

POLITICAL PARTIES AND NATIONALISM IN VISEGRAD COUNTRIES

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Czech identity is strongly promoted. Asylum is to only be awarded in special cases if there is the precondition of the asylum seeker being qualified and able to be assimilated in the society, including national traditions and culture. This also illustrates that the reference to democracy and pluralism in the invocation of the manifesto could be taken seriously only in the context of political party fighting, not on the personal level and with respect to human beings. Therefore we can also deduct that the nation is seen more via the blood principle – or *ius sanguis* – than via citizens and the human approach which seems to be very limited on special cases.

Even more dangerous is the combination of this with aspects of strengthening the state controlling system, justice and policy, introducing morality securing law and also renewing the death penalty, even if it is stated only for extremely serious crimes such as crimes against children, mass murders, but also terrorism which could be explained from different perspectives and according to different measures. Historical land boundaries should be renewed to strengthen traditional land and territorial identity.

Another chapter is given over to resisting abortion, homosexuals and homosexual partnerships, and the promotion of anti-consumerism including restricting foreign capital, protectionism and the rejection of selling land abroad.

The Czech Republic should be a strictly sovereign and unitary country with national integrity. It should be a neutral state within foreign relations; it ought to step out from NATO and the EU, and should not provide any development aid to third countries. Within Europe cooperation should be established only on the basis of a “Europe of nations”. As stated above, the state would be anti-immigration according to the Workers’ Party, and also anti-eastern Europe oriented.

Types of electoral manifestos produced by Czech parties

As in other Visegrad countries we have focused on the policy dimensions that conceptualize issues of ethnicity, understanding and preservation of the national identity and relations with nations and supranational organizations. The second defining dimensions come in a category where the nation was not mentioned at all. The poles of the relevant parties are not significantly large but when we take into account also the extreme-right parties, the divergences are evident. We have defined five categories within the Czech election manifestos. We now define and set out the individual categories based on the two general elections (2006 and 2010) and the European Parliament election in 2009.

Homogenization type

The first grouping of electoral manifestos consists of ideologically various parties: all manifestos of the Civic Democratic Party (liberal-conservative party), the electoral manifesto of the Czech Social Democratic Party (social democracy) and a subcategory of the homogenization type formed by the Christian Democratic Union-Czechoslovak People’s Party.

In general terms, the common features of these manifestos are the emphasis on defining state sovereignty and its unity. Although this manifesto group covers European integration issues slightly different, the emphasis on shared national awareness is evident. The next defining feature of the homogenization type is the accent on human rights and the promotion of a general equality principle. The last feature is the careful attitude to international cooperation, although there is a small inherent tension within the category.

These manifestos define the Czech Republic as a country with a common national and cultural heritage and acknowledge the membership of the Czech Republic to the European space, a country common culture and values at the same time. The position of the country in the European value system is not automatically followed by a stated requirement for deeper integration of the EU. The value

of national culture must be defended by both domestic and foreign issues. In domestic matters is the manifestos strongly welcomed support for the Czech language as a tool for identifying individuals with the state. Surprisingly, ČSSD place a stronger emphasis on defending the national culture than does the liberal-conservative ODS. The attitude of ČSSD to national issues seems to be a little bit fragmented in contrast to its attitude on support for EU integration. In contrast to ČSSD, ODS puts an emphasis on the self-confident promoting of state interests in foreign relations, especially in issues concerning the EU.

The integration category covers the attitude to European integration, and the question of possible further deepening of the integration process. There is an interesting policy development on this from the Social Democrats. Although ČSSD presented a very European program for the 2009 European election, the manifesto (for the national election) one year later was shifted to a more national tendency. Therefore the accent on the open European policy is weakened – the party still supports accession to the Euro-zone but less emphatically and over a longer time period. EU integration is supported less strongly by ODS. The party supports a more instrumental EU integration focused on the economic dimension of the EU. At the same time ODS is opposed to the continuing sovereignty shift at the supranational level on fundamental policy issues such as foreign policy and tax and fiscal harmonization.

The range of the European policy variation between the parties is also evident on security and military issues. The liberal-conservative party, ODS, traditionally emphasizes the transatlantic cooperation, and the most serious security guarantee can only be provided by NATO. The Social Democrats, in contrast to ODS, support the further military and security integration of the EU. At the same time ČSSD emphasized less transatlantic cooperation.

