CONSTRUCTING BOUNDARIES WITHOUT BEING SEEN: THE CASE OF JÖRG HAIDER, POLITICIAN

Ruth Wodak
Universität Wien

Rick Iedema
University of New South Wales, Sydney

ABSTRACT

This paper considers right wing populist rhetoric, both from the perspective of Critical Discourse Analysis, and from a Systemic Functional point of view. We believe that the shifting and fluid construction of "us" and "them," the implicit and explicit creation of boundaries and the use of certain argumentative *topoi* are important characteristics for the success of such populist rhetoric. Our analysis points to the importance of the application of different linguistic/syntactic and sociolinguistic/discourse-analytical methodologies when analyzing political discourses. Such research becomes relevant because the explicit deconstruction of populist rhetoric allows for the comprehension of on-going socio-political developments in Europe specifically, but also elsewhere.

KEY WORDS: Argumentation strategies, critical discourse analysis, functional systemic analysis, immigration laws, syntactic analysis.

RESUMEN

Se examina la retórica del ala derecha del partido populista, desde la perspectiva del Análisis Crítico del Discurso y desde un punto de vista sistémico funcional. Creemos que la construcción variable de "nosotros" y "ellos," la creación implícita y explícita de fronteras y el uso de determinados *topoi* sujetos a controversia son características importantes para el éxito de la retórica populista. Señalamos la importancia de la aplicación de diferentes metodologías lingüístico/sintácticas y sociolingüístico/discursivo-analíticas al analizar discursos políticos, destacando que la deconstrucción explícita de la retórica populista permite la comprensión de acontecimientos socio-políticos actuales en Europa específicamente, además de en otros lugares.

PALABRAS CLAVE: estrategias de argumentación, análisis crítico del discurso, análisis sistémico funcional, leyes de inmigración, análisis sintáctico.

1. INTRODUCTION

This paper considers the language used by Austria's ultra-right winger, Jörg Haider. An analysis of Haider's talk is crucial, not least because of his current popularity in Austrian politics, but also because of the tendency of the critiques of the ultra-right not to look more closely at the discourse used by Haider in detail, and instead recycle in-principle and moral arguments. This strategy, while it enables us to engage with Haider's "ideologies," does not help us understand how it is that Haider manipulates his language such that his ideologies gain political power and status in the first place. We argue that it is –inter alia– Haider's discursive technique of creating rigid boundaries at levels which, thanks to the dynamics of talk and the polishedness of his self-presentation, tend to remain below our level of conscious attention. It is this, in our view, which makes his positioning so forceful, and which requires explicit deconstruction to generate public awareness of the importance of discourse manipulation, and for effective counter-strategies to be devised.

We will approach Haider's talk from two perspectives. One perspective deals with the broad *topoi* (argumentative schemata, see below) which are evident in the talk (see Reisigl & Wodak, *Discourse*). This analysis will bear out how it is that Haider manages to link substantive, thematic issues whose linking, on closer inspection, is not at all self-evident. The second perspective is on the lexico-grammar of the talk, to reveal how grammatical structures are deployed such that a quite rigid distribution of syntactic resources applies to different social actors and argumentative structures. The effect of this, we suggest, is to naturalise, essentialise and dissimulate many of the most powerful discriminatory aspects of Haider's discourse. Furthermore, we claim that it is the use of both methods, of *topoi* and argumentation strategies as well as of syntactic devices (i.e. CDA and SFL), what allows for an explicit analysis of populist rhetoric (see also van Leeuwen & Wodak, "Discourses"; Martin & Wodak).

The paper is structured as follows. First we provide some background to the sphere of political discourse within which Haider positions himself as active politician. Then we set out the general *topoi*, or common arguments, with which political speak is generally concerned. We use these *topoi* to analyse an extract from an interview with Haider. Following that, we analyse the same extract from a lexico-grammatical perspective, to show how boundaries and differences are created and maintained at that level. Hence, the combination of both methodologies grasps different perspectives of the same problem and makes it transparent and comprehensible. The paper concludes by pointing to the extent to which the principles of divisiveness and marginalisation of the Other are rendered "acceptable" as discourse in the political arena, due to the general public, largely uncritical —and in that sense *non-ethical*— attitude to the ways in which political discourse itself is realised in a world full of tensions. These tensions manifest themselves largely in "ideological dilemmas," such as between globalising tendencies on the one hand, and fragmentation on the other (Reisigl & Wodak "Rhetorik"; Wodak & Weiss).

