

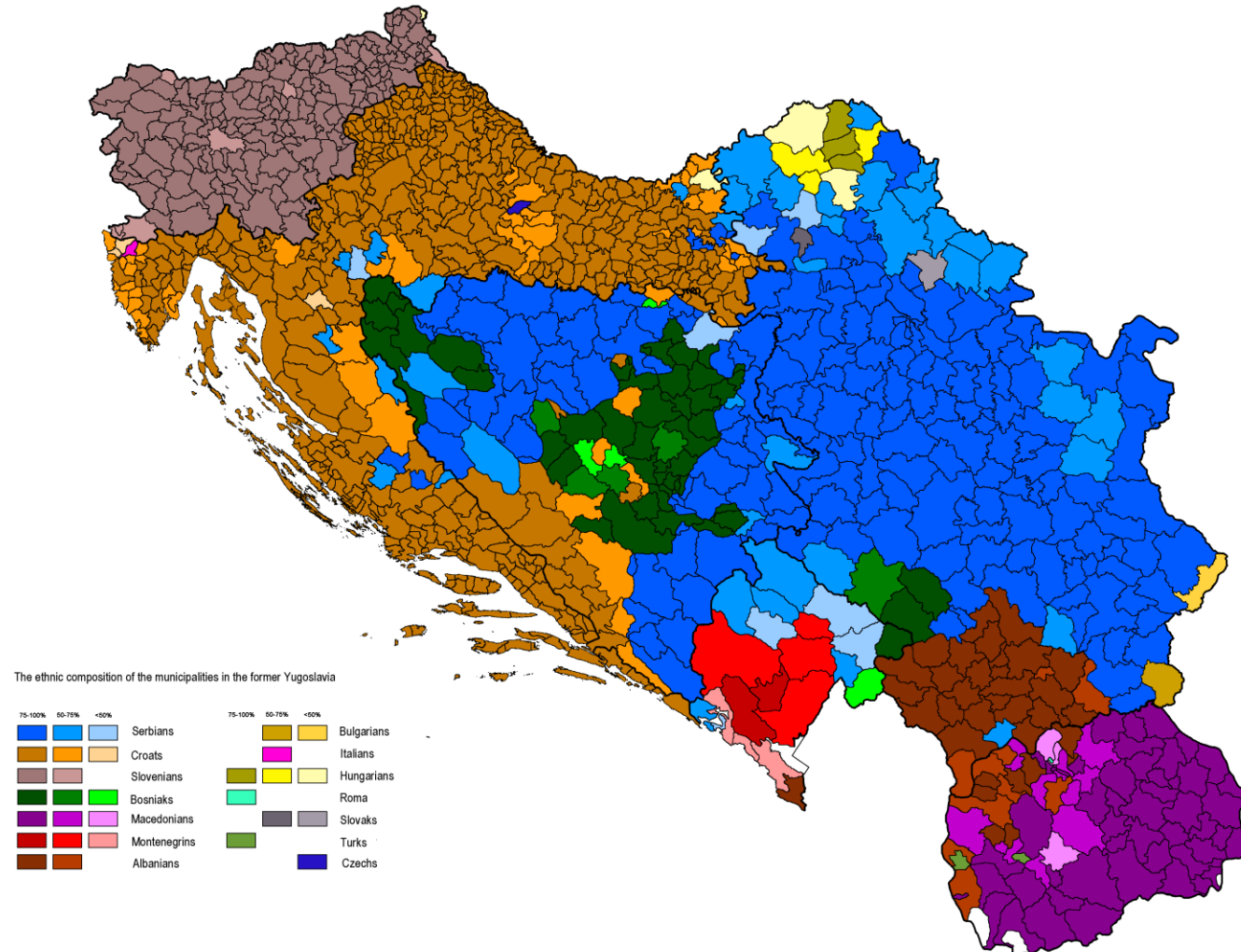
Far Right in the Balkans

Vera Stojarova

CDS 441 Far Right and Left Parties

Identity and nation/state building

History
Language
Culture
Religion
Common
feeling



Main features of Slovenia and the Western/Eastern Balkan states



What is Balkan? Western Balkan, southern, eastern??

Dates: (395, 1054, end of 14, century, 1453)

Dissolution of Yugoslavia into what??