The human rights category is strongly promoted by the Social Democrats but ODS also mentions this policy. ČSSD emphasized the Roma minority as a discriminated national minority in the Czech Republic. Generally, both parties promote the equality principle, not only in the case of an equal attitude towards minorities, but also in the case of human rights and among the member states of the EU.

The last category of the homogenization manifesto is the careful attitude given to immigration and integration issues. Although ČSSD should hold an immigrant friendly position, ČSSD supports immigration primarily from the south-east Slavic nations. A similar awareness is evident also with ODS that supports immigration based on working reasons and not for the settlement of incoming immigrants.

The subcategory of the homogenization type is the Christian-homogenization type. The differencing feature of this subcategory is the emphasis on Christianity of type. KDU-ČSL supports the traditional religious dimension in Czech politics. The party promotes a focus on equality, human rights, supporting EU integration, a more open attitude to immigrants and their integration into the majority society.

The category corresponds to an emphasis on unifying national identity and projecting a self-confident state towards the external world. All three ODS manifestos fit in to this category. As mentioned above, in the case of ČSSD there is an interesting development towards the nationalizing of its manifesto. The question is whether this is a single issue case or will the Social Democrats continue to nationalise their manifesto in the future.

Postmodern type

The parties that belong to the postmodern type are situated in the (liberal) centre of the Czech party system. This entails a very fundamental difficulty: the volatility of the electorate in this part of the political spectrum. In the analyzed period one liberal party was marginalized (US-DEU) and another lost its relevance during its participation in the government (Green Party). The increasing role of the Green Party around 2006 indirectly caused the decline of US-DEU. Although these two parties are basically different – the environmental Green Party and the centre-right US-DEU – within the Czech political climate these parties are understood to be ideologically similar.

In the case of US-DEU we have analyzed just one election manifesto from the 2006 election. The party gained only 0.3 % of the votes in the 2006 general election and did not participate in the subsequent 2009 and 2010 elections. The Green Party obtained its best election result in the 2006 election and 2010 failed to reach the 5 % threshold.

The identifying categories of the postmodern type for Green Party and US-DEU are the accent on human rights, the equality principle and the anti-military policy and a kind of pacifism. For the Green Party there is evidently a long term policy emphasis on these issues. In the case of the US-DEU we can analyze just one manifesto that is particularly different from previous manifestos in the 1998, 2002 and 2004 elections.

The human rights issue is typical for postmodern parties that emphasize a normative or rather moral dimension of politics. Therefore this policy is one of the key policy dimensions. The parties do not emphasize human rights in terms of the Human Rights Convention but the human rights topic is mentioned in the manifestos. In contrast to other types of manifestos, the postmodern manifestos do not have any specific chapter concerning human rights. That can be understood as their promoting of another three aspects of human rights: economic, social and political rights.

The equality category is based on their promotion of an equal attitude when it comes to gender and minority matters. Especially in the case of the Green Party, gender equality is very much pushed. Similar to the human rights category, the Roma minority is also mentioned. The Greens stress equality in the education system. US-DEU emphasizes an equal attitude in a general way and its promotion of general equality is evident in many chapters.

An anti-military attitude is generally typical for "green" parties. Although both parties want to fulfil the Alliance commitments (NATO and the EU for Greens), they call for the decreasing of the national military budget. The parties call for conflict resolution through the use of non-military means. At the same time the Greens emphasize the security and military cooperation of the EU. The attitude of US-DEU is not clear on this issue, due to its very short election manifesto.

The elaboration of the Green Party manifestos consists of stable foundations. There is also an evident continuing shift at the European policy level, with the emphasis on broader and deeper cooperation within the EU. The Green Party in particular promotes societal politics together with a certain level of morality.

European type

The basic feature of the European type is the openness to European integration and to the EU in general. The manifestos included under this grouping emphasize national interests but these interests are shifted to the European level. The primary goal of the manifestos is an efficient EU with effective policy tools and a transparent functional structure. At the same time the manifestos call for a self-confident role for the Czech Republic in foreign policy and also within the EU. The next categories within this type are: an accent on human rights, equality of minorities and resistance to the commercialization of society. The manifestos of TOP 09, KDU-ČSL 2010, and ČSSD 2006 conform to the European type.