2. RIGHT-WING POLITICS AND POLITICAL SPEAK:
CONSTRUCTING THE OTHER

The literature on the language of politics is constantly growing. Some of this literature has focused on the emotive devices of political language, specifically on strategies of manipulation and persuasion,[1] which are and have always been important and constitutive elements of partisan political discourse (Horkheimer & Adorno; Gilman; Morrison; Bhaba, *Culture*, "Question"). One of the most important devices of political discourses, it appears, is the construction of in- and out-groups, of positive self-presentation and negative other-presentation. The construction of groups, pivotal actors and discursive boundaries is also necessary for the production of stereotypes and prejudiced generalizations (see van Dijk; Blommaert & Verschueren; Wodak & van Dijk).

Dubiel has shown remarkably well how right wing populism essentializes the "vox populi," instrumentalizing this as legitimation for opposing "those up there" and for constructing dichotomies between the "good" and "bad" guys, thus allowing for xenophobic and anti-Semitic undertones. Nohlen (514) distinguishes between three kinds of populism: populism as negatively evaluated politics; populism as mass movement; and populism as strategy of unification and agitation (see also Reisigl for an extensive discussion). All descriptions and analyses of populist movements strongly emphasize the neo-conservative slogans and the attraction for groups, whose members feel insecurity due to globalisation and changing economies. This insecurity leads to a cry for nationalistic identities and for unification, as well as for exclusion of others. Scape-goating and conspiracy aspersions are strategies to be observed in all right wing populist groups (see also ter Wal; Wodak & Pelinka). Wodak ("Racism") has shown by analyzing a coalition paper of the new government in Austria, which includes the FPÖ, a rightwing populist party, that very contradictory programmatic points are addressed and promoted, as well as very contradictory electorial groups legitimated. Thus yuppies as well as workers are interpellated, housewives as well as career women, etc. In the coalition paper, there is something for everybody, and the contradictions do not seem to disturb the political logic.

Reisigl enumerates nine characteristics of populist discourses, some of which we have already mentioned above. Besides scape goating, Manichean depicturing of "us" and "them," and opposing "those up there," three more elements should be mentioned here: such parties endorse charismatic personalities and focus on strong leadership. The parties are hierarchically structured, like classical "Führerparteien." Moreover, they project very simplistic narratives of the past, where often enough

---

[1] See, Chilton; Chilton & Schäffner; Beard; Wodak, "Approach", "Freund", "Diskurs"; Reisigl & Wodak, *Discourse*; Eismann; Reisigl.

they and their believers are "victims" of "others," be that other nations, other ethnicities, etc. (see also Reinfeldt). Lastly, we would like to emphasize the strong anti-intellectual sentiments, which are proposed and also produced and used to manipulate the electorate. Thus, contradicting opinions are uttered everyday, what was said yesterday has no meaning anymore the next day; often enough, it seems as though such politicians are in denial of the logic of ordinary people's short-term memory (see also Wodak, "Silence").

3. THE POLITICS OF JÖRG HAIDER: BACKGROUND

This section provides a few contextualizing remarks on the history of the FPÖ. After the Second World War, in 1949, "liberals" with a strong German National orientation and with no classical liberal tradition (see Bailer-Galanda & Neugebauer 326) who felt unable to support the SPÖ or the ÖVP, founded the VDU *("Verband der Unabhängigen")*, which became an electoral home for many former Austrian Nazis. The FPÖ, founded in 1956, was the successor party to the VDU; it retained an explicit attachment to a 'German cultural community'. In its more than 40-year-old history, the FPÖ has, therefore, never been a 'liberal' party in the European sense, although there were always tensions between more liberal and more conservative members of the party. In 1986, Haider was elected as leader of the party and unseated Norbert Steger, a liberal leader.