Nations, ethnics, religions, language, script, literacy, life standard

Timeline

- 1991 Slovenia
- 1991-95 Croatia
- 1992-95 BiH
- 1997 Anarchy in Albania
- 1998-99 Kosovo
- 2000 Presevo valley
- 2001 Macedonia
- 2003 Belgrade agreement
- 2006 Montenegro
- 2008 Kosovo



Slovenia

- 10 days war
- Italian, Austrian, Hungarian national minority
- 2.3.2004 NATO
- 1.5.2004 EU
- Slovenian national party - very weak far right
- very weak coalition potential, since 2011 out of parliament
- Fractions, splits
- Anti-Roma, legalisation of weapons, Greater Slovenia, euroscepticism
- Mainstreaming of nationalism by Slovenian democratic party



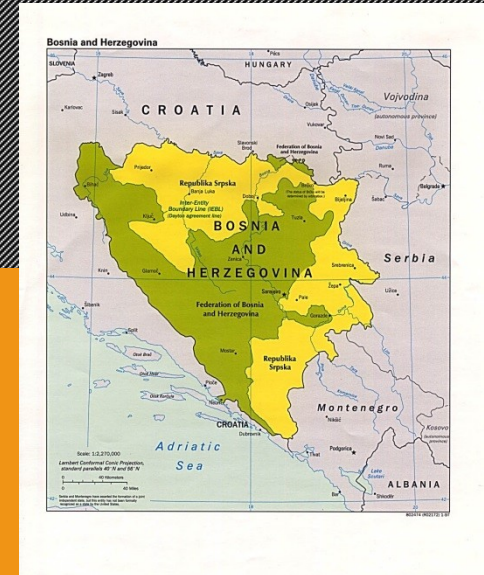
Croatia

- 1991-1995 civil war
- 12% serbian population drop 5 %
- 1990-1999 president Franjo Tudjman, authoritative regime, semipresidentialism, suppression of serbian minority, strongest HDZ
- NATO 2009
- 2013 EU
- HSP - very weak
- Mainstreaming of nationalism
- WWII, Ustaša, state symbols, chessboard, kuna, Day of Victory, Jasenovac, Serbs, Romas, homosexuals,
- Names of squares and streets
- Popular culture- Thompson
- <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=EdcA-lGKvmk>
- War veterans
https://www.youtube.com/watch?time_continue=13&v=IL4jwE_TWN8



Bosnia and Herzegovina

- 3 ethnics: 17% Croats, 31% Serbs, 44% Bosniaks
- Civil war 1991-1995
- BiH divided into 2 entities Federation of BiH and RS
- High representative (since 2009 Valentin Inzko)
- UN protectorate, missions NATO (IFOR, SFOR, SFOR II), EU Althea
- Sarajevo agreement 2002 changed Dayton - all institutions have to reflect the ethnics according to the census in 1991
- 3 main parties based on the ethnicity: HDZ, SDS, SDA.
- All main parties based on nationalism



FRY: Serbia (and Monte Negro)

- FRY
- Slobodan Milošević (1989 -1997 president of Serbia, 1997-2000 president of FRY authoritative regime
- War in Croatia, BiH
- Kosovo: Serbian forces vs. KLA 1996-1998; war of NATO vs. Serbia 1999)
- Decentralisation of Vojvodina
- Belgrade agreement 2003
- 2006 - independence of Montenegro
- 2008 - independence of Kosovo



Monte Negro

- Milo Djukanovic forever
- Organized crime, nepotism, clientelism
- Orientation towards east as well west
- undemocratic régime Key to stability
- No far right



Macedonia

- Independence complicated :
- Greece
- Bulgaria
- Serbia
- Albanian irredentism 2001 Ohrid peace agreement
- Far right marginal



Albania

- Gëgs vs. Tosks
- The only national minority
- Far right marginal



Kosovo



- Autonomous province of Serbia

Great powers since 1974

- Limitation of the autonomy since the 1980's
- 1996-99 war alb vs srb
- 1999 NATO air campaign (bombing)
- 2003 Constitutional framework
- 17 February 2008 self-proclaimed independence
- 111 UN member states recognized independence
- Far right???