The emphasis on the strong role of the Czech Republic in economic and political issues does not refer to the accent on sovereignty and the rejecting of further supranational integration or further shifting of sovereignty towards the EU. The significant feature is the need to constitute such a position that the Czech Republic will be an equal partner not because of the blackmail potential but due to its abilities. There is an evident difference here from the homogenization type that puts the emphasis on both state and strong sovereignty. This is a pragmatic policy to avoid influence loss and at the same time to maintain a strong state position. There is a slight differentiation between the manifestos – the 2006 ČSSD manifesto promotes a European emphasis more in the political than the practical (pragmatic) sense. The attitude of TOP 09 refers to the "ideal" combination of a strong state position (attitude) and a supportive policy towards the EU. Due to the ideological similarity of TOP 09 and KDU-ČSL, the attitude of the Christian democrats is similar.

The EU category covers the party support for political cooperation and the emphasis on economic integration. All manifestos positively refer to the Euro-zone entry and realize the fundamental political and economic integration shift. In the case of the Euro zone, the possibility to accept the common currency is the basic example of economic integration (economic gains) and deeper political integration (sovereignty shift).

The manifestos are slightly different in their advocacy of national interests. TOP 09 emphasizes the broader support for an active role of the Czech Republic and does not accentuate the national interest or nationalization of the European policy too much.⁵² The Social Democrats use the term “national interests” and promote them differently. Above all, in the 2006 election manifesto (in this type) there is an internal policy tension between the European policy and the effort to push national interests. This manifesto tension was the reason for the classification of the 2010 election manifesto as the homogenization type. The effort to be a European party and defend the national interests is, in the long term, an internal conflict and any “policy flexibility” will depend on the personal profile of the party leader and on the societal demand for certain manifesto issues.⁵³ In the long term KDU-ČSL promotes a clear European policy and internal tension could come with any conservative shift and consequently a policy featuring less EU support.

Further divergence in this category is the attitude to European security. Both the Social and Christian Democrats promote the priority on security issues at the European level and less with the linkage to the transatlantic alliance. In contrast, TOP 09 emphasizes European security (military) cooperation. But with the same relevancy TOP 09 promotes security cooperation within the framework of NATO or partly on a bilateral basis with the USA.

The category of human rights and equality is handled differently in the manifestos. ČSSD promotes the human rights issue with more emphasis than the two other parties. The Social Democrats concern in this policy issue centres on the Roma minority and the need for their integration into the majority society. In the context of human rights, Social Democrats associate this issue with the rejection of discrimination against immigrants and all minorities in general. KDU-ČSL relates the minority policy and the human rights dimen-

⁵² Each party proclaims that it will defend the national interest. That is the vital interest of the party for the successful development of the country.

⁵³ The personal role of the former leader of ČSSD, Jiří Paroubek, has been seen to be significant in the case of having a stronger emphasis on national issues in the manifesto – for example a speech of his speech in Kutná hora where he said that immigrants were taking jobs for Czechs.

sion to Christianity principles. This religious attitude is used as a general approach for making party policy, including on human rights. On the human rights issue, KDU-ČSL mentions the problematic situation of the Roma minority, the need to integrate the minority and to avoid any further rotting of the societal situation.⁵⁴

The last category is the negative attitude to the commercialization of the society. The parties do not use the term “nation” but rather use aversion to the commercialization of the traditional way of life and values. The common feature of the manifestos is the emphasis on developing a state identity in a globalized world. Surprisingly, the category is constituted by conservative parties and social democracy.

Overall, the aversion to commercialization does not mean that manifestos (parties) oppose further international integration or support for the continuing globalization process. The manifestos describe how the parties oppose only a certain feature of globalization and principally support the gains made via globalization in economic and social terms. The conservative parties (KDU-ČSL and TOP 09) want to defend the culture against commercialization. The Social Democrats do not define their negative position along cultural lines but generally support the need to further develop the mother tongue as a common binding feature.