Since 1986, the FPÖ has gained many votes and has risen to 26,91% of all the votes cast in Austria (1,244,087 voters) in October 1999. The FPÖ's party policy and politics already in 1993, was anti-foreigner, anti-European Union and widely populist, close to Le Pen's party in France. Since the summer of 1995, the FPÖ has almost completely ceased to stress the closeness between the Austrian and the German cultural community because opinion polls demonstrated that the majority of Austrian citizens no longer accepted such a self-definition. In the fall of 1997, the FPÖ presented a new party programme, which, in its calculated ambivalence, emphasises Christian values. At present, the FPÖ is the largest right-wing party in Western Europe (for further information about the FPÖ see, among others, Döw; Scharsach; Mitten; Bailer-Galanda & Neugebauer; Grünalternative Jugend; Scharsach & Kuch).[2]

It is this party, which, more than any other Austrian party, persuasively sets the "xenophobic" anti-foreigner tone in Austrian domestic policies and, for a

RUTH WODAK & RICK IEDEMA   **160**

---

[2] In the meantime, however, the FPÖ lost almost 60% of their votes on the national election 24th November 2002, because their strategy of being part of the government and at the same time opposing the government did not work. Nevertheless, the new Austrian Government since February 2003 is again formed by the ÖVP and FPÖ.

decade, has almost always made electoral profit out of the populist business of sowing uncertainty and irrational "xenophobic" anxieties. For different reasons, these anxieties were and are harboured or willingly adopted by a considerable proportion of voters. Since February 4th, 2000, the FPÖ has been part of the Austrian government and has formed a coalition with the Conservative Party ÖVP. This development caused a major upheaval internationally and nationally, and has led to the so-called "sanctions" by the 14 other member states of the European Union (see Wodak "Racism," "Echt" for more details; Pelinka). In September 2000, the EU found an exit strategy and the sanctions were lifted due to a report of "Three Wise Men" (see Möhring). Nevertheless, the report stated that the FPÖ was to be seen as a "right wing extremist populist party, a right wing populist party with radical elements."

4. METHODS OF ANALYSIS

4.1. FIELDS OF POLITICAL DISCOURSE: THE DISCOURSE-HISTORICAL APPROACH

Our analysis of *topoi* starts with what Girnth refers to as the "field(s) of action" where the discourse that realises the *topoi* originates. A "field of action" may be understood as a segment of the respective societal "reality," which contributes to constituting and shaping the "frame" of discourse. The spatio-metaphorical distinction among different fields of action can be understood as a distinction among different functions or socially institutionalised aims of discursive practices. Thus, for example, in the area of political action we distinguish between the functions of legislation, self-presentation, the manufacturing of public opinion, developing party-internal consent, advertising and vote-getting, governing as well as executing, and controlling as well as expressing (oppositional) dissent (see Figure 1).

Figure 1 is an attempt at setting out some of the variety and complexity of the fields of action and the discourses that are at stake here.

A "discourse" about a specific topic can find its starting point within one field of action and proceed through another one. Discourses and discourse topics "spread" across different fields and discourses. At the same time, arguments are recontextualized from one discourse to the next, from one field to another; this means, that *topoi* also cross the "boundaries" of discourses, and re-appear in other texts and discourses albeit perhaps in different linguistic realizations. They cross between fields, overlap, refer to each other or are in some other way socio-functionally linked with each other.

The discourse-historical approach applied in recent studies (see Reisigl & Wodak, *Discourse* for an overview; Wodak & Meyer) was essentially three-dimensional. After (**1**) having established the specific "contents or topics" of a specific discourse with racist, anti-Semitic, nationalist or ethnicist ingredients; (**2**) the "discursive strategies" (including argumentation strategies) were investigated. Then (**3**), the "linguistic means" (as types) and the specific, context-dependent "linguistic realizations" (as tokens) of the discriminatory stereotypes were examined.

Fields of Action					Field of Control
Law Making Political Procedure	Formation of Public Opinion and Self Presentation	Party-internal Development of an Informed Opinion	Political Advertising, Marketing & Propaganda	Political Executive and Administration	Political Executive and Administration
Genres					
• Laws • bills • amendments • speeches and contributions of MPs • regulations • recommendations • prescriptions • guidelines • etc.	• Press releases • press conferences • interviews • talk shows • lectures and contributions to conferences • articles, books • commemorative speeches • inaugural sp. • Etc.	• Party programs, declarations, statements and speeches of principle • speeches on party conventions • etc.	• Election programs • slogans, speeches in election campaigns • announcements • posters • election brochure • direct mailings • fliers etc.	• Decisions (approval/rejections: asylum-stay-work) • inaugural speeches • coalition papers, speeches of ministers/heads • governmental answers to p.q.	• Decisions (approval/rejections: asylum-stay-work) • inaugural speeches • coalition papers, speeches of ministers/heads • governmental answers to p.q.

