ANTI-SYSTEM PARTIES: EFFECTIVE POLICY CHOICES FOR DEMOCRACIES
A STUDY OF INDIA'S BHARATIYA JANATA PARTY
AND AUSTRIA'S FREEDOM PARTY

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ABSTRACT

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In the decades following WWII, countries across the globe witnessed the rise of anti-system parties. Political scientists have attributed their success to economic conditions, electoral systems, party systems and the electorate's disaffection with mainstream parties. This analysis also suggests the influence of global factors. While the causes for success have been examined, effective policy choices for democracies have not been equally explored. This study makes the argument that by including anti-system parties in government, states are able to lessen the threat they pose to democracy. The analysis of India's Bharatiya Janata Party and Austria's Freedom party suggest that anti-system parties loose their allure when they come to power. The analysis also suggests that democracies by adopting the contrary policy of exclusion, in fact create conditions that foster support for anti-system parties. Lastly, this study suggests that the international community in response to anti-system parties in power should adopt a policy of cautious engagement.

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Introduction

In 1977, the Australian Democrats entered the political stage using the slogan "keep the bastards honest". According to party founder Don Chipp, the catchy slogan was in fact one of the main goals of the new party. For the next two decades, the party boasted being the strongest anti-system party in Australia, and their dominance continued until Pauline Hanson's One Nation Party, emerged as a contender in the 1998 federal election. It was in this election that the combined support of all Australian anti-system parties reached a record 16.2 percent (Abedi 2004, 33). Around the same time in neighboring New Zealand, another anti-system party, New Zealand First, was also mobilizing support based on economic and political nationalism. Similar instances of anti-system party formation and success are noted in countries across the globe. While some have become more moderate over time, others still exhibit anti-system tendencies, while still others oscillate between times of moderation and anti-system behavior.

In the mid 1980's and 1990's, several AS parties emerged in Western Europe. Categorized under the heading 'Radical Right-Wing, these parties found support in countries such as Belgium (Flemish Bloc), France (National Front) Austria (Freedom Party), Germany (Republicans) and Italy (Northern League). Countries in South America have also had their share of anti-system actors, including Brazil's Fernando Collor de Mello and Peru's Alberto Fujimori. In other areas of the world such as Turkey (AKP), Canada (Reform Party) and India (Bharatiya Janata Party), AS parties have received considerable support and in some cases even participated in government.

While they may differ in geography and ideology, AS parties do exhibit common characteristics. They are often characterized by charismatic leaders who use

crafty rhetoric and paint word pictures of corrupt politicians who cater to minorities and other special interest groups. They challenge the political status quo and present themselves as the voice of the people. They manipulate the insecurities of voters and mobilize support by calling for the preservation of cultural traditions that are often based on a 'golden age'. Under the guise of democracy they sometimes encourage, participate and conceal anti-democratic behavior.

While there is sufficient literature regarding the causes of AS party success and the threat they pose to democracy, there is an inadequate amount of literature regarding the effective means to handle this threat. The purpose of this study is to fill this gap in literature.

States, in response to AS parties, have adopted one of two policies. While some countries choose to exclude them from the political process, others have adopted a policy of inclusion. The purpose of this study is to explore the idea that in response to this threat of democracy, a policy of inclusion is more effective than a policy of exclusion. Therefore, my hypothesis is the more AS parties are included in the democratic political process, the less appealing they become to the electorate.

By becoming a part of government AS parties are put to the test. They no longer have the luxury of sitting on the side lines and criticizing the government. Instead, a policy of inclusion forces them to be evaluated on their ability to govern. They are now faced with the daily tasks of governance. It is in this process of governing that they loose their allure. These party leaders, who were once "distant heroes" (see Zakaria 2002, 149), now become every day politicians. Political inclusion keeps them accountable to the

masses. They are forced to moderate their agenda, and still appeal to the electorate that got them there in the first place.

Definition of Anti-System Party

Political scientists have placed numerous labels on anti-system behavior over the years. Some have classified them under the heading 'anti-establishment' or 'anti-mainstream', while others have used terms such as 'protest parties', 'populism', and 'neo-populism' . Some have also referred to them as 'right –wing populists', 'discontent parties', and 'anti-party parties'. There are numerous variations to the AS party definition. Sartori using a two pronged approach, broadly defines an AS party as that which "undermines the legitimacy of the regime it opposes" (Sartori 1976, 133). In more specific terms, he explains that "an anti-system opposition abides by a belief system that does not share the values of the political order within which it operates" (Sartori 1976, 133).

Andreas Schedler, who first introduced the term "anti-establishment" party, defines them according to two types. For Schedler, AS parties are those that put civilians against elites and those that put civilians against each other (Schedler 1996, 293). Abedi borrows Schedler's 'anti-establishment' term, and defines this party type as one that challenges the status quo in terms of policy and political system issues. Abedi also contends that AS parties not only perceive themselves as challengers to the political establishment, but also claim that a divide exists between the establishment and the people (Abedi 2004, 12).

Mudde, in reference to populist anti- party sentiments, attests that these parties distinguish themselves by criticizing not the idea of party itself, but rather the policies and behavior of other parties. In essence, they define themselves as the opposite of the other (Mudde 1996, 265, 272). For Taggart, there are six different themes of populism. First, populism is "hostile toward representative politics" (Taggart 2002, 66). Secondly, Populists identify themselves to a "heartland' that is based on an ideal world. This imagined homogenous community is often articulated in imprecise terms and implies a world of 'as it once was'. The third and fourth characteristics are the absence of core values and the idea that populism responds to crises. For Capoccia, the fifth theme is the 'self-limiting' equality of populism. Lastly, populists have the ability to be 'chameleonic'. In other words, they are strongly influenced by their context. Therefore, similarities between them are not always easily identifiable (Taggart 2002, 66-71).

Capoccia defines anti-system parties in the context of the party system and democratic regimes. For Capoccia, there is a distinction between 'ideological anti-systemness' and relational anti-systemness'. He argues that 'ideological anti-systemness' is the party's opposition to the democratic system and 'relational anti-systemness' is its position with regard to the values of the specific system (Capoccia 2002, 10).

Fennema refers to parties that share anti-system tendencies as "protest parties". For Fennema, "protest parties" blame the political establishment for all the social ills of the world including unemployment, corruption, and unrestrained immigration. Their goal is to undermine the political establishment without presenting alternative solutions to problems (Fennema 1997, 477).

According to Husbands, the factors that "unites all of these parties is their particular commitment to some sort of ethnic exclusionism-a hostility to foreigners, immigrants, Third World asylum-seekers, and similar out groups-as well as aggressive nationalism or localism" (Husbands 1992, 268).

For the purpose of this study, I borrow from both Sartori and Abedi, and define an anti-system party as one that challenges the status quo of the political system, and whose rhetoric and practices question democratic principles. This definition, like others, is intended to be neither all encompassing nor exhaustive in nature. At different points in time AS parties may not exhibit all or any aspects of the definition. Lastly, it is important to remember that there is not one explanation for the success of all parties. In many cases, it is two or more factors working in concert with each other. With this in mind, I now proceed with a brief discussion of the methodology of the argument, followed by a broader review of the literature explaining the success of this party type.

Methodology

The majority of the literature surrounding AS parties involves studies that are region or typographically specific. For example, several political scientists have explored the proliferation of radical right-wing parties in Western Europe. In order to test my hypothesis, I have selected two AS parties in very different regions of the world. In the following study, I compare the failure of the Freedom Party in Austria to the ultimate failure of the Bharatiya Janata Party in India. For the purpose of this study, I define 'failure' as the significant loss of seats in the lower house of parliament in consecutive elections. In sum, the universe of cases is AS parties. My sample size is two very different AS parties. The independent variable is unrealizable campaign promises. The dependent variable is the failure of the party. For the purpose of this study, I define 'unrealizable' campaign promises as pledges made by AS parties that have limited ability to come to fruition.

My choice of these two countries was dictated by the most different systems design. While both share the label of having anti-system roots, their differences are many. India's social diversity with her multiple cross-cutting cleavages of language, religion, ethnicity, economics and caste make her very different from Austria. Austria as a member of the European community represents a region that is different from India in most aspects. Furthermore, these two AS parties have different ideological traditions. While the BJP has strong ties to radical Hindu elements, the FPO has often used racist and xenophobic appeals to gain support. For Sridharan and Varshney, the BJP "can be considered anti-system because it questions secularism which is a fundamental doctrine of the national constitution" (Sridharan and Varshney 2001 215). Similarly, the FPO,

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widely accepted as a radical right-wing party, is considered by numerous scholars as an example of the AS party type.

Despite their differences, the common thread between both parties is the international environment that was prevalent during their rise to power. Both the BJP and FPO moved from periphery to center at a time when identity was being questioned and identity politics played well in both instances. India, surrounded by Muslim neighbors and the global rise of Islamic fundamentalism sought to create an identity that was dissimilar to neighboring states. Similarly, the reunification of Germany along with the collapse of the Soviet Union and the accompanying changes in the Austrian socio-cultural landscape enabled the FPO to manipulate voter insecurity. The FPO's anti-immigration message resonated with an electorate that felt encroached upon by the influx of labor migrants and asylum seekers. The strength of this study lies therefore, not only in the dissimilarity of the cases that is evident in differences of geography and ideology but in the similarities found due to the same global factors that influenced both cases and provided the fertile ground for the rise of both parties.

The Hypothesis

The main argument of this study is that the more AS parties are involved in the political process the less appealing they become to the electorate. The following discussion provides a sequential look at the argument.

Government by Cartel

Our review of the literature indicates that the success of these parties is often driven among other things by the electorate's disaffection with the political

establishment. Close cooperation and accommodation between these parties help exclude some from government. The lack of meritocracy via patronage appointments along with corruption and scandal help further the voter's disaffection with the political establishment. In some instances, it is not inter-party cooperation and collusion but rather single party dominance that is indicative of a 'cartelized' political system. Dominance of the political environment by one party often leads to the misuse of power which further alienates the electorate. Corruption and scandal facilitates the desire for an alternative which breaks the mould of politics as usual. Furthermore, the appeasement of specific groups through the implementation of quotas motivates the electorate to search for an alternative that preaches reform.

As political pariahs not associated with the 'political cartel', AS parties are able to legitimately call for change. They are also "more immune to 'political bribery' by the political establishment compared to an organization "inside" the system" (Heinisch 2002, 56). Armed with a blank slate they are able to present themselves as disciplined, different and agents of change.

Unrealizable Campaign Promises

AS parties make unrealizable campaign promises in order to broaden their support. They campaign on the need for change and their ability to change the system. They point fingers at the political status quo and ask the electorate to give them a try instead. They make unattainable promises involving the "eradication of poverty", the "eradication of unemployment", and "100 percent literacy" and varying forms of anti-corruption initiatives. Theses parties which so often present themselves as the voice of the people and promise to be the champion of the common man pledge to provide the

solutions to issues that have persisted for decades and in some instances much longer. They promise to be unlike former governments and pledge to get the job done.

At times, they also offer a more general promise to preserve cultural values and facilitate the return of a glorified past. Against the back drop of scandal ridden and corruption filled politics, they present themselves as the champion of 'victims' and promise to remain pure, above reproach, and unsullied by politics as usual. With the help of charismatic politicians they capitalize on the insecurities of voters with promises of preserving identity. Since these parties are often driven by ideology, they cater to their base by promising the propagation of a specific ideology.

Participants in Government

Making promises are much easier than actually keeping them. As participants in government, AS parties are now viewed differently. They no longer have the comfort of being spectators on the sidelines. No longer can they mobilize support on single issues. Promises to curtail the influx of asylum seekers, immigrants and the appeasement of minority groups now have to be implemented via policy.

AS parties are now also responsible for the mundane tasks of government whether it be maintaining water systems, improving transportation or increasing the quality of health and education. Furthermore, the compulsion of coalition politics which is evident in many parliamentary democracies with PR systems, involves a lot of give and take, and AS parties are often unable to follow through on promises made to their base. Having campaigned on promises to change the system, they now find they are unable to do so. The issues they once "owned" are in some instances co-opted by mainstream parties which decrease their appeal of representing that which is different. Furthermore,

one of the strengths of these parties is their efficient organizational structure. Internal disputes that develop due to the competing visions of party pragmatists and radicals place strains on the party's cohesiveness. Tensions between these competing elements send mixed messages to party stalwarts and the party looses focus.

These parties that emerged with calls for reform now find themselves unable to keep their promises. The section of the electorate that voted for them based on their claim of being "different" and the catalyst of change, as well as those that truly sought to further a specific ideology become disillusioned by the party's inability to deliver.

Trends in Literature

There are four major trends in literature that can be broadly categorized under economic, political and social factors. More specifically, the success of AS parties can be further categorized under the headings electoral systems, economic conditions, disaffection with established parties, politics of resentment and party systems.

The majority of literature concerning AS parties center on the factors that contribute to the success of this party type. In particular, a significant amount of attention has been given to the rise of the extreme right in Europe. As a result, much of the following review references those analysts who have explored the rise of AS parties in Western Europe. Whenever possible, a concerted effort has been made to stay away from region specific analysis, and instead include explanations that look at AS parties as a whole.

Electoral Systems

The impact of electoral systems on election results has been the topic of study for numerous years. Maurice Duverger's seminal work laid the foundation for future work on the relationship between electoral systems and new party success. Duverger argued that simple majority single ballot systems favor a two party system. Duverger also found that proportional representation and simple majority two-ballot systems provide room for multi-partyism (Duverger 1959, 214, 239). He argued that the fragmenting effect of the two ballot system would result in multiple new parties competing in the first round, and then negotiating for representation through coalitions in the second. Duverger based his argument on what he termed as "mechanical" and "psychological" effects of electoral

systems. For Duverger, the "mechanical effect" was the manner by which the proportion of votes was translated into actual seats. The "psychological" effect was the electorate's response to that reality. In other words, voters may abstain from voting for a particular party if they perceived that their vote would be wasted. Since Duverger, numerous other political scientists have researched the relationship between electoral systems and new parties. For some, there is a significant relationship between the two. Others, while they may agree that a relationship exists, still attest that the influence of electoral laws on party success is minimal (Carter 2002, 126).

Kitschelt and McGann, in their study of the extreme right, argue that while it is 'undeniable' that electoral laws impact the party system, "there is only a modest correlation between electoral laws and the strength of the extreme Right in Europe" (Kitschelt and McGann 1995, 58). Kitschelt calls the electoral systems impact a 'run of the mill' factor and argues that it does not explain the variations of support for new parties over time. He uses Britain as an example, and argues that while electoral laws have remained constant since 1945, support for several minor parties, and in particular the British extreme right, has fluctuated over the years (Kitschelt and McGann 1995, 58, 101, 245).

Similarly, Carter acknowledges that "although there is no doubt that proportional systems make life easier for small parties such as those of the extreme right, neither the district magnitude, nor the electoral formula, nor even the proportionality profile of the different systems as a whole helps account for the differing levels of success these parties have experienced" (Carter 2002, 138). Abedi, joins Carter and also argues that "there is

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no significant relationship between anti-establishment vote share and the electoral system' effective threshold" (Abedi 2004, 136).

On the other side of the argument, Rohrschneider believes that there is a strong correlation between the two. In his analysis of "New Left" parties, Rohrschneider found that these parties had a greater likelihood of success in cases where established parties were not protected by electoral laws (Rohrschneider, 1993, 696). Similarly, Jackman and Volpert, in their analysis of 103 elections in sixteen countries, find that "..increasingly electoral thresholds dampen support for the extreme right as the number of parliamentary parties expands" (Jackman and Volpert 1996, 516).

Schedler joins Jackman, Volpert and Rohrschneider and attests that the majority of parties that are institutionalized (as designated by Rose and Mackie's criteria of party representation in three consecutive elections) "can be found in parliamentary systems with proportional representation" (Schedler 1996, 305). In his analysis of anti-establishment parties, Schedler found that lower thresholds which are common in parliamentary systems demonstrate a higher capacity for the proliferation of such parties. Harmel and Robertson also agree with Schedler that structural factors like the electoral system may affect the success of new parties (Harmel and Robertson 1985, 517).

Lastly, Van Der Brug, Fennema and Tillie, in their analysis of anti-immigrant parties in particular, refer to the "electoral opportunity structure" as influencing their success. For these analysts, "electoral opportunity structure" consists of the extent of the PR system and main stream party competition (Van Der Brug, Fennema and Tillie 2005, 563).

Economic Conditions

Lewis-Beck and Stegmaier, in their voluminous review of the literature surrounding the relationship between voting behavior and economic conditions, found that when times are good, incumbent governments are rewarded and when times are bad they are punished (Lewis and Stegmaier 2000, 183. Lewis-Beck 2006, 208).While this may be the popular sentiment concerning the relationship between economics and voting, some researchers share an opposing view.

Proponents of the economic voting thesis suggest that voters withhold their support of the incumbent government not only when economic conditions are experiencing a downward trend, but also when they have exhibited a poor economic record. Using unemployment and inflation data as indicators, these political scientists argue that it is under these conditions that AS parties benefit. The opposing hypothesis suggests that under the same conditions, voters when faced with the choice of established parties or anti-system parties vote in favor of established parties. In this case, voters make the assumption that established parties have both past experience and recognizable policy programs (Knigge 1998, 270).

Knigge in her study of Western European right wing extremist parties makes the distinction between macro and micro- level conditions. Knigge finds that while "unemployment may influence right wing extremism on the individual or group level; it nonetheless fails to exert a similar effect at the macro-level. In fact, Knigge goes a step further and suggests that high inflation and unemployment could erode their support (Knigge 1998, 208, 268). For Lucardie, inflation and unemployment can be categorized under what he calls "political opportunity structures". Lucardie argues that "perhaps more

important than objective unemployment figures are objective perceptions of the economic situation and beliefs about the responsibility of government for this situation (Lucardie 2000, 81).

Andersen and Evans, take the 'economic perceptions' argument a step further. In their analysis of the British electoral cycle during the years 1995- 97, Anderson and Evans find the connection between economic conditions and voting to be overstated. They argue that economic perceptions are highly influenced by partisanship loyalty which acts as a 'filter' when evaluating economic performance (Andersen and Evans 2006, 194 203).

Using data that covers elections in 19 countries between the years 1945-99, Abedi found that electoral outcomes for AS parties improve during times of high unemployment. On the contrary, Abedi using the 'misery index' as an indicator, found the absence of a relationship between high inflation and AS party support. Abedi concludes therefore, that economic conditions do not necessarily affect the support for AS parties. Instead, increased levels of employment serve to increase the perception of the government's inability to solve problems (Abedi 2002, 88 118).

Jackman and Volpert, in their regional analysis of right-wing parties come to a similar conclusion. They find that higher rates of unemployment provide an environment that increases the likelihood of AS party success (Jackman and Volpert 1996, 516). Like, Abedi, they too caution that this does not mean that AS parties find their support amongst the "economically marginalized" sections of society. Furthermore, they subscribe to a different connection between high levels of unemployment and support. According to Jackman and Volpert, high levels of unemployment provide the 'fertile ground' for

exclusionary and racist appeals (Jackman and Volpert 1996, 517). It is toward this idea

that I now turn our attention.

Politics of Resentment

Also central to the success of AS parties, is their ability to mobilize support based

on popular resentment. Many political scientists have drawn correlations between their

successes, and the changes that have occurred in post industrialized societies. For these

analysts, growing insecurity as a result of those changes has given AS parties the

opportune environment to formulate their appeal. In an effort to mobilize support, they

manipulate feelings of insecurity and ruffled identity and adopt rhetoric that skillfully

uses country specific grievances to their advantage. For Example, in Western Europe

rising immigration has been an issue of 'resentment'. In Australia (One Nation), New

Zealand (New Zealand First) and India (BJP) politics of resentment have focused on

alleged preferential treatment of minorities and indigenous populations.

 Hainsworth, in reference to Radical Right-Wing parties states:

> ".. the rhetoric of these parties is often based upon a vision of the nation supreme, heroic, pure and unsullied by alien forces such as Third World immigration and communist ideology. In some instances, extreme right nationalism is tied up with colonial experience and reference points are times of national grandeur or some idealized 'golden age'" (Hainsworth 1992, 10).

According to Betz, their success is representative of the 'psychological strain

associated with uncertainties produced by large scale socio-economic and socio-structural

change" (Betz 1998, 8).

Betz in reference to what he calls the radical populist right in Western Europe states:

> Its success at the polls shows that the radical populist right has become the champion of growing resentment and hostility toward foreigners. Against the prospects of a future multi-cultural, multiethnic European society, right wing populist parties have successfully promoted themselves as the advocated and guardians of an exclusive national culture (Betz 1996, 417).

According to Knigge, hostility toward 'out groups' such as asylum seekers, immigrants and foreigners is exploited by AS parties who unabashedly draw correlations between the increase of 'out groups' and the increase in crime and unemployment. Knigge argues that this is due more to a general identity crises as opposed to rising unemployment or other factors. For Knigge, concern over immigration may well be a symptom of more general fears like "perceptions of incompatible group interest' or "the struggle over scarce material resources" (Knigge 1998, 270 272).While Kitschelt agrees with Knigge and Betz, he cautions that politics of resentment such as immigration serve as only a catalyst and broader appeal has to be captured in order to achieve success (Kitschelt and McGann 1995, viii).

Party Systems

The influence of party systems on the electoral fortune of AS parties has also been a topic of discussion. A more knowledgeable electorate has resulted in declining party loyalty over the last two decades. Today, voters are more likely to make decisions based on performance rather than loyalty. As Ignazi explains "voter's no longer sign a blank checque" and are "now freer to move from one party to another; switching party allegiance is less and less a traumatic experience" (Ignazi 1996, 550).

Accompanying the decline in party membership is the lack of ideological distance between mainstream parties. For Mair, issues that matter most to the electorate, such as unemployment and inflation are constrained by the globalized economy which makes it impossible for established parties to pursue truly different programs (Mair 2002, 85).   In studying AS parties in 19 democracies including Japan, Iceland, Canada and Australia, Abedi finds that AS parties usually benefit from the close positioning of establishment parties on the left-right scale (Abedi 2004, 137). For Abedi, it is "the 'overcrowding' of the centre that enables anti-establishment parties to gain an electoral foothold in the established party systems of many advanced industrial democracies" (Abedi 2002, 570). As Abedi states:

> "The fact that many established parties increasingly fail to present voters with a programmatic or ideological identity that is noticeably different from that of their competitors, contributes to the growing alienation that a part of the electorate feels toward these parties. The established parties are seen as components of a basically undifferentiated political class" (Abedi 2004, 104).

Kitschelt and McGann also agree with Abedi and argue that the inability of established parties to present new and ideological different programs results in all of them being grouped together and opens up space for AS parties to succeed. For Kitschelt and McGann, AS parties are successful where "moderate left and right parties have converged toward centrist positions and may even have cooperated in coalition governments (Kitschelt and McGann 1995, 48) Similarly, Hainsworth refers to a "vacuum" that is the result of the reduced ideological distance between established parties (Hainsworth 1992, 11).

On the other side of the argument lies Ignazi, who argues that it is the increased polarization in the party system as well as the enlargement of political space that can be linked to the success of such parties (Ignazi 1992, 25).