The European type of manifestos has a common interest in a well-functioning EU and, at the same time, in the influential role of the Czech Republic therein. The parties share common European values such as an emphasis on human rights, the equality principle and the integration of minorities. On identity issues the manifestos refer to both maintaining cultural unification and excessive globalization. During our analyzed period, KDU-ČSL has developed from the homogenization type to the European type with less emphasis on national identity issues. ČSSD, in contrast to the Christian Democrats, has moved from the European type to the homogenization type. Surprisingly, both conservative parties (TOP 09 and KDU-ČSL) occupy a very similar type of position.

⁵⁴ In 2010, there was a controversial instance from the former KDU-ČSL party leader Jiří Čunek who became famous due to his solution for the Roma minority living in his home district Vsetín.

Communist type

One specific type of election manifesto is the Communist type. A particularity of the whole manifesto is the split emphasis on international cooperation and general support for European integration, yet at the same time the rejection of the ideological bases of this integration. A further particularity is the accent on traditional communist ideology, such as cooperation with other communist parties in Europe.

The significant feature of the manifestos is the communist ideology that has adapted to the conditions of the globalized world. The party defines its ideological principles in terms that are familiar to traditional communist parties, with significant emphasis on the class struggle and the workers' revolution. Practically, the party promotes its ideology in a pragmatic way.

KSČM strongly supports a self-confident position for the Czech Republic, particularly on political issues. Although the party wants to promote its international policy and cooperate on the international level with other communist or radical left parties, KSČM still emphasizes state sovereignty, patriotism and national culture. It is surprising that economic issues are absent; the party instead concentrates its focus on the political dimension. The significant mention of economic issues related to the national question is the negative attitude expressed by KSČM to globalization and liberalized free market flows, which can be defined as an anti-capitalist approach in the policy. The accent on the strong role of the Czech Republic supports the emphasis on national self-defence in a military and societal way. Thus the party rejects further security and military cooperation with NATO as a tool of liberal interventionism.

The European policy of KSČM presents an internal ideological policy dilemma. The party emphasizes cooperation with other national parties and international organizations – the internationalism of communist ideology – but above all the party rejects the neo-liberal policy approach to the economy and integration in general. The party criticizes the lack of democracy in the institutional schema and in the decision-making process of the EU. Acceptance and Czech membership of the Euro may be possible only if it favours the Czech economic situation. On this point there is a similarity with other

European (neo-) communist parties that on the one hand reject the “ideology” of European integration while, on the other hand, the same integration offers them the possibility to institutionalize international cooperation.

KSČM acts positively in the case of human rights, the rights of minorities and general equality. The party emphasizes the international (liberal) dimension of its ideology. In contrast to the European type, KSČM strongly emphasizes anti-discrimination, anti-racism as well as openness to the global society. The very positive approach to national minorities and the openness to the world result in the party's accent on a multicultural society. KSČM emphasizes minority and state equality as well as societal equality – gender, gay and lesbian etc. Surprisingly, the party does not mention the Roma minority and its problematic position in the Czech Republic. At the same time the party has a negative view on the German Sudetendeutschen Landmanschaft.⁵⁵

KSČM's anti-capitalist and slightly anti-globalization outlook is evident in its rejection of the commercialization of the national culture and heritage. In comparison to the European type, KSČM's emphasis is directed primarily against the globalized, capitalist system followed by the need for defending the national heritage and culture.

The Communist type is specific due to the internationalized communist ideology that causes an inherent tension between opposing capitalism, the neoliberalized world economy and globalization, on the one hand, and, on the other hand, the emphasis on societal openness to the world in the case of supporting multiculturalism and cooperation with other national left parties. In contrast to the international policy focus of the party, there is a clear and strong emphasis on national sovereignty and identity.

Populist type

With this type it is difficult to exactly define the ideological policy structure of the manifestos. There is an assumption that the policy issues were chosen due to a possible bias of certain voters to the party

⁵⁵ For more on this see the description of KSČM above.

manifestos and, consequently, there is only a weak binding ideological feature. Very common topics of the populist type are: a negative attitude to or awareness of immigrants and possibly also other national minorities, the strengthening of Czech national sovereignty, the promoting of Czech interests in the EU and, at the same time, a rather negative approach to the supranational integration of the EU. In a way the manifestos strengthen some particular issues like traditional values. All of the manifestos presented by Sovereignty conform to the populist type. The next party belonging to this type is Public Affairs that promote more moderate issues.