Discourse Topic 1 — Discourse Topic 1 — Discourse Topic 1 — Discourse Topic 1 — Discourse Topic 1 — Discourse Topic 1
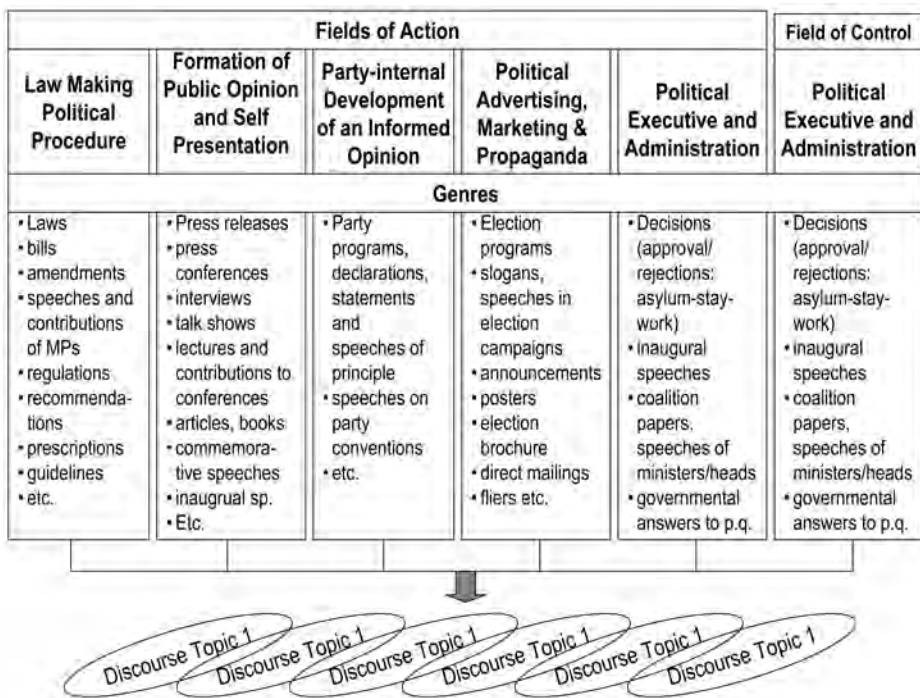
Figure 1. Selected dimensions of discourse as social practice

4.2. The Application of the Discourse Model and the Analysis of Arguments and Topoi

Having provided historical background information to aid our understanding of the object under investigation, we apply the discourse model presented above to Austrian populist discourse, which surrounded the debate about immigration restrictions 1992/93 (Reisigl & Wodak, "Austria"). In this research model, the sub-topics of public discourses are collected by means of discourse-ethnographic explorations and the analyses of multiple genres. The interview, which we analyse in detail below, is thus embedded in this flow of different *topoi* across public domains (see Figure 2).

This is important to understand the background of the questions by the interviewer as well as the allusions, which Haider uses in replying. The references, for example, to the "Austria First Petition" (1992/93), mark most of the topics illustrated in this diagram. The "Austria First Petition," put forward by the Freedom Party 1992/93, was the first attempt to restrict immigration explicitly with xenophobic arguments. In this way, the intertextuality, recontextualization and the interdiscursivity of the replies can both be reconstructed: intertextuality to other genres (like the text of the petition), recontextualization of arguments and *topoi*, and interdiscursivity linking the talk to other genres and discourse domains.