Also, associated with the lack of ideological distance is the influence of grand coalitions and general collusion among established parties. Katz and Mair first introduced the idea of a "Cartel Party". They argued that cartel parties emerge when there is close cooperation between parties, patronage appointments, and state support for parties. It is in this environment that AS parties emerge with campaign calls that promise to 'break the mould'. They gain "great mileage from their assumed capacity to break up what they often refer to as the 'cozy' arrangement that exist between the established political alternative" (Katz and Mair 1995, 24).

Abedi agrees with Katz and Mair to the extent of a 'cartel phenomenon' serving as the fertile ground for AS parties. Abedi using grand coalition governments as an indicator of a highly cartelized system finds that AS parties profit from the presence of a grand coalition government at the time of the election (Abedi 2004, 136). Taggart joins Abedi, Katz and Mair and considers "highly cartelized" party systems to be the fertile ground for successful AS parties to emerge. However, Taggart goes a step further and considers countries with traditions of long standing one party dominance (Italy) or consociational democracies like Belgium, the Netherlands, Switzerland and Austria as "highly cartelized" party systems (Taggart 1996, 63 2002, 64).

Disaffection with Political System: The electorate as "outsiders"

At the base of this argument lies the ability of AS parties to capitalize on the voter's disaffection with the political system and their perception of being 'outside' the process. In his discussion of new parties in Europe in the mid 1980's, Ignazi notes:

> "dissatisfaction with the 'traditional' internal mechanism of mass parties, with their bureaucratization, with the unresponsiveness of their leaders, with the insignificant role of individual members, with the absence of a sense of community, all pushed active, young well educated citizens to look for a different locus for expressing their wills" (Ignazi 1996, 554).

These parties portray themselves as advocates of the people and at the same time promote a "renewal" of the old political order (Betz, 1993, 679). Furthermore, voters' disaffection also stems from the perception of not having a voice. Slogans like Jorg Haider's "He says what we (only dare) think" or references to the political elite as "the maharajas (Collor de Mello), "the political mafia" (Flemish Bloc), "the people in Washington (Ross Perot) and "the knights of privilege' (Haider) are all examples (Betz 2002 199, Schedler 1996, 295). AS parties, according to Betz, argue that there are simple solutions to the most complex problems and that the "common people despite possessing moral superiority and innate wisdom, have been denied the opportunity to make themselves heard" (Betz 1998, 4).

Anti-system party elites as the "redeeming hero"

Tossutti uses the term "political distrust" to explain the prevailing sentiment that coincides with the success of an AS party. For Tossutti, "political distrust" means distrust of the political system on one hand, and distrust of the political elite on the other (Tossutti 1996, 435). Tossutti in his analysis of the Italy's Northern League and Canada's

Reform Party, finds distrust of the incumbent political elite was more significant than any distrust of the political system. Betz also highlights distrust and argues that "more than anything else political distrust gave rise to a political climate propitious to a new political force capable and willing to exploit is as a salient political issue" (Betz 1994, 170).

According to Schedler, AS parties view the political environment as that of a triangle. They present the political elite as the "malicious rogues", the citizens as the "innocent victim" and themselves as the "redeeming hero" (Schedler 1996, 293).

Mainstream Parties inability to solve Problems

For Betz, it is no small coincidence that the rise of such parties coincides with a general disaffection to the political system. According to Betz, their ability to translate disaffection into strategic attacks on mainstream parties, and their problems (inefficiency, corruption etc) has increased their appeal (Betz 1993, 679). AS parties use popular themes like globalization, culture, corruption unemployment and identity to illustrate that mainstream parties have in fact "failed" the people. It is in this context that they proclaim to offer a "new" alternative to the status quo. The most successful of AS parties have strong organizational structures and charismatic, media savvy leaders who have campaigned against areas neglected by mainstream parties. With the use of 'crafty rhetoric' they offer seemingly new solutions to neglected issues (Hainsworth 2000, 14).

In the previous discussion I have explored different variations to the AS party definition, as well as discussed the literature involving the success of this party type. Exploration of the literature has displayed some common themes including the influence of electoral systems, disaffection with established parties, popular resentments, party

systems and economic factors. We now turn our attention to a discussion of the rise of

both the FPO and BJP.

<center>**India and the Bharatiya Janata Party**</center>

In a mere fifteen years India's Bharatiya Janata Party moved from the outskirts of the Indian political process to become the majority ruling party in a coalition government. The Indian electorate in the 11th Lok Sabha (India's lower house) election of 1984 awarded the BJP with only two seats. Fifteen years later, the BJP won 182 seats and 34 percent of the vote. In a multi party system where regional parties continue to grow, it is significant that the BJP was able to move from political periphery to center so rapidly.

Historical Background of the BJP

In order to understand the rise of the BJP, one must first look to the origins of Hindu nationalism. India has always been preoccupied with the idea of national identity. Colonialism and the struggle for independence motivated Indians to form an identity that was unique. This quest for national identity resulted in the formation of two competing identities. Indian Nationalism on one hand, and Hindu nationalism on the other. After independence, Jawaharlal Nehru and other political elites turned to Western democracies and the principles of secularism to form a national identity. These elites made a conscious attempt to stay away from the cultural heritage of the majority religion. As a result, the Nehruvian model was founded on secular principles that were borrowed from the West. The growth of Hindu nationalism was the response to their efforts (Malik and Singh 1995, 29).

Hindu nationalism originated in the 1920's. These nationalists believed that the role of the state was to fulfill the vision of Hindu texts. This ideology not only glorified the "golden age" of the past, but also believed that the future should be guided by Hindu

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tradition. Their goal was to form a cohesive Hindu identity which would transcend the plurality of Hinduism itself. For Hindu nationalists, the 'Hindu identity' equaled the 'Indian identity' (Malik and Singh 1995, 249).

It was in this environment that the BJP's predecessor, the Jana Sangh emerged. The Jana Sangh was formed in 1951 by S. P. Mookerjee and based its ideology on Hindu nationalism. The party after having limited success at the polls sought the help of the Rastriya Swayamsevak Sangh or association of volunteers. The RSS was a militant Hindu organization with a healthy cadre. S.P. Mookerjee realized that in order to gain mass appeal he would need the help of the RSS. At the same time the RSS, while not wanting to become a political party, realized that their association with the Jana Sangh would enable them to influence the political arena. The Jana Sangh entered electoral politics for the first time in 1952. Its performance was not exemplary. However, it did make progress. In 1952, the Jana Sangh received 3.06 percent of the vote. By 1967 it progressed to 8.77 percent. While the appeal of the Jana Sangh expanded, the party still remained largely a political pariah due to its association with the RSS. Electoral reality and the dominance of the Congress party convinced the opposition that in order to compete they would have to establish coalition partners (Malik and Singh 1995, 31 Jaffrelot 1996, 119).

The continued dominance of the of the Congress as well as Indira Gandhi's emergency rule from June 1975 to February 1977, prompted the leaders of smaller parties to come together and form one united party called the Janata Party. This party was the combination of several minor parties including the socialist party, Lok Dal, Bharatiya Jana Sangh and others. The party's motivation was two fold. Party leaders not only

wanted to improve their performance in mainstream politics, but also wanted to shed the party's image of being an upper caste largely Hindi belt party. It was not surprising that the Janata party had internal struggles. The party's groups did not share the same ideology. Also, the struggle for power within the party caused the party to become berated by internal conflicts. The party's poor performance in the 1980 General election caused party leadership to point fingers at each other and as a result the Jana Sang element of the party decided to part ways. The Jana Sangh's leadership realized that in order to continue to broaden the party's appeal, and improve its image, the party would have to reinvent itself. Returning to a Jana Sangh party would in fact, be a step backward. In order to convince the electorate that they were committed to the same ideals, they would have to form a new party. On April 5, 1980 the Bharatiya Janata party was born.

Unlike its predecessor the Jana Sangh, the BJP has become a major player in Indian politics. The party's rise from virtual obscurity in the Lok Sabha election in 1984 to form a coalition government in 1999 is noteworthy (see Table 1). The fact that this occurred in India's multi-party system is even more significant. It would be inaccurate to assume that the BJP, due to its ideological roots and alignment with Hindu sentiments, sought to create a Hindu state. On the contrary, the goals of the BJP during this period were not unlike most political parties. They sought to prevent extinction, expand their base and ultimately gain control of government. In order to accomplish these goals the party leadership adopted a two pronged strategy which can be broadly categorized as pragmatic politics on one hand and a manipulation of ideology on the other. The BJP's ability to remain flexible and juggle both strategies was undoubtedly a contributory factor to their success. The following brief discussion, detailed chronologically is intended to

demonstrate the party's flexibility and is followed by a more expanded analysis of the factors that played a role in their journey from periphery to center.

Table 1: Electoral Success of the Bharatiya Janata Party 1984-1999

Lok Sabha Period	Total no. of seat	No. of seats won	Percentage of vote
Eight	522	2	0
Ninth	543	86	16
Tenth	543	119	22
Eleventh	543	161	30
Twelfth	543	182	34
Thirteenth	543	114	21

Source: Election Commission of India, C.P. Bhambhri: 1999, 245.

As Partha Ghosh notes, the BJP electoral strategy during the party's rise to power can be characterized into three phases. The first phase centered on 'Ghandian Socialism' and was largely influenced by Atal Behari Vajpayee. In the early eighties, *Hindutva*, roughly translated as the Hindu way of life, took a back seat and was not used as the primary tool to garner votes. This strategy had its shortcomings however; as the absence of *Hindutva* helped erode the party's base. The party's commitment to openness and socio-economic oriented programs did not increase the number of new recruits (Malik and Singh 318). Instead, symbols of the majority religion's themes were now used effectively by the dominant Congress party. Confusion in the rank and file over the party's goals caused Vajpayee to resign as party president and in 1986 L.K. Advani took the helm. Advani's strategy was unabashedly centered on Hindu resurgence. He criticized the Congress party of minority appeasement and advocated such initiatives as the banning of cow slaughter. This strategy proved successful and the party journeyed

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from winning 2 seats in 1984 to 86 seats in 1989 (see Table 1). By the mid-nineties, the

BJP realized the *Hindutva* theme had lost some its appeal and toned down its message.

The party's electoral strategy was again influenced by the more moderate Vajpayee and

became a mixture from the vision of both leaders (Ghosh 1999, 87 Malik and Singh

1992, 325). During this phase, the party made an effort to reach out to the lower classes

of society and even appeal to the Muslim vote. The BJP's strategy yielded huge electoral

gains in the latter half of the nineties and in 1999, the party assumed power.

How did an anti-system party in secular India come to power? Was it the party's

ability to be flexible and continually change electoral strategies? Or was it the result of a

changing India over the last two decades of the 20th century? The following discussion

explores some of the contributory factors that played a role in the BJP's rise to power.

Critical Events - Babri Masjid at Ayodhya

1n 1528 the Mughal emperor Babur built a mosque at Ayodhya in the state of

Uttar Pradesh called the Babri Masjid. Ayodhya is considered to be a holy site by Hindus

who believe it to be the *Ramjanambhoomi* or the birthplace of Ram, the Hindu deity. The

British in an effort to prevent communal disturbances took control of the site in 1859. In

1949, Hindu zealots placed a Ram shrine in the mosque. In response, the Indian

government closed the site. The controversy over the site had existed for close to a

century and despite occasional disputes had remained primarily a local issue. In 1985, the

VHP, rattled by the Congress government's involvement in the Shah Bano case decided

to resurrect the issue and asked that the Babri Masjid be unsealed. The Rajiv Gandhi

government in an attempt to avoid a Hindu backlash asked that Hindus be allowed to

worship in the mosque. Shortly thereafter, the VHP came up with plans to build the Ram

temple. The VHP argued that the mosque been deliberately built on the site of the temple in order to humiliate Hindus. In order to right the wrong they wanted the Babri Masjid destroyed and the temple rebuilt in its place The BJP recognized an opportunity to mobilize the Hindu majority and seized it (Ganguly 2003, 18 Anderson 1998, 227). It is important to note that the BJP benefited not only by championing a sensitive issue, but also from the Congress party's inability to handle the issue effectively. As C.P Bhambhri notes "it is the logic of competitive politics that political parties gain in strength on the basis of their own mobilization and also on the basis of support or weakness of other contestants in elections" (Bhambhri 1999, 99). In the case of the Ayodhya issue, the Congress government led by Rajiv Gandhi was reluctant to get involved. In fact, Gandhi further incited the situation by not only launching his election campaign from Faizabad, a town near Ayodhya, but also by supporting the foundation stone of the proposed temple to be laid next to the Babri Masjid mosque. The controversy continued and on December 6, 1992 the mosque was demolished by Hindu militants under "the leadership of the VHP and the sadhus and in the presence of BJP leaders including Advani" (Ghosh 1999, 258).

Critical Events – The Shah Bano Case

In April 1985, the Indian Supreme Court delivered a verdict that granted Shah Bano, a Muslim divorced woman financial support from her former husband. The verdict however, contradicted Muslim Personal law. The subsequent intervention of the Congress government by passing a Bill that voided the decision led to mass protest. The decision to intervene by the Congress had lasting repercussions, as it sent the message that the government could be swayed by populist means. The BJP seized the opportunity to not

only criticize the Congress government, but also used the issue to validate their claim of minority appeasement and in this case Muslim appeasement (Hansen 1999, 148). By manipulating these critical events, the BJP capitalized on renewed insecurities and anxieties that have existed for centuries.

Strategic Alliances

In the early 1980's the Congress party dominated Indian politics. Timing is everything and flexibility is crucial. The BJP during the 1990's oscillated between strategies of 'on our own' to 'all in the family' with India's non-communist parties. The leadership sought to promote the party as an alternative to the Congress. They were also realistic however, and aware of the party's deficiencies. The party had a strong organizational structure, but it also lacked a broad base. The leadership realized that electoral alliances would have to be made in order to become a credible opposition to the Congress. As a result, the BJP chose to form alliances with parties that had strong regional support. The strategy worked and the party managed to form three coalition governments. In 1996, the BJP was a part of the coalition government that lasted 13 days. In a multi - party system, where regional parties continue to determine electoral outcomes, it was important for the BJP to form alliances with regional parties (see Table 2). Their alliance with Jayalalitha and the AIADMK, a formidable political player in the southern state of Tamil Nadu was especially significant because prior to 1998 the party had been perceived mainly a "cow belt" party (Kantha 1999, 355). The BJP won three seats in south India as a result of their alliance with the AIADMK and gave the party the mainstream party label it desired. Furthermore, the support base of the BJP from the onset came from the upper levels of society. While the party made an effort to increase its

share of the rural and under privileged vote, any gains in this regard can be attributed more to the party's allies than to the party itself. In fact, a 1999 post election survey conducted by the Center for the Study of Developing Societies, New Delhi, and the Indian news magazine *Frontline*, indicates that 50 percent of the voters surveyed agreed that loyalty to region come before loyalty to India, while only 22 percent disagreed and 23 percent had no opinion. By making electoral alliances the BJP was able to overcome the trend of the Indian electorate identifying itself more with regional parties.

Table 2: BJP Electoral Alliances with Regional Parties

State	Party	No. of seats won
Andhra Pradesh	TDP	29
Bihar	RJD	7
Maharastra	Shiv Sena	15
Maharastra	NCP	6
Manipur	NCP	1
Meghalaya	NCP	1
Orissa	BJP	10
Tamil Nadu	DMK	12
Tamil Nadu	AIADMK	10
Uttar Pradesh	SP	26
Uttar Pradesh	BSP	14
West Bengal	TC	8

Source: Centre for the Study of Developing Societies and
Frontline 1999 Election Survey, Nov. 19, 1999.

Charismatic Leadership

Atal Bihari Vajpayee and Lal Krishnan Advani are credited with being the most recognizable faces of the BJP. While Vajpayee is considered to be more moderate, Advani openly appealed to the majority religion's sentiment. It is interesting to note that these leaders often adopted differing strategies at the same time. Vajpayee was driven

more by pragmatic politics while Advani appealed unabashedly to ideology and used religious symbols to mobilize the vote. One such example was Advani's five hundred mile *Ratha Yatra* or chariot journey in September 1990.The *Ratha Yatra* was in response to the Mandal Commission. In 1990, the Mandal Commission, a government initiative, instituted a quota which granted that 27 percent of Central government jobs be reserved for the socially and educationally backward. This was in addition to the 23 percent of jobs reserved for scheduled castes and scheduled tribes. This reduction of opportunities was ill received by India's upper classes and created greater social division. The BJP leadership, worried that the expanded quota system would cause rifts amongst the Hindu vote, decided to mobilize the masses on the Ayodhya issue. Advani's yatra in an air conditioned Toyota made to look like a chariot was intended to consolidate the vote (Malik and Singh 1995, 88).

Global Influence

The influence that critical events, charismatic leadership and strategic alliances had on the BJP's rise to power has been discussed by numerous scholars. However, there is another factor that has not been explored as well which is the influence the global environment had on India during the last decade of the twentieth century. One of the most significant phenomenon's of the 1990's was the emergence of globalization. In an inter-connected world, it is likely this phenomenon played a role in the rise of the party as well. As Bhambhri states, "any powerful 'ideology' or 'social idea' can become acceptable only when the social situation is ripe for it" (Bhambhri 2001, 59). The "desire for recognition within an increasingly global horizon , and the simultaneous anxieties of

being encroached upon by the Muslims, the plebeians and the poor over the last decade have prompted millions of Hindus to respond to the call of Hindutva at the polls" (Hansen 1999, 5).

In 1991, India experienced a huge fiscal crisis which resulted in the economy embarking on much needed reform. In response to the balance of payments crisis, the government sought foreign investment and a significant number of middle and upper middle class Indians embraced the idea of free markets, free foreign investments, and market competition. The unfortunate result of a liberalized Indian economy was the widening gap between rich and poor. The disparities between the two which were always present now became even more noticeable. However, this was not the only social cleavage that became more pronounced in the 1990's. Fractionalization based on caste, religion and region was also evident. The electorate responded by selecting a party that advocated Hindu nationalism. Those not mobilized by ideology chose to vote for regional parties, who in some cases, were allies of the BJP and thus helped both parties. Furthermore, the fall of the communist state system in Eastern Europe also weakened the ideological advantages that the left parties had traditionally enjoyed among India's educated middle class. The BJP's slogan "you have tested all others many times; why not test us only for once" resonated with the growing middle class who sought a unified state (Malik and Singh 1992, 335).

The Rise of the Freedom Party

The rise of right wing parties in Europe during the 1980's and 1990's is not limited to Austria alone. From Italy's, Northern league to France's, National Front, Europe has experienced a rise of anti-system parties. Austria's Freedom Party is significant because of the party's rapid journey from political outsider with less than 10 percent of the vote in 1986, to 27 percent in 1999.

Historical Background of the Freedom Party

While the primary focus of this chapter is the rise of the Freedom party from 1986 to 1999, it is important that we first understand the party's origin. After WWII and the collapse of the Nazi regime, the only viable choice for Austria was liberal democracy. It was simply practical politics. The political elite at the time realized that nothing could be gained from touting German nationalism. The allied occupation from 1945-1955 and Austria's inclusion in the Marshall Plan made sure Austria chose democracy.

After WWII, maintaining political and economic stability was of utmost importance to Austria's political elite, and for several decades they succeeded. These elites realized the cooperation was necessary in order to enjoy political stability. As a result, the two leading parties, the Peoples Party or OVP and the Socialist Party or SPO set up as system called *Proporz*. The *Proporz* system ensured that the top jobs were equally divided amongst the two parties to ensure a sense of checks and balances. These elites also chose not to confront Austria's involvement in Nazism. In an effort to bury the past, they chose to bind former Nazi party members into the democratic political process. The FPO's predecessor, the League of Independents was formed to be the party for over

536,000 former Nazi members. By including them into the mainstream process, they

hoped to prevent a significant opposition bloc developing. For several decades, the plan

worked and the VdU did have some electoral success. However, they never developed a

clear unifying message. Poor organizational structure and the absence of a clear message

resulted in the loss of the party's base. As a result, the FPO was formed under the

leadership of former SS officer Anton Reinthaller in order to fill the gap

(Morrow 2000, 43).

In the 1960's and 70's, Austria enjoyed political stability as well as economic

prosperity. Even more significant was the country's independent foreign policy which

maintained neutrality during the Cold War. The lower levels of society were satisfied

with the continued expansion of the welfare state and foreign influences were kept at bay

due the Iron Curtain. The two ruling parties, the SPO and OVP did not consider the FPO

a threat because the party's electoral success continued to remain limited. In fact, some

members of the political elite believed that the party changed course and discarded its

Nazi past. The party still had a right wing base, but now had more liberal leadership. The

leadership would eventually break off to form the *Liberal forum*, but in the meantime,

this new side of the Freedom Party allowed it in 1983, to become a coalition partner with

the SPO under the leadership of Fred Sinowatz (Morrow 2000, 43). By the mid 1980's,

the political and economic environment began to unravel. Growing economic concerns

and corruption in the political system caused the masses to become disenchanted. The

shortage of jobs in traditional industries, including agriculture, helped increase anxieties.

It was in this changing environment that Jorg Haider, who was the FPO leader in

Carinthia at the time, took centre stage. Haider, by his own manipulation was voted head of the FPO during the 1986 FPO Congress in Innsbruck.

The FPO under the leadership of Haider moved from the outskirts of Austrian politics to become a part of the coalition government (see Table 3). The following is a brief discussion of their flexible electoral strategy and is arranged chronologically. This discussion is followed by a more in depth analysis in an attempt to answer the 'why' behind the party's success.

Table 3: Election Results of OVP, SPO and FPO from 1986-1999

		SPO	OVP	FPO
1986	% Vote	43.1	41.3	9.7
	Seats	80	77	18
1990	% Vote	42.8	32.1	16.6
	Seats	80	60	33
1994	% Vote	34.9	27.7	22.5
	Seats	65	52	42
1995	% Vote	38.1	28.3	21.9
	Seats	71	53	40
1999	% Vote	33.2	26.9	26.9
	Seats	65	52	52

Source: Heinisch 2002, 119.

The Freedom party was born into a consociational democratic environment. The Socialist Democrats (SPO) and the Conservative (OVP) had shared power since the 1955 State Treaty. They monopolized access to the government and allowed limited access to the large public sector. The boards of state control companies were made up of state appointees rather than independent experts. Competition was stifled, the welfare state continued to expand and generous social benefits kept the political environment stable.

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However, as the economic climate changed, party loyalty started to shift. In 1986, the FPO equipped with Haider and his populist message was able to capitalize on the gap between the values of the elite and the electorate (Luther 2002, 438).

The FPO in the early 1990's adopted a strategy that focused on socio-cultural appeals. In addition to their anti-statist populist message, they also spoke against immigration and questioned the value of EU integration. This strategy received support from two different segments of society, the lower middle class and the Austrian business owner. In the latter half of the 1990's, the FPO altered their socio-economic strategy and the new version now included more social benefits. While the party still called for a flat tax and 'realistic' pension reform, they also advocated child benefits. By adopting a strategy which was a combination of free market principles and a welfare state, they were able to cover the interests of most. The reason for the party's 'ideological promiscuity' (see Luther 2000, 437) was voter maximization. It is important to note that there is little apparent difference between the official platforms of the FPO and the OVP. It is the rhetoric of Jorg Haider's including his admiration for German tradition that distinguishes the two parties (McGann and Kitschelt 2005, 152).