Romania

- Hungarian and Roma minority
- Moldova issue
- Greater Romania Party



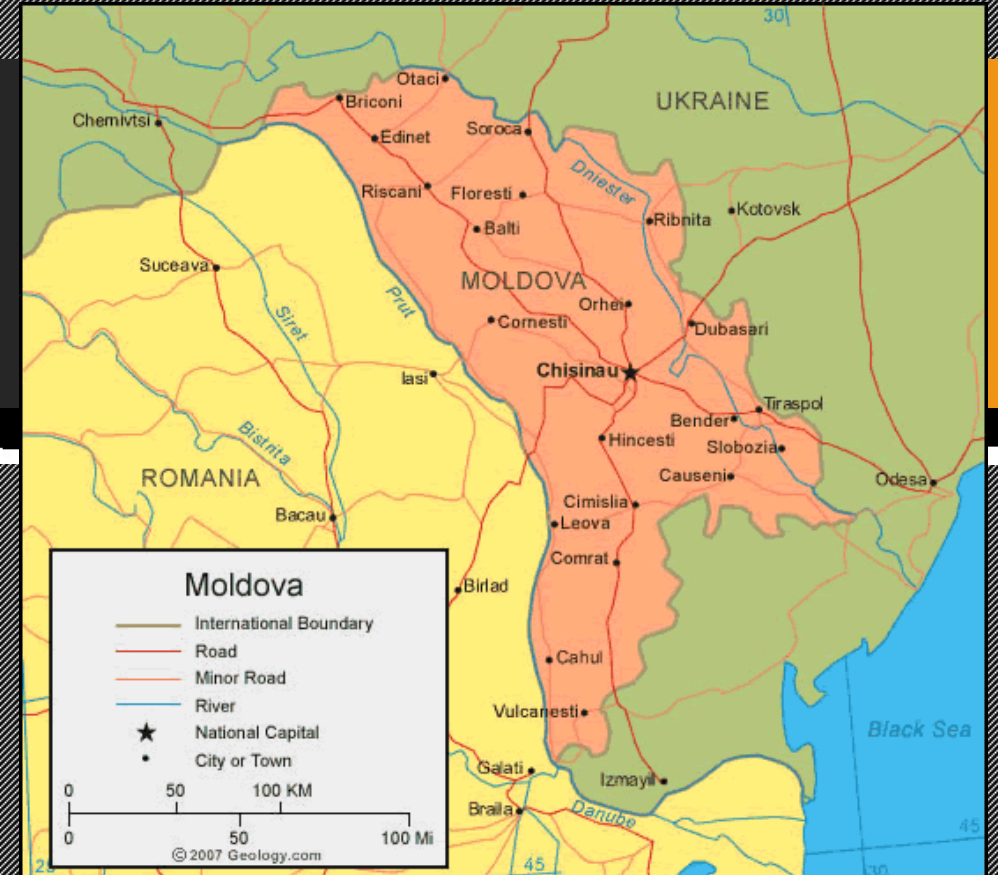
Bulgaria

- 2004 NATO
- 2007 EU
- Turks
- Turkish Movement for the rights and liberties
- 2009 GERB
- Ataka

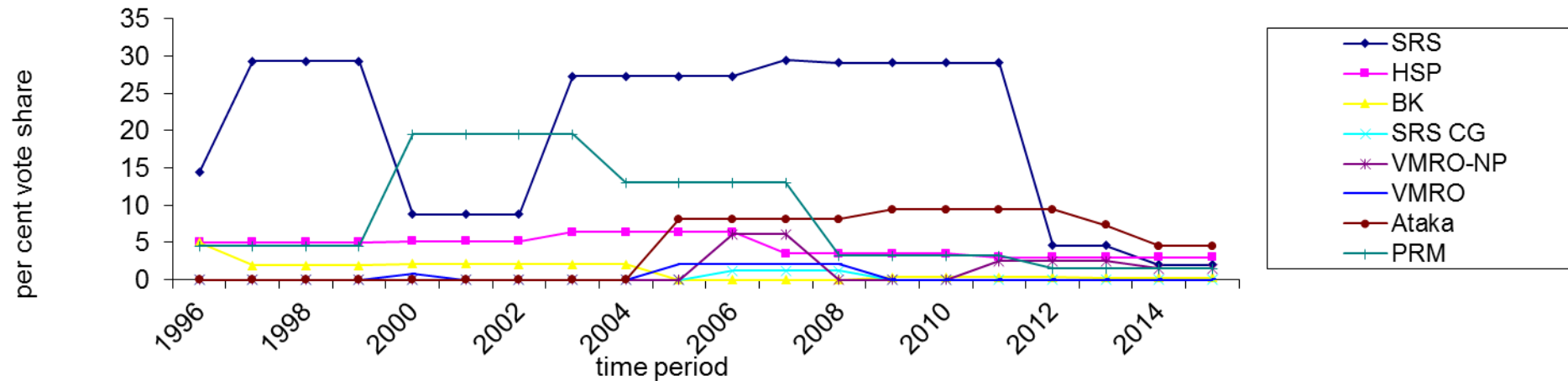


Moldova

- Transnistria
- Communist party in power till 2009
- Demonstrations for unification with Romania



Gra I: Percentage Vote Share of Far Right Parliamentary Political Parties in the Balkans since 2000^[1]



^[1] Data retrieved from the Adam Carr Archive and Šedo 2007 and rounded up. Data for 1992 Croatia related to the proportional portion of the votes won, data for the 1997 elections in Albania to the total percent proportion (both the proportional and majority components) of seats for the party.

