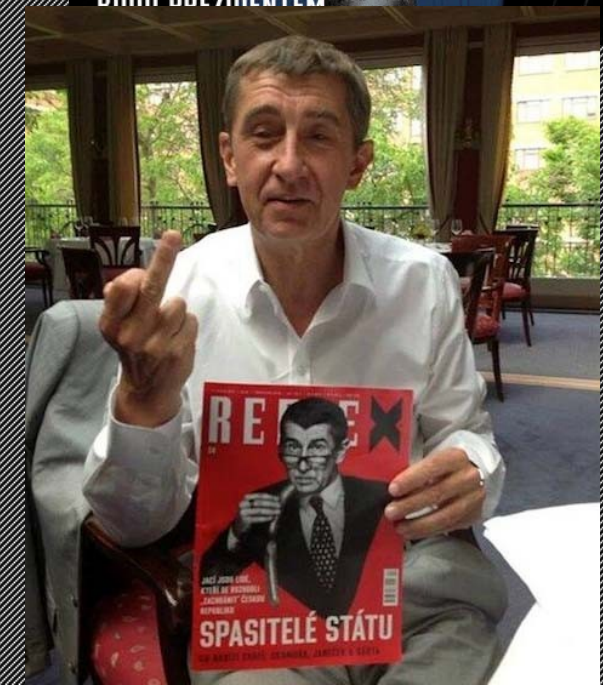
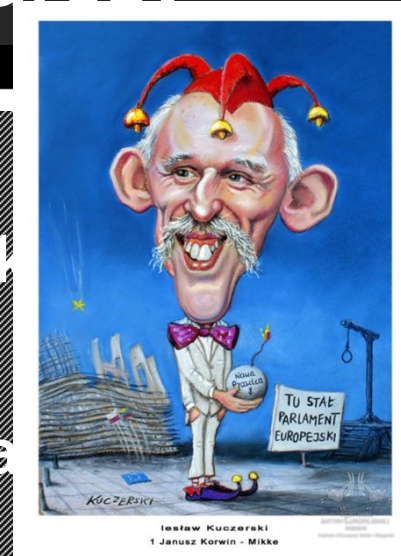
Soros György

© 2016 Anonymouse crew



How media refer to radical right populism and shape the public discourse?

- Berlusconiisation of the media
- Neutral or negative framing (Sládek, Šlota, Ok
- Leaders framed as psychopats, lunatic
- Increased media attention facilitating electoral
- Jobbik as persona non grata
- radical right narratives appear in the Hungarian media but the radical right politicians and parties are treated as persona non grata of the Hungarian media space



How media refer to radical right's topics and shape so the public discourse?

- TV Prima and refugees
- avoid showing images of women and children in their coverage of the refugee crisis in Hungary
- newspapers in WE were generally more compassionate towards the plight of refugees compared to CEE
- minority is presented in a negative and stereotypical and prejudiced way (Romas, Muslims)



Concluding remarks



- the lines between the discourses of moderate right and radical right politics have been blurring
- Rise of populist formations which use nationalist card (all cases)
- Zemanisation (mainstreaming of nationalism and xenophobia)
- Marginalisation of the far right (czech r., poland)
- Berlusconisation (media in the hands of politicians)
- Kremlinization (pro-Russian campaigns)
- Orbansation (dismantling democracy)
- Polarisation of the society and politics
- The only clearly pro-European state - Slovakia



Populism: Threat or a Challenge?

- Populism can be like a guest who comes late and drunk to the dinner, does not respect the manners but spells out the painful troubles of the group (Arditi 2005).



