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TWO STATES, FOUR ELECTIONS, ONE ISSUE – GREECE AND POLAND ON THE POPULIST PATH

ABSTRACT

Populism is a phenomenon that has developed particularly in the years after the crisis in Europe. This does not mean that it did not exist in the pre-crisis era, but its impetus at this time creates significant pressures for both democracy and the very future of Europe. However, populism exist both in the right and the left of the political spectrum, but its methods goes beyond the ideological contradictions on the road to gaining and preserving power. The comparative study of these features and an attempt to categorize them is the basic aim of this article. Therefore, we use the example of the right-wing populist party “Law and Justice” which is governing Poland and the left-wing populist party, SYRIZA, which is the ruling party in Greece, in order to highlight both the differences, but most importantly the similarities in their strategies and methods.

Keywords:

populism, right wing party, left wing party, Greece, Poland.

Introduction

Election campaign is an important period for the political parties as long as it is actually the time when their propaganda’s activities are enhanced. This year, 2019, Greece and Poland as also many other states in the

EU, have got at least two elections to be conducted– in May for the European Parliament and the national parliamentary elections in autumn or earlier. This situation creates a natural field for all kinds of populists’ narration and let us observe its different faces.

The aim of this article is the analysis of political discourse of Greek and Polish governing parties taking part in European and National Parliamentary campaigns in the context of its populist rhetoric. The research and analysis focus on the two main parties in both states which have been governing since elections in 2015 and now they also try to win again the forthcoming elections. In the article we use a comparison of analysis and we are based on the last information, speeches and publications of the parties and their leaders before elections in May, June and September 2019.

Populism is described as a political discourse which is visible in the narration of the main Greek and Polish parties and their leaders. It is also often considered in two perspectives: the first treats populism as a kind of modern ideology while the second one shows it as a political strategy. In the case of Greece and Poland this second point of view seems to be more suitable to the current political debate and the mindset of the leaders in both states.

Populism *per se* is neither fundamentally right nor left wing. But its exclusive character allows us to construct its two versions used by opposite sides of the political scene in many states based on the similarities of the strategies but not necessarily on the agenda itself. In spite of the different definitions and theories, the simplest way to divide populism in Europe is to indicate that it has a right and left – wing “face” as long as they are both based on common elements (Tokarczyk, 1999). However, they respond to right or left narrations or narration which is usually attributed to the traditional way of right or left thinking (Herbut, 2002; Giddens, 1988; Bobbo, 1996).

The right – wing populism in Poland

Populism in Poland is not a new method in order to gain more votes in the elections (Jacuński, 2010). In the past the parties and their leader used this tool as a useful and easy way to adopt during changeable political campaign. Moreover, their common core was always the same – democracy is not negative but its realization should be better so that the populists are allowed to give simple answers for all doubts and issues. All populist movements and

leaders suggest that the more individual participation of citizens and less state's mechanisms which are based on law and other regulations, the better for democracy.

It was not the first time in the history of Poland after 1989 when populism appeared on the political scene as an attractive conception for a part of the society. During the last decade of the previous century it was a face of Stan Tyminski who tried to win the presidential elections in 1991 with his simple answers for many economical issues. Since 2001 in Polish Parliament the right wing party Liga Polskich Rodzin existed, which built its identity on the historical populist narration. Almost a decade later, in 2010, "Samoobrona" appeared as a new political party, mainly as an agrarian version of populism. But none of these parties were so strong to seduce the voters for such a long time and set the society alight so much.

The populism of the main party in the current political discourse took a right wing face (Kasprowicz, 2017). Not only the governing party Law and Justice (PiS)¹ defines itself as a right wing party but also their leaders often underline the typical issues for this category of organizations. According to Aleksandra Moroska, the right wing type of populism has got a few distinctive elements:

- nativism (mix of nationalism and xenophobia);
- authoritarianism;
- economic protectionism (Moroska, 2010).

The author also mentions that economy and its issues are not in the center of the ideological doctrine of this kind of parties. Moreover, in its core are included aspects such as the national identity, cultural homogeneity and natural inequality of the society. All these elements are visible in the programme and narration of the Law and Justice party.

