Populism in the Balkans

Populism and political parties POL 133 Věra Stojarová

- Hostility towards representative politics
- Heartland and the people
- Lack of core values, negativism
- Sense of extreme crisis
- Non-political nature of populist movements and charistmatic leader
- Chameleonic nature

Populism

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

• 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



- Croatia: Croatian Democratic Union HDZ
- Bosnia and Herzegovina: parties based on ethnicity
- Serbia: Serbian Radical Party, Serbian Progressive Party strong nationalist bzw. populist parties
- Montenegro: one man show
- Macedonia: VMRO-DPMNE
- Kosovo: Vetevendosje
- Albania: polarisation of Democrats and Socialists
- Romania: PP-DD (nationalist PRM)
- Bulgaria: GERB, NDSV, RZS (nationalist: VMRO and Ataka)

Populism in the Balkans



- Democratic backsliding
- Illiberal democracies or authoritarian regimes

Populism in the Balkans

- Post-Yugoslavian states nationalism tied with populism, not really good example of populism, extreme sense of crisis during the wars
- Romania, Bulgaria social populism in Bulgarian GERB, NDSV, RZS and Romanian PP-DD, nationalist populism in the case of Bulgarian Ataka and VMRO and Romanian PRM

In the name of the people or in the name of the nation??

- Enemy: USA, other nation, ethnic, globalism, NATO, ICTY, political representation
- Heartland
- Lack of core values nationalism as the ideology
- Sense of extreme crisis Balkan wars, simplicity, emotions, straightness
- Charismatic leader Balkan parties as one man show
- Chameleonic nature

Post-Yugoslavian states









- Polarisation
- Nativist populism HDZ
- Veteran organisations, Church
- Za dom spremni, Chessboard, Kuna, Jasenovac, Street names, Homeland war, Victory Day, Thompson
- HSP

• Živi zid – squating, lower taxes, monetary system not fair, legalisation of marihuana,

Populism in Groatia Pridruži se otpoi Arcebook

- Serbia engaged in wars (Croatia, BiH, Kosovo)
- Enemies Croats, Muslims, Albanians, USA, EU, NATO, "international community", ICTY, globalism, internal dimension for/against SPS/"democrats"
- Heartland : Srbija do Tokija, Srbija is like a Nokia, its getting smaller and smaller
- In the name of the people = in the name of the nation
- Charismatic leader: parties as one man shows Slobodan Milošević, Vojislav Šešelj, Vuk Drašković,

• Chameleonic nature – SRS with Socia Austria

Populism in Serbia



- Serbian Progressive Party (Srpska napredna str SNS)
- Tomislav Nikolic/Alexandar Vucic
- nationalism, traditionalism, anti-modernism, antiwesternisation,
- Serbian Orthodox Church, traditional society, football hoooligans
- Anniversaries of NATO, "air campaign", ICTY decisions, omnipotent Kosovo case

Current populism in Serbia - SNS



- Greece, Bulgaria, Albanians, Serbian orthodox church
- VMRO-DPMNE
- Alexaander the Great, airport, highway, Skopje
- Antiquisation
- Nationalism

Populism in North Macedonia



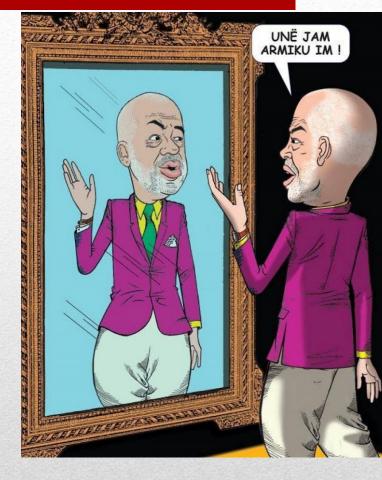
- Parties based on ethnicity
- Authoritarian régime in RS Dodik
- In the name of the nation

Populism in BiH





- Democratic party vs. Socialist party
- Polarisation
- Illiberal practices



Populism in Albania ??

- Milo Djukanovic forever
- In the name of the nation
- Towards the EU and NATO
- Together with Russia??

Populism in Montenegro ppp





- Vetevendosje
- Albin Kurti
- Self-determination referendum
- Clan parties
- Against the established parties (PDK,AAK,LDK)

Populism in Kosovo



- NDSV National Movement for Stability and Progress
- GERB
- Ataka
- RZS Order, Law and Justice Serbia



Populism in Bulgaria

- heraldic sign or coat of arms in Bulgarian as acronym
- personal bodyguard of King Simeon II. Boyko Borissov.
- 2009 to date
- discourse against the ruling elite and the mafia
- an image of a person trying to solve everyday problems and going to many cities in Bulgaria
- "I proved I can satisfy people's needs- while the others were talking, I was working and solving problems".
- "us" versus "them"
- to finish once and for all with the mafia and the former agents of the communist secret services in Bulgaria
- always present in the media
- close to the people, "one of them", always being present and "speaking their language". His direct contact with people certainly distinguished him also from the "aristocratic" style of King Simeon II