Charismatic Leadership of Jorg Haider

The Freedom party prior to Haider's arrival was not considered a contender in Austrian politics. In fact, electoral results remained at 5 percent from the party's inception through the mid eighties. Haider is credited with transforming the FPO from a poorly organized party with limited electoral success, to one that became the second largest party in the 1999 coalition government. As Reinhard Heinisch states, "no political

organization in Austria has been more profoundly shaped by its leader than the Freedom

party, which is in large measure responsible for the transformation of the nation"

(Heinisch 2002, 86). How did Haider do it? How did a politician who was considered by

many outside Austria, as a neo-Nazi, become accepted enough to take centre stage? The

answer lies in the carefully crafted Haider persona that was projected to the electorate.

For many, the SPO and OVP leadership represented the past and the source of present

grievances. Haider, young and handsome (he was thirty eight when he became party

chairman) with star like quality, represented the future. Haider dominated the media. His

suntanned television appearances and ability to capture the sound bite was influential in

the FPO's popularity. Haider chose to portray himself as a modern politician whose

ideological beliefs were not centered in the past. His passion for expensive sports cars

and designer clothes along with his flair for dramatic stunts, including bungee jumping,

helped cultivate the trendy image he wanted to project (Heinisch 2002, 90).

Haider's rhetoric was also controversial. In an address to WWII veterans,

including former SS members in October 1990, Haider said, "Your sacrifices will only be

recognized in the next few years for what they were, because European development will

make it clear that you built the foundation for peace and freedom" (Heinisch 2002, 87).

In a legendary television interview that sparked a national debate Haider said

"You know as well as I, that the Austrian nation is a miscarriage, an ideological

miscarriage, because belonging to a people is one thing, belonging to a state is

another…if somebody is free to consider himself a Slovene -Austrian…, then it must be

possible to consider oneself a German-Austrian. And this is what we have formulated in

our program" (as quoted in Heinisch 2002, 88).

Considerable debate has been given to whether Haider used such rhetoric to promote German nationalism, or was it simply a matter of an opportunistic politician trying to secure his base. Nevertheless, Haider toned down his message in the late 1990's which indicates he used Nazi terminology only when he thought it would further his quest for power. His right wing ideas "were more designed for maximum popular appeal than ideological rigor" (Heinisch 2002, 93). Slogans like "Simply Honest, Simply Jorg" portrayed him as the 'Robin Hood' of the poor (Morrow 2002, 55). By presenting himself as a political outsider he projected himself as the champion of the down trodden who was going to fight the political establishment on their behalf. Haider was able to successfully monopolize popular resentment. He captivated popular grievances and used them as a tool to increase his base. As John Bunzl notes, "People vote for Jorg Haider because as a gifted populists he manages to bundle together all kinds of grievances and resentments resulting from modernization, globalization, and alienation from political parties and institutions" (Bunzl 2002, 64).

Critical Events – Rethinking Identity

Austria in the last decade of the twentieth century experienced a series of external shocks that influenced internal politics. The political system had enjoyed political and economic stability since WWII due to the two leading party's strangled hold on government. Furthermore, Austria's independent foreign policy of neutrality had become a source of national pride. The changes in the European political landscape in the late eighties and 1990's forced Austria to reconsider old strategies, and question national identity.

Reunification of Germany

Austria had always looked to its northern neighbor for direction. Similar culture, common language and geography kept the two countries close. The reunification of Germany and the accompanying complexities not only made Germany much bigger, but also more self absorbed. Furthermore, economic pressure in Germany caused ripple affects in Austria. The significant number of German tourists that came to Austria each year declined and changes in German industry effected Austria as well. Looser ties with Germany left Austria feeling vulnerable and insecure (Heinisch 2002, 137).

The fall of the Iron Curtain

The dismantling of the 'Iron Curtain' caused an influx of asylum seekers, refugees and labor migrants. According to some estimates by 1993, the total foreign population by 1993 was in excess of 750,000 or approximately 10 percent of the overall population (Heinisch 2002, 136). It was simple geography that these immigrants would choose Austria, as the country had always been an intersection to the different parts of Europe. In response, the party adopted an anti-immigration agenda and in 1992 presented a plan that would go beyond the traditional anti- immigration measures and stop immigration altogether. The party proposed that immigration be halted until the issues of illegal immigration, unemployment and lack of housing be addressed. By adopting this stance, the party intended to manipulate the increasing anti-foreigner hostility in the country and in particular Vienna (Betz 1993, 682). The FPO successfully formed a causal relationship between the influx of immigrants and the increase in unemployment and crime in the minds of the electorate. Slogans such as "Vienna must not become Chicago" and campaigns like "Austria First" resonated with the electorate and especially

blue collar workers who felt that immigrants were infringing on their rights and benefits as Austrians (see Table 4).

Table 4: Social Demographic Profile of FPO Voter, 1986-1999 (%)

		1986	1990	1994	1995	1999
Education/Schooling:	Compulsory Education	6	14	21	18	25
	Trade /Vocational /Technical	11	19	26	27	31
	Advanced/Secondary/University	11	13	19	16	22
Occupation:	Farmers	5	9	15	18	19
	Self-Employed, professionals	15	21	30	28	33
	Blue-Collar Worker	10	21	29	34	47
	White-Collar Worker	13	16	22	22	22
	Civil Servants	9	14	14	17	20
	Housewives	8	11	17	14	25
	Pensioners	11	22	29	23	28
	In Training/School	9	8	18	15	23

Source: Riedlsperger 1998: 35, Heinisch 2002, 121.

Exit polls from elections in Vienna indicated that 41 percent voted for the FPO because of their stance on immigration (see Table 5) and by the 1994 election immigration was definitely 'top of mind' for the Austrian electorate

(Betz 1993, 683 Riedlsperger 1998, 37).

Table 5: Motives of Voting for the FPO – Four Most Frequent Mentions

Year	Motive	Frequency (Percent)
1986	Person, image, ideas of Jorg Haider	54
	Hope for change, breath of fresh air	10
	Fighting corruption, privileges, uncovering scandals	9
	Ideology of FPO	8
1990	Fighting corruption, privileges, uncovering scandals	27
	Person, image ideas of Jorg Haider	23
	"Sticking" it to the "Major Parties" (Government)	11
	Ideology of FPO	9
1994	Fighting Corruption, privileges, uncovering scandals	22
	Person, image ideas of Jorg Haider	17
	Foreigners in Austria	12
	Opposition, Control of the Government	11
1995	Fighting Corruption, privileges, uncovering scandals	20
	Person, image ideas of Jorg Haider	19
	Hope for change	12
	Foreigners in Austria	12
1999	Hope for change/Rejection of Coalition	22
	Foreigners in Austria	14
	Person, image ideas of Jorg Haider	12
	FPO, political ideas and concepts	11

Source: Exit Poll Data, Heinisch 2002, 120.

Global Influences – Changing Austria - Changing Europe

The European Union

The FPO originally supported Austria's membership in the EU. In fact, Jorg

Haider's message in the 1980's centered on changing the guard both politically and

economically. According to Haider, Austria would permanently be "locked out of the

single market" (as quoted in Heinisch 2002, 128), if they did not embrace European

integration. However, in the 1990's the party changed its message. At first, the Austrian

electorate was skeptical about joining the European Union. In fact, surveys indicate that by 1992 the number of Austrians that opposed the accession was close to the number who supported it. The FPO, sensing developing insecurities in certain segments of the population, decided to capitalize on fears and touted a message that glorified Austria of old with its folklore, job security and population devoid of foreigners. By the time of the referendum, the party was vehemently opposed to Austria's accession to the EU.

In February 1994, the referendum passed with a healthy 66.6 in favor of Austrian accession. The turnout at 82.3 percent was significant as well. This reversal in sentiment was primarily due to the government's pro-EU campaign. The government in an effort to ensure that the vote was in favor of EU membership, painted a glossy picture that included almost automatic benefits for the Austrian people. In reality, the government had to make serious cutbacks in many areas including social spending in order to comply with the Maastricht Treaty's convergence criteria. The Austrian electorate quickly became disillusioned. The pro-accession campaign had promised significant benefits and none were forth coming. In fact, they were now experiencing reductions in social benefits in the name of EU membership. The FPO, being the only party not in favor of EU accession, capitalized on voter disillusionment and criticized the SPO and OVP for pandering to European interests to the detriment of the Austrian people (Heinisch 2002, 142).

As the analysis suggests, the BJP and FPO were able to move from political periphery to centre in a short period of time. The multi-party system which characterizes Indian politics could have been an obstacle for the BJP. Instead, by forming electoral alliances with regional parties, they were able to broaden their appeal. The charismatic

leadership of Advani and Vajpayee, along with critical events, enabled the BJP to gain control of government within a mere fifteen years. Likewise, Austria's Freedom party once a political pariah, formed a coalition government with the OVP in 1999. The experiences of both parties have unique features, but our analysis suggests that there are common contributing factors as well. The importance of charismatic leadership is one such factor. In the case of the BJP, L.K Advani successfully manipulated religious symbols which influenced the electorate. Similarly, Jorg Haider can be credited for single handedly reviving the Freedom Party. The most significant common thread however, is the influence globalization had on the electorates of both India and Austria. Both parties with the help of flexible electoral strategies were able to manipulate anxieties that were born from changing regions and a changing world.

AS Parties Performance in Government

AS parties often find the transition from political outsider to governing party difficult. The daily tasks of governance, and accompanying accountability, prevent them from relying on rhetoric and promises alone. They now have to govern. This chapter focuses on the performance of the BJP and Freedom party in government. The intent of this discussion is to explore the idea that failed campaign promises impact the electorates voting behavior in the following election. These unrealizable promises which are often ideologically driven, allow AS parties to loose their allure. The following discussion focuses on the campaign promises of both the FPO and BJP as articulated in their respective party manifestos. Further attention is also given to the rhetoric of party leadership. The analysis of the BJP centers on the issue of corruption, minority policy, and social welfare. The analysis of the Freedom party focuses on immigration, relations with the European Union and social welfare reform.

Performance in Government – Bharatiya Janata Party

Corruption

Corruption has always been present in Indian politics. In fact, according to Transparency International's 1999 Corruption Perceptions Index, India was ranked 72 out of a total of 99 countries. In 2004, India was ranked 90 out of 145 countries surveyed. According to Guharpal Singh, the government's achievements with regard to corruption can be broadly categorized into three areas namely; reviews, legislation brought about by the Supreme Court and legislation intended to limit corruption in public office. The

government's manipulation of these initiatives however, resulted in the outcome being far different than the original intent.

The National Commission on the working of the Constitution (2000-2002) is perhaps the singular most important anti-corruption endeavor of the NDA government. The NCWR report was guided by prior Supreme Court inquiries and offered a list of recommendations that served as the structure for various anti-corruption legislation. The review was far from complementary and stated:

> There is a pervasive impurity [in] the political climate activity. Criminalization of politics, political corruption and the politician-criminal nexus has reached unprecedented levels needing strong systematic changes
> (as quoted in Singh 2005, 138).

The NDA government is credited for initiating legislation based on the report. However, the core of the legislation was significantly influenced by the NDA itself, via delays and often the end result was a much diluted version of the original initiative. For example, the intent of the Freedom of Information Act was to allow background information of political candidates to be made open to the public. The delays in this instance were so significant that in 2002 the Supreme Court ruled that if "the legislation was not passed before the next hearing date; the court would consider the matter on merits and pass the order" (Singh 2005, 141). The NDA government eventually passed the legislation, but it was much diluted from its initial intent.

For several decades, various administrations promised in their respective manifestos a Lok Pal or Ombudsman Bill. In fact, the need for an Ombudsman had been recognized from the early 1960's. However, successive governments had neglected to make any strides with this endeavor and the NDA government had limited success as well. The NDA in their 1999 manifesto promised to "enact the Lok Pal Bill with adequate

powers to deal with corruption charges against anyone, including the Prime Minister"
(NDA Manifesto, 1999. no. 31). The bill calling for an Ombudsman was first introduced
in 1998, 2001 and again in 2003. The prospective legislation was finally referred to a
Parliamentary Joint Select Committee and eventually forgotten. The general election in
2004 stalled the latest version of the Bill and it will be up to successive governments to
make further progress to an issue that has remained on the table for the last thirty six
years (Singh 2005, 141).

Did the NDA keep their promise to fight corruption? The answer is complex. If
we evaluate them on their ability to introduce and not necessarily execute reform via
legislation and reviews, the answer would be "yes". However, when we look deeper into
the legislative process, it becomes clear that the NDA repeatedly impeded the progress of
legislation through orchestrated delays. After review of these delays and the scandals that
occurred during 1999-2004, the answer would most likely be different (see table 6).
Moreover, voters tend to be influenced by news headlines and media sound bites. The
NDA suffered at least three political corruption scandals that received considerable media
attention and are worth mention.

Table 6: NDA government: the voter's report over the last five years

	Improved	Same as before	Deteriorated
Curbing corruption	31	30	22
Security of the country	43	25	13
Employment	17	27	47
India's image in the world	43	25	13
Hindu-Muslim brotherhood	34	26	18
Development of the country	45	23	12

Source: "Vajpayee's popularity alone was not enough". The Hindu, May 20, 2004

The tehelka.com scandal in March 2001 involved BJP party officials accepting bribes. Tehelka.com an internet news service, offered proof (via a sting operation) of defense officials and BJP party chairman, Bangaru Laxman accepting Rs. 100,000 from a supposed representative of a defense supply company. The NDA, as expected procrastinated and an inquiry was not immediately conducted. The commission entrusted with the eventual investigation was predictably slow and after 18 months of review had still not presented a final report (Singh 2005, 144).

The Unit Trust of India US-64 collapse was another well publicized scandal. The UTI was originally formed by an act of parliament and enjoyed the public's confidence for several decades. Despite market fluctuation, the mutual fund had delivered steady returns for the last twenty seven years. The reason was, unlike traditional mutual funds,

the US-64 purchase and selling price was not based on net asset value (NAV), but rather on a fixed price set by the fund's management. As a result, the fund became a favorite among small investors and pension funds who sought steady returns. Unfortunately, the fund's management made poor investment decisions and were allegedly influenced by the Finance Ministry who wanted to demonstrate a positive economic environment. Furthermore, the Prime minister's son- in- law was also accused of influencing the fund's investment choices. In 2001, the fund collapsed and was followed by public outrage. The government followed its usual response path which included denial, investigation via a joint parliamentary committee, blame and limited consequences. In this instance, an inquiry was made through a joint parliamentary committee and the finance ministry was absolved of all wrong doing. Instead, the CEO along with other leadership of Unit Trust of India resigned (The Economic Times, February 15, 2005).

There were other scandals that bereft the NDA during their rule, the explanation of which fall beyond the scope of this paper. It is important to note however, that it was not only the nature of the scandal that affected the NDA, but more importantly, the manner by which they chose to respond.

Minority Relations

The 1999 NDA manifesto pledged a commitment to secularism through the full protection of minorities and stated:

> We appeal to our brothers and sisters of minorities that we whole heartedly extend our hands of friendship…. We want an India which we can all feel part of, in whose future we will all have a stake (NDA Election Manifesto, 1999).

This commitment to secularism was especially important to the 27 percent of population that make up India's minorities. This promise was not important because of population diversity alone, but was necessary because the BJP had campaigned on the *Hindutva* theme at various times during the party's rise to power. Furthermore, the minority population was anxious because the BJP now controlled key minority related ministries including the ministries of Law, Home, Human Resources Home, and Scheduled Tribes and Castes.

Contrary to expectations, the minority policy of the NDA government was not significantly influenced by Hindutva. This outcome was due more to the dynamics of a coalition government than to the desires of the BJP itself. The impact of coalition politics was evident when a program intended to include excerpts of Hindu texts in school curriculum failed. In this case, it was the BJP's ally, the Chief Minister of the southern state of Tamil Nadu, M. Karunanidhi, who objected (Mitra 2005, 86).

Communal violence has always been an issue in India. According to the Home Ministry's data on crime, the number of riots actually decreased during the NDA reign. It is important to note however, that this data does not indicate the duration or the number of deaths involved. With this in mind, we cannot objectively analyze the government's performance with regard to minority relations without discussing the Gujarat riots of 2002.

The Gujarat Riots

There are contradictory reports concerning the cause of the fire that enveloped two train carriages carrying Hindu activists. The death of the activists, who were returning from a trip to Ayodhya to support the construction of the Ram temple on the sight of the Babri Masjid mosque, prompted the violence that followed on February 27, 2002. Initially, it was believed that a Muslim mob in the town of Godhra set fire to the carriages. Four years later in March 2006, the Indian Railway Ministry offered a report that the fire had indeed been caused accidentally (BBC News. March 3, 2006).

The Chief Minister of the ruling BJP state government, Narendra Modi, a BJP cadre member, immediately responded to the train incident and called the killings "a pre-planned violent act of terrorism" (Jaffrelot 2003, 4). On orders of the state government, the bodies were then televised being transported to Ahmedabad. This helped further enrage the Hindu population, and it seemed obvious that repercussions would occur. However, the state government did nothing to prevent the violence that ensued. As a result, hundreds of Muslims including girls and women were killed (Jaffrelot 2003, 4 Human Rights Watch 2002).

The state government and Chief Minister Narendra Modi in particular, have been widely criticized for his involvement in the Gujarat riots. Jaffrelot argues that "the clashes in Gujarat could not have spread so quickly and taken on such proportions unless they had been orchestrated by well-organized actors and the attackers' plan had been prepared prior to the events in Godhra" (Jaffrelot 2003, 5). It is only logical that the state government was aware of the impending crisis or at least the possibility of the like. Yet,

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they did nothing. In fact, Modi has been reported to have allegedly said "Let the Hindu mobs vent their anger" (Frontline, Nov 2005).

The National Human Rights Commission in their April, 2002 report stated:

The Commission is constrained to observe that a serious failure of intelligence and action by the State Government marked the events leading to the Godhra tragedy and the subsequent deaths and destruction that occurred. On the face of it, in the light of the history of communal violence in Gujarat, recalled in the Report of the State Government itself, the question must arise whether the principle of 'res ipsa loquitur' ('the affair speaking for itself') should not apply in this case in assessing the degree of State responsibility in the failure to protect the life, liberty, equality and dignity of the people of Gujarat. The Commission accordingly requests the response of the Central and State Governments on this   matter, it being the primary and inescapable responsibility of the State to protect such rights and to be responsible for the acts not only of its own agents, but also for the acts of non-State players within its jurisdiction and any inaction that may cause or facilitate the violation of human rights.

 According to the Indian constitution the central government can remove a state government with just cause. The BJP led coalition chose not to act. The Central government's involvement or lack of involvement in the Gujarat riots is still open for debate. The fact remains however, that the BJP led state government and Narendra Modi's actions during the crises and the accusations of complicity, is a blot on the record of the BJP and its commitment to a fair and just minority policy.

Social Justice and Human Welfare – Was India Shining?

In a plural society like India, with numerous cross-cutting cleavages, it is understandable why issues of social justice have been on the agenda of governments since independence. India's caste based reservations for SCs, STs and OBCs has been at the corner stone of social justice policy since the 1950's. However, the perception of the

BJP as an upper caste party caused some to wonder if they would remain committed to reservations.

The NDA manifesto (1999) made the following pledges:

Table 7: NDA Manifesto (1999) Commitments to ST's, SC's and OBC'

1	The interests of SCs/STs and OBCs will be adequately safeguarded by appropriate legal, executive and societal efforts and by large scale education and empowerment.
2	Provide legal protection to existing percentages of reservations in government employment and educational institutions at the centre and state levels
3	Continue offerng assistance to SCs,STs and OBCs to ensure their speedy socio-economic development
4	Remove the last vestiges of untouchability from society.
5	Present a National Charter for Social Justice (Samajik Nyay) bases on the principle of social harmony

Source: 1999 National Democratic Alliance (NDA) Manifesto

The BJP led alliance, did not initiate any roll backs to the reservation policy. They established the Ministry of Tribal Affairs with a proclaimed focus on the social and economic development of STs. In addition, changes were also made to the Commission for SC's and ST's. It is unclear if either of these initiatives had any notable impact on the lives of STc or SC's. If we use the total ministry expenditure of Rs.10 million (approximately $221,287) as an indicator, it is more than likely the impact was minimal at best. We can assume therefore, that these initiatives were the result of coalition politics and the potential for electoral support (Rao 2005, 123).

The NDA manifesto also made big promises with regard to the plight of the lower levels of Indian society (see table 8).

Table 8: National Democratic Alliance "Charter of Commitments"

	Charter of Commitments
1	India shall be built by Indians
2	Berozgari Hatao
3	Measure growth by generation of gainful employment
4	A hunger-free India- Food security for all
5	Health for all
6	Potable drinking water to all villages
7	Eradication of illiteracy
8	Primary education to be made free and compulsory up to Class V
9	Elimination of child labour
10	Present a National Charter for Children
11	Comprehensive Administrative Reforms- Police & Civil Service

Source: 1999 National Democratic Alliance (NDA) manifesto.

Exit polls from the 1999 election indicate that the NDA received support from 60 percent of upper caste Hindus and 52% of the dominant peasant castes. In return, "the NDA pursued an economic policy that favored these groups" (Jaffrelot 2005, 244). It is debatable if their policies were truly structured to benefit these segments of society. Regardless of the government's intent, that was what the poor believed (see Table 9) (Jaffrelot 2005, 244).

Table 9: In response to two questions (if during the NDA's regime things got worse for the poor and better for the well off and "are you satisfied or dissatisfied with your current financial situation?)"

	Improved	Got worse	Fully satisfied	Fully dissatistfied
Very poor	20	26	12	30
Poor	26	18	15	19
Lower middle	31	16	19	15
Upper middle	41	12	26	11
Congress+	22	22	13	22
NDA	35	14	21	14

Note: Those who thought their situation had remained the same have been excluded from the analysis. Those who did not respond with regard to question 2 have also been excluded form the analysis Table based on data from the NES 2004. Source: *The Hindu*, May 20, 2004.

In the months preceding the election, the BJP embarked on an unprecedented media blitz called "India Shining" The self-congratulatory, India "feel good" campaign highlighted India's prosperous urban middle class who had benefited from the booming economy. The campaign included slogans such as "never better in the last 50 years". In reality, two out of three of India's 670 million voters lived in rural India and the India they experienced on a daily basis was far from shining (The Economist May 15, 2004). The "India Shining" campaign which was intended to paint a picture of positive change instead, only heightened the electorate's awareness of the widening gap between rich and poor. As L.K. Advani noted, "In retrospect, it seems that the fruits of development did not equitably reach all sections of our society" (BBC News May 24, 2004).

One of the pledges of the BJP's 1999 manifesto was the eradication of poverty. According, to the UNDP 2001 Human Development Index, which is based on the headings of long healthy life (life expectancy), knowledge (literacy) and a decent

standard of living (GDP per capita), India ranked 115 out of 162 countries. The 2003

HDI ranked India 127 out of 177 countries. Andhra Pradesh and Karnataka, two of

India's more progressive states reported a growing number of suicides among farmers as

a result of their inability to pay their debts (BBC News February 25, 2004).

The BJP's performance in government was mixed. While the lives of some were

shining, rural India still lacked necessities like good roads and clean water. The party that

had promised to "eradicate poverty" was unable to bring about notable change in the lives

of the poor. Their promise to protect minorities was tested during the 2002 Gujarat riots

and their inability to handle the situation effectively was widely criticized. The party

which had been outspoken about corruption on their journey to power now experienced

well publicized scandals as well. In summary, the BJP which had enjoyed such a

meteoric rise to power now found everyday governance challenging.