Moroska also mentioned about two other aspects of right wing populism – both of them are clearly visible in Law and Justice functioning before elections in 2019 or even earlier. The whole party is built on the authority of one man – Jarosław Kaczyński. Although this anti – pluralist party was founded in 2001 by the twin Kaczyński brothers the real leader of it was always Jarosław, not Lech Kaczyński. Moreover, after the tragic plain crash in April 2010 and the death of Lech (the President of Poland) there is no doubt

¹ Both names – Law and Justice and Polish acronym PiS will be used as synonyms in the text.

who is the brain and the most important person in the party. What is more, Jarosław Kaczyński who is “only” an ordinary MP is also well – known as the most making – decision person in the state.

Although PiS party creates its image as a European conservative party they often use any European narration and willingly underline all negative aspects of the EU as an institution. Before the following elections in 2019 their narration is focused on three main distinctions: the first – settlement of all, who were whenever against today’s populist narration², the second – creation the new enemy³; the third – convince the society that all positive changes are the effects of PiS governance since 2015. This last enemy seems to be the EU and its decisions. According to their message, the European institutions have jeopardized Polish future and the state’s goals. But what is very telltale is that they do not take part in building the common relations with the EU institutions and leaders but show their dis-respective attitude to the voices from Brussels⁴.

The Left – wing populism in Greece

The Greek political system as it was developed after the fall of the dictatorship in 1974, has been under tremendous structural changes during the ten-year multidimensional crisis which began in 2009. Apart from the role of the crisis though, it should be noted that populism constituted a key component of the Greek political parties, whether coming from the right or from the left, and led to difficulties in implementing reforms, making the country an example of disjoined corporatism (Lavdas, 1997) due to its extensive reform resistance character (Lavdas I in.,2013) in the pre-crisis period. After 2009 and the outbreak of the financial and fiscal crisis that struck the political, economic and social structure of the country, populism from both the left and the right increased its influence. A common constituent of direc-

² The rhetoric and the logic of speech of PiS point out that all who belonged to any form of the previous system should be settled and judged strictly.

³ Before 2015 the refugee’s wave helped to crate the rhetoric of enemy and artificial fear against it in Poland.

⁴ The good example are the public comment of PiS leaders about the statements of EU politicians. J. Shotter, E. Huber“ Polish president attacks EU as an ‘imaginary community’”, *Financial Times* 12.09.2018, <https://www.ft.com/content/3675c1d8-b673-11e8-b3ef-799c8613f4a1>, Comments about the changes to the country’s Supreme Court, 2.05.2019 <https://www.politico.eu/article/poland-law-and-justice-party-pis-tries-to-avoid-an-ecj-defeat/>.

tions of populism since the beginning of the crisis was the distinction between the memorandum and the anti-memorandum blocks, with populists representing the anti-memorandum block which expressed the opposition to the austerity policies of the government agreement with the lenders, namely with the Troika-International Monetary Fund (IMF), European Commission (EC) and European Central Bank (ECB).

Against the main governmental parties until the crisis (the social democratic PASOK-Panhellenic Socialistic Movement and the right wing ND-New Democracy), the anti-memorandum block was mainly expressed by the populists of the left and the right of the political spectrum (SYRIZA-Coalition of the Radical Left from the left, ANEL-Independent Greeks as well as XA-Golden Dawn from the right and the extreme right respectively). The largest electoral influence after the double national elections in 2012 was held by SYRIZA. Thus, the opposition leader SYRIZA, expressed the indignation caused by the austerity policies and used the classical methods of populist expression, such as the oversimplification of proposals (Laclau, 2005) to overthrow the implemented policies, the dimension of the people as a unified structure without individual characteristics (Mény, Surl, 2002), which is opposite to the elite and which they uniquely represent, and the enemy-friend and anti-establishment dimension (Barr, 2015), with the internal enemies of the people being the traditional parties until then (PASOK-ND) as well as the elites and the external enemies the EU and the IMF respectively.

In the January 2015 national elections, SYRIZA wins the first position and it should be noted that these particular elections were the first after 1974 when the two traditional parties failed to secure a governmental majority, with PASOK even seeing its percentages collapsing. SYRIZA's rhetoric was expressed through a clear leftist populist agenda of overthrowing the memorandum agreement with lenders and renegotiating the terms while promising immediate return of benefits and taxes at the pre-crisis levels, giving full responsibility for imposing all these measures on PASOK and ND as well as on the domestic and European elites (Kotroyannos, Tzagkarak, Pappas, 2018).