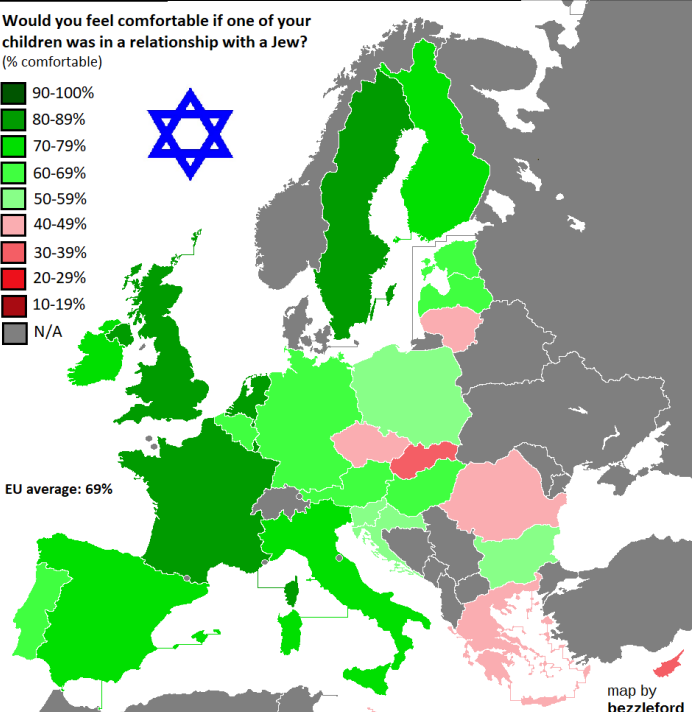
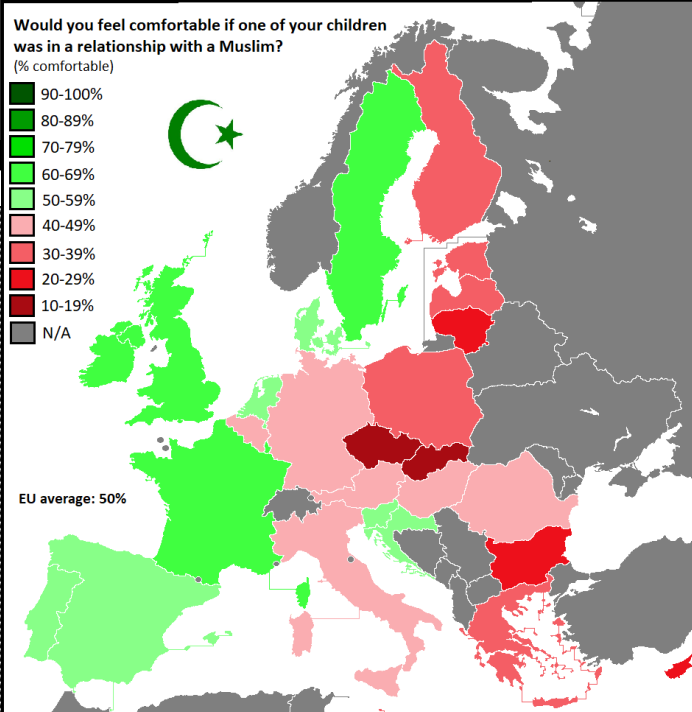
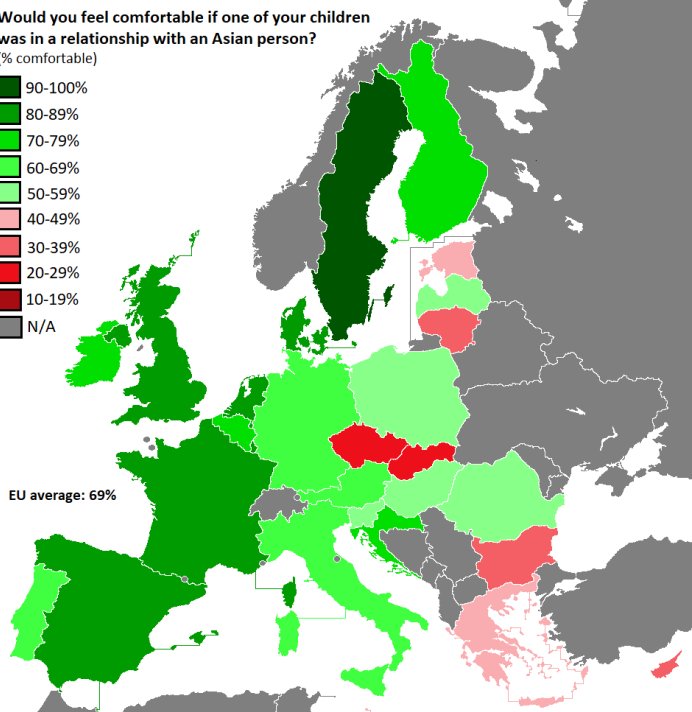
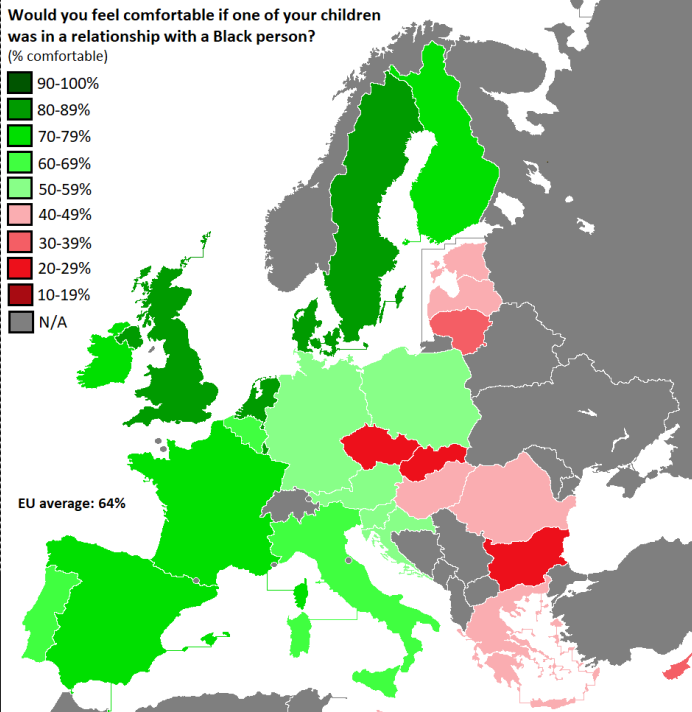
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Concluding remarks

Czech political parties have a long tradition of promoting Czech nationhood—it has in fact been promoted by virtually every relevant political party in the contemporary political milieu

- Nationalism has been misused, appropriated and legitimized by top governmental leaders.
- Their legitimation of far right topics has led to the marginalisation of the far right.
- The day-to-day use of discriminatory, exclusionary, and xenophobic speech by Czech leaders is reflected in media accounts that transmit the message that negative stereotypes are normal, casual, and ultimately neutral.
- This serves to reproduce and further reinforce societal prejudices, and the result is visible in an intolerant public discourse
- As it stands, the Czech Republic is a country with no potential for a significant populist radical right party but with nationalism on the agenda of almost all the parties. Because of unfavourable political opportunity structures, that should remain true into the foreseeable future.



How to fight against political parties that threaten the rule of law, human rights and democracy?

• Media ownership

- Political culture, elite behaviour.
- Middle class discontent, economic variables (unemployment, economic crisis, foreign domination welfare payment cuts)
- Avoid referenda and polarization of the society
- International context
- Fake news, Kremlinization of the media.
- Charismatic leader
- Work with youth, social media, FB and new media
- Education projects for secondary schools - history lessons, democracy classes, EU classes, human rights classes
- Cultural projects, face to face
- Language knowledge promotion
- Professional political campaign
- Give up political correctness