The Freedom Party- Performance in Government

The FPO as a member of the coalition government was awarded six ministerial

positions. Included in the six were Susanne Riess-Passer as Vice Chancellor, the Minister

of Social Affairs, Minister of Finance, Minister of Defense, and the heads of

Infrastructure and Justice (BBC News February 29, 2000). Being in charge of six areas of

government gave the party the opportunity to demonstrate their ability to govern and

fulfill campaign promises. In some instances these promises had been the battle cry since

Haider's arrival in the mid 1980's. The following discussion looks specifically at those

campaign issues that helped the party make the most gains. The Freedom Party's stance

on immigration, the European Union, Austria's bloated bureaucracy, the *Proporz* system and the welfare state is credited for the party's greatest gains (see table 10).

Table 10: Policy competency of the FPO (in percentages) 1990-1998 (In response to the question: 'Could you please tell me for each of the following items, which of the parties – SPO, OVP, FPO, Greens, or LF – will be all the more likely to work hard in…')

	1990	1993	1995	1996	1997	1998
Fighting corruption	11 (3)	35 (1)	33 (1)	39 (1)	44 (1)	24 (1)
To get control of the 'Foreigners' question'	23 (1)	32 (1)	38 (1)	40 (1)	44 (1)	32 (1)
Prevent the waste of public money	16 (2)	23 (1)	29 (1)	35 (1)	20 (1)	12 (1)
Fighting crime	n.a.	18 (3)	18 (3)	18 (3)	20 (3)	12 (3)

Note: Policy ranking indicated within parentheses. Source: Muller, Plasser, and Ulram 1999, updated. As quoted in Muller, 2002. p 169

The Coalition and the European Union

The Freedom Party which had traditionally supported EU integration changed its stance during the 1990's. The FPO campaigned against EU membership in 1995 and was the only party that voted against a single currency (Mueller 2002, 166). During the 1999 election, in an attempt to maintain anti-EU sentiments, Haider changed his focus to anti-

EU expansion. Haider argued that immigration needed to be reformed before further expansion and the party advocated against any expansion for the next twenty years.

The world's overall reaction to the OVP-FPO coalition was far from positive. The EU in a hasty move almost immediately imposed sanctions on Austria. On January 31, 2000, the remaining 14 member states protested the new government by "suspending bilateral links with Austria, by reducing contact with Austrian ambassadors, and by opposing Austrian candidates for international positions" (Howard, 2001, 25). Haider, in an attempt to better the situation, resigned as party leader. In reality, the sanctions which could have been far more restrictive were largely symbolic in nature. Furthermore, they actually strengthened support for the coalition government by providing a common external enemy. The EU quickly realized that the sanctions were ineffective. The subsequent three person review dubbed the "wise men" although critical of the FPO, determined that the government was consistent with European values (Howard 2001, 25 Luther 2003, 137).

After the sanctions, the relationship between the EU and the OVP- FPO coalition remained strained. On one hand, the OVP and the moderate FPO ministers such as popular finance minister Karl-Heinz Grasser sought to mend fences. On the other hand, Haider, although no longer party leader, was still critical of most EU initiatives. Haider continued to call for referendums and also threatened to block EU expansion by advocating insurmountable accession criteria. The lifting of the sanctions allowed Austrians to turn their attention to the government's ability in daily governance. The positive sentiment that had grown out of the EU sanctions quickly evaporated as the OVP-FPO coalition embarked on social program reform.

Social Welfare Policy

       The FPO's stance on social welfare policy, prior to the 1999 election campaign, was limited to vague pension reform policy and Haider's criticism of the welfare state's 'social parasite's (Mueller 2002, 167). However, in 1999 the party campaigned on a well received child benefit program or *kinderscheck* and also called for existing pension rights to be protected by the constitution. The "children's checque' which had helped Haider get elected in Carinthia, was popular at the national level as well. By July 2001, the OVP-FPO government followed through and implemented a program which gave a €400 benefit for every child up to three born after 2002 (Heinisch 2003, 105). In other areas, however, the party found that it was easier to gain support by criticizing the government from the sidelines than as a participant in government.

       The OVP-FPO coalition also embarked on much needed reform. The most ambitious of all was their promise to balance the federal budget by 2002. The FPO had traditionally been critical of the government's bloated bureaucracy which was based on the system of *Proporz.* As an alternative, the FPO-OVP supported merit based civil administration. In this regard, the FPO did keep its campaign promise. However, as part of the governing coalition, the party was also involved in curtailing social benefits on the pretext of fiscal discipline. In an effort to balance the budget, the coalition facilitated expense reduction by reforming the bloated bureaucracy, and trimming benefits. The cuts in social benefits included increasing the retirement age to 61.5 years for men and 56.5 years for women. Other reforms included the introduction of fees for university students, taxation for injury related disability pensions, hospital fees and social insurance taxes for farmers (Heinisch 2003, 104). These were widely unpopular reforms especially with the

47 percent of blue collar workers that supported the FPO during the 1999 election (see chapter 1, table 4).

Immigration

Jorg Haider has always used the contentious issue of immigration to rally the masses. In fact, the Freedom Party's anti-immigration stance had dominated the party's agenda since the fall of the Iron Curtain (Mueller 2002, 165). The FPO's 1993 "Austria First" initiative (see table11) detailed in 12 points their immigration policy. Although, the initiative received the 100,000 signatures needed for parliamentary debate, it did not receive the attention the party had hoped, and was labeled a "flop" by the media (Sully 1997, 79). It is interesting to note that although the ruling SPO-OVP government was critical of the initiative, they adopted some of its points shortly thereafter. For example, six months after the initiative was defeated, all foreigners were required to carry identification cards. The party under Haider's leadership continued its anti-immigration rhetoric and in 1999, immigration became a major campaign issue. According to polls, it was clear that the FPO 'owned' the immigration issue (see table 10) (Greene 2003, 195).

Table 11: "Austria First"

	Twelve Points of the Popular Intiative 1993
1	A constitutional provision: "Austria is no country of immigration."
2	An end to immigration until a satisfactory solution to the problem of illegal foreigners has been found, and until the accommodation shortage has been resolved and unemployment is down to five percent.
3	An ID requirement for foreign employees at the work place should be presented for the work permit and for registration for health insurance.
4	An expansion of the police force (aliens and criminal branches) as well as better pay and resources to trace illegal foreigners and to effectively combat crime, especially organized crime.
5	Immediate creation of permanent border controls (customs police) in place of the army.
6	A reduction of tension in schools by limiting the percentage of pupils with a foreign mother tongue in elementary and vocational schools to a maximum of 30 per cent; in case of more than 30 per cent of foreign speaking children, special classes for foreig
7	Reduction of tension in school through participation in regular education by those with an adequate knowledge of German.
8	No right to vote for foreigners in general elections.
9	No premature granting of Austrian citizenship.
10	Rigorous measures against illegal business activities of foreigners and the abuse of social benefits.
11	Immediate deportation and residence ban for foreign offenders of the law.
12	The reestablishment of an Eastern European Foundation to prevent migration.

Source: Sully (1997), 89

The transition from anti-system party to one participating in government proved difficult for the Freedom party. The party's three years in government was filled with turmoil. Like any governing party, they were faced with external factors beyond their control. The devastating flood in August was used as a reason to slow promised tax reform. However, other factors such as the EU sanctions promoted national pride and briefly distracted the electorate from evaluating the party's performance. On the whole, the reality of governance including the dynamics of coalition politics kept the party from fulfilling campaign promises to some of their strongest supporters. The introduction of fees for university students, the taxation of injury related disability benefits, and the

raising of the retirement age negatively impacted the blue collar voters who had

supported the party in the 1999 election. Also, the Freedom Party had traditionally been

critical of excessive government spending and the lack of fiscal discipline among Social

Democrats and Conservatives. The government's decision to purchase 18 (initially 24)

fighter planes was inconsistent with their call for fiscal discipline both in the past, as well

as their present initiative to balance the budget (Heinisch, 2003, 105). Furthermore, the

decision for state owned companies to pay $65 million into a compensation fund for

survivors of the Holocaust in October of 2000, and the agreement in January 2001 which

stipulated that Jews whose assets were confiscated by Nazis would benefit from a $360

million settlement fund was contrary to Haider's Nazi sympathies (Heinisch, 2003 107,

BBC News, Luther 2003, 139).April 2006). In summary, as a participant in government

the party's actions were contrary to the rhetoric that had facilitated their meteoric rise to

power. Although party members were vocally against some initiatives, as a participant in

government, they no longer had the benefit of heckling from the stands. They were now

in the game and were held accountable by the masses.

According to some polls the party had lost one third of their support as early as

the end of 2000. Unfulfilled promises along with the party's inability to manage internal

disputes, largely influenced by Jorg Haider, caused the party to loose its support.

By the end of summer 2002, internal disputes between pragmatists like Vice Chancellor

Reiss- Passer and more radical party elements took a public turn. Differences over tax

reforms continued to shake the stability of the coalition. The party remained divided

when FPO ministers backed Schussel's decision to postpone tax cuts due to the august

flood. Haider and other hardliners insisted that the tax cuts be implemented. In essence,

it was a struggle between the pragmatists in government and the hardliners on the periphery. In September, Vice Chancellor Reiss-Passer resigned along with two other FPO ministers prompting the coalition to collapse (Heinisch 2003, 112, The Independent 2002, September 12).

Table 12: Election Results of the FPO and BJP in two consecutive elections

Country	Year	Seats contested	Seats won	Pecentage of seats won
Austria	1999		52	26.9
	2002		18	10.2
India	1999	339	182	23.7
	2004	364	138	22.2

Source: Election Commission of India. BBC News. 2002.

Our analysis of both the BJP and FPO's performance in government indicates that the transition from the outskirts of the political spectrum to participants in government was difficult. As participants in government both parties were now held accountable to the promises they had made to the electorate. Furthermore, the internal party struggles between pragmatists and radicals was challenging as well. Both parties lost at the polls in the following election (see table 12). For the FPO, the loss was dramatic. The party lost 34 seats and 16.7 percent of the vote. For, the BJP the loss of seats was less dramatic but significant nevertheless. While the BJP contested more seats, the number of seats won was less than the prior election.

Politics of Exclusion

The purpose of this study was to determine an effective method for dealing with AS parties in the democratic context. By selecting two AS parties from culturally different environments, this study aspired to extract more generalized implications and add to the existing literature. Using unrealizable campaign promises as the independent variable and electoral failure as the dependent variable, this study sought to determine if a policy of inclusion would ultimately lead to the failure of AS parties. At the base of this study was the underlining question, why does the popularity of some AS parties persist while others decline? This study made the argument that AS parties' loose popularity when they participate in government. By allowing these parties to participate, countries rob them of their ability to criticize from the sidelines. In essence, they are put to the test. Their inability to bring about change works against them. In other words, the process of governing helps demystify them and they now are evaluated on performance rather than promise. Hence, this study argued that states should include AS parties in government in order to alleviate the threat they pose to democracy. There is an opposing argument however, which deserves some discussion.

Contrary to the hypothesis of this study, some states when faced with the same circumstances choose to deliberately prevent AS parties from gaining representation. With the help of electoral rules, they systematically limit the likelihood of minor party participation. What are these electoral rules? Is there a downside to exclusion? What are the ramifications of excluding AS parties? Does a cartelized system have negative consequences? Does the existing AS sentiment disappear due to exclusion? The following discussion attempts to answer these and other questions.

Exclusion via Electoral Systems

In recent years, there has been the growing realization that electoral systems are far from neutral. Choosing an electoral system therefore, is determined by which criterion of representative democracy holds more value, efficient governance or representation of minority views. The three main types of electoral formulas namely, majoritarian, proportional representation and mixed systems impact the potential for participation. District magnitude and the electoral formula, which is the method by which votes are translated into seats, determines those parties that are 'in' and those that are 'out'.

Majoritarian System – Plurality

The focus of the plurality or first-past-the post systems is on governability. In this 'winner takes all' system an absolute majority is not needed, electoral thresholds are absent and simple plurality is sufficient. The goal in this system is on effective governance and not equitable representation. Proponents of majoritarian systems argue that a responsive and single –party government takes precedence over fairness to minor parties. They place confidence in Duverger's Law, which argues that single member plurality systems traditionally promote two party systems and make it difficult for smaller parties to gain representation. For Duverger, the *mechanical effect* which is the translation of votes into seats as well as the *psychological effect* which in short is the impact the mechanical effect has on the voter makes it difficult for smaller parties. In this system spatial considerations also impact electoral outcomes. Parties with concentrated support in strategic areas fair better than those which have broad, yet superficial support. Unlike proponents of PR systems, who favor a more "fair" system where votes are not wasted, these states strive toward an effective government which "prevents fringe groups

on the extreme right or left from acquiring representative legitimacy, thereby avoiding a fragmented parliament full of "fads and "faddists" (Norris 1997, 305). For them, single party dominance is more favorable than coalition governments where seats are determined by skillful negotiations after the election.

Proportional Representation Systems

Sartori built on Duverger's assessment and argued that "PR formulas facilitate multipartyism and are, conversely, hardly conducive to two-partyism" (Sartori 1996, 64). While they may be more conducive to representation of minor parties, PR systems can also be manipulated in order to keep some political parties out of government. Electoral thresholds, which are typically set between 4 and 5 percent, also impede minor party participation (Dunlevy and Margetts 1995, 16). Furthermore, manipulation of who is 'in' and who is 'out' can also occur after the electoral stage. In this instance, some parties are excluded through the deliberate and skillful negotiation of coalition building. Lastly, the choice of electoral system is often driven most by the desire for political stability.

Consequences of Exclusion - Political Cartel and Particracy

The exclusion of specific parties from government does have negative consequences. The lack of alternation in government brings about stagnation and politicians due to the absence of competition, become unresponsive to the electorate. The terms used to describe political stagnation and collusion among parties and their by products varies among scholars. Some refer to the 'political cartel' (Katz), while others refer to the formation of a particracy" (Calise). While there is considerable overlap between both terms, for the purpose of this study, the following discussion reviews them

separately. The most detectable by product of both these conditions is corruption which we will also discuss but, in the context of a specific state.

Political Cartel – Managed Competition

A political cartel develops when there is a cooperative and mutually beneficial relationship between parties and the state. In some cases it is the overwhelming dominance of a single party that contributes to a 'cartelized system'. In other instances, it is the collusion between parties that causes the political cartel. Central to a cartel is the idea of 'managed competition'. The parties compete "but do so in the knowledge that they share with their competitors a mutual interest in organizational survival" (Katz and Mair 1995, 19). Their collusion therefore, is motivated by collective security. A political cartel system means that none of the major parties are ever truly finished. As a result, elections become a means toward an end and a way to legitimate a pre-determined result. Voters no longer hold the power. The lack of differentiation in party programs and agreement between parties on goals lessen the impact voters have on government initiatives. In this environment stability is paramount and democracy is seen as a means to achieve stability instead of meaningful change (Katz and Mair 1995, 22).

Particracy

Particracy in its simplest form means government by the party. Particracy in essence refers to the parties' extensive involvement in the state and society. It emerges when one or several parties have a monopoly over government. There is the blending of powers between the executive and the legislature. The party in this instance takes precedent and

individual responsibility is viewed as a threat to party cohesion. The supremacy of the

party leads to the lack of transparency and key decisions are made outside the electoral

process. Decisions are made through negotiation between the heads pf parties and other

notables outside the institutional structures. In the case of single party dominance, these

decisions are made through intra- party selection. In a coalition environment, they are

made through inter- party negotiation. Furthermore, one of the main characteristics of a

particracy is the spoil system. In this instance, dividing of spoils is pervasive and

accepted as part of the political system. The distribution of spoils also motivates parties

not to compete in order to ensure the continued sharing of benefits. There is no

differentiation between victims and perpetrators and all are complicit

 (LaPalombara 1997, 216).

The consequences of deliberate party exclusion whether it is the emergence of a

political cartel or the development of a particracy can be best illustrated in the context of

a specific state. In recent years countries such as Japan, Italy and New Zealand have

embraced electoral reform in order to break the status quo. To discuss each of the

countries mentioned above is beyond the scope of this study. However, discussion of the

same dynamics working in a single state is still warranted. With this in mind we now turn

to the case of Italy and the deliberate exclusion of the Italian Communist party (PCI).

Italian politics after WWII

Italy experienced tremendous government turnover in the decades following

WWII. In fact, in excess of forty separate governments came to power during the years

1948 -1987, with each government averaging less than a year in office (Mastropaolo and

Slater 1992, 312). Despite the turnover, Italian politics experienced a remarkable degree of political stability. The paradox between high turnover and stability is best answered by the consistency of parties. Quite simply, the games may have been different, but the teams and players were the same.

The Christian Democrats (DC) dominated Italian politics in the post WWII era. They held the premiership 37 out of 40 governments and also dominated various ministries. Strangely enough, the Christian Democrats never won a majority and were members of coalition governments. From 1960 onward they boasted less than 40 percent of the vote (Mastropaolo and Slater 1992, 312). Their ability to dominate the political landscape was the result of the deliberate exclusion of the Communist party. Unlike Germany, and other European countries, Italy did not have set electoral thresholds. So, the deliberate exclusion of the Communist party was the result of skillful coalition negotiations. Although, the Communists polled considerably well in elections (20 to 30 percent), they were not considered as suitable coalition partners (Colazingari and Ackerman 1998, 449). The exclusion of the party was influenced both by domestic and international factors. Strong disapproval of Communist representation in a Western democracy was the reigning sentiment during the Cold War. The United States, in particular did not want a member of NATO with Communists in power. The end result was the Communists were kept out and the parties that were in government worked closely together to keep it that way.

Consequences of Communist Exclusion – High Level Corruption

The cohesion among parties was not driven by their ideological similarities but rather motivated by the collective desire to keep the Communists out of power. The

dominance of the Christian Democrats and there various partners at different points in time resulted in the lack of alternation in the government. The lines between party and state became blurred and Italy as a Particracy emerged. The inter-party decisions made outside the electoral process helped reduce the level of accountability between voters and government officials.

Italy in the decades following WWII suffered high level corruption that was so pervasive that it permeated the entire political system as well as a significant part of the business sector. The absence of political alternation in government, the lack of accountability to the electorate and collusion between parties became the ideal environment for corruption to grow. Government officials were insulated from critique and made decisions that were based on self-interest. As a result bribery, illegal campaign finance, electoral fraud and patronage appointments became common place. Public spending was driven more by the size of the bribe than the need, quality and feasibility of the project. The division of spoils among government officials was paramount and resulted in brokers being used to gauge public demand and determine which areas would provide the most rewards with regard to bribes. The spoils were then divided among government officials (Della Porta and Vannucci 1997, 521).

Often, the costs of public works were grossly inflated due to the density of bureaucracy, the lack of planning and the use of discretionary practices in the absence of control mechanisms. Collusion between political parties allowed the lack of enforcement of already vague guidelines. In order to illustrate the magnitude of corruption consider some comparisons noted by Della Porta and Vannucci, "The restructuring of San Siro stadium cost 140 billion, Barcelona Olympic stadium 45 billion. The no 3 line of the

Milanese metropolitan railway cost 129 billion per kilometer; the Hamburg underground

45 billion" (Della Porta and Vannucci 1997, 524).

Furthermore, Italy had inherited from Mussolini's fascist government an

expansive state that boasted extensive industrial holdings. As a result, the state also

dominated the economic environment. Moreover, the government also made a practice of

rescuing failing businesses by injecting capital as well as nationalizing them. As a result,

business leaders were lethargic in their fiscal responsibility. State run industries were

filled with patronage appointees with little expertise. As Colazingari and Rose-Ackerman

note:

> In the absence of effective corruption, the stability of the political system
> enforced the links between the state and the economy. Since the basic political
> configurations were fixed and since the system of sharing power was well
> established, government commitments made at one time were expected to be
> honored in the future. The stronger the financial links between he state and the
> large cooperation's, the less eager they were for political change"
> (Colazingari and Rose-Ackerman 1998, 450).

The full extent of corruption was eventually made clear beginning in 1992 during

what became known as *mani pulite* or the 'clean hands' (name originated from the code

name given by police) investigation. In the end, it was the effort of the Italian judiciary

that brought the entire political system to judgment. *Tangentopoli* (kickback-city) as the

whole process was called eventually led to the dissolution of the Christian Democrats and

complete electoral reform (Nelken 1996, 95). It was during the 1990's that the

Communists were included in governing coalitions and subsequently toned down their

rhetoric. Today, the party operates much like a Social Democrat party.

Terrorism: Another Consequence of Exclusion

Corruption was not the only result of collusion. Along with corruption came political terrorism. The militant leftist group, the Red Brigades which was founded in 1970, first received support from university students. The organization later expanded and interestingly enough received support from a much wider audience. The Christian Democrats were the Red Brigades primary target. Hence, the reasoning behind the support was the idea that the electorate had been unable to bring the Christian Democrats to justice, perhaps the Red Brigades could. As a result, their acts were often smugly considered justifiable. As LaPalombara notes:

> "Terrorism created for a time certain effervescence, a sense of energy and enthusiasm, a youthful outburst in favor of more social justice, This reaction occurred because in its earliest phases, terrorism appeared as little more than an extension of the protest movements and the hundreds of more less revolutionary groups that mushroomed in the universities in the late 1960's. Initially these groups talked and talked. Some then turned to kidnapping and kneecapping. Murder came later" (LaPalombara 1987, 169,170).

The Red Brigades murder of former Christian Democrat Prime Minister, Aldo Moro in 1978 resulted in a massive offensive by law enforcement and the loss of support for the organization. In 1984 the organization split into two factions.

The 'Vicious Cycle' of Exclusion

Our discussion of Italy's post WW II politics brings to light the consequences of exclusion, and makes clear that the deliberate exclusion of AS parties from government does not necessarily dispel anti-system sentiment. While the specific party might be kept

out of government, their support still exists and simply finds expression elsewhere. At times this sentiment takes the form of more radical movement as in the case of Italy. The Red Brigades, at least for a time, received wide spread support and 'understanding' from the citizenry. In a way, the actions of the Red Brigades became the surrogate for the frustrations of the people. The electorate's disaffection with the political system and in particular the Christian Democrats, along with their frustration due to their inability to control the system and bring about political change, facilitated the support for the terrorist organization.

The deliberate exclusion of AS parties from government also tends to produce the same conditions that foster support for AS parties. The exclusion of AS parties through collusion facilitates political stagnation and increases the power of 'party'. The dominance of a single party leads to the lack of transparency and as a result corruption. The absence of accountability in turn fosters the electorate's disaffection with the political system. Disaffection in turn provides the fertile ground for anti-system sentiment and the emergence of AS parties. Quite simply, the deliberate omission of AS parties from government causes a vicious cycle of conditions to develop that only increases anti-system sentiment thereby making the policy of exclusion ineffective.

Conclusion

The majority of past research has focused attention on the conditions that foster the success of specific AS party types. This study on the contrary, concentrated on effective policy measures in the democratic context. Two culturally diverse countries were selected in order to test the argument that effective policy lay in the inclusion and not the exclusion of AS parties in government. It was hoped that the selection of these two very different parties would only increase the generalization of the findings. The study of their rise to power and performance in government sheds light on the reasons behind their inability to fulfill campaign promises. It also brings attention to the important role mainstream parties play in the continued health of a democracy. Lastly, it offers insight into the need for appropriate responses from countries in the region as well as the international community.