Bulgaria: GERB – Citizens for European development of Bulgaria

- Volen Siderov
- Anti-establishment, anti-NATO and anti-EU discourse as well as his hostile attitude the Turkish and Roma minorities in Bulgaria.
- the world conspiracy theories and the anti-Bulgarian policies
- scored 8% on the national elections, thus becoming the fourth largest party in Bulgarian Parliament
- discourse of "Us" vs "Them": "they are corrupt and will ruin the future of our country", "they work with the mafia and steal our money", "they are all enemies of Bulgaria".
- It criticises the organization of the political system:
- direct democracy, a "greater control on the politicians and judiciary monitoring of their actions".
- also mobilized its supporters while going on the streets and organizing public meetings

Bulgaria: Ataka

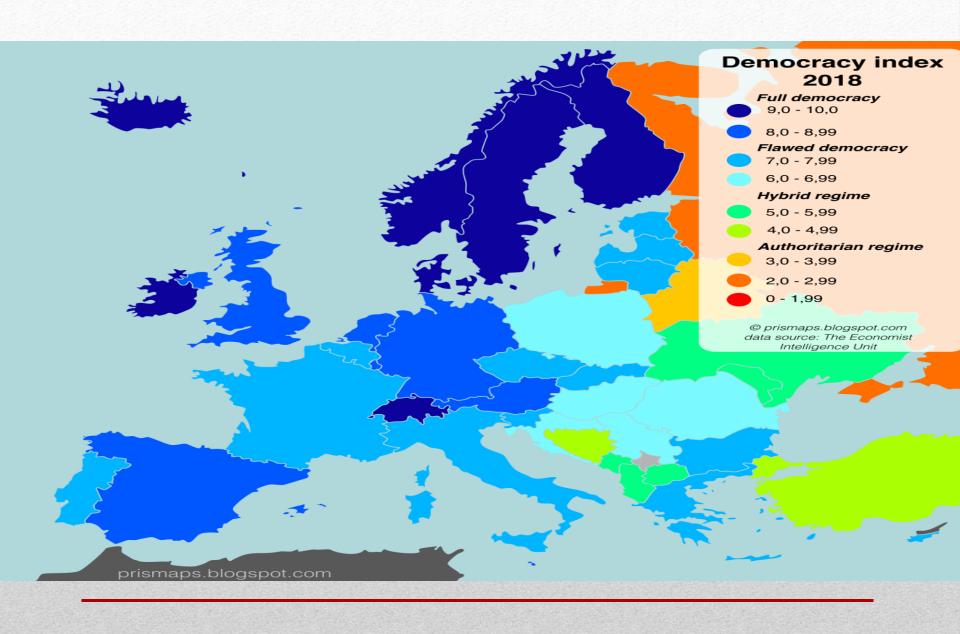
- directed against Bulgarian political elite's corruption, the fight against the mafia and the politicians related with organized crime circles.
- Its leader Yane Yanev
- stayed marginal
- The discourse "the corrupt elite" vs. "the honest people"
- Protest party

Bulgaria: Order, Law and Justice -RZS



- its inspiration from the communist regime, i.e., the regime of Nicolae Ceauşescu.
- the preservation of national values, traditions, the defence of the national interest, culture and religion.
- incorporation of Moldova and part of Ukraine into Romania at the beginning of the 1990s.
- anti-Semitic and xenophobic postures, targeting Jews, Hungarians and Romas,
- a fight against corruption, nepotism, discrimination and economic crime and promotes a strong state

Romania: Greater Romania Party, PRM







- inaccuracy of the voters' register (multiple voting, voting of dead and those who emigrated)
- politicised electoral commissions
- vote buying, party employment, intimidation of voters, job loss threats
- blurring of state and party activities, control of the media

Free and Fair elections

- media under direct influence of the ruling party or owned by the proxys of ruling elite leading to extensive coverage of ruling party and minimum coverage of oppositional parties
- direct verbal/physical attacks on journalist supported by politicians shaping so the public discourse that media are enemies
- arrests of investigative journalists
- regulatory bodies close to the ruling parties
- defamation, insult, incitement to hatred and other open ended concepts leading to self-censorship

MEDIA

PRESS FREEDOM!

over-regulation leading to charges against n

Media freedom

- secret contracts
- non-transparent budgets
- economic subsidies to the loyal ones without proper oversight
- party patronage in public as well as private sec
- manipulised public tenders
- appointing only party loyals to the top position in public companies

Privileged access to public resources and misuese of power





- Ombudsman
- Civil society
- Other independent institutions with oversight function

Civil society and other independent institutions



Illiberal Democracy and Populism/Nationalism