

TABLE OF CONTENTS

SUMMARY	7
1. INTRODUCTION	9
1.1. Nationalism and post-communism	9
1.2. Main goals	10
2. THEORETICAL BACKGROUND	11
2.1. Notion of political culture	11
2.1.1. <i>Is political culture a dependent or independent variable?</i>	11
2.1.2. <i>Mass and elite political culture</i>	13
2.2. Nationalism	15
2.2.1. <i>Nationalism as an ideology</i>	15
2.2.2. <i>About the “peculiarities” of East European nationalism</i>	17
2.3. Populism	19
2.3.1. <i>The understanding of populism</i>	19
2.3.2. <i>Nationalist populism</i>	22
2.3.3. <i>Nationalist populism in domestic and foreign policies</i>	24
3. A SHORT INSIGHT INTO THE METHODOLOGY	26
3.1. Why compare Poland and Slovakia?	26
3.1.1. <i>The most obvious difference: geopolitics</i>	27
3.1.2. <i>Historical heritage: one region, but a different experience</i>	27
3.1.3. <i>Experience of independent statehood</i>	29
3.1.4. <i>Differences in the “communist unity”</i>	30
3.1.5. <i>Differences in ethnic structure</i>	31
3.2. Summarising similarities and differences – historical, structural and political predispositions for the sustainability of nationalist populism	32
3.3. Political discourse and discourse analysis	33
3.3.1. <i>Comparative political discourse</i>	36

4. NATIONALIST POPULISM IN THE POLISH AND SLOVAK POLITICAL DISCOURSES (1991–1992)	37
4.1. Nationalist populism in the Polish political discourse (1991)	37
4.1.1. <i>Party manifestos</i>	37
4.1.2. <i>Electoral success of the political parties exploiting nationalist populist language</i>	40
4.1.3. <i>Media discourse (1991)</i>	43
4.2. Nationalist populism in the Slovak political discourse (1992)	47
4.2.1. <i>Party manifestos</i>	47
4.2.2. <i>Electoral success of the political parties exploiting nationalist populist language</i>	49
4.2.3. <i>Media discourse (1992)</i>	51
4.3. Comparison of the Polish and Slovak political discourses 1991–1992: similarities and differences	56
5. NATIONALIST POPULISM IN THE POLISH AND SLOVAK POLITICAL DISCOURSES (2001–2002)	59
5.1. Nationalist populism in the Polish political discourse (2001)	59
5.1.1. <i>Party manifestos</i>	59
5.1.2. <i>Electoral success of the political parties exploiting nationalist populist language</i>	60
5.1.3. <i>Media discourse (2001)</i>	63
5.2. Nationalist populism in the Slovak political discourse (2002)	65
5.2.1. <i>Party manifestos</i>	65
5.2.2. <i>Electoral success of the political parties exploiting nationalist populist language</i>	67
5.2.3. <i>Media discourse (2002)</i>	68
5.3. Comparison of the Polish and Slovak political discourses 2001–2002: similarities and differences	71
6. CONCLUSIONS	74
6.1. Political language and political culture	74
6.2. Cross-country comparison – similarities and differences	75

6.3. Cross-time comparison – beginning of the 1990s and ten years after	77
6.4. Nationalist populism in the Polish and Slovak political discourses: final remarks	80
REFERENCES	83