The inability of AS parties to fulfill campaign promises is largely due to two factors; *intra-party conflict* and *inter- party compromise*. Intra-party conflict develops as a result of the variation in support for these parties. A blend of pragmatists and radicals typically make up the party organization and it is the tension between the two that often impedes the party's ability to follow through on promises made to the electorate. The reason for this is simple. These competing factions have different goals that are sometimes at odds with each other. The party pragmatists seek respect by setting targets and reaching goals. The radicals on the other hand view the political system as a means to an end and uses it to further their specific agenda. The constant tug between competing

elements causes the party's focus to become blurred. Grass roots efforts that are so vital to party success begin to loose direction.

In the case of the BJP, for example, the goal of radical RSS elements was the promotion of *Hindutva* while Vajpayee, appeared more inclined to work toward India being respected as a regional and global political player. Promises to rebuild the Ram temple in Ayodha which had brought such an emotive response and was used to mobilize the masses during the election campaign, now took second place to more mundane tasks of governance. Furthermore, the different approaches taken by LK Adhvani and Vajpayee are representative of the competing views within the party. In the case of the FPO, internal disputes between the pragmatists in government and radicals on the periphery ultimately led to the breakdown of the coalition. The moderates in government such as Riess-Passer and Finance Minister Gasser realized that political malleability was needed in order to govern effectively. Haider, on the other hand, continued to be critical of the government even though the FPO was a part of the governing coalition.

Inter – party concessions also inhibit the party's ability to follow through on promises. Our research indicates that AS parties' fair better in PR systems due to the likelihood of coalition governments. Inter – party negotiations which are needed in order to maintain a healthy coalition, forces the party to compromise. Fulfilling promises to further specific ideology, enact anti- corruption legislation and expand privatization are now dependent on their coalition partners' willingness to embrace such initiatives. It is in this process that the electoral support for these parties, which usually consists of those who want to further a specific ideology and those who simply want change from the status quo, begins to wane.

The effect of electoral systems on the success of such parties is now widely acknowledged. Numerous scholars argue that majoritarian systems promote a two party system and proportional systems promote multi party systems. However, both majoritarian and proportional representation systems can be used to deliberately exclude AS parties from government as was the case in Italy. Although Italy had a PR system in the decades immediately following WW II, the Christian Democrats were able to deliberately exclude the Italian Communist party from government. The consequences of exclusion bring attention to the role mainstream politics play in AS party success. In the case of Italy, collusion between parties resulted in high level corruption and the lack of alternation in government. The political cartel that emerged helped consolidate the power of the 'party' and insulated them from the need for accountability. No longer were they the voice of the people. The parties promotion of self interest helped further alienate the electorate and weaken the link between electors and elected. Therefore, this study suggests that the exclusion of AS parties from government on the pretext of preserving democracy, in fact serves to exacerbate it.

The role of the mainstream parties in the health of democracy is also determined by their policies. Our discussion clearly indicates that AS parties are rewarded at the polls when the electorate becomes disenchanted with the political establishment. The voting patterns of electorates in recent years demonstrate that voters are now driven more by issues than party membership. Voters have transferred their consumer mentality to politics and now want more choices and better politicians.

It is understandable than in a gobalized world, states are faced with similar economic problems and social injustices. Political parties are therefore, forced to offer

similar solutions to the same problems. Nevertheless, despite the common environment, it is important that mainstream parties present the electorate with clear and well defined choices. The lack of differentiation among mainstream parties compels the electorate to consider AS parties as an alternative. The mainstream parties desire to consolidate power through collusion, (as evident in Italy as well as Austria) only reinforces anti-system sentiment. Moreover, in some instances this anti-system sentiment looks for alternative avenues of expression that are sometimes outside democratic parameters. In the case of Italy, the electorates' initial 'wink and nod' attitude toward the Red Brigades suggests that anti-system sentiment when not addressed appropriately, can sometimes take a deadly turn.

Lastly, the global community's role in the success of AS parties and their impact on democracy cannot be overstated or taken lightly. This study suggests that in response to an AS party's participation in government, the global community should adopt a policy of *cautious engagement*. Our exploration of the data indicates that both the FPO and BJP gained popularity in an environment where identity was being questioned. In fact, this study argued that both parties emerged as a response to the electorate rethinking identity. In the case of India, the predominantly Hindu electorate felt encroached upon by Muslims in neighboring states and felt threatened due to the appeasement of minorities at home. Similarly, the FPO experienced significant electoral gains with the changing European landscape. In both cases, the electorate responded by rewarding AS parties that preached nationalism, spoke of a 'golden age' and sought recognition. This study also indicates that support for the FPO continued to persist due to the sanctions the EU placed on Austria. This suggests that excessive concern by the global community simply validates

their *raison d'etre*. By avoiding knee jerk reactions and adopting a policy of cautious engagement, the global community limits the 'honeymoon period' between the electorate and AS party. Furthermore, cautious engagement curbs the rise of extreme nationalism due to a perceived external threat, and prevents creating the same conditions that consolidated their support in the first place. Quite simply, the electorate does not become side tracked by global condemnation of the new government and instead evaluates them on performance.

This study at the onset aspired to make a contribution to our knowledge of AS parties, by exploring an effective method of dealing with them and the threat they pose to democracy. Like most studies, this analysis has posed some additional questions and the need for further research. The relationship between the electorate's desire for renewed identity and the success of such parties suggests the need for more in-depth analysis. What role do regional and global factors play in AS party success? Furthermore, the advent of globalization and the increase of AS parties during the mid 1980's and 1990's prompt an additional question. To what extent did globalization impact the success of AS parties? This study made the argument that AS suffer electoral failure after they are included in the political process. However, further research is needed with regard to other paths an AS party may take as a participant in government. In depth analysis of what conditions may facilitate an AS party to become moderate need to be considered. Also, what role does the existing political establishment play in their path to becoming more moderate? Lastly, more in depth analysis with regard to cautious engagement by the global community could prove noteworthy. Does a policy of cautious engagement

deliver more favorable outcomes than alternative policies such as economic and military sanctions?

The emergence of AS parties in democracies such as Australia, Japan, New Zealand, India, Italy and Austria during the post WW II era indicates that states are not immune from the challenge these parties pose to democracy. However, this challenge to democracy is not dependent on the actions of AS parties alone, but is also dependent on the states response to their existence. Ultimately, the survival of AS parties and the continued health of democracy depend on the policy choices of individual states and in a larger sense the international community.

The 1999 National Democratic Alliance agenda in part as detailed in the BJP party website.

Source: http://www.bjp.org/

INTRODUCTION

The 1999 General Election is an unnecessary imposition. It was thrust upon the country by a motley combination that put political negativism, narrow personal interests and greed for power far above the national good. The Government led by Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee lost the vote in the Lok Sabha on April 17 by just one and that too questionable vote. Despite promising a new government "in five minutes" and futilely attempting widespread defections, this negative coalition led by the Congress failed to come up with any alternative arrangement, forcing the dissolution of the Lok Sabha and fresh elections. A serving, performing Government was needlessly destabilised.

Hardly had the country absorbed the shock of this avoidable uncertainty, then we were faced by Pakistani armed intrusion in Kargil.

The Government rose to the challenge and acted decisively. Faced by this aggression in Kargil, the response of the Government was swift, though measured.

The last of the Pakistani intruders were cleared from the Kargil Sector on 27th July.

We salute the heroism, dedication and selflessness of our armed forces. We dedicate ourselves anew to preserving the honour and territorial integrity of our motherland. We reiterate our commitment to look after the welfare of the armed forces, and of the dependants of all those that laid down their lives in service of our motherland.

The security of the nation is our paramount duty. In fulfillment of this sacred duty we will ensure that the neglect of defence preparedness by the previous governments during the last decade shall be corrected. The defence of India and the needs of our armed forces is our commitment.

This General Election allows the country a great opportunity of finally putting an end to the era of political negativism, uncertainty and dynasticism. In this hour of national challenge, when the faith of the people in democratic institutions is under test, it is vital that all nationalist forces join hands.This is the moment to look ahead, to a new, resurgent India.

In Prime Minister Atal Bihari Vajpayee, the country has a leader who blends tradition with modernity, a leader who understands India and the world and a statesman who is

accepted by all sections of the country. In just 13 months,the Vajpayee Government set new parameters of purposeful governance. In the realms of national security, regional cooperation, economic modernization and centre-state relations, the Vajpayee Government has shown the way forward. Under Shri Vajpayee's leadership the Indian National Democratic Alliance seeks a firm and resounding mandate to complete the unfinished agenda.

The National Agenda for Governance of the National Democratic Alliance constitutes the basis of our joint commitment for a stable Government to take India into the new millennium. On this occasion we appeal for a new political age of reconciliation and accord based on our principled commitment to:

- National Security - ensuring full combat effectiveness of our armed forces;
- National Reconstruction - an end to divisiveness and a moratorium on contentious issues;
- Dynamic diplomacy - In service of motherland to obtain for India it's rightful place in the comity of nations;
- Federal harmony - ensuring a partnership of the Centre and States;
- Economic Modernization - harnessing technology for rapid, equitable growth;
- Secularism - the emotional harmony of all Indians and full protection of minorities;
- Social Justice - empowerment of all weaker sections and gender rights;
- Probity - transparency of decision-making and corruption-free governance;

PREAMBLE

When the whole nation was thrown into the vortex of political instability because of the toppling of the Government headed by Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee, by the irresponsible combination of Congress, the left parties and their old and new found allies; when the whole nation felt that it was duped and deceived by their chicanery because they could not fulfil their boast of an alternative Government in 'five minutes' - even for several days; and when the whole nation was on the verge of loosing faith in our democratic system and was getting cynical about politics and politicians; the signatory political parties came together as an act of national commitment and founded the National Democratic Alliance (NDA), under the leadership of Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee, to set the Indian polity on a new course for the future.

The reason for creating the NDA is to lift the spirit of the nation at large, to draw its people together and, most importantly, to rebuild the bonds of common purpose that are the very roots of our democratic polity.

The NDA came into being because of an historic need and realisation amongst us that our young democracy cannot bear the fits and tremors of frequent elections which will undermine the people's faith in the democratic process. Therefore, with a consensus on a common cause and a common set of principles we have sunk our differences to weld ourselves into a solid phalanx of a single dominant political formation and thereby we

fulfil the resolve of the Indian people to give themselves a stable, strong and progressive Government.

We are proud that the NDA is representative of both national interests and regional aspirations - after all the NDA is nothing but the mirror-image of our nation's unity in multifaceted diversity, rich pluralism and federalism.

OUR MISSION

The NDA's mission in politics is to build a bond of trust between Government and people. This is the only way a democracy can flourish; but unfortunately has been ignored during the last 50 years of one-party rule.

Therefore, the NDA pledges to the people of India a Government which shares their hopes and anxieties and which will work as partner with all people irrespective of class, caste and religion - not just with a privileged few. This is our contract with the people.

The NDA is new; the NDA is the future and the NDA is a broad-based movement for progress and justice.

Our vision is one of national renewal with modern programmes of change for a resurgent India.

We reach out to the minorities and even at the cost of repetition proclaim that we will safeguard the rights as enshrined in our Constitution. NDA is the political arm of none other than the Indian people as a whole. No one will be cast aside; fairness and justice will be rendered to one and all and we assure you that there will not be any discrimination.

We appeal to our brothers and sisters of the minorities that we whole heartedly extend our hands of friendship, in these fraternal words:

Let us hold hands and walk together to build a resurgent, modern India.
Let us throw away our old prejudices.
Let us put an end to divisiveness.
Let us have a moratorium on contentious issues.
Let us bind ourselves with bonds of trust and friendship.

We want an India which we all feel part of, in whose future we all have a stake. And we want to enter the new millennium with confidence; not with divisive feelings.

This is our call for reconciliation and it is part of our commitment to the minorities.

AGENDA FOR GOVERNANCE

A Commitment to Good Governance

1. Our first commitment to the people is to give a stable, honest, transparent, and efficient government capable of accomplishing all-round development. For this, the government shall introduce time-bound programmes of needed administrative reforms including those for the Police and other Civil Services.

Economy

2. We will continue with the reform process, give it a strong Swadeshi thrust to ensure that the national economy grows on the principle that India shall be 'built by Indians'; reappraise and revitalise reforms through giving primacy to removal of unemployment, and to an accelerated development of infrastructure, particularly energy and power production. We will bring GDP growth to the 7-8% bracket, and control deficits - fiscal and revenue. We will examine the possibility of enacting a Fiscal Responsibility Act. We will take all such steps as would expedite implementation of policies and programmes in accordance with our national interests; and give to the entire national development efforts a humane face with total eradication of poverty as the ultimate goal. For this 'Berozgari Hatao' - eradicate unemployment - is our call. Swadeshi is not reinventing the wheel. It means that we will facilitate the domestic industry to gain enough muscles to compete with the multinationals in the local and global markets. We want domestic companies to flourish and acquire a Trans National status.At the same time the country cannot do without FDI because besides capital stock it brings with it technology, new market practices and most importantly employment. Our target is to achieve at least $ 10 billion per year which will commensurate with our growth objectives. The old leftist approach sought complete state control of industry while the rightist approach wanted to leave everything to the market.We reject both. Government and industry must work together to achieve key objectives aimed at enhancing the dynamism of the market with effective and effficient regulatory mechanisms. In fact the issue is not about capitalism or socialism, nor is it about market or less state. It is about better society, about improving the way citizens can demand and obtain all sorts of public goods. It is about dignity for all. We firmly resolve that poverty should be relegated to history like slavery, colonialism, small pox and cholera and we should meet the challenge of mobilising resources for that by undertaking the challenge of restructuring priorities and mainstreaming these priorities into new programmes of pro-poor growth and redistribution towards poverty eradication - That is how we plan to eradicate absolute poverty within this generation - within the first decades of 21st century - and we strongly feel that it is feasible and affordable infact, it is a moral imperative which we will not miss.

3.We will carefully analyse the effects of globalisation, calibrate its process by devising a timetable to suit our national conditions and requirements so as not to undermine but strengthen the national economy, the indigenous industrial base and the financial and services sectors.

4.We will earmark 60% of the Plan Funds for and effect public investment in agriculture, rural development, irrigation and by diverse incentives, including tax shelters, achieve a quantum leap in agricultural production so that agriculture, horticulture, forestry, food processing, fisheries and so on become the vehicles for growth resulting in an enhancement of the purchasing power of the people. Effective crop insurance schemes will be introduced. Special efforts will be made in Animal Husbandry, Dairying, particularly in respect of Cow and its progeny. This is one of the routes to generating employment, thus eradicating hunger and poverty in rural as well as urban areas. Subsidies of all kinds will be implemented in such a manner that maximize benefits to all sections of the agricultural population. Development of medium and small scale irrigation projects shall receive priority attention; emphasis for investment will be in accordance with the potential development.

5.We will adopt a National Water Policy which provides for effective and prompt settlement of disputes and their time-bound implementation. We will examine and take time-bound steps to link Ganga - Cauvery rivers. Setu Samudram Canal Project will also be undertaken.

6.We will increase the national savings to 30% of the GDP in the next five years by appropriate incentives and through motivation; encourage Foreign Direct Investment in core areas so that it usefully supplements the national efforts and discourage FDI in non-priority areas.

7.We will institute a comprehensive study of the financial, technological and social security requirements of the self-employed and unincorporated sector; also constitute a Development Bank to promote this largest segment of the national economy which, too, has great employment and self-employment potential. Further, in addition to financial support institutions we will bring into being other institutional systems for providing services, technology and marketing facilities for artisans, the small-scale, village, khadi, powerloom, handloom, handicrafts and such other industries. This and the Agriculture sectors are an untapped source with unlimited scope for generation of employment.

8. We will give a major thrust to infrastructure development, particularly energy and power, by recommending public expenditure in the sector. Towards this we will access long-term funds in the national and international markets, remove administrative bottlenecks, reverse the slowdown in this critical area of national economy thus giving a fresh impetus to growth. Private Sector participation will be encouraged.

9. We will undertake a review of all laws and regulations relating to industry so as to free it from bureaucratic control; institute a system of voluntary compliance with laws, including tax laws; ensure speedy redressal of industrial sickness; arrange for meaningful interaction between industry and government; and revive the capital market as a viable and transparent mechanism for raising capital. We will also expedite comprehensive reform of the PSUs, including restructuring, rehabilitation and divestment.

Trade & Commerce

10.We will focus on specific products in specific growth areas for exports and announce specific packages for horticulture and floriculture EoUs. We intend to strongly support attempts to build a system of trade and economic cooperation through expanded global system of trade preferences (GSTP) among developing countries. We would also assert more robustly India's national interests, especially at the forthcoming review conference of the WTO, scheduled for November, 1999. A healthy commodity exchange system will be established to be managed in an autonomous way.

Labour

11. We will make labour, both organized and unorganized, an equal and proud partner in the production of the nation's wealth and in its progress. Laws relating to equal pay for equal work for men and women shall be strictly implemented.

Eradication of Unemployment

12. Recognizing the right to work of every citizen, the main thrust of the new government will be: 'Berozgaari Hatao' (Eradicate Unemployment). As against the present trend of jobless growth, our government will measure growth by generation of gainful employment. Our new investment and institutional thrust to agriculture, the self-employed, the unincorporated sector, infrastructure development and housing will act as the vehicles for massive employment creation at all levels.

13.The Alliance will embark upon a strategic pro-poor policy in terms of which those living below the poverty line are not to be pitied but treated as a net resource replete with their own ideas and experience well in tune with local conditions. Every effort will be made to provide them work locally and ensure that schemes for their welfare are competently and honestly administered. They themselves will be treated as participants and facilitators in this noble venture. The services of NGOs, well versed in this field and, preferably originating locally, will also be enlisted wherever considered necessary.

Food Security and Price Stability

14.We will ensure food security for all, create a hunger-free India in the next five years, and reform and improve the Public Distribution System so as to serve the poorest of the poor in rural and urban areas. We will also ensure price stability by all appropriate means and necessary ligislation.

Health and Drinking Water

15. We will spare no efforts to ensure that potable drinking water is available to all villages in the next five years. Age old and traditional methods of water utilisation, in both rural and urban areas, will receive urgent attention.

Education for All

16. We are committed to a total eradication of illiteracy. We will formulate and implement plans to gradually increase the governmental and non-governmental spending on education upto 6% of the GDP: thus to provide education for all. We will implement the constitutional provision of making primary education free and compulsory upto 5th standard. Our aim is to move towards equal access to and opportunity of educational standards upto the school leaving stage. We shall strive to improve the quality of education at all levels - from primary schools to our universities.

Housing for All

17. Shelter is a basic human requirement that needs to be met on a priority basis. We are, therefore, committed to evolving a National Housing and Habitat Policy in consultation with State Governments, aimed at providing Housing for all. Towards this end, we shall facilitate construction of 20 lakh additional housing units annually. As in other programmes, the emphasis will be on the benefit to the poor and the deprived.

Empowerment of Women

18. We will legislate for the reservation of 33% of the seats in Parliament and State Assemblies for women; also institute plans for providing free education for girls upto college level, including professional courses, so as to better empower women. We will also set up a Development Bank for women entrepreneurs in the small scale and tiny sectors.

Harnessing Yuva Shakti

19. The youth of our country constitute a majority of our population. They are the strength of the family, village, locality and the community, they are also the future of our nation. We will take all necessary steps to mobilise this most idealistic, inspired and energetic section of our society in the mission of nation-building. For this purpose, we shall build national consensus for the creation of a National Reconstruction Corps aimed at environmental protection, ecological tasks, reclamation of waste land, including afforestation, and for spreading literacy. We will have a time bound programme for promotion of sports.

Children

20. We will present a National Charter for Children. Our aim is to ensure that no child remains illiterate, hungry, or lacks medical care. We will take measures to eliminate child labour.

Population

21. We are committed to achieving population stabilization by 2010 through improved access to primary health services, universalisation of primary education, delivery of contraceptive services to Mohalla/Ward/Basti level and through betterment of educational and socio-economic position of women

22. Schemes for providing income generating training to widows will be worked out in cooperation with the state governments.

23. India today has a much larger population of senior citizens and their numbers are expected to rise substantially. It will be our endeavour to assure them that they continue to remain esteemed and valuable members of society.

Constitutional and Legal Reforms

24. We shall appoint a Commission to review the Constitution of India not only in the light of experience and developments since 1996 but indeed, of the entire post-independence period, and to make suitable recommendations.

25. We are convinced that there is a clear case for devolution of more financial and administrative powers and functions to the States. We will take suitable steps to ensure harmonious Centre-State relations in the light of the recommendations of the Sarkaria Commission and also effect decentralisation right upto the grass root level by activating and involving Panchayats and local bodies. States of the Union where the percentage of population below the poverty line has increased during the last five decades shall receive special attention. A Backward Area Commission for each state of the Union to identify least developed areas and recommend comprehensive measures for their development shall be instituted. A Committee will be set up to study the feasibility of treating all 19 languages included in Schedule 8 of the Constitution as official languages. Will examine problems of border states for amelioration and take measures for ensuring a fixed term (5 years) for all elected bodies including legislatures. We will also examine replacing the present No cofidence Motion with the German system of "Constructive vote of Non-confidence".

26. We will introduce necessary electoral reforms on the basis of the recommendations of the Goswami Committee, the Indrajit Gupta Committee and the Law Commission Report so as to deal with the malaise of defections, corruption and criminalisation of politics, and to prevent electoral malpractices.

27. Revitalise NE Council; ensure territorial integrity of the states of the NE; special developmental, administrative and security related programmes.

28. We will set up a National Judicial Commission which will recommend judicial appointments in High Courts and Supreme Court and draw up a code of ethics for the judiciary. We will enact legislation to provide an eligibility criteria that the high offfices

of State-legislative, executive and judicial are held only by naturally born Indian citizens. We will establish a National Register of citizens. We will also introduce a multi-purpose identity card for all citizens.

29. We will undertake all necessary legislative and administrative measures to ensure the right of franchise of the Armed Forces through proxy voting and or any other method.

Corruption

30. We will enact the Lok Pal Bill with adequate powers to deal with corruption charges against anyone, including the Prime Minister. In the administration of justice, we shall not allow discrimination between the rich and the poor, the empowered and the powerless; restore the majesty of law, and the objectivity of the state.

New States

31. We will give full statehood to Delhi and also create Uttranchal, Vananchal and Chhattisgarh as new States.

National Security

32. In today's unipolar world it is of paramount importance that India constantly maintains and strengthens the state of preparedness, morale and combat effectiveness of our Armed Forces.

33. The recently established National Security Council will advise the government in this regard and also in the establishment of a credible nuclear deterrence. These are the minimum requirements in this recently inaugurated era of global inequality and increased vulnerability. The NDA will correct the imbalance and budgetary neglect of Defence needs during the last decades by successive governments thus ensuring adequacy of budgetary allocations. We will take effective measures for eliminating all pensionary anomalies. We will revamp the entire system of welfare of ex-servicemen as a tribute to those that laid down their lives for the country.

Internal Security

34. We are committed to ensuring the safety and security of all citizens in all parts of the country. For reaching this goal, we will take effective steps to create a riot-free order and a terrorism-free India.

International Relations

35. In the past 13 months the government demonstrated its capability to secure for India a place, role and position in the global arena, commensurate with its size and importance. We have also shown that our desire for peace and friendship should not be interpreted as weakness but as a firm resolve that aggression shall not be permitted to succeed. We have

effectively engaged with the international community and obtained a high degree of understanding. This engagement process shall be developed to improve India's standing in the international community.