SYRIZA's promises that led the party to power were practically completely overthrown in 2015 after the negotiations with the lenders that led to the signing and adoption of the third memorandum together with ANEL under the coalition government that they formed. That coalition government with the populist right-wing ANEL party also highlighted the relevance of the populist discourse that was not hampered even by the enormous ideologi-

cal differences while on the contrary, faithfully applied the 3rd fiscal adjustment agreement. In this context, the SYRIZA-ANEL coalition government as a sign of conformism, has ruled the responsibility of the third memorandum it has signed itself, in the previous governments that comprised the internal enemies, namely the traditional parties (the establishment) which governed during the previous 30 years (Kotroyannos, Tzagkarak, Pappas, 2018).

Before gaining power, SYRIZA was characterized by an anti-European and anti-establishment rhetoric (Brack, Starti, 2015) as long as it has emerged as the party that through the new negotiation and the anti-austerity agenda, it will eventually overturn the negative social and economic consequences created by the austerity policies of previous governments. Thus, it has appeared as the political force opposed to the neoliberal austerity (Stavrakakis, Katsambekis, 2014) and both the leader and subsequent Prime Minister Alexis Tsipras and the later Finance Minister Yianis Varoufakis were systematically making statements against the European Union and the institutions (IMF, ECB).

SYRIZA's rhetoric included words such as the people, youth, social movements, social structures and "turn to the people" (Stavrakakis, Katsambekis, 2014) as long as they have also used the slogans such as "They decided without us", "it is either us or them: together we can overthrow them" and in conjunction with the slogans they used in the squares' manifestations: "The Man over profits" and "Another world is feasible", they suggested

a clear division for the people, that is, "us or those who have ruled the country for so long", as a concurrent effort for a strong message to the neo-liberal European Union (Stavrakakis, Katsambekis, 2014). However, after its electoral victory SYRIZA simply tried just to manage the cliental system that had been carefully developed and survived for years (Vasilopoulou, Halikiopoulou, Exadaktylos, 2013), in order to make even more beneficial the populist way of governance, as a way to remain in power (Kotroyannos, Tzagkarakis, Pappas, 2018).

The main features of populism and the current Greek and Polish situation before the elections

Based on the above mentioned parameters of populism in the two selected countries we can assume that populism is mainly based on the ele-

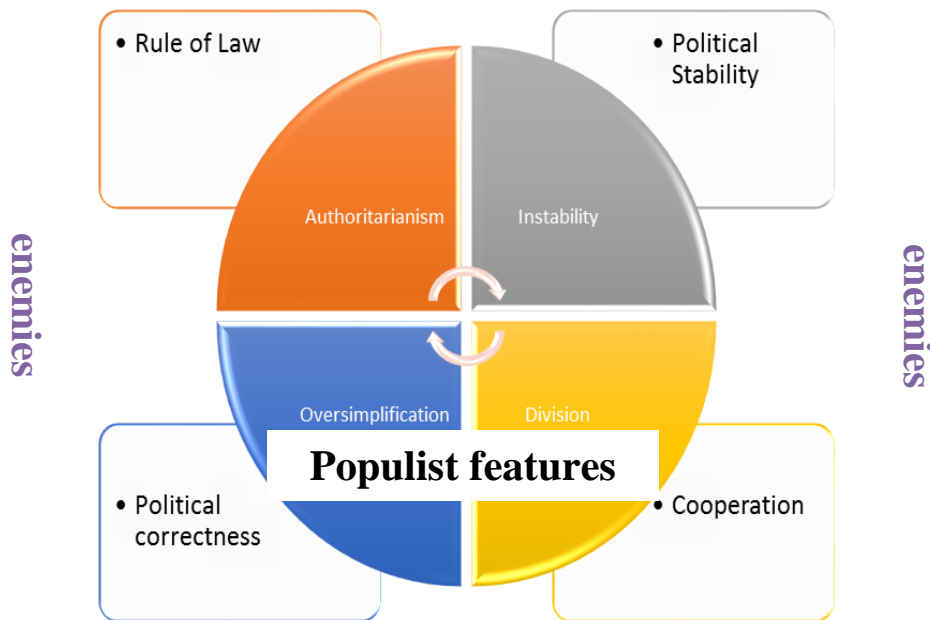
ments of authoritarianism when having power, instability in political, economic and social terms in order to grow the electoral power, oversimplification of political proposals and divisions' creation based on the enemy-friend dipole which can be expressed as the division between establishment-anti-establishment, elite-people, us-them etc. Respectively, these elements are against the rule of law, political stability, political correctness in the sense of realistic and multidimensional confrontation of the specific socio-economic and political situation as well as cooperation in terms of political synthesis as long as this would not offer the ground for the creation of divisions and enemies in order to gain electoral power. For constructing the categorization keys, we have applied indicators developed by Paweł Przyłęcki, who undertook the research of Polish populism before 2009 (Przyłęcki, 2012). His book where he included populists' factors seem to be useful also in 2019. The ten years of both researches let to complete and fulfill the compulsions about populism not only in Poland but also in Greece and correspondingly in other EU states. Przyłęcki distinguished the following indicators of populism:

- a/ political and economic sovereignty of Poland;
- b/ Euro-scepticism/ anti-European attitude;
- c/ negative attitude towards Germany;
- d/ anti-communism;
- e/ anti-elitism and anti-intellectualism;
- f/ reference to nation/people;
- g/ land as the legacy of the Polish nation;
- h/ justice/ social justice;
- i/ reference to values and merits (God, tradition and history);
- j/ criticism of Polish Third Republic;
- k/ criticism of the present order;
- l/ concept of Polish Fourth Republic;
- m/ proposal of change and new order;
- n/ criticism of liberalism/liberal democracy;
- o/ „third way”;
- p/ welfare state;
- r/ interference in free market.

In total, he named 17 indicators defining populism. We are going to use only the most distinctive for both cases, integrate them into extended pillars and show how they work in the right – wing populism in Poland and left – wing – populism in Greece. Accordingly, the main elements of populism in Greece and Poland, despite the ideological dimensions (left-right

wing), can be distinguished, as described in the following figure, by the authoritarianism when having power, by gaining power in periods of political or economic-social instability, by the oversimplification of policy proposals and by investing in the creation of a sense of social divisions. Respectively, these common features are enemies of the rule of law, political stability, political correctness, in the sense of logical and scientifically assessed proposals and analyses of the socio-economic and political situation, and cooperation-political consensus.

Figure 1: The enemies and the features of populism



The Greek side: European and National elections in 2019

During 2019 the elections for the European Parliament, the local elections as well as the national elections will take place in Greece. SYRIZA after 4 years in power has faced several challenges in the run-off for multiple elections. Having faithfully applied the 3rd Memorandum of Understanding

signed with lenders, after September 2015 elections, with its typical implementation ending at 2018 but crucial obligations to lenders are retained for the coming years, SYRIZA has to face the dissatisfaction of the citizens because of the disharmony between pre-electoral promises and applied policies.

The polls for the European Parliament elections showed SYRIZA far behind its main opponent, the right-wing ND and the result of May 26 elections for the European Parliament confirmed them (33,1% for ND while 23,8% for SYRIZA of the total votes) and led Tsipras to the proclamation of parliamentary elections in July 7, 2019. Therefore, SYRIZA tries to invest in the construction of a left-wing rhetoric and, on the other hand, to re-create the dimension between the elites and the representatives of the people. Thus, one of the measures it had applied before the elections was the retention of the 13th pension to pensioners, which practically was though, a one-third allowance and not a full benefit⁵. However, it was presented by the government as a rebate of benefits that existed before the crisis and which, after its overrun, SYRIZA gradually reinstates it. In reality though, it was the partial return of an allowance that, due to the increases in taxes, did not have a practical effect on the real economy or on society.

A second populist strategy was the promotion of the reduction in unemployment and the increase in available jobs. In fact, unemployment has indeed been fallen⁶, but new jobs have been mostly rotating or flexible, and in-work poverty rates remain at very high levels (Kougias, 2018)⁷. In any case, the increase in recruitment primarily in the public sector is estimated to be able to lead some of the beneficiaries to vote for SYRIZA, however, by itself it is not capable of reversing the negative climate towards the government.

The populist rhetoric of the enemy-friend and elite-people dimension is still expressed by SYRIZA. In particular, the continuation of the rhetoric by the prime minister on the main opposition that they are going to implement neo-liberal policies and lead to redundancies as they serve

⁵ See: <http://www.ekathimerini.com/240225/article/ekathimerini/news/in-bid-to-boost-popularity-greek-pm-outlines-pension-relief-tax-cuts> (accessed: 19/05/2019).

⁶ See: <https://blogs.uoregon.edu/geoffkennedy/2017/10/19/precarious-employment-and-working-poverty-in-post-crisis-greece/> (accessed: 19/05/2019).

⁷ See: <https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/web/products-eurostat-news/-/DDN-20180316-1> (accessed: 19/05/2019).

the elites, while SYRIZA represents only the majority of the people⁸, intends to attract voters by investing in their cultivated fear. At the same time, the slogan “it’s the time for the many”⁹ has divisive features while it is part of the elite-people division strategy, with SYRIZA being presented as a defender of the interests of the people (namely the “many”) over their political opponents who represent the elites. Of course, this strategy is followed while SYRIZA applied for 4 years the neo-liberal restrictive policies of the third memorandum that increased the taxes and financial burdens for citizens, especially for the lower and middle socio-economic groups. At the same time there were significant efforts to control both the Justice¹⁰ and the media¹¹, thus setting off paths of authoritarian policy actions.

The focus of the pre-electoral period, from all parties, was mainly on domestic rather than European issues. In this context, SYRIZA aimed to reduce the electoral gap with ND in the European elections in order to further reduce the estimated difference in the parliamentary elections that will finally take place in July 2019. The main target is the effort to prevent ND from gaining absolute majority in the national elections, so that SYRIZA plays an important post-electoral role rather than suffer an overwhelming defeat that may create inter-party problems. In particular, the strategy that follows has conflicting features by investing in the elite-people and enemy-friend dipoles. Although the polls show a victory for ND, the electoral difference is still not certain¹². However, while the difference between the two parties was vast in the European elections¹³, it is estimated that SYRIZA will be overwhelmingly defeated in the national elections. Otherwise, it can invest in maintaining rates of around 25% that will allow them to play an important role in post-election political structure.

⁸ See: <https://www.in.gr/2019/05/08/english-edition/battle-royal-tsipras-mitsotakis-confidence-motion-debate/> (Accessed: 19/05/2019).

⁹ See: <https://www.cnn.gr/news/politiki/story/177186/oi-polloi-kai-o-alexis-se-styl-peron-i-kampania-toy-syriza> (Accessed: 19/05/2019).

¹⁰ See: <https://www.ft.com/content/8f617d4c-af60-11e8-99ca-68cf89602132> (Accessed: 27/05/2019).

¹¹ See: <https://www.wsj.com/articles/greek-court-rejects-governments-plan-to-revamp-media-sector-1477520945> (Accessed: 27/05/2019).

¹² For a detailed outline of the recent polls see: <https://europeelects.eu/european-union/greece/> (Accessed: 19/05/2019).

¹³ See: <https://ekloges.ypes.gr/current/e/home/index.html> (Accessed: 27/05/2019).

The Polish side: European and National elections in 2019

In 2015 the party Law and Justice won both parliamentary and presidential elections in Poland. It was known that it is authoritarian and populist party so the question that arised was how they managed to convince so many voters although Poland, in contrary to most western European countries, has been one of the best – performing economically in the EU. The Polish case illustrates that growing prosperity per se is not necessarily an antidote to authoritarian populist rhetoric.

One of the answers was Law and Justice leaders attitude to economy and market. The populists usually understand the economy as a combination of liberal market and social welfare system. They do not seem to really understand how both of them work. Economical development and market's rule do not bother them extensively as long as they work properly. The main leader of Law and Justice has being built his political image as an elder man without credit card, bank account and knowledge about the main products' prices. The last decisions which were sanctioned by the Polish Parliament such as "500 + programme"¹⁴ and the 13th pension¹⁵ for all pensioners, show clearly that they do not consider the economy and the market as fundament of state's prosperity but as a tool to gain a new group of voters. It could be understandable that the ruling party wants to buy their voters and many others parties behave at the same way but the scale of these expenses is a rather shocking for the observers.

Polish narration before both elections in 2019 is more national than European. All parties, not only the Law and Justice, are focused on the do-

¹⁴ The programme introduced in 1.04.2018 for each second or another child in family and then extended in 2019 for each child seems that all family gets extra money (500 zł per month it is about 125 euro) for each child without the level of their incomes. Only in 2016 the programme costed over 42,5 mld zł (about 10,65 mld euro), (Business Insider Polska, 3.04.2018, plus the costs of service the programme) <https://businessinsider.com.pl/finanse/makroekonomia/program-rodzina-500-plus-wyniki-po-dwoch-latach/pqmv3ym> (Accessed: 14/05/2019).

¹⁵ The Parliamentary regulation from 04.2019 about payment of one extra avarange high pension for all pensioners in Poland and those who also gained the pensioner's rights in the past but are foreginers. Each pensioner should get 888 zł netto (222 euro) by the end of 2019. It is an expence about 10.8 mld zł (about 2.5 mild euro) spent from the annual budget., „Do rzeczy” 29.04.2019, <https://piotrowska.dorzeczy.pl/obserwator-mediow/101268/ZUS-wyplaca-juz-trzynastki-Emerycy-moga-sprawdzac-konta.html> (Accessed 06/05/2019).

mestic policy and its issues. It means that all debates and discussions are concentrated on the aspects which show the local character of activities on the practical scene. The opinion that European elections in May are only the prognostic before the “true” elections in autumn, is repeated by all practical actors in Poland.

During the year before elections in May 2019 the Law and Justice government and party decided to do a few movements which show how important is the winning of another elections. Since 2015 the Law and Justice was building their philosophy of the society (Ssysyka, 2018): They wanted to create new standards which underline the new beginning in the history of Poland. The year 1989 and two decades after that first free election were described as a prolong of the communist time. Now, when finally the Law and Justice party gained the power the reforms which let Poles to feel hosts in their own house are possible to be realized. It was possible only under one condition –the deep change in the legislation system, courts (Mazur, 2019) and finally education¹⁶. Both of them were flagship reforms which were announced and introduced since 2015. The change of both justice and education system not only reformed the structure of the state but also reflected the people who are responsible for the convenience of Law and Justice decisions in the future. Law and Justice introduced reforms in the functioning of the Polish judiciary in 2017. The adoption of three acts (on the ordinary courts, the National Council for the Judiciary and the Supreme Court) took place in a heated-up atmosphere. There were warnings from national legal experts and foreign authorities (not only the Commission, but also the Council of Europe’s Secretary General Thorbjorn Jagland). The opposition nicknamed the reform a ‘deform’. Thousands protested on the streets and in front of court buildings. President Duda placed a rarely-used veto on the Supreme Court draft law before retracting and signing the slightly modified version a few weeks later. Law and Justice achieved its

¹⁶ The reform focused on two levels: the first was a “Constitution for the Higher Education” and was a new vision of the shape of Universities functioning system in Poland introduced in 2018; the second one was a reform of public education of the primary and secondary schools. In December 2016, the Act (the Educational Law Act) established a new educational system with an eight-year primary school and a four-year upper-secondary general school (replacing a six-year primary school, a three-year lower-secondary school, and a three-year upper-secondary general school). The new system also included a five-year upper-secondary technical school (technikum), a three-year first-cycle trade school (szkoła branżowa), and a two-year second-cycle trade school (replacing vocational schools). The second reform was introduced in spite of protests of teachers (the general strike in April 2019) and some groups of parents and pupils.

goal: a systemic change in the Polish judiciary. The control over the justice system on each level gives the wide range of possibilities to pass the law which can be useful for the current political situation any time. Moreover, it gives the control over many other aspects of public life of the other parties and politicians but also of the rest of society in Poland. The change in education let the PiS to control the brain-shaping process of thousands of young people in Poland. What is more, the creation of problems in Polish schools connected with the double number of pupils who graduated the primary schools of both types (old and new one), was a very effective way to distract a part of society attention before elections in May 2019.

The second part of the populist strategy of Law and Justice party was the creation of the “new enemy”. Instead of the public debate bases of merit they created the artificial enemy which is dangerous for the future of independence in Poland. Before 2015 elections Law and Justice has capitalised on this discrepancy in its long-term race for power. It built the narrative of “Poland in ruins” (in contrast to Civic Platform’s electoral slogans of “green island” and “Poland under construction”), focusing on subjective negative perceptions of public life and the unfulfilled expectations of some groups. In spite the high rate of EU support by Poles the European vision of the world was used as a bugbear by PiS (Owczarek, 2017). In 2018, a year before elections in 2019, Law and Justice has started describing the element of European policy as acts which are against Poland and its position in the EU. The tactic of finding an enemy, against whom its supporters can unite, has been deployed before by PiS. During the 2015 parliamentary elections, the party ran a strongly negative campaign against refugees, with Kaczyński spreading fear that asylum-seekers could carry ‘very dangerous diseases for long absent from Europe’ and that Poland might be forced to resettle more than 100,000 Muslims in the country. PiS argued that it was defending Poland against an attempt by the European Union to impose multicultural values and lifestyles upon it. PiS was trying to repeat the same tactic in 2019. The leaders of PiS were looking for other enemies who can be pointed as responsible for Polish negative picture in Europe. The fear of LGBT groups, the fight with the European ecological restrictions and defence of “Polish coal” or any others didn’t bring expected results as it was in 2015.

The last but very important part of pre-electoral strategy was to increase the social protection security for wide part of Poles (Pazderski, 2019). The Polish economy has never been better. There are reports on regular basis

arguing that Poland in 2019 is at its richest and wealthiest condition ever and that the gap with the world's wealthiest economies has been significantly reduced (Eurostat, 2019). So we can say that Law and Justice shows that before elections in 2019 their important element – economic protection – is openly used as a bonus for all those who can hesitate before giving a vote in May or in September during both elections. Social support and the narration connected with both programme '500 +' and "the 13th pension" can guarantee a few percents increase according to the government and Law and Justice expectations. Since 2015 the strong polarization can be observed in Poland. The PiS and its leaders use an exclusive narration in their public speeches. The well – educated, wealthy part of the Polish society mainly living in bigger cities is treated as a potential political opponents by most of the populists. Moreover, this group was defined as a part of elites who are responsible for all changes (mainly bad or spoiled) after 1989 (Dmitruczuk, Łodziński, 2018). The line between we – PiS and the society – and they, who are out of the community, is more and more visible. The right populist narration adds an antagonism of "we versus they" because they like to underline cultural and religious homogeneity of Poles. Thanks to that, they can count on the support of the radical groups of those who would have never spoken about their homo and xenophobic opinions openly. Law and Justice officially disrespect the voices of extremism and avoid any form of open confrontation with the minorities. On the other hand, they accept and even support those groups which express anti – multicultural vision of the world. According to the PiS government the Family 500+ Programme has two core objectives – the social objective of supporting families with children, and the demographic objective of increasing the number of births. Underlying the latter, it is Poland's grim demographic outlook. "A person whose pockets are empty isn't free", Kaczyński, Poland's de facto leader, told supporters at a party convention before May's European elections, "We are filling these pockets, within what's possible"¹⁷. This narration was spread during the whole time of the European campaign and it seems to be continued for another few months until autumn.

¹⁷ PiS convention 25.02.2019, <https://www.tvn24.pl/tvn24-news-in-english,157,m/law-and-justice-pis-promises-more-social-spending-before-elections,912875.html> (Accessed: 14/05/2019).

Conclusions

As it was shown above, several reasons created the popularity of populism in both states. In general, it turns out that there are a few common aspects which supported populists in the whole Europe since the end of the second World War. One of them is the increasing level of complication of people's life. The globalization but also many other factors insist on selecting more and more information every day. The societies need more and more specialized knowledge to understand their daily issues and manage to cope with them. The populist's movements seem to offer them the simple answers for all those complicated questions and suggest giving them the best but rather superficial way on how to live easier without effort.

What is more, the last few decades economic changes rebuilt the labour market, not only in Greece and Poland, but also in the whole EU. The old industries branches collapsed and the new technology is emerging and has created the necessity for new forms of employment. Thus, the traditional structure of the labour market and hierarchy of state's institutions were changed unexpectedly for most citizens. The challenges became even more unpredictable while the security became more fragile. The old supportive institutions such as family or church, even the welfare state in terms of efficiency, have lost their previous role. Thus, the state and its structures let down its people. So it was natural that more and more social groups started missing the old system. The populist parties and movements promised them to step back to the old world with its well - known logic and rules. The dream about the past as a paradise time when all were young, beautiful and strong were very attractive for elder electors and all those who felt excluded because of lack of education or unemployment. The younger generation were convinced that they do not have to lose any more. The social security can also be their benefit right now. Under one condition they can gain all the benefits without paying any costs - it is to vote for the populist parties. No longer do they have to bother about the solutions because all their problems will disappear immediately after abolishing the elites and getting the power control by the new parties.

Even if there is a significant change of the constitutional order or the EU regulations, the populists try to manage to convince the voters that it is only "cosmetic change" without any real impact on democracy. The "new" or "better" version of democracy gives people more control whereas they are losing their hooks for a democratic system step by step. But this is rather superficial. The problems will not disappear immediately, on the contrary, po-

litical consensus and real needs assessment are necessary in order to address the new problems and not simplified words.

The analysis of right and left populism in Poland and Greece respectively, has shown that even if there are significant and undisputed ideological diversions the method of their political communication is similar. The simplifications of the proposed solutions, the oversimplification of the notion of the people as a mass, the rather authoritarian aspects of governance (controlling the Justice and the media) and the diversions in terms of creation of enemy-friend dipoles, are the main characteristics which principally create crucial problems in terms of governance, efficiency of problems solving, political stability, pluralism and consensus. As long as these aspects are not reinforced, democracy will be under strain and the European ideals will become more difficult to be achieved. By this, in this comparative analysis we do not assume that the two selected parties are identical or have the same political agenda but on the contrary they are diverse in terms of ideological aspects. However, their strategies in their way to achieve their goals are the same as long as they follow the abovementioned populist directives. Consequently, this affirms the main hypothesis that populist strategies, in terms of methodology, are common, irrespectively of the ideological positions.

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DWA PAŃSTWA, CZTERY WYBORY, JEDNO ZAGADNIENIE – GRECJA I POLSKA NA ŚCIEŻCE POPULISTYCZNEJ

STRESZCZENIE

Populizm jest swego rodzaju fenomenem, który szczególnie zyskuje na sile w czasie kryzysu trwającego w dzisiejszej Europie. Nie znaczy to oczywiście, że jego przejawy nie występowały znacznie wcześniej ale ponowny rozkwit łączony jest z widoczną presją polityczną oraz ekonomiczną, a także wyraźnie uwidacznia się w kontekście współczesnej debaty o demokracji i przyszłości Unii Europejskiej.

Populizm ma dwa oblicza – lewicowy i prawicowy, które pozwalają mu na elastyczne reagowanie na sytuację polityczną, a dzięki temu, na dojście do władzy posługującym się nim politykom i partiom politycznym. Porównawczy tekst działań obu rodzajów współczesnego populizmu stał się osią prezentowanego artykułu. Wykorzystanie przykładów: Prawa i Sprawiedliwości w Polsce, jako partii prawicowo-populistycznej oraz greckiej SYRIZA, reprezentującej lewicowy populizm, pozwala na porównanie strategii obu ugrupowań. Dzięki zestawieniu tych dwóch populistycznych partii możliwe było wskazanie zarówno różnic, jak i podobieństw obu rodzajów populizmu w czasie bieżących wydarzeń politycznych w państwach należących do Unii Europejskiej. Mimo bowiem wielu odmienności polityki Polski i Grecji zjawisko populizmu politycznego zdaje się być wspólne nie tylko dla tych wskazanych w tekście państw ale także innych europejskich demokracji.

Słowa kluczowe:

populizm, partie prawicowe, partie lewicowe, Grecja, Polska.