- *The most successful far-right parties--the case of Serbia, Romania and Bulgaria,*
- *far-right parties gain a smaller number of mandates every election- the case of Croatia, Montenegro and Albania*
- *Unsuccessful far-right parties — the case of Macedonia*

Ideology and country specifics

the position of the countries concerned during the World War II

- the question of national minorities
- position towards the West and globalization



Ideology of Balkan Far Right Parties

	HSP*	SRS	VMRO-NP	BK	VMRO	Ataka	PRM
Nationalism – external exclusivity	X	X	-	X	X	-	X
Nationalism – internal homogenisation	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Xenophobia	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Law and Order	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Welfare Chauvinism	X	X	NN	partially	partially	X	X
Populism	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Antisemitism	-	X	-	-	-	X	X
Anti-comunism	-	X	-	X	X	-	-
Glorification of communism	-	-	-	-	-	-	X
Negative relation towards EU and NATO	X	X	-	-	-	X	-
Support for integration into EU and NATO	-	-	X	X	X	-	X
Anti-islamism	-	X	-	-	X	X	-
Economic liberalism	NN	NN	partially	-	partially	-	-
Socialist values (nationalisation, Equal wages etc.)	NN	NN	-	-	-	X	X

The causes of the success and political opportunity structures

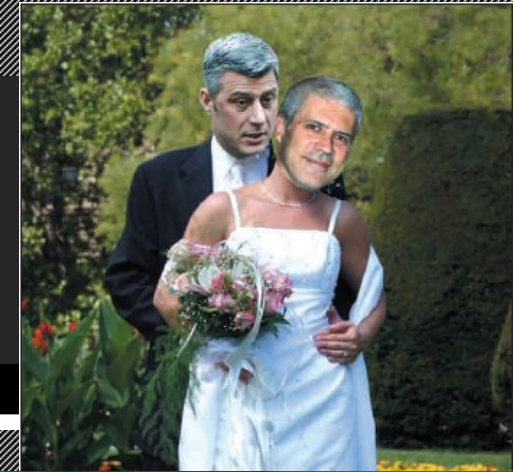
Position, tactics and strategies of the main political parties

- the electoral system
- the political boundaries of states
- ethnic boundaries
- ethnic minority group with strong political representation
- Other political and economic variables have supporting function.
- Each country is unique and it is always a unique set of variables. Cultural variables are fundamental prerequisite in particular in the case of Romania, Serbia, and Bulgaria while the international factor is important in particular in the case of Albania and Serbia.

Internal organisation and party leadership

	HSP	SRS	VMR O-NP	BK	VMR O	Ataka	PRM
Charismatic leadership	-	x	-	-	-	x	x
Efficient mechanism for strenghtening party discipline	x	x	x	x	-	x	x
Centralized organizational structure	x	x	x	x	-	x	x

Strategy and tactics



Voters of the Far Right

- Electorate composed by young men, with the exception of Romania
- Electorate strongly religious (in contrast to Far Right electorate in Western Europe)
- Mainly peasants and blue - collar workers with lower level of achieved education

Far Right and Legislative implementation in practice

- Anti-discriminatory legislative being adopted slowly
- The enforcement of hate-speech and anti-discriminatory legislation in Romania and Bulgaria the best
- Rest of the countries - enforcement remains poor

In terms of conclusion...

• The Far Right Party family is very heterogenous group

- *Softer variant*: VMRO-NP, Ataka (the only parties displaying nationalism only in terms of internal homogenisation)
- *Harder variant*: SRS, SRS CG, HSP, BK, VMRO, PRM, PNG-CD (both internal homogenisation as well as external exclusivity)
- CATEGORISATION REMAIN FLUID
- Cooperation between parties utopia, only mother parties

In terms of Conclusion...

Far right in WE gains higher percentages in the elections, however no WE far right party received 29 % as SRS did in 2008, 2009

- the only successful parties: SRS, Ataka and the PRM
- influence on the political scene has a decreasing tendency
- FAR RIGHT PARTIES NOT PARTICULARLY SUCCESSFUL
- Illiberal tendencies and EU fatigue

Seminar: Draw best multicultural/multilevel state

- Choose any real or imaginary state (yugoslavia, ussr, bih, panslavia, panbalkania, mitteleuropa, austro-hungarian empire etc..)
- At least three different ethnics/religions/languages (e.g.30%,20%,50%)
- political system (executive, legislative, judicial powers, based on percentage/wealth)
- identity (religion, state holidays, language, schools)
- IDs, passports, street signs, communication with state etc., teaching of history, state symbols, interaction and intermarriages
- Belgium constitution https://www.constituteproject.org/constitution/Belgium_2014.pdf?lang=en
- Yugoslavia constitution 1974 <http://www.worldstatesmen.org/Yugoslavia-Constitution1974.pdf>
- India constitution <http://lawmin.nic.in/olwing/coi/coi-english/coi-4March2016.pdf>