We will promote and strengthen regional groupings on the lines of SAARC & ASEAN, and reorient our diplomacy to pursue our economic, commercial goals and energy security goals. We will strongly support any attempt to build a system of trade and economic cooperation through an expanded global system of trade preferences (GSTP) among developing countries. We will seek to assert more robustly India's national interests, especially at the forthcoming review conference of the WTO, scheduled for December, 1999. We are committed to making the voice of India as the voice of the developing world.

Genuine Secularism

36. We are committed to establishing a civilised, humane and just civil order; that which does not discriminate on grounds of caste, religion, class, colour, race or sex. We will truly and genuinely uphold and practise the concept of secularism consistent with the Indian tradition of 'Sarva panth samadara' (equal respect for all faiths) and on the basis of equality of all. We are committed to the economic, social and educational development of the minorities and will take effective steps in this regard.

SCs, STs and Backwards Classes

37. The interests of Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes and Backward Classes will be adequately safeguarded by appropriate legal, executive and societal efforts and by large scale education and empowerment. We will provide legal protection to existing percentages of reservation in government employment and educational institutions at the Centre and State level. If required, the Constitution will be amended to maintain the system of reservation. We will continue to offer all assistance to the SCs, STs and Backward Classes to ensure their speedy socio-economic development. We will remove the last vestiges of untouchability from our society. Further, we will present a National Charter for Social Justice (Samajik Nyay) based on the principle of social harmony (Samajik Samarasata).We are committed to extending the SC/ST reservations for another 10 years. Reservation percentages, above 50%, as followed by certain states shall be sanctified through necessary legislative measures.

Environment

38. We will establish an appropriate legal framework for the protection of the environment and unveil a National Environment Policy to balance between development and ecology. A Vanvasi Fund for the benefit of Vanvasis shall be established. To discourage poaching of Wild Life a Wild Life Anti-Poaching Authority shall be established. The Ganga and Yamuna rivers' cleaning programmes shall be revamped and revitalised. Similar schemes for other water bodies shall also be initiated.

Prasar Bharati

39. We will review the Prasar Bharati Act. We will also enact a comprehensive Broadcasting Bill to regulate private broadcasting and to protect Indian interests. We will restrict foreign equity holding in private television broadcasting to 20% (and prevent cross holding to) avoid emergence of monopolies in the media.

Science & Technology

40. For sustainable national development and the long-overdue transformation of India into a modern, prosperous and knowledge-driven nation, we will ensure integration of efforts in the field of science and technology with development programmes in various socioeconomic sectors. We will further speed up the modernization of National Laboratories, strengthen R&D and establish new as well as strengthen existing centres of excellence, so that they continue to constitute an invaluable national asset and also become totally immune to policy fluctuations elsewhere.

Information Technology

41. A new revolution is sweeping the globe - that of Information Technology. We believe that Information Technology is an important vehicle for future development. We are committed to ensuring that India is full and equal partner in its global progress; indeed, that India can be a software superpower. We will, for that purpose, unveil a National Informatics Policy with short, medium and long-term perspective.

A NEW NORM FOR GEVERNANCE BY CONSENSUS

42. Finally, we are convinced that a nation of nearly 100 crore people representing a sixth of humanity cannot be governed on the arithmetic alone of majority and minority. Governance must become unifying, not divisive, in its practice. It is this mindless manner of the domination of the majority that has led to bitterness, hostility and confrontation - and has even made the opposition and ruling parties like permanent adversaries. This destructive trend of politics of negativism and political untouchability which has distorted our body politic in the last few decades calls for an immediate corrective. We will, therefore, strive to develop national consensus on all major issues confronting the nation by involving the opposition parties and all section of society in dialogue. We will also try for a consensual mode of governance as far as practicable.

CONCLUSION

This National Agenda is a sincere and solemn covenant aimed at changing the content and culture of governance of 1 great nation, freeing it of the triple curses of hunger (bhookh), fear (bhay) and corruption (bhrashtachar), and transforming it into a New India that is prosperous, strong, self - confident and at peace with itself and the world. We appeal for the cooperation of all parties and all sections of society in this great endeavour.

Appendix B

PROGRAM OF THE AUSTRIAN FREEDOM PARTY
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PROGRAM OF THE AUSTRIAN FREEDOM PARTY
adopted October 30, 1997

Chapter I: Freedom is for all people a supreme possession

Chapter II: Human dignity is inviolable

Chapter III: Austria first!

Chapter IV: The right to a cultural identity [Heimat]

Chapter V: Christianity – the foundations of Europe

Chapter VI: Europe - a common destiny

Chapter VII: A self-confident foreign policy – a common security policy

Chapter VIII: Reform of democracy – a free republic

Chapter IX: Law and order

Chapter X: A fair market economy

Chapter XI: For Solidarity and Justice

Chapter XII: The family – a community of generations

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PROGRAM OF THE AUSTRIAN FREEDOM PARTY

adopted October 30, 1997

Accompanying information concerning the English translation of the FPÖ Party
Programm:

The following translation of the FPÖ Party Programme tries to reflect, as far as possible,
the content and meaning of the original German version. It should be borne in mind,
however, that some phrases and words do not have an exact equivalent in English. In
these cases the editors have tried to convey the meaning of the ideas rather than present a
word for- word translation. Where this has been done the original German has been
included in brackets, to enable direct reference to the German language edition of the
programm.

Chapter I: Freedom is for all people a supreme possession
"Freedom is the greatest possession people can own."

Article 1
Freedom is the most precious possession people have. Freedom means the utmost degree
of selfdetermination exercised in a responsible way. Freedom excludes any oppression,
whether physical or mental, religious, political or economic and, above all, rules out any
kind of state despotism.
1. The concept of freedom has its roots in an idealistic philosophy of life which does not
consider the existence of mankind to be limited to material needs.
2. Dependence on an overbearing bureaucracy, on a chamber state or on a state apparatus
dominated by parties should be reduced according to the principles of freedom.
3. Freedom is opposed to every kind of oppression, whether exercised by state
institutions or semi-state cum private organizations. A way of life rendering as much self-
determination as possible for everyone should not be misunderstood as a cult of the ego.
The freedom of an individual is limited by the freedom of others.

Article 2
Freedom ranks as the most valuable possession of each individual and must be granted to
every
natural mature community from the family to the people as a whole.
1. The intellectual position of the Freedomites amounts to granting each individual
freedom as a supreme possession and sees freedom as being inviolable. However, the
individual is always part of a community, the family or a people who in turn are
autonomous bearers of the rights of freedom.
2. A large degree of freedom only can exist where all basic rights (especially freedom of
opinion, of assembly, of association, religious freedom, freedom of conscience as well as
freedom of the press and media) are self-evident and are guaranteed by the state.
Monopolies on information and the media are contradictory to the idea of freedom.
3. The family has the right to develop its internal and external relations in an autonomous
and individual manner. This also means that within the scope of this autonomy the
personal rights of each family member have to be mutually respected.

4. The family and a people are organically developed units which must be considered in politics. Different peoples and ethnic groups are entitled to have their basic rights preserved and to develop their individual identities in peace.
5. An enhanced sovereignty of the people protects its freedom from becoming the plaything of international speculators and multinational firms, whether of the state, or of international semi-state institutions.

Article 3
On the one hand freedom implies personal responsibility and on the other hand freedom ought to be protected by law. Beyond that freedom obliges everyone to take responsibility for others.
Freedomite politics affirms the responsibility of a free people to undertake essential duties in the service of the people, homeland and the state. Taking personal responsibility is the best protection against tutelage. However, freedom needs protection within a legal system which serves to develop political and personal freedom and enables an equilibrium of rights and duties for everybody.

Article 4
The realization and preservation of freedom implies political, social and economic conditions which guarantee all individuals the same chance for personal development. Private property expresses the realization of freedom.
The goal of a freedom-based social order is the optimal development of all creative forces. The most meaningful use of freedom by all citizens can only be secured by the widest possible distribution of private property.

Chapter II: Human dignity is inviolable
"Decency, honor and morals should determine the use of freedom."

Article 1
The role of mankind in creation is fundamental. Each human being is unique as an individual and unmistakable as a person. From this stems the inviolable personal dignity belonging to each individual.
1. Human beings have their meaning within themselves; so the right to exist, health and dignity cannot be calculated on the basis of their use value. Therefore their existence should not be threatened by euthanasia and the suchlike, nor should they be destroyed by the abuse of medicine especially genetic technology and finally they should not be robbed of their dignity. Men and women are equal in rights and dignities.
2. The spirit, mind, consciousness and ability to act rationally and morally lay the foundations for man's outstanding position in creation. From this and out of his unique individuality and unmistakable personality grow his personal dignity, which is inviolable.

Article 2
Everybody has a fundamental right to be held in esteem and to have their personality respected.
Nobody has the right by force or violence to injure anyone physically or to harm their mental

integrity and thus offend their dignity. Nobody should be persecuted because of their convictions, views or ideas.

1. A society based in freedom guarantees everybody their own personal development in the framework of an open, pluralistic community. Every individual is capable of developing and can determine this talent for development on their own.

2. It is the task of freedomite politics to give everybody the chance to develop and to shape their existence in accordance with human dignity. Regard and respect for the individual personality rules out all forms of discrimination or, even worse, oppression resulting from certain values or political attitudes.

3. Public defamation of individuals and the abuse of personal data must be overseed by a relevant law of liability.

Article 3

The dignity of human beings is incompatible with being kept in bondage and being subject to undue influence or socialization against their will, especially by ideological models.

Government indoctrination, tutelage and state-induced dependency are fundamentally in contradiction to human dignity and deny human diversity. The recognition of human diversity, however, does not justify any discriminatory evaluation of the dignity of the individual.

Imposed benevolence and totalitarian transformation to "new" beings to fit a present mould and ideological concept are not compatible with human dignity.

Chapter III: Austria first!
 "For us, Austria and its people take first place."

Article 1

Austria is more than a simple administrative unit. Its people are linked by a will for independence and belong together in regional diversity. This will is expressed by the democratic federal and constitutional Republic of Austria.

1. Austria's self-image [Österreichpatriotismus] is expressed in the will for the independence and unity of Austrians, in the will to preserve democracy, human rights, the rule of law and federalism, and in the will to cultivate Austria's cultural heritage and protect its environment, countryside and nature.

2. Austria's identity is formed by a variety and multitude of regional identities. After a painful past the Austrian people have demonstrated a will to be together within the bounds of regional peculiarities.

Article 2

This dedication to Austria underlines a permanent task to preserve and develop democracy as a basis for Austrian patriotism. Beyond that it means an obligation to stand up for Austria's independence and to preserve its constitutional principles.

According to the Freedomite understanding of an Austrian self-image [österreichischer Patriotismus] related to a democratic society there is an ongoing commitment to develop and preserve democracy for the people. This commitment includes the preservation of federal, social and liberal constitutional principles.

Article 3

As all Austrian people belong together we do not only have civil rights but also civil duties, especially that of solidarity for the preservation of a functioning state unit and in making a contribution to internal and external security.

Included in the duties mentioned above is above all the duty of being solidly behind one's compatriots – as for instance in supporting the elderly and infirm, in avoiding social cases of hardship and so on, by making a contribution to upholding the functioning of the state – for instance by taxation to a statutory upper limit or through a personal contribution to the defense of the country or the preservation of internal security in the field of civil defense and disaster control.

Article 4

Austria's social and cultural heritage justifies pride in the results, traditions and achievements.

From this arose a positive self image [Patriotismus] which calls for self-assured Austrian politics and a resistance to a decline in the cultural level, and increasing efforts to revile traditions and to willfully disparage Austria.

1. As Austria played a decisive role in the all-German and all-European history and in view of the resulting cultural heritage, it is legitimate to appear on the international stage with self-confidence and pride.

2. We reject the politics that ends in – especially since Austria's entry into the EU – massive efforts to standardize and level down, to the detriment of Austria's intellectual and cultural substance.

3. The modern trend to get some public response by abusing Austria and disparaging Austrian qualities needs resolute intellectual resistance on the part of all people who believe in Austria [erfordert einen entschlossenen geistigen Widerstand aller patriotischen Kräfte].

4. Especially in the media a decline in the cultural level has been obvious for years; so we need a new intellectual and cultural move to keep Austrian traditions and regional peculiarities alive.

Chapter IV: The right to a cultural identity. [Heimat]
"Dedication to our cultural identity is the basis of our political activity."

Article 1

Our country [Heimat] is the democratic Republic of Austria and its federal states, including the historically settled indigenous groups (Germans, Croats, Roma, Slovaks, Slovenians, Czechs and Hungarians) and the culture moulded by them. The legal system in Austria presupposes that the overwhelming majority of Austrians is of German origin. [Wobei von der Rechtsordnung denklogisch vorausgesetzt wird, daß die überwiegende Mehrheit der Österreicher der deutschen Volksgruppe angehört.]

1. The term "cultural identity" [Heimat] is defined in spatial, historical groupings [ethnische Volksgruppen] and cultural ways.

2. So our country, [Heimatland] with its centuries-old historical groups and their cultural traditions and achievements enshrining civilization, are subjects to be protected.

3. In Austria the law on historical groups lists the individual historically settled (autochthone) cultural groups as subjects to be protected.

Article 2
The cultural identity [Heimat] is to be preserved, protected and developed in these spatial, historical groupings [ethnische Volksgruppen] and cultural aspects.
1. This means a special commitment to preserve a viable environment and to protect and develop the cultural traditions of civilization, within the framework of a freedomitedemocratic state bound by the rule of law. It means the protection of the population and the cultural identity of the indigenous (autochthonous) cultural groups as provided for in Art. 19 of the Basic Law (which has the rank of a constitution) concerning citizens' general rights dated Dec. 21, 1867.
2. The coexistence and working together of the different cultural groups have formed Austria's characteristic identity, which can only be preserved through a guaranteed continueing existence of these historically settled cultural groups [historisch ansässige Volksgruppen]. This is something which is particularly necessary in times of developing supraregional entities.

Article 3
Every Austrian has the basic right to decide independently and freely his identity and the cultural group [Volkstumszugehörigkeit] to which he belongs. No disadvantage must result from this attachment to a cultural tradition.
1. The basic right to decide one's own identity and culture has to be guaranteed to all Austrians.
2. This right is not limited to the historic indigenous groups [verschiedene Volksgruppen], as mentioned in article 1 as subjects to be protected under the term "cultural identity" [Heimatbegriff]. It is up to every citizen to decide if he regards himself as belonging to an cultural [ethnisch] group. Consequently every citizen has the right to decide on his own to which cultural [Volksgruppe] group he wants to be assigned according to his identity. But he only can derive individual rights from his attachment to a cultural tradition concerning the historic indigenous groups.
3. On the other hand, the state does not have the right to regulate and determine how the citizen is to regard himself. There must be no public disadvantage or private discrimination of any Austrian because of his freely self-determined cultural tradition [Volkstumszugehörigkeit].
4. The free acknowledgement of one's own cultural tradition [Volkstum] is a basic principle for the preservation and further development of the cultural values and the historical-cultural self-awareness of every community [ethnische Gemeinschaft]. The awareness of the special qualities of one's own people is inseparably linked to the willingness to respect what is special about other peoples.

Article 4
Because of its topography, its density of population and its limited resources Austria is not a country for immigration.
1. The basic right to a home country [Heimat] does not allow for an unlimited and uncontrolled immigration to Austria. The protective requirement of this fundamental

right to a home country makes clear that Austria because of its small size, its density of population and its limited resources cannot be a country of immigration.

2. Unlimited immigration would demand too much of the resident population as far as an active capacity for integration is concerned. It would endanger the right to preservation and protection of cultural identity [Heimat]. We reject multi-cultural experiments that bear social conflicts with them.

3. To protect the interests of the Austrian population requires full sovereignty in matters concerned with the rights of immigrants.

4. Austria must give asylum to people who are persecuted for racist, religious or political reasons, if they do not come to Austria through a secure third country. Every persecuted person has the right to profess his own cultural tradition [Volkstum] and to return to his home country [Heimat], especially the numerously displaced persons, driven out of their countries who have been denied their basic right to a home country [Heimat] by violence
and expulsion in the course of the tragic events of the last decades. They do not lose this fundamental right and keep the right of return to their country of origin [Heimat].

Chapter V: Christianity – the foundations of Europe
"From our traditions we gain strength for something new. It was Christianity that decisively formed our traditions."

Article 1
The world order formed by Christianity and the ancient world is the most important intellectual foundation of Europe. The prime intellectual movements from humanism to the enlightenment are based on them. The cultural character of Christian values and traditions even embraces members of non-Christian religions and people without any confession.

1. European civilization has its oldest roots in antiquity. The face of Europe is decisively formed by Christianity in all its denominational diversity. Beyond that Europe was also influenced by Judaism and other non-Christian religious communities.

2. Europe's established principles of law are based on the Christian consensus of common values.

Article 2
The preservation of the intellectual foundations of the West necessitates a Christianity that defends its values. In striving for the preservation of these European foundations the Freedom Party sees itself as an ideal partner of the Christian churches, even if they sometimes take other positions on political issues.

1. The intellectual foundations of the West include the idea of human dignity and basic liberties as well as ideas deriving from this, such as the idea of democracy, codetermination and the rule of law, solidarity and respect for life and creation.

2. But these foundations are endangered by different streams of thought. The increasing fundamentalism of radical Islam which is penetrating Europe, as well as hedonistic consumption, aggressive capitalism, increasing occultism, pseudo-religious sects and an omnipresent nihilism threaten the consensus of values which is in danger of getting lost.

3. The big Christian churches play a decisive part in preserving the European consensus of values. This is also a concern of the Freedomite movement that sees itself as a natural partner of Christian churches. Therefore the FPÖ supports religious instruction in state schools and decisively rejects efforts to adopt in its place "ethics", an unfounded and questionable subject because of its philosophic and ideological position.

4. However, many people in Europe expect the churches to make more effort in decisively fighting this intellectual menace and not to be content by just playing the role of social welfare societies.

5. Liberalism throughout its history has always opposed ideological and religious intolerance often exercised by religious institutions. During this historical phase anti clericism grew which is now, in view of the changed role of ecclesiastical and religious institutions, outdated.

Article 3
The protection of autonomy for the churches and recognized religious communities requires an institutional separation of the church and the state. This separation also provides an essential guarantee to safeguard the freedom of every individual.

1. The protection of church autonomy and the recognized religious communities requires an institutional but not an intellectual separation of the church and the state. Above all this is necessary to avoid party political abuse of the churches and to avoid appealing to someone's conscience with the ideology of a party.

2. The institutional separation of the church and state has contributed to creating a situation which was decisive for the freedomite tradition in Europe.

3. The religious commitment and the values of the churches and recognized religious communities needs autonomy to guarantee the best conditions in which they can develop. As historical experience shows, this is another contribution to the freedom of the individual which cannot be renounced.

Chapter VI: Europe - a common destiny
"A common Europe must preserve the diversity and identity of its peoples."

Article 1
Europe is more than a geographic term. Europe is based on a Christian western community of values. Its peoples are bound together by destiny and a cultural heritage which make up Europe.

1. The term "Europe" cannot be reduced to a mere geographic concept nor to the supranational organization of the European Union. Europe is composed of a variety of peoples and ethnic groups, regions, nations and state units which have all grown up historically with shared values.

2. Austria's central geographical position and its history have given our country a special role in shaping Europe.

3. Europe's wealth lies in its diversity of peoples and ethnic groups. The Christian, western community of values assigns the freedom of the individual and the freedom of the peoples a particularly high position (higher than that of other cultures).

Article 2

The future destiny of Europe has to be shaped through close cooperation of its peoples. Political Europe is represented only partly by the European Union. Europe's diversity calls for forms of political cooperation which envisage different confederations on different levels. The independence of states should be restricted only by what is absolutely necessary to reach specific goals.

1. The future destiny of Europe has to be formed by the freedom of its peoples. Its historic diversity and cultural heritage have to be preserved and further developed.

2. It is this diversity which guarantees the future intellectual and cultural development of Europe and it must be preserved from current tendencies of leveling down and egalitarianism.

3. The European Union is just a part of the European reality. The European Union shall not become a European federal state but a confederation.

4. In addition various forms of international cooperation must be possible in a future confederation, regardless of whether a state is member of the EU or not.

5. European cooperation in fulfilling states functions must follow the principle of subsidiarity. That is why the European Union must never exercise „omni-competence" to fix its own powers.

Article 3

A democratic Europe for the people can only be possible together with a developed federalism acting in direct cooperation with regions which are steeped in history.

1. The future development of Europe must be characterized by the consolidation of democracy and civil rights. Europe's close political union should never mean less freedom for its citizens. As history shows, freedom and politics for the people can best be reached through federal competence.

2. Government regulation and bureaucracy must be reduced and not be moved to a supranational European level. Thus European cooperation by means of executive political functions must follow the principle of subsidiarity.

3. Existing federal structures in Europe are not only to be preserved and used but also extended. We categorically reject the creation of artificial regions independent of historically grown communities and structures, and anything which ignores the independent right of self-determination by the population concerned.

Article 4

Internal freedom in Europe must be safeguarded by a law for ethnic groups. This law has to work on the assumption that borders of settlement between peoples are not contiguous with state borders which is why many European states have ethnic minorities. Each of these ethnic minorities has a basic right to continued existence, to protection from assimilation tendencies, to preserve and further develop their cultural and political autonomy and to extensive cooperation beyond state borders.

1. A European law for ethnic groups shall guarantee protection of cultural and ethnic minorities and a solution of minority issues on the basis of the right to self-determination and the right to a cultural identity [Heimat].

2. Regional units within the European Union can only be established on the basis of the right of cooperation of ethnic and cultural groups.

3. The fundamental right to continued existence of each ethnic or cultural group as well as the protection from enforced assimilation obliges Austria not only to protect its own cultural minorities but also to act as a protector for German minorities on the territory of the former Austro-Hungarian Monarchy - minorities whose existence is threatened (see Chapter VII, Art. 4).

Chapter VII: A self-confident foreign policy - a common security policy
"Austria must be part of an all-European system of peace and security."
Article 1
Austrian foreign policy must be driven by the security interests of the country, by the need to preserve and secure Austria's sovereignty and by the aim to protect the freedom of its citizens.
Besides we must preserve economic and cultural interests and Austria's international reputation.
1. For Austria, situated in the heart of Europe, it is very important to carry on an active foreign policy with self-confidence. A self-confident representation of Austria and its citizens abroad, especially in the European Union, as well as the strengthening of its cultural and political reputation have to be maxims of foreign affairs.
2. Austria has to guarantee its citizens worldwide the best possible protection and assistance, in cooperation with other countries.
3. Through cooperation with other German-speaking states, the cultivation and dissemination of the German language can be promoted, especially through the use of German as an official language in international organizations and as language of economics and the sciences.
4. On development aid we must deviate from the non-differentiated principle of universality and from an ideologically motivated support of specific countries. It is in Austria's own interest to raise social and economic standards in the developing countries to avoid crises, conflicts and streams of refugees. Apart from short term aid in cases of catastrophe we should promote self-help. The population concerned should be given the possibility to have a chance of survival in their own homeland through the promotion of concrete projects and knowledge.