The first category within this type is the call for strong Czech sovereignty and an emphasis on the effective promoting of Czech interests. Sovereignty supports the strengthening of the political dimension of its external affairs. Therefore the party stresses national sovereignty, national pride, territorial integrity and national heritage, and adds that the Czech Republic should prevent a "brain drain" of Czech scientists to other (big) European states.

Both parties present a kind of awareness of supranational integration. In the case of Public Affairs, the weak awareness is caused by the support for the Lisbon Treaty and the general emphasis on an effectively functioning EU. Sovereignty focuses on support for intergovernmental integration (cooperation) and the party expresses a very negative position to the recent integration development. The party rejects the Lisbon Treaty because of the Sudeten-German issue and their possible property claims, and also because of the unacceptable sovereignty shift at the supranational level and the unacceptable superiority of the big member states.

The anti-immigration category fits both parties very well. Public Affairs supports labour-immigration, but the settlement of foreign citizens is not welcomed. The problem, for Public Affairs, is also that criminality may be caused by immigrants. Sovereignty promotes a stronger anti-immigrant policy. The party wants stronger monitoring of incoming immigrants and their activities in the Czech Republic. This kind of policy may have its roots, at the election time, in the continuing economic crisis that has led to increasing general concern about jobs. This is a practical example of using a populist issue to try to increase votes.

The category of border protection is relevant in Sovereignty. The party rejects any kind of post world war revisionism that could lead to the contesting of the legality of the Beneš Decrees and their continuing relevance in a globalized world. This issue is connected with rejection of the Lisbon Treaty because of the Sudeten-German issue and partly because of the possible increasing number of immigrants.

The manifestos of the populist type are not easy to define ideologically. We can sum up several common features of these policies. The most evident is the strict immigrant policy or, rather, anti-immigrant policy. Another feature is the distant attitude to the EU and to further supranational integration. Another policy issues different that is caused by populist policy style.

Nationalist type

The nationalist type of manifesto comprises the two most relevant nationalist parties – Workers' Party (Dělnická strana) and National Party (Národní strana). Both are, in comparison to the other described parties, irrelevant parties because of their lack of presence in any chamber of Parliament. The nationalist type of the manifestos is a very ideological minority trend, and none of the relevant parties (with election gains over the 5% threshold) comes anywhere close to the policy issues included in this manifesto type.

The typical features of the manifestos are a strong emphasis on national sovereignty, racism and xenophobia, rejection of the integrated role of the Czech Republic in the EU, an emphasis on conservative values, a negative attitude to the Roma minority and the revitalizing of the historical suffering of the Roma people during World War Two.

Both parties that fall within this type strongly emphasize national sovereignty in political and social issues. The parties resigned on deeper proposal on economical or political autarky. Related to the emphasis on national identity, the parties strongly stress patriotism, nationalism and the traditional value of the family. They neglect any kind of military or security cooperation (NATO) and also reject the continuation of the globalization process and the liberal world

economy. Therefore the parties strongly accentuate national sovereignty but at the same merely criticize the current state of the world without offering any relevant alternatives.

The parties reject any further immigration to the Czech Republic. Minority rights issues are related to the Roma minority. They refuse any kind of integration and openly support the departure of the Roma population from the Czech Republic.

The National Party stresses the primordial nature of the Czech nation, and therefore the nation must be defended against harmful influences. In comparison to the National Party, the Workers' Party is more moderate on this issue. Also, in the case of the relation between state and citizen, the Workers' Party is more moderate. The National Party emphasizes the superiority of the state over the citizen. In general, this implies an increasing role for the state and to deeper control over society. The Workers' Party suggests broader state control – justice, police.

Both parties stress self-defence and military issues. The goal is to avoid any kind of external attack on the state and to be convincing about strengthening military capacities.

Unsurprisingly, the parties refuse any kind of supranational cooperation and, therefore, the EU's activities are principally negative and harmful to state sovereignty.

The parties strongly accentuate conservative values, giving especially high importance to morality, the family and patriotism. The goal of this emphasis is (in connection with the accent on sovereignty) to reinforce the strong identification of citizens with their nation and to lead them to defending the national interest.