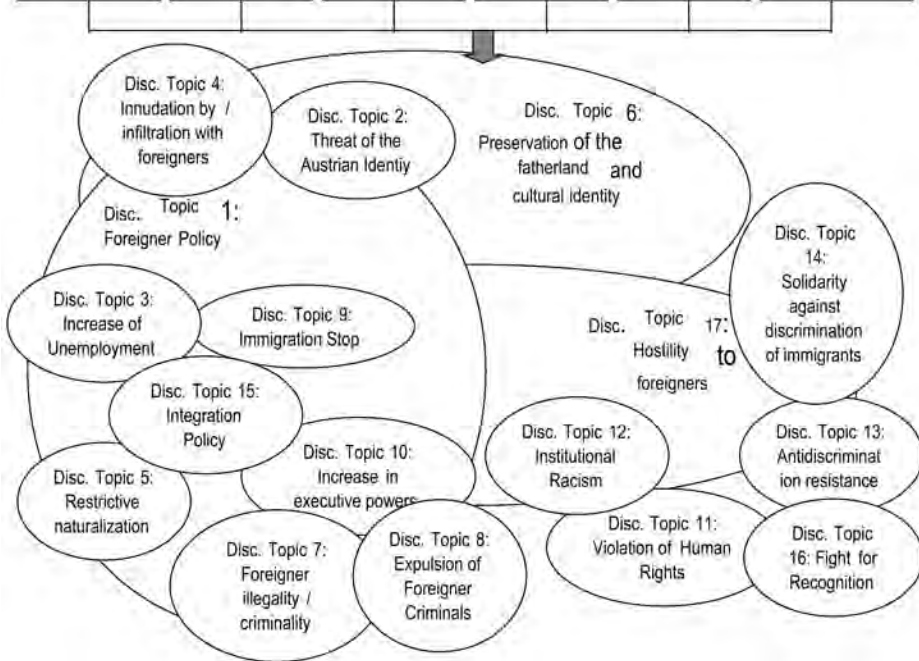| Fields of Action					Field of Control
Law Making Political Procedure	Formation of Public Opinion and Self Presentation	Party-internal Development of an Informed Opinion	Political Advertising, Marketing & Propaganda	Political Executive and Administration	Political Executive and Administration
Genres					
• Alien Act • Asylum Act • Refugee Assistance Act • Residency Act • Speeches and contributions of MPs • report and recommendation of the parliament subcommitee • bills • ammendments	• Press releases • press conferences • interviews • demographic surveys and opinion polls • press articles (reports, comments, columns) • readers' letters • speeches/talks of MPs • speeches of ministers • politicians' books	• FPÖ party program.	• Advertising for and against the petition • speeches/ talks/ slogans during campaign • announcements • posters • brochures • direct mail • advertising • flyers	• Decisions (approval/ rejections: asylum-stay-work) • report on the administration of the laws on aliens • governmental answers	• "foreigner petition" for a referendum • "grounds" for the petition • Parliamentary questions • speeches/contributions of MPs • press releases/ conferences/ declarations/ statements of NGOs, human rights organizations, etc.

Disc. Topic 4: Innudation by / infiltration with foreigners

Disc. Topic 2: Threat of the Austrian Identiy

Disc. Topic 6: Preservation of the fatherland and cultural identity

Disc. Topic 1: Foreigner Policy

Disc. Topic 14: Solidarity against discrimination of immigrants

Disc. Topic 3: Increase of Unemployment

Disc. Topic 9: Immigration Stop

Disc. Topic 17: Hostility to foreigners

Disc. Topic 15: Integration Policy

Disc. Topic 12: Institutional Racism

Disc. Topic 13: Antidiscrimination resistance

Disc. Topic 5: Restrictive naturalization

Disc. Topic 10: Increase in executive powers

Disc. Topic 11: Violation of Human Rights

Disc. Topic 16: Fight for Recognition

Disc. Topic 7: Foreigner illegality / criminality

Disc. Topic 8: Expulsion of Foreigner Criminals

Figure 2. The discourse about the "Austria first" petition in 1992 and 1993

5. THE INTERVIEW

Let us now turn to consider the interview in more detail. The interview arose following the Freedom Party Program launch in October 1997, an event

which was discussed widely in the media. In contrast to the former positions of the Freedom Party, this new program contains two issues, which lead the party in a new direction and which —as they hoped— would attract new voters. Firstly, the Freedom Party adopts Christian values explicitly and underlines how important such values are for family life and everyday behavior after having always been secular. Secondly, while originally rejecting patriotism and even labeling the Austrian nation "eine Mißgeburt" [a failure], they now champion the concept of an Austrian nation and Austrian patriotism. Jörg Haider, the charismatic leader of the Freedom Party was interviewed to comment on his party's new program.

The interviewer, Robert Hochner, was the most widely known moderator of the late evening news and known as an opponent of the ideas of the Freedom Party. The interview tradition in the Austrian Broadcasts Company is very "soft" and avoids conflicts because politicians have been known to sue, claiming that they had been unfairly treated. Because of this, interviewers hold back with their opinions and allow the politicians much space to voice their positions and generally allow the interviewees considerable margin of freedom in their answers. Austrian interview culture is thus very different from that which we find in the United States, Great Britain or Australia, which are all known for their excellent interviewers who are not afraid to challenge politicians openly (see Möhring for details on this issue).

The part of the interview used for the purposes of this paper unfolds as follows (see Extract 1). After greeting Jörg Haider (who was not present in the studio but appeared televised), the interviewer opens with a first question from his list of prepared questions. He asks why the party needs a new program at all while one of the followers of the FPÖ had claimed a year ago that Haider's words themselves were seen as "the program." In his reply, Haider justifies the party's new program with a tripartite argument. He mentions more recent discussions, which took months and have brought new insights; their new program is now more 'modern' than that of any other party; and thirdly, new concepts isolate specific and important problems. These new concepts include "market economy" and "middle-class firms," both currently popular among neo-liberalists. In this way he emphasizes the progressiveness and "newness" of the party's ideas to justify their programmatic value. He summarizes his argument by saying that a party, which has grown so much in recent years, needs a new program to endorse the wide range of voters.

Haider thus uses this whole turn for positive self-presentation: The party is creative, untraditional, in the main stream of economic development and, lastly, in a state of rapid growth. Haider carefully avoids the implications of the question of the interviewer, namely that the party has an authoritarian structure and that he, Haider, is notorious for being someone who assumes and demands total say. The question allows Haider to position himself as leader of the mainstream and as supporter of those groups of voters who have trouble with more left-leaning, socialist political agendas.

The interviewer does not further press these issues but turns to one of the main points of the program, the newly adopted Christian values. He suggests that Christianity condemns racism and xenophobia (discrimination of foreigners). He asks, how does that fit with the politics of a party known for its xenophobic politics

and use of racist slogans? Here, the interviewer tries to signal a contradiction and catch Haider out. But his use of an open question leaves Haider with a lot of room to move in his answer. Haider is able to reject the claims and, after decontextualizing the word "Christian," he formulates what his party means by "Christian" and how it defines the term.

For Haider "Christian" means looking after neighbors, the neighbors being in "our own country" and not outside of the country; that is, not foreigners. Lending authority to his interpretation he refers to the Pope, who, he claims, is supposed to have said something quite similar. Through this kind of answer, the distinction between those who belongs to "us" and those who do not, is made very clear. This segregationist interpretation of what it takes to be Christian is, of course, peculiar to Haider's own political program.

Extract 1

RH: "Doctor Haider in this party-program, Christian values and the obligation to defend these Christian values are relatively strongly emphasized —uh, but there is no Christian xenophobia, Christianity does not distinguish between Austrians and foreigners and Christianity in fact obliges people— who don't have a lot, even to share what one has —how does— does this in fact fit into the politics of your party?"

JH: "First of all that we are Christian during [the time of] disintegrating privileges because we are the only ones who are voluntarily making an income sacrifice —whereas, in times of the savings package, from the Federal Chancellor right to all of the ministers, regional leaders, regional government members, every one has given him- and herself the gift of salary-increases. That's the first thing that's Christian about us. The second is —ah, that we take the words of the Pope seriously and— ah there —the cu— / current Pope made it very clear that neighborly love really means to care of your immediate neighbor and not to embrace the whole world but also to think of the Austrians."

RH: "So, your neigh- / the neighbor has to have an Austrian passport for you to love him."

JH: "Not necessarily but he has to have a legal residency permit for th- / this country because otherwise for us it'll be that one —ah— lets in illegals —and then in the end it creates a problem for the Austrians and the foreigners residing legally here. So in that respect, we are very much— on the basis of the rule of law —and because— / the reactions of the government show how only that we are completely on the right track, also with the —ah— "Austria First" outline, that we are thinking about this country: and that we want to stop the sell-out, or rather an unrestrained immigration in any case." (See the German original text in Appendix B)

5.1. DISCOURSE ANALYSIS OF THE INTERVIEW SEQUENCE BY TOPOI

This section approaches the interview in so far as it realises particular *topoi*. Hence, this analysis will illustrate which argumentative strategies are employed and how causalities, necessities and evidentialities are woven into Haider's argument.

Within argumentation theory, "topoi" or "loci" can be described as parts of argumentation which belong to the intrinsic, either explicit or inferable, premises. They are the content-related warrants or "conclusion rules" which connect the argument or arguments with the conclusion, the claim. As such, they justify the transition from the argument or arguments to the conclusion (Kienpointner, *Alltagslogik* 194). They can also be defined as "content-related argument schemes." Through such an analysis, we can capture the flow of arguments used in the interview: how Haider succeeds in including or excluding certain groups from "being Austrians" or "neighbours." On the one hand, he uses decontextualisation and recontextualisation (of the adjective "Christian"), to be able to frame the term such that it suits his segregationist views. On the other hand, he applies particular "topoi," which lend his arguments authority. A prominent one here is, of course, his reference to the Pope.