Article 2
Neutrality has proved the dominating maxim of action in Austrian foreign policy since 1955 and has had a substantial impact on the shaping of identity of the second Republic. However, since Austria's entry into the European Union in 1995 neutrality has gradually been diluted and is increasingly abused as an alibi by internal politics.
1. The status of perpetual neutrality of Austria was made a precondition for the adoption of the Austrian State Treaty ("Moscow Memorandum") by the Sovjet Union in 1955. For Austria it was a means of reaching sovereignty and freedom, which explains the eminent historical value of neutrality. Austrian neutrality soon became a determining and successful factor in Austrian foreign policy.
2. Against the background of geopolitical changes and constantly emerging fields of conflict, particularly in the Middle and the Far East, neutral and acknowledged mediators are becoming increasingly more important. Austria has taken on this very role in 1955 and has ever since successfully enhanced it.

Article 3
The changes in the geopolitical situation in Europe have been diminishing the likelihood of immediate military threats. Instead, what we are facing now, are conflicts in regions adjacent to EU-borders and the imminent threat posed by international terrorism. These threat scenarios can be best overcome by solidarity within the EU. This is why we support the common European security- and defence policy (ESDP).
1. We commit ourselves to the mutual assistance-clause in case of an armed attack against any EU member country. We will join operations also beyond the EU in accordance to the Petersburg Tasks. These operations however require the prior approval of Austrian Parliament.
2. Due to our neutral status and with regard to the security-political interest of the Austrian state we clearly reject any membership in a non-European alignment with a military background.
3. With regard to the fulfilment of our security-political tasks, we commit ourselves to the principle of compulsory military service either in form of army service or social service, which shall both be seen as the individual citizen´s contribution to safeguarding security and independence of Austria.

Article 4
Austria remains the protector of the German and Ladin South Tyroleans. There must remain the possibility for South Tyrol to join the Republic of Austria in a free exercise of its right to self determination.
1. As a result of political trends South Tyrol can at any time become the plaything of internal conflicts in Italy.
2. The peoples' right to self-determination is indivisible and cannot be renounced. Until South Tyrol has realized its right to self-determination, it is Austria's historic mission to protect the population of the German and Ladin minorities in South Tyrol and the internationally protected legal status by all available peaceful means.
3. In the event of South Tyrol's secession from Italy following the exercise of its right of self determination, the right to join the Republic of Austria must be kept open.

Article 5
Austria has a special historic responsibility and a duty to protect the numerous members of the German groups now living in the former territories of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy.
1. Austria has only made a small contribution to help members of the German minorities living in difficult conditions in the former territories of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy.
2. The preservation of these minorities with their unique culture has to be guaranteed. So it should be Austria's duty to offer these minorities a chance of economic and cultural survival.

Chapter VIII: Reform of democracy - a free republic
"Democracy guarantees a maximum of freedom and justice."

Article 1

The free, democratic principle, as well as the principles of the rule of law, the separation of powers, the republic and the federal constitution need to be renewed, and further developed. A reform of democracy, of federal government and the provinces and other legal entities must be permeated by the idea of civil rights. Austria's political system needs on the one hand more free competition between democratic forces within the framework of a multi-party system and the reduction of influence by parties and lobbies.

1. The first task of the freedomite movement is to initiate a reform of democracy and the constitution, to end bureaucratic authoritarian government and to establish a free state under the rule of law.

2. This reform must strengthen basic rights and freedoms as well as civil liberties.

3. Subsidies granted to the media and a concentration of power and ownership have led to political dependency. The consequences have been reporting influenced by instructions, the selection of reporters according to politics and a massive distortion of political competition. Free competition of democratic forces can only be obtained through liberalization of the media system and through fair conditions in political competition.

4. A clear reduction of the omnipotence of political parties will lead to the abolition of their influence on the appointment of the administration and staff in schools, as well as the members of the advisory board concerned with subsidy allocation, court committees (senates for court juries as well as the senates for the constitutional and administrative courts) as well as the supervisory board and executive board of directors in the field public economy. Beyond that political parties should not be allowed to have interests in public or private businesses nor to run such firms which are not related to fulfilling their political tasks as a party (e.g. the federal Austrian bank, other banks, the federal postal service, insurance companies, and co-operative building societies etc).

5. Professional associations have developed through social partnership to become a shadow parliament and an "para-government" without having any legal basis or democratic legitimization and without being effectively controlled. Professional representation through corporations under public law should be restricted to the real corporate task. Internal decisions must be made transparent and easy to check. Compulsory membership must be abrogated. Voluntary membership should encourage such interest groups to compete for members and have their interests at heart.

Article 2

A new Austrian constitution must contain for the first time a complete catalogue of basic rights. Basic and free rights should not only include civil rights but also catalogue civil duties to prevent the preferential treatment of privileged persons and to ensure that citizens are not unduly encumbered.

1. For the most part constitutionally guaranteed basic liberties are still based on laws taken over from times of the monarchy in the middle of the last century or are based on norms relating to international law which have been adopted by domestic law.

2. Even today Austria and its citizens lack a complete and extensive catalogue of basic and civil rights backed by supreme legal guarantees forming an integral part of the constitution.

3. In order to stress and make clear the special protection of basic laws and to assign them

special safeguards, they should be recognized in constitutional provisions in an „armed basic rights catalogue" which not even instruments of direct democracy could do away with. Constitutional laws should be supervised by the constitutional court to examine their compatibility with basic rights. As all civil rights are subjective, public rights should be formulated without legal provisos and should be directly applicable.

4. Alongside basic rights which are already protected by the constitution and which apply to everybody and the civil rights in force and operative for Austrian citizens only, the following should be introduced:

• the right to a cultural identity [Heimat]
• basic social rights:
• the right to protection of the family,
• the right of a proper education,
• the right to professional, creative and cultural development,
• the right to secure pensions in old age
• the right to an intact environment
• the right to thrifty, efficient, practical use of public expenditure, coupled with a right of appeal for individuals to the central audit office.

5. The catalogue of basic rights should be complemented by a catalogue of civil duties to prevent the possible privileged treatment of individuals or entire social groups. Conversely this comprehensive catalogue of duties should be a normative restriction of the state and should avoid any excess burdens on its citizens. These duties could be:

• a general tax to maintain the functions of the state which can only go to a constitutionally determined upper limit for taxes and deductions.
• Solidarity (especially support of the elderly and infirm, the unemployed and cases of social hardship; aid for those persecuted instead of a right to asylum, personal contribution to internal and external security).

Article 3
A catalogue of duties for the state should serve to limit the state to its original functions and should prevent an expansion in its activities, thus forming the basis for the necessary reduction of the state.

1. A catalogue of duties for the state should limit its field of activity so it can concentrate on its own preoccupations allowing for a withdrawal of the state from spheres where it has no business. Such primordial duties are for example:

• external security of the state (maintaining the integrity of its territory, the preservation of sovereignty)
• internal security
• legislation and the administration of justice (especially upholding and securing basic rights)
• thrifty and uncomplicated administration
• basic social care and welfare provision
• education, research and science (protection of educational institutions and creation of high quality public and private infrastructure in the educational system).
• preservation of the cultural heritage
• monetary and fiscal policy

2. The state should abstain from any profitable or entrepreneurial activity that currently just leads to a distortion of competitive relationships on the markets to the detriment of private competitors and as experience has shown, is also to the disadvantage of taxpayers.
3. For those spheres of provision which can only be managed entrepreneurially, there should be a separate legal "firm under public law" which as a public institution must be subject to full public control. To avoid unfair competition public firms should have restricted access to the markets.

Article 4
Parlamentarianism has to be complemented by the development of instruments of direct democracy. The legislative bodies – the National Assembly and the Federal Council – must be strengthened in comparison with the executive power. The National Assembly should be elected on the basis of a genuine personality electoral law. The Federal Council must be inter-linked with those sent from the provincial legislatures.
1. In all fields of federal and provincial legislation, plebiscitary rights should be guaranteed and extended. Thus it is necessary to:
1) reduce bureaucratic obstacles in conducting public questionnaires.
2) put political administrative acts to the public in a questionnaire (for example on government policy statements, manifestos, major public contracts, subsidies and investment plans).
3) transform the public questionnaire to a parliamentary minority right, so that a public questionnaire can be put into operation by a third of the members of parliament.
4) have the chance to start a referendum process by the electorate or by a certain number of municipalities (represented by the councilors' resolutions).
2. National assembly elections should be conducted in accordance with voting for a candidate not only for a party. Based on a system of vote splitting which means you can vote for the candidate of another party than the one you have voted for, thereby splitting your vote.
3. In order to enhance the National Assembly vis a vis the executive, it should have the right to elect the cabinet and have an effective no confidence vote. Political responsibility of ministers must be improved by a more effective right of parliamentary interpellation.
4. The National Assembly should be upgraded by the abolition of "governmental legislation". The Federal Government should only have the right to suggest legislation. The legal realization of these suggestions should follow only after a corresponding decision by the National Assembly. The advantage would be greater clarity concerning the content of laws, a simplification of the texts of laws, and laws would be more intelligible.
5. The Federal Council should be upgraded to a real chamber for the state provinces, and the erosion of its authority by extra-constitutional institutions such as the conference of provincial governors must be abandoned. To promote links between the Federal Council and those from the provincial legislatures, members of the Federal Council should at the same time also be directly-elected members of the relevant provincial legislature. In addition directly-elected provincial governors should also be "born" as members of the Federal Council. In this way the Federal Council as a second chamber of parliament becomes a real parliament of delegates from the provinces, which can play its part in shaping federal legislation and safeguard the interests of the federal provinces. The

Federal Council should have an absolute right of veto on all laws passed by the National Assembly which have administrative or financial repercussions on the provinces. To ensure a smooth legislative process, an arbitration committee from the chambers of parliament should automatically confer and act in cases of conflict.

Article 5
A new free republic should work on the basis of the principle of direct election of the highest organs of the state. The voting principle takes priority over that of appointment. The entire constitutional law of the federation as well as that of the state provinces, to serve as a basis for actions of the state, should be integrated and promulgated in a constitutional document (a compulsory commandment of incorporation).
We should not only keep the system of popular election for the federal president, but in addition to representative bodies the provincial governors and mayors as well as administrative heads of the relevant territorial legal entities should be elected in direct ballots by the people. Premature removal from office either of the federal president, provincial governors or mayors should be possible in a referendum after a qualified initiative from the relevant parliament or municipality. The numbers in the cabinet should be constitutionally limited, and should together with a directly-elected federal president, form the government, and should no longer be appointed but should be elected on the basis of proportionality on a proposal from the members of parliament in the National Council. They should only be responsible politically to the National Council.
A total reform of constitutional law must result in an end to the present system of fragmentation and the corresponding confusion in law-making. Constitutional law should be drawn up exclusively through a unified constitutional document as an expression of the need for less complexity in the state. The entire constitutional legal system should as a legal basis of the state and its activities be subject to a strict commandment of incorporation.

Article 6
The Audit control should be set up as a fourth power.
1. Audit control should become a fourth power in the state along with the legislative, the executive and the judiciary. Thus the Central Audit Office must be established as an independent type of court institution in the state whose members are entitled to have judicial guarantees (independence, and tenure such as that enjoyed by the High Court judges). They should be appointed according to the principle of complementation whereby a certain number of the members of the Central Audit Office should be appointed on the basis of proposals from the federal provinces. The competence of the Central Audit Office should, in addition to the authority of retrospective control of administration and public law bodies, also include the job of joint control of posts publicly advertised, the awarding of contracts and planning and development.
2. The results of the inquiries undertaken by the Audit Office should have a compulsory order for the abolition of abuses comparable to the status of that of the supreme courts in the judiciary. This kind of Supreme Court order would give the Central Audit Office the competence of a negative administrative organ allowing for strict adherence to the law. In addition to the compulsory orders, the reports of the Central Audit Office should also include recommendations which together with the orders would develop for

administration a binding third force (similar to that of findings of the supreme courts). To protect the public interest the Central Audit Office should have the right of subsidiary complaint as an official body before the courts in cases where it has been proved there have been abuses of a criminal nature.

Article 7
Increasing federalization of the tasks of the state should through the abolition of basic legislature on the part of the federation and indirect administration by it lead to a genuine constitutional autonomy of the provinces whose competences could be strengthened and fulfilled by a new division of labor in the federal state. The competence of the federation should be remodeled in a community competence of the federation and provincial states.
1. The division of duties in the federal state should be based on the classical subsidiarity principle and the performance of the individual provincial states.
2. The comprehensive competences of the federation should be replaced by a communal competence of both the federation and the provinces whose highest instrument should be a state treaty. This would even make possible the creation of a differentiated federal state plus allowing for the efficiency and performance of individual provinces. The new division of labor in the federation would avoid the fragmentation in competences and present overlapping of functions and rules. The aim must be to set up a fully rounded system of competences which are clearly assigned to one or other of the relevant territorial authorities. Only in this way can we achieve the goal of bringing the administration and state closer to the people and making its tasks easier to understand.
3. The entire stock of competences should be documented in the constitution (incorporation commandment).
4. For the purpose of establishing a genuine constitutional autonomy for the provinces, the principle law-making role of the federation should be abolished. Since the entry of Austria to the EU this has been linked with a greater subordination of the provinces in the normative sphere.
5. New rules for finance and the constitution must be guided by the new division of competences and tasks in the federation.
6. Direct administration by the federation and in the private economy should be abolished in the interests of a clear separation of federal and provincial administration. The way in which officials are organized and structured should also recognize this principle.

Article 8
Supreme organs of the constitutional and administrative courts, the audit authorities and those concerned with maladministration should be set up as common organs of the federation and the provinces.
The federal provinces must be given a real and effective possibility to co-determine the appointment and dismissal of joint organs of the federation and the provinces. Such joint organs are the Administrative Court and the Constitutional Court, the Central Audit Office and the Ombudsman.

Chapter IX: Law and order
"There is no freedom without law - and there can be no law without justice."

Article 1
A free, democratic state under the rule of law is based on a legal system which as the result of democratic decisions both restricts the freedom of the individual and also, at the same time, protects it. The state under the rule of law is the only body which has a monopoly on the use of force to implement the legal order and to protect important legal rights (life and limb, freedom and property). This is the original task of the state.
The respect of basic liberties requires a legal system which protects and develops freedom. This state-system must be the result of a democratic decision-making process and must be legitimized through the citizens' democratic will. The state is not an end in itself but must ensure the freedom, security and well-being of its citizens. It must only restrict the basic rights and freedoms of the individual if the abuse of these rights violate the rights and freedoms of others or of the community. It is only the democratic state under the rule of law which has sufficient legitimization from citizens and thus it is the only body possessing a monopoly on the use of force for the implementation of a legal order. We must categorically reject current moves to question this monopoly either by an unauthorized use of police authority or by taking the law into one's own hand - all trends which result from citizens' lack of trust in the state. It is the original task of the state to resolutely guarantee law and order and to impart to citizens a feeling based on credibility and safety.

Article 2
The judiciary as the third power of the state must have full constitutional guarantees of independence. To guarantee the participation of the people in jurisdiction, it must be fully accepted by the judiciary and be further developed. The citizens' access to law and justice must be easier and quicker.
1. An indispensable essential feature of the free state under the rule of law is the constitutional guarantee for the independence of both the judiciary and of judges.
2. We are against moves to eliminate the old and well-tried system of participation of citizens on juries; instead these must be protected and developed, especially through the participation of competent lay judges. The influence of political parties on lay judges must be eliminated.
3. To avoid political influence on authorities engaged in criminal proceedings, there should be established in the constitution the possibility of a „negative authority" to issue directives to the public prosecutor's office. Outright dismissals of cases through political intervention would therefore become impossible. The state under the rule of law shows a tendency to produce a multiplicity of laws, to complicate the citizen's access to law and even to deny it. So it is the task of a freedomite movement to permanently fight against these trends. The rules of the court and administrative procedures need to be simplified and tightened up to accelerate and simplify the citizen's access to law. The credibility of the state under the rule of law depends on a people-friendly legal system and practical accessibility to the law as well as on understandable legal terminology.

Article 3

In the fight against crime including terrorism, organized crime, gangs smuggling refugees, worldwide drug trafficking, the threat to basic rights by pseudo-religious sects and violence against children, the state should use its power with more decisiveness. Life imprisonment must mean what it says.

1. The examples listed of serious crime present a grave challenge to the state based on the rule of law. Its credibility concerning guarantees for the protection of basic rights depends on the resolution to use effective instruments in the fight against crime. Computer searches, electronic eavesdropping and rules concerning chief witnesses are suitable measures.

2. The measures necessary for this purpose must not, however, degenerate into a restrictive surveillance system. Their use must be subject to strict statutory regulations.

3. As it is a central task of the state to meet its citizens' need for security, we reject utopian experiments at the expense of the citizens. In the penal process, the protection of society must rate higher than the rehabilitation of the criminal.

4. To counter the flood of illegal immigrants and those engaged in smuggling refugees, an efficient border police should be established. This also serves as a means of crime prevention since experience shows that illegal immigration is connected with an importation of crime.

5. Pseudo-religious sects increasingly abuse the idea of freedom of worship as a basic right to seriously restrict basic rights of their members. Particularly basic rights such as personal freedom, freedom of movement, property, physical and mental integrity are sometimes violated on a large scale in sects and similar organizations. It is the task of the state to guarantee individuals the protection of basic rights even on the basis of freedom to worship.

6. Serious forms of violence against children, especially sexual abuse justify stricter punitive measures. Penalties concerning offences involving criminal body harm are not harsh enough in comparison with offences involving property. The threat of punishment must be adjusted to the importance of the protected goods.

7. Training and equipment of the security forces must be geared to the latest forensic and technical knowledge available. The executive forces must not be thwarted in its ability to act effectively by unjustified cut backs in its resources.

Article 4

We are opposed to the death penalty.

Article 5

The legal status of victims of crime has to improve. This means above all a comprehensive claim for damages against the offender.

1. The victim's claim for damage against the offender must rate higher than the penalty demanded by the state. In the first instance, it should be the victim who should get the fine and not the state.

2. With less serious first-time offences, the possibility of extra judicial compensation should be widened to suit the victim's interest in compensation on the one hand and to avoid unnecessary criminalizing of offenders on the other.

3. Public and private institutions offering counsel to victims must be given more support than at present.

Chapter X: A fair market economy
"A fair market economy means free competition plus social responsibility."

Article 1
A fair market economy and social responsibility guarantee dynamic development of the economy based on the equality of labor and capital. A fair market economy promotes performance and stimulates creative forces.
1. The model of a fair market economy requires equality of the productive factors - labor and capital. In accordance with the principle of fairness allowing for appropriate remuneration for labor, men and women should receive the same pay for the same work.
2. A fair market economy is the response to unbridled capitalism which exploits man and nature and to failed socialism which degrades its "workers" to administrative objects.
3. A fair market economy should create an economic climate that encourages independence for those in production and those wanting to start their own firms.
4. A complete deregulation of economic life raises the competitive strength of Austria's economy, guarantees its prosperity and creates jobs.
5. We aim for a complete deregulation of economic life which guarantees prosperity for the Austrian economy and stabilizes the job market.

Article 2
Real costs is a principle of the fair market economy. In accordance with the principle of the polluter pays, true costs produce fair market conditions.
1. In the present economic system it is almost always the case that the general public absorbs the so-called "social costs", especially in the fields of energy, transport and dangerous toxic emissions.
2. It is imperative to relocate the taxation of manpower to the taxation of consumption of nonrenewable raw materials, not just in the interests of a market competition policy and a labor market policy but also since it is ecologically useful as seen from the viewpoint of true costs.
3. Real costs should also correct social and ecological dumping and promote fair competition with low-price countries, especially those with child labor.

Article 3
A fair market economy means equal opportunities for the unprotected as opposed to the privileged economic sector. This requires the necessary conditions for fair competition. A fair market economy precludes privileged groups and monopolies, party-political control of whole branches of industry, domination by officials in the fields of social insurance, of public economy and of the politicized bank sector.
1. The Freedomite movement sees itself as the advocate of those employed in the unprotected fields. It contradicts the principle of fairness that most of the employed take the economic risks whereas others in privileged positions work in protected fields (to the detriment of the top performers).

2. Protected areas are the public sector and state enterprises. Also the media, the bulk of nonprofit building societies, semi-public insurance companies and banks, subsidized non-profit organizations and suchlike are to be included under this heading. In these sectors the private side is systematically at a disadvantage.

3. The power of such participation for banks and credit institutes has to be restricted. The bank sector must be depoliticized through real privatization. Throughout the entire credit sector effective consumer protection and a harmonization of the competition law must be implemented.

4. To counter the foreign sell-off of Austria's economy we have to give priority to building an effective Austrian capital market. Therefore it is essential to reform the laws on corporations, e.g. the creation of the Klein limited company following the Swiss example and to reform the stock exchange system with a strict control mechanism.

5. Monopolies and a dominant market power are not compatible with the model of a fair market economy.

6. Through a program of genuine privatization, the withdrawal of political parties and associations from the economy, the reduction of the influence of interest groups and their restriction to their real tasks, the power of party functionaries in the public economy should be eliminated.

Article 4

A fair market economy aims at a corporate culture, where industrial relations and participation models regulate a responsible partnership between employer and employees.

1. Instead of alien codetermination at business enterprise level by chambers and associations we aim at a corporate culture on the basis of a responsible partnership realized by regulations on industrial relations. These participation models should increase responsibility and the productivity of employees.

2. Industrial relations in the sense of a partnership between employer and employee should be given more weight compared with centralistic bureaucratic collective agreements. Collective tariff agreements should only regulate certain elements of contracts concerning wages, working hours, and social security benefits etc. which are compiled in the framework of industrial relations in firms after negotiations corresponding to the concrete circumstances.

3. Chambers and interest groups must confine themselves to their core jobs and membership should be voluntary.

Article 5

A fair market economy calls for low taxes and fiscal charges for enterprises and employees. To promote investment we need tax incentives instead of dirigistic subsidies.

1. The competitivity of small and medium-sized businesses which form the backbone of the Austrian economy, must be a chief priority in economic policy. Small and medium-sized firms allow for flexibility, insulation against crises and can develop entrepreneurial initiative on a large scale.

2. The burden of taxes and fiscal charges weighs down the financial potential of enterprises and with ever shorter investment cycles they are trapped into dependence on foreign capital. Thus equity capital formation should be supported, e.g. by tax exemption for retained earnings.

3. Instead of distorted competition through subsidies and benefits which only create dependency, enterprises could have the load lightened by a lower tax quota.

Article 6

A thorough and fundamental reform of administration leads to a lean state organized on the model of private enterprises. In this way a financial freedom for maneuver can be opened up which should be used to lower the tax load ratio and to reduce the burden on employers and employees.

1. The public service sector is one of the most expensive parts of the protected sector, for which the state spends a continually growing part of its receipts. Besides it is the self-service store and pension organization of the political parties and their auxiliary associations.

2. A more flexible working environment must not stop at state firms. Access to administration must not be governed by a state-run mentality but provide a service for its clients.

3. Savings in the public sector must be realized by a substantial reduction in the number of rules, by deregulation, by the introduction of cost accounting, by a better and more objective selection of executive personnel, by a concentration and simplification of procedures, by the delegation of decision-making, and by incentives for reducing costs in administration (budget-centers).

4. To deal with non-profit tasks, which will be managed by the public sector even in the future, we need a rational and cost-effective organization structure.

5. The conditions for a second age for the foundation of new firms in Austria are a long-term lowering of the tax load ratio and the simplification of our tax system.

Article 7

A fair market economy faces the challenge of the technological revolution. We need a general frame work key technologies of the 21st century (telecommunications, electronic data processing and transport etc.) For that we need above all to intensify research and development.