As we mentioned above, the nationalist type is the marginal type in the Czech politics. This marginal role is evident from the long term perspective. The parties involved here focus on very controversial and intolerant issues that could lead to the radicalization of society. No other type mentioned here is close to the nationalist type at its core.

Conclusion

The most relevant political parties (ODS, ČSSD, TOP 09 and KDU-ČSL) share a common consensus when it comes to a moderate emphasis on national issues and their overlapping into politics. These parties are separated only in two categories and constitute the mainstream in the emphasizing of national issues. The most divergent issues are the European dimension of the policy and the "openness" of the country to immigrants and foreign cultures in general.

European policy is, between the parties, differentiated between EU-integration support and a reserved attitude towards EU-integration reserved. In the analyzed period, ODS has the most homogenous policy concerning the EU and the defending of the national interest.

In the case of ODS, there is a clear orientation on economic issues and less on the need to defend or promote the nation. Although for some issues the European policy is very reserved, in the long term perspective the party supports European integration. In the homogenous category we have seen a very interesting shift taking place with ČSSD: it has moved from the European type the 2006 election to the homogenous category in the 2010 election. Although the party strongly accents the positive gains of European integration, the emphasis on homogeneity trends is, for the above named parties, the most evident.

The manifestos categorized in the European type put more emphasis not only on a positive attitude towards the EU but also on the substantial openness of the nation – the emphasis on human rights, the mentioning of policy issues in the broader European context.

The postmodern type in Czech politics is very fluid, and none of the political parties of the postmodern type was significantly influential. The typical feature of this category is the post-national and post-democratic accent, the broad liberty of individuals and the emphasis on human rights in both the domestic and European contexts.

Of particular mention is the communist category – KSČM supports international cooperation and tries to promote itself as a modern left party, with its support for EU integration and (left) social accent, on human rights too. Nonetheless, the communist ideology is

prevalent – a priori the party opposes the neo-liberal integration of the EU and is vigilant about German post-war revisionism.

The populist and national types of manifestos are not part of the mainstream of Czech political discussion that determines also public opinion. Although some issues of the populist type are mentioned in the homogenization category, the accent is significantly moderate. The manifestos of the populist type are often inherently contradictory – for example, the manifesto of Public Affairs that emphasizes pro-European attitudes in its policy program but at the same time openly advocates a more restrictive immigration policy.

The nationalist type is significant for our research goal, and also adds to the understanding of nationalist tendencies in society – yet practically the influence of these parties is marginal and out with mainstream Czech politics.

HUNGARY

Introduction to Hungarian politics and the Hungarian party system

The 1989 Election Act of Hungary established a two round mixed election system for parliamentary elections. The Hungarian parliament is unicameral and consists of 386 members. The election system is three-tier, combines elements of majority single-member-constituency (district) and the proportional party list election system. Hungarian voters vote with two ballot papers (Schiemann, Benoit 1997: 2–5). One ballot paper is for voting individuals as MPs through the two round majority systems, with some more specifications about the percentage of votes to continue to second round. As individuals 176 MPs are voted in each election, one per constituency. The second ballot paper is for the party lists which are voted on the regional level directly and on the national level indirectly recounted. In total there are a maximum of 210 MPs elected from the parties' lists. Up to 152 seats are distributed by proportional representation in 20 regional, multi-member constituencies. The rest, but at least 58 seats, are reallocated on a national list to compensate for disparities in the parties between the distribution of votes and National Assembly constituency seats. The national list can apply only to a party with at least 7 regional lists. Each of the voting strands has a specific percentage quorum for validity of the choice.

The first democratic election took place in March and April 1990, and showed an overwhelming preponderance of democratic parties. The main winners were Hungarian Democratic Forum (MDF) which won with 24.7% of the vote but, according to the electoral system, gained 42.7% of the seats (165 seats). In close pursuit came Alliance of Free Democrats with 21.4% of the vote and 23.8% of the seats (92). Third place went to the Independent Smallholders Party with 11.8% of the vote and 11.1% of the seats (43). In fourth place came the Hungarian Socialist Party with 33 seats and 10.9% of the vote. Also Fidesz