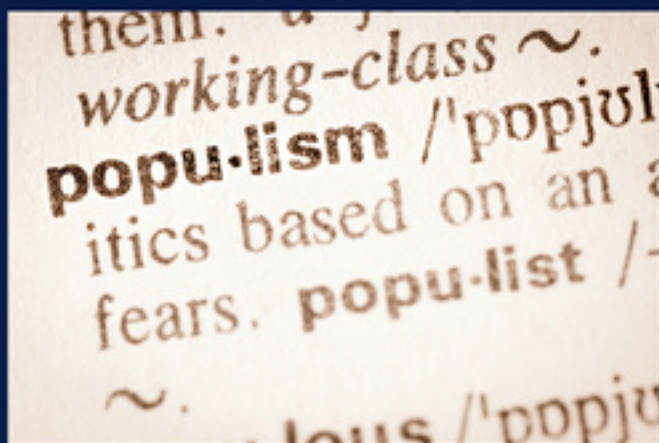


Göran Adamson

Populist Parties and the Failure of the Political Elites

The Rise of the
Austrian Freedom Party (FPÖ)



PETER LANG
EDITION

Table of Contents

Milestones.....	9
Abbreviations	11
Glossary of Non-English terms	13
German Preface: Populismus als parteienkritischer Topos Einführung von Helmut Stubbe da Luz.....	17
Author's Preface: What's wrong with the people?	25
Chapter 1 Introduction	49
Chapter 2 Right-wing Extremism and Populism – A Review of the Literature.....	61
The Study of Right-wing Extremism	62
Right-Wing Extremism – Ideological Underpinnings.....	62
An Old or New Phenomena?.....	64
Right-Wing Extremist Parties – Populist or not?.....	64
Explaining the Electoral Appeal of Right-Wing Extremist Parties	66
Right-wing Extremism – A Determining Factor for the Electoral Success of the FPÖ?.....	68
Populism – A Factor of Success for the Party? An Overview of the Literature	71
The Importance of the Party Leader	73

Chapter 3 Methodology	77
Jörg Haider's Writings	78
<i>Freiheit und Verantwortung</i> – The Party's Yearbooks.....	81
The Party Programmes	81
Election Data and Polls.....	81
Populism and the Austrian Elite.....	82
The Political Context.....	82
 Chapter 4 Populism	 85
The Origins of 'Populism'	87
Common Features of Populism.....	87
Two Different Forms of Populism – Right wing and Egalitarian Populism.....	 90
 Chapter 5 Austrian Corporatism – An Overview	 103
Austrian Corporatism – Elitist Oppression?	107
Corruption in the Political System.....	108
Political Participation and Opposition	110
The Scientific Rationality of Austrian Corporatism	113
Ideology Strikes Back.....	115
Austrian Corporatism – a Success Story	116
Austrian Corporatism – Historical Legacy.....	116
Healing the Wounds and Bridging the Past.....	120
Corporatism and the Austrian National Character	122
Austrian Corporatism – Ideological and yet Progressive	124
Corporatism and Democratic Flaws.....	125
Post-war Economic Realities	127

Chapter 6 A Short History of the FPÖ from 1949 to 1986.....	131
<i>Verband der Unabhängigen</i> – the Failed Integration of FPÖ's Predecessor.....	132
The Early Years – Fledgling Attempts at Liberalism.....	132
The <i>Salzburg Programme</i> , Bruno Kreisky and <i>Attersee Circle</i> – Between Mainstream and Oblivion	133
The <i>Bad Ischl Programme</i> and the Libertarian Promise.....	135
The Fragile Coalition 1983–1986	137
The Ascendancy of Jörg Haider	138
The Early FPÖ – Battle between Extremists and Liberals	139
 Chapter 7 Analysing the FPÖ's Electoral Appeal – Rhetoric, Party Programme and Reactions.....	141
Racism, Anti-Democratic Ideas and Fascism – Rhetoric and Provocation	141
The Party Yearbooks – The Party's Ideological Spectrum.....	148
The Party Programmes of 1985 and 1997	152
The EU Sanctions against Austria	160
Haider and the FPÖ – Manipulation, Tactics and Hidden Agendas?	173
 Chapter 8 Analysing the Appeal of the FPÖ – the Electorate.....	181
Election Results	181
Public Polls – How Different are FPÖ Voters?	189
 Chapter 9 The FPÖ's Critique of the Elite.....	199
Social and Cultural Critique.....	202
Political Critique.....	208

Power-greedy socialism	211
Daily encounters with the Austrian elite	213
Economic Critique	215
 Chapter 10 Conclusion.....	 219
Synthesis of Main Findings.....	219
What About the Events since 2000?	224
Right-wing Extremism and Populism and Its Wider Implications	227
A Final Note	228
 References.....	 229
 Annex.....	 251