1. A strong future-oriented economic policy has to promote new markets and new jobs by intensifying research and development in the new technologies. Technological innovation is a precondition for the creation of jobs and to protect high wage levels.

2. Educational policy has to adjust to new qualification requirements. We must improve the quality of skilled workers' training. Practical reforms must keep the dual system of apprenticeship training viable. We must attach much more importance to lifelong learning.

Article 8

Unrestricted immigration leads to serious distortion of the labor market and to a big demand on wage levels. Large numbers of unemployed do not allow for the immigration of workers with qualifications which are not in demand. Austria is not a country of immigration. The pressure on wages and rising prices in the housing market, which result from uncontrolled immigration, make for a distortion of the labor and housing markets, which endanger social freedom. Enterprises which need labor in certain seasons of the

year, should have the possibility to take on foreigners for a limited time through the development of a seasonal model.

Chapter XI: For Solidarity and Justice
"Solidarity means the community has a duty to help the weak and the needy."

Article 1
A humane society is a community where risks are possible but in which solidarity should be practiced in an efficient and fair way. The tasks of this community based on risk and a sense of solidarity are to establish opportunity for all, to compensate for risks and to prevent emergency situations.
1. Establishing opportunities for all takes into account the existence of different levels and groups resulting from the natural different development of people in a pluralistic society. Establishing just opportunities does not mean egalitarianism but it means rather an offer that could be taken up by the personal decision of the individual. However, this decision presumes that the basic needs of life will be covered. Opportunity for all also means the same classification and career prospects for women in working life with equal qualifications and the elimination of pay differentials for the same work between men and women.
2. The main risks are listed in Article 2. It is a prior concern of Freedomite social policy that these should be compensated by solidarity. Freedomite social policy should ensure social security in such cases.
3. To prevent cases where livelihood is endangered, we must not only guard against situations involving physical emergencies, but also guarantee basic living conditions.

Article 2
The risks to be covered in such a community for solidarity are above all old age, illness and accident, care of the needy and disabled, unemployment and serious disadvantages or strokes of fate. Every system of social risk cover must be constantly checked to see that it is effective. In order to reach the political aim of social efficiency we must depart from the idea of a social welfare state distributing its social security benefits on the basis of universality. The system of the social welfare state can only be preserved if the allocation of benefits goes primarily to those in social need.

Article 3
Solidarity between the generations is a main challenge for such a community based on risk and solidarity. A main aim of the state is an old age pension scheme which guarantees a secure and dignified old age. Thus the state must devise a workable generation contract between the generations.
1. The old age pension which guarantees a secure and dignified old age should be based on the "three-pillar-model", of the state, the company and private contributions.
2. The state old age pension scheme must no longer allow special pension rights for privileged groups (politicians, functionaries of chambers and interest groups, employees of public and semi-state enterprises etc.). The real retirement age must be brought up to the legal retirement age.

3. The unscrupulous running up of debt over the last decades must be regarded as a financial burden for future generations. In addition the inability to readjust old age pension schemes in keeping with the times to guarantee their future financing is another irresponsible burden for future generations. Thus we oppose financial measures which will further be a burden on generations to come.
4. To ensure a contract between generations we need a family policy that favors large families.

Article 4
Social duties must be observed responsibly on the basis of the principle of subsidiarity: on the part of the individual, the family, self-help groups and institutions, firms and religious communities. A social system which works for the people sets up self-help groups of manageable size to deal with problems. The ultimate responsibility for social welfare is to be born by the state which also has to combat social welfare abuse.
1. As experience shows social efficiency suffers when more and more tasks are managed by centralistic state institutions. Thus cases where livelihood is threatened should as far as possible be solved autonomously by the persons concerned and by small social units which can create independence and security
2. The promotion of these small social units is more cost-effective for the state than the public administration of social problems. In addition it creates a climate of common responsibility between those concerned.
3. The state as the highest responsible form of organization for a community based on risk, should only guarantee basic welfare which is to be complemented and topped up by individual contributions.
4. Public social insurance companies should be merged. This reform and a fundamental reduction in the administration and a substantial cut in the privileges of functionaries would lead to a reduction of costs to the benefit of the insured.
5. The abuse of public welfare is an offence against solidarity with the socially deprived and those who pay contributions and thus is a special form of crime which is partly induced or even promoted by careless administration. Thus social justice requires an effective fight against the abuse of social welfare benefits.

Chapter XII: The family – a community of generations
"The family is the core of society."

Article 1
The family, molded by mutual responsibility between generations and partners, is the most important social basis of a freedomite society. Children make a joint life between a man and a woman a family. The chief functions of the family are to educate children and to provide welfare across the generations.
1. The family is founded on a common life between a man and a woman which finds a special expression in society through the institution of marriage. The family is a natural joint community with children, but also communities consisting of sole parents with children are to be regarded as families. We reject efforts to equate homosexual partnerships with families.

2. The family as a natural community should give children the sense of security they need. No public institution is able to adequately replace the family and its functions.
3. Family duties of care and help not only exist in the parent-child relationship but also across the generations in relation with every other family member.

Article 2
The state must not only respect the autonomy of the family, but also must guarantee the family as an institution special forms of protection. Every form of private or public discrimination must be firmly opposed.
1. Forms of private or public discrimination, especially of large families occur as a result of the tax system, the allocation of flats, inflexible working-time regulations, and through a lack of public child-care institutions, as well as the organization of tariffs etc.
2. The housing-construction assistance program should promote projects which makes the coexistence of all generations possible.
3. Private and public child care institutions and the care of children in the family must be treated equally and encouraged, e.g. by a child care voucher.

Article 3
The high costs resulting from having a family justifies a more favorable state taxation law, social legislation and changes in tariffs and costs. This reform is justified especially by the family's contribution to a viable contract between generations.
1. The freedomite movement calls for the introduction of "family splitting" for setting taxes and fiscal charges to improve tax treatment of families and to guarantee all family members a tax-free subsistence level. In social legislation the family's contribution in ensuring a contract between the generations must be taken into account by a graded reduction of the tax burden.
2. Rates and fees should be based on family-friendly models.
3. To facilitate child care in the family the costs of child care, nannies, private crèches and home helps and so on should be tax-deductible.

Article 4
If the child's well-being is impaired through the fault of the family, the protective role of the state justifies its intervention in the autonomy of the family.
1. Especially in cases of sexual abuse, maltreatment and neglect the state above all must pay attention to the child's welfare. In these and similar cases the child needs the urgent protection of the state. However, this does not alter the subjective responsibility of the social environment where acts of violence against children occur.
2. Penal provisions have to be clearly tightened up concerning offences against children to make clear the relationship to the punishment of other offences, e.g. crimes against property (see Chapter IX, Art. 3).

Article 5
Time spent on bringing up children and caring for family members must count as family work and must be equated with every other form of gainful employment to determine the entitlement to a pension. There can be no family-friendly social policy, when women who spend time bringing up children or caring for family members are on the poverty

line or become socially hard up themselves when they are old. Time spent on bringing up children or in caring for family members should be credited for a pension and taken into account when calculating the pension.

Chapter XIII: The Environment
"We want to preserve the nature inherited from our forefathers and hand it over so that it is worth living to our children."

Article I
To preserve the natural basic elements of life (air, water, earth, flora and animals) for future generations we need an "ecological inter-generation contract" which assumes the principle of durability.
1. Measures to care for future generations involve putting a stop to any further destruction of the natural basic elements of life and a duty to preserve an intact environment. The duties resulting from this should be laid down in an "ecological inter-generation contract".
2. Since we appreciate that mankind as a part of nature only has a future if nature and natural resources remain intact, we need a new strategy to improve the human quality of life and we need solutions to cope with the enormous demands made on the environment.
3. The principle of durability says that in a certain period of time we are only allowed to consume those resources which can be renewed in the same time.
4. Principles to preserve an intact environment for future survival should be combined with corresponding economic regulations such as an ecological balance, liability for damage to the environment and the consideration of ecological factors in public accounting coupled with the "ecological inter-generation contract".

Article 2
To preserve long-term stable ecosystems, their genetic variety, the evolutionary potential for development and their material productivity as the basis of all forms of life, the consumption of resources and environmental pollution must have a price compatible with market conditions.
1. Today we have a basic contradiction between the simultaneous demands for (industrial) affluent growth and environmental protection. To resolve this contradiction market mechanisms must operate for the environment. Costs and prices must express the ecological truth.
2. At present plundering nature is profitable but environmental protection brings with it if only in the short-term, economic disadvantages. The existing instruments of environmental policy are only concerned with damage limitation or repairing the environment. The measures which have been taken and which are still being taken to protect the environment are mostly concerned with retrospective care.

Article 3
To create cost-incentives to preserve the fundamental stability of the biosphere, which is endangered by the consumption of raw materials, by energy requirements, by working the land and working animals, it is essential to ecologize the tax system. Labor must become cheaper and the environment factor more expensive.

1. The first step in the direction of appreciating and preserving intact the basic elements of life for future generations, is to establish an ecological tax system.
2. A rise in price of the factor of environment is to be achieved through an "ecotax". Thus the "ecotax" can be seen as an active tax which can influence the path to be taken. The protection of production, growth and the development of renewable raw materials and the preservation of an adaptable ecosystem are the basis for integral living conditions for future generations. Thus economic decisions must be based on this principle.
3. An "ecological tax system" envisages taxes/charges/duties for goods and production methods which cause environmental pollution. They are to be revenue-neutral, that means when environmental taxes are charged, wage-related taxes should be reduced by the same amount. The steering effect of ecotaxes creates financial incentives to reduce pollutants for the producer as well as f or the consumer.
4. The ecotax as an active tax which can steer the course taken, has different advantages:
• A reduction in manpower costs brings about less pressure on the labor market.
• Trade and industry have a fresh chance to innovate and to introduce these onto the market.
• The introduction of eco-taxes makes it possible to abolish other taxes without substitutes.
• Polluting products and similar production methods are no longer profitable.
5. Competitive disadvantages for specific industries must be given compensation for a transitional period until international adjustment is realized.

Article 4
In the public accounting system the negative effects of costs resulting from damage through pollution, must show on the books.
1. Environmental indicators within the traditional gross national product would show the condition of economic growth through negative effects – connected with high costs of repair damage – and so would give a totally new impression of our public economy.
2. If the real state of economy is documented by an extended calculation of the gross national product, the result is the imperative use of directive measures.

Chapter XIV: Free farmers - the cultivation of the land
"Independent farmers guarantee the preservation of our cultural landscape."

Article 1
The survival of an independent and viable farming community is imperative to preserve both the natural bases for our existence (air, water, earth, flora and fauna) and a developed countryside. Agricultural and forestry when given scope consider the frail natural balance, care for natural resources and create a typically Austrian, rustic scenery for culture and recreation.
1. The preservation of fertile soil, thriving forests and pure water forms the basis for the production of quality food when agriculture and forestry can be close to nature. Domestic agriculture contributes substantially to ensure the supply of quality foodstuffs to the Austrian population.
2. For centuries the Austrian landscape has been cultivated and shaped by the work of its farmers. The Austrian landscape, the village settlements, animal species, agriculture and

rural customs form the scenic culture which in its regional diversity contributes to the cultural richness of Austria.

3. The rural countryside has additionally to provide for recreation and to act as a natural refuge in the interests of the general public. Only efficient, productive and independent farmers can maintain the natural basis for this existence in the country. Thus it is in the public interest to safeguard the existence of Austrian farmers and their communities.

Article 2

In addition to agriculture and forestry, farmers are especially important in an economic sense, for the preservation of the countryside, the protection of Alpine settlements, for self-sufficiency in supplying healthy foodstuffs, for provision in times of crisis and for the maintenance of the scenic culture of the country. These activities carried on for the public should be financially recognized by secure direct payments constitutionally safeguarded. This means in turn a renationalization of competences concerning agriculture and forestry from the EU to the federation and the federal provinces.

1. At present the work of farmers for the public is not reflected in the prices of agricultural products. These prices often do not even cover costs. Thus the freedomite movement argues that the work of farmers for the public should be legally safeguarded by annual direct payments. These payments should be calculated according to the size and location of the farmhouse and consider the extent of natural forms of production.

2. Natural production methods exclude widespread use of chemicals as well as the possibility of genetic manipulation. It is also in the public interest to preserve rural animal species and plants as genetic reserves.

3. The agricultural policy of the EU is opposed to these declared aims of maintaining traditional rural structures and extensive non-artificial production methods. To save Austrian agriculture from financial collapse which can be anticipated by the planned eastwards expansion of the EU, we must urgently aim for a re-nationalization of agricultural policy.

Article 3

The farmhouse as a place of work must be preserved. The structure of the family-owned and run rural business must be specially protected as a full-time occupation, without putting farmers with additional jobs at a disadvantage. The increasing trend forcing farmers to take up additional employment and the increase in the numbers of farms forced to close down must be halted.

1. The working farm as a full-time occupation gains in importance in view of the tight labor market. The rural family business must be promoted by a clear upgrading of the socio-legal position of farmers' wives and by an improvement in allowances for the farms.

2. Farming should be made more attractive by facilitating the direct selling of agricultural produce. An additional value-added effect could be promoted through the promotion of bioenergy (biomass, biogas, rapeseed oil etc.).

3. In Austria the economic development of forests has a long tradition. In providing renewable raw materials the forest is the basis of an important branch of the economy.

Chapter XV: Broad culture - free art
"To the age, its art to art its freedom."

Article 1
Culture means all forms of civilized expression. The greatest form of cultural expression is art, which in a freedomite society is not subject to any limitations.
1. Culture is understood by the Freedomites to include artistic activity and its results.
2. Art cannot be defined in a material sense, exclusively and as universally applicable because every individual defines for themselves what they see as artistic expression. A conceptual definition of art would restrict the full internal and external freedom of art.
3. The indispensable claim to full internal and external freedom of art is only restricted by the universally applicable legal system. In a democratic society every artistic expression is subject to unrestricted freedom of criticism.

Article 2
Language is the most important medium of cultural expression. Thus it must be specially cultivated. The freedomite movement emphasizes the affiliation of Austrians to the cultural community shaped by the mother tongue which for the overwhelming majority of Austrians is German.
1. The mother tongue is the result of biographic and family characteristics and is the language in which we dream, feel and think. Thus the mother tongue as the medium of cultural expression determines the cultural community we belong to. As a majority of Austrians speak the official language German (see Article 8 B-VG) as their mother tongue, they belong to the German cultural community.
2. Protection and cultivation of the language are public tasks; so we aim at corresponding legislation.

Article 3
Out of respect for the artistic and cultural achievements of former generations it is a social and state task to maintain Austria's varied and grand cultural heritage. The provinces as bearers of cultural autonomy have a special responsibility.
1. The artistic achievements of former generations have become cultural heritage through tradition. This implies high culture as well as the different forms of popular culture.
2. The task of society and the state is to preserve this cultural heritage and to protect regional cultural identities which is in stark contrast to all efforts to level culture down or to decree a multi-culture - goals we decisively reject.
3. The protection of the cultural heritage necessitates an infra structure, that is the maintenance of large and established theatres and operas, concert halls, museums and cultural monuments.

Article 4
Art is a private matter. In any art policy there must be no patronage by the state concerning taste, and no political instrumentation or subordination through subsidies. Instead the state has to set up the framework to guarantee the freedom of art and its diversity and to guarantee the infrastructure for artistic development.

1. Art is a private matter because every individual has their own artistic sense which cannot be determined by an institution. The freedomite movement pleads for private patronage which stimulates the art market by tax incentives.

2. Artists are bound and politically instrumentalised by control mechanisms such as the granting of subsidies, the promotion of art and art purchasing policies. This leads especially in Austria to a special type of state-friendly artist. Thus the freedom of art is substantially restricted.

3. The state has to limit its promotion of art to the creation of general conditions and to provide the infrastructure for institutions, above all for art academies, music academies and conservatories, galleries, exhibition halls, public theatres and concert halls, workshops and aid for young artists to start a career.

4. It is the state which is particularly responsible for guaranteeing the conditions for free development of modern art, music, film, TV etc. addressing above all the young generation. Modern cultural policy cannot only be confined to the preservation of traditional culture.

Chapter XVI: The right to an education
"Knowledge prevents excess power."

Article 1

A basic right to education exists. Education is the cultural instrument to create equal opportunities, to fulfill freedom and for participation in democratic life. Education serves to further personal development and enables responsible deeds. Vocational training is an essential precondition to secure the very existence of individuals and to maintain the competitiveness of the Austrian economy.

1. The state has to offer wide-ranging educational institutions of high quality to guarantee the basic right of education. Private institutions should also be supported to intensify competition with state schools thus enhancing quality.

2. The Austrian education system as far as society is concerned must neither aim at the preservation of everything handed down nor at change at all costs, but it should educate people so that they can take free and sensible decisions concerning their future. The development of the personality and acquisition of knowledge should enable them to recognize and shape cultural, economic and political interrelationships. Thus it is necessary to liberate the whole education system from party political influence and to take care that schools are not abused for ideological and doctrinaire purposes.

3. Freedomite educational policy assumes that the educational system is open to every social strata but it has also found that people do not have the same specific gifts and so schools cannot teach in a conformistic way. It is more important to encourage people as far as possible according to their talents in a structured education system. Uniform structures like the comprehensive school for the 10 to 14 year olds are not sensible and thus we reject them.

Article 2

In organizing the education system and educational goals we must attach importance to clarity, transparency and legal security. Educational goals must be geared above all to economic demands and to the preservation of our cultural heritage. Thus we must give

careful consideration to the education of young people who are our social cultural and economic future.

1. The state has to define general conditions, financing and fundamental educational goals and should be in charge of schools, especially with regard to quality control. All the rest can be left to the realm of school autonomy.

2. Within the educational goals the mastery of basic cultural techniques for further educational development is essential. They must be geared to demand. The training of skilled workers must be given a high rating.

3. One of the most important educational goals is the cultivation of the Austrian characteristic identity and its cultural heritage. This justifies the preservation and promotion of the humanities and artistic education demonstrating consideration for regional cultural characteristics.

4. Tougher competition, globalization and new technologies mean ever growing challenges for our youth. To master these challenges freedomite politics aims to educate young people in a modern and practical way as they are our future.

Article 3

We freedomites assign priority to the parents' responsibility for their children and to the upbringing of children within the family as opposed to state institutions. Thus parents should have more influence on educational matters than hitherto. The development of democratic decision-making in schools in the future must take this principle into account. The responsibility for the education of a child cannot be delegated to the school alone or be claimed solely by the school. An increase in school autonomy allows the inclusion of parents in the decision-making process. This possibility should be used.

Article 4

Freedomite educational policy acknowledges the principle of performance and an educational elite because without them Austria could not keep its economic and cultural position in the world. Thus we demand a wide-ranging scholarship system and a school system where performance counts and where pupils, teachers and administration are stretched to the same extent.

1. The educational policy of the last ten years has lowered the education level by bad school reforms, even in international comparison. To raise the education level and irrespective of our belief in humane schools where children are treated like children, the soft school model is not a desirable model for us for the future. Knowledge which is simply acquired and skills and good results which are automatically achieved often lag behind the pupils' abilities because their true performance is not challenged. The best possible utilization of talents and interests is only guaranteed by educational institutions where the idea of performance is in the foreground.

2. Of course this puts more demands on the performance of the teachers who play a key role in the entire education system. Thus teacher training must be improved in the professional, pedagogical and psychological sectors.

3. The evaluation of progress in school is indispensable for us. The marking system must be reformed in to allow for a practical and relevant comparison of school performances. It serves as an incentive to achieve and later as the foundation for professional employment. Thus the judgement of progress and evaluations in schools has to follow a

federal standardized multi-stage scale of marks. We reject marking which makes it difficult to detect performance and which makes comparisons impossible.

Chapter XVII: Science and its teaching are free
"The promotion of science and research has priority."

Article 1
Science as the promotion of the academia is a main part of Western culture. In this sense the preservation and development of the cultural heritage as well as humanities and natural science have the same status. Preservation and further development of the level of knowledge is the duty of research - its communication is the duty of science. They both have to keep the level of knowledge at the highest possible level and to make it available irrespective of day-to-day demands.
The conscious preservation and further development of knowledge is a fundamental element of Western culture. Our culture is determined primarily by the idea of development which consciously preserves that which has been achieved to date but also takes into account the future. Every form of science is subject to this process irrespective of day-to-day demands even if these advance the level of knowledge.
All available knowledge in every field has to be on the highest possible level and always readily-available and subject to recall. The sciences have to be structured according to their practical use today in order to provide the scientific foundations for new discoveries in the future.

Article 2
Free human beings striving for knowledge are the bearers of science. The basic right that "science and its teaching is free" is valid. The only limitation to this freedom is the ethical foundation of Western culture and above all the inviolable dignity of mankind.
It is not collective research which is the standard bearer of research and theory but it is the individual scientist with a sense of responsibility. For Western culture it is science which creates and forms free beings who in an inter-active changing process form and determine science. The research activity of individuals must be embedded in special academic institutions and proceed in co-operation with specific scientific establishments. However, in the opinion of the Freedomites the independence of individuals as scientists must be guaranteed by the traditional principle stating that "science and its teaching is free". Of course this does not mean boundless freedom for scientific work: The possibilities of modern technology call for ethical restraint such as the inviolable dignity of people.

Article 3
The cultivation of science for society is a task for the state. The state has to make the ideal and material means of research available in competition with the private sector. But public influence on research and teaching is analogous to the free economy and should be limited to the legal creation of general conditions and the setting of minimum requirements on teaching. In the interests of the freedom of science the state is not entitled to dictate research and teaching theory on any ideological basis.

The cultivation of science as a socio-cultural element is not only a state task. The state has to make ideal and material means of research available and to permit and promote the private sector in the field of science. The fundamental right to academic freedom forbids any public intervention in the organization of research and teaching. As in the field of economics the state has to strictly confine itself to determining general conditions by law and setting minimum requirements on teaching. The state has to respect the autonomy of science and so refrain from ideologically-motivated intervention.

Article 4
Science needs the unity of research and teaching. The primary place dedicated to this unity is the university. Universities are autonomous bodies with budgetary rights, the right to manage personnel and with rights to organize scientific work autonomously. For this the state sets out the general conditions by law. In consultation with representatives from professional groups the universities also offer high vocational education. There must be free access to the universities for every qualified person.
The unity of research and theory is in accordance with Western tradition: research results must be imparted immediately by theory and theory has to make known the latest findings. In this process there is feedback from theory and empirical work for more research. Moreover there is a fluid boundary between research and theory when instructed research serves training purposes.
Research-based teaching should serve highly qualified training for research and for certain professions as well as the promotion of knowledge. In this sense universities have to protect three teaching duties as in times before the mass university: the imparting of knowledge in the form of simple studies without great final examinations, specific vocational training in the form of studies and specific theoretical and partly practical examinations (Masters), scientific education in form of studies and theoretical examinations and scientific work (the doctorate).
The possibility to take job-specific examinations during studies should result in a substantial reduction in the duration of training for academic professions. It is the task of the vocational high schools to offer high practical training. They serve to provide specific vocational training in studies with examinations geared to the professions without being places of research themselves.
Other institutions of research complement the universities such as the Academy of Science. To avoid a proliferation of research institutes, the state has to establish an appropriate research concept in consultations with those concerned – if possible without direct intervention.
Universities and places of research must be founded as autonomous bodies with budgetary autonomy and the right to manage personnel.

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