The following is a list of "topoi" defined by *inter alia* Kienpointner & Kindt (see Reeves; Kopperschmidt; Kindt; Kienpointner *Alltagslogik*, *Vernünftig*; Kienpointner & Kindt; Wengeler).[3]

Topoi of:

Usefulness/Uselessness; Definition; Danger; Justice/Lawfulness; Responsibility; Burden/Abuse; Efficiency; Authority; and History/Culture (*see Appendix A for the precise definitions of these terms*).

Put in these terms, "topoi" are broad semantic, often stereotypical, clichés aiming to capture the commonalties of particular lines of argumentation.

We will now move through the interview and illustrate how and when Haider applies *topoi* such as the ones just listed. As the interview begins, Haider deploys the "topos" of definition. Definition and redefinition are strategies typical for political discourse (Wodak, "Approach," "Freund"; Reisigl & Wodak, "Rhetorik"). Here, Haider, redefines a concept prominent in common knowledge. We have already made reference to Haider's re-definition of "Christian." With respect to the term "neighbor," Haider proposes to take its meaning literally: "our neighbors are those people close to us; that is, the Austrian people, and not the rest of the world." The Pope's word can thus be interpreted, Haider suggests, as emphasizing that "we should consider Austrians and exclude foreigners."

He subsequently presents a systematic three-step argument as to why the Freedom Party can be seen as being Christian. First of all, the Freedom Party has agreed to lower members' own salaries in an acknowledgment that "we are going through bad economic times. This is something none of the other parties have proposed or done; on the contrary, they have increased their salaries." The intent of

---

[3] See Reisigl & Wodak ("Austria") for an extensive discussion of *topoi* and their definitions and applications when analyzing written and oral discourses.

this statement might be seen as referencing the *topos* of efficiency, or perhaps (social) justice.

The *topos* of authority is evident in Haider's calling on the Pope. "The Pope has emphasized that we should be concerned about our neighbors." This strategy is likely to have serious impact in a primarily Catholic country where the Pope is highly respected. It was already put to good use during the petition "Austria First" (see above) where the Freedom Party attempted to align their racist slogans with the statements of some Catholic bishops.

As seen, the neighbors who the interviewer understood as having been constructed as "the other" in Haider's political program are instead made part of the in-group. Neighbors in this sense are Austrians and legal immigrants.

Then there are positively evaluated "Others," the Pope for example and other authorities. In contrast to these, "the bad Other" is construed as "foreigners" who are illegal, and therefore a threat. By construing foreigners as "non-neighbors," they become the "radical other." The "topos" of being responsible for and protective of one's country and for the Austrians can be seen as central here, too. The FPÖ thus wants to present an image of being a serious and official state party; that is, a party which could also be in government and not only in opposition.

Importantly, Haider achieves this differentiation between "us" and "other" by emphasizing closeness and equality, not difference. In this way, he creates the possibility for people to identify with his argumentation: nobody would contradict the statement that politicians should think of their local voters and be concerned for them. This strategy of claiming positively framed positions, which nobody would or could reject, is used to good effect to cover latent racist opinions and ideas. Haider applies this strategy throughout the interview; he never comes close to uttering explicitly racist opinions.

In alluding, however, to the "Austria First Petition" in his next turn, he assumes the previous and implicit knowledge of the contents of the petition which —as we have mentioned above— were in some respects openly racist (Reisigl & Wodak, "Austria"). But the petition is never really talked about in the interview and the interviewer does not challenge Haider on the issue of racism. Because of the implicit nature of the accusations and insinuations by using inferences and implicatures by the moderator, Haider is able to determine the tone of his argumentation, deploy the kinds of rhetorical devices set out above, decontextualize and redefine central concepts, and mobilize "topoi" for people to rally around. As usually, interviews are mutually supportive interactions (Bell & van Leeuwen) more penetrating and accusatory questions might have entailed other and less polished responses. But even an explicit accusation along the lines of 'you are racist' would have been easy to reject, as Haider himself never states his racism in straight terms, and always deploys positive "topoi." His attempt to present his party as responsible, considerate and 'taking care of the real Austrians' is therefore frustratingly successful. The cynical and ironic undertones produced by the moderator are in no way capable of diminishing or tainting the polish of Haider's discourse.

5.2. Lexico-Grammatical Analysis

The "topoi" analysis mapped out some of the semantic and argumentational geography of Haider's discourse to reveal his moral reasoning. The force of this reasoning, however, is only found to a limited extent in the various "topoi." It is very powerfully evident in the way these *topoi* are realized lexico-grammatically. This section looks at the syntax of Haider's talk.

Clause analysis will demonstrate how Haider delegates boundary drawing to the grammar, thereby rendering it 'unseen' for most except discourse analysts. Here we will argue that the grammar is deployed in such a way as to allocate certain grammatical categories to different participants in such a way as to distinguish them not so much semantically (at the level of social meaning), but structurally (at the level of syntax). In this way, Haider realises his aim of being seen to be inclusive by never semantisizing his "othering" views, but by reasoning about the outcomes of the actions of different participants, while at the same time achieving a radical dichotomy, albeit a grammatical one.

First, and again referring to Extract 1, Haider reserves verbs to do with thinking, feeling and knowing (i.e. mental processes) for those associated with the Freedom Party. The analysis is based on Halliday's "Introduction to Functional Grammar."

Dass	*wir*	*das Papstwort*	*ernst nehmen*
that	we	the Pope's word	take seriously [value]
Conjunction	Senser	Phenomenon	Mental process

And Haider allocates doing verbs ('material processes') to the "other":

Hundert-fünfzig-tausend Menschen alleine aus Osteuropa	*Wollen ein-wandern*	*zu-sätzlich*	*Nach Österreich*
150,000 people from Eastern Europe	will enter	additionally	into Austria
Actor	Material		Circumstance: location

This strategy implies that people "on our side" are thinking and feeling human beings. The "other" engages in "material" acts only, with little or no ability to give their actions an intellectual or moral depth.

Second, discriminatory statements are attributed to others, like the Pope, the notion of the German State language *(*"der Begriff der Staatssprache Deutsch"),

research and studies *(*"Untersuchungen und Studien, Untersuchung"), and the like. For example:

Und	*der jetzige Papst*	*hat ganz deutlich gemacht*	*ja*	*dass Nächstenliebe bedeutet, wirklich sich um Nächsten zu kümmern und nicht die ganze Welt zu umarmen, sondern auch an die Österreicher zu denken.*
And	the current Pope	has made clear	indeed	that neighbourly love means, to really care about your neighbours and not to embrace the whole world without also to think about Austrians.
Conj.	Sayer	Verbal Process	Adv.	[Projection]

This grammatical strategy places the responsibility for the views expressed with authorities other than Haider, thereby naturalizing his views as deriving from and as aligned with those of important sources of knowledge and morality. In this way he construes his views as in alignment with those emanating from eminent social institutions.

Allein der Begriff der Staatssprache Deutsch in der österreichischen Bundesverfassung	*ist*	*Ja*	*Für uns*	*ein Auftrag dieses Österreichertum zu pflegen und einen Ausverkauf, wie ihn die derzeitige Regierung-möglich macht, ja, einfach zu unterbinden*
Just the notion of the German State language in the Austrian Constitution	embodies	indeed	for us	the task for us to enact that Austrianness, and to prevent its sellout as is made possible by the current government
Value	Id. rel.		Meta-comment	Token

Third, Haider buries the crux of his views very deeply in the Rheme (the last part) of his sentences. The two examples just provided above bear this out. Thematic (front of the sentence) are the "authorities" on whom Haider relies to "authorize" his points. The effect of leaving the crux of his divisive message till last in the message is that it is both most prominent (because 'most recent'), and most

difficult to retrieve for negotiation (due to the levels of embedding). In addition to the examples provided above we can cite the following:

Es	Gibt	Untersuchungen und Studien etwa von der Akademie der Wissenschaft	Die deutlich machen, wenn die Osterweiterung kommt, wollen- alleine aus Osteuropa hundertfünfzigtausend Menschen zusätzlich nach Österreich einwandern.
There	are	researches and studies, from the Academy of Sciences or some such	which make clear that when the eastern expansion happens, 150,000 people will consequently come to Austria.
Exist. Process		Existent	

This clause has the following clause embedded in it:

Wenn	Die Osterweiterung	Kommt
When	the eastern enlargement	happens
Conjunction	Actor	Material

And this clause is connected to the following by a 'when [...], then [...]' structure:

Hundert-fünfzig-tausend Menschen alleine aus Osteuropa	Wollen ein-wandern	zu-sätzlich	Nach Österreich
150,000 people from Eastern Europe	will enter	additionally	into Austria
Actor	Material		Circ.: loc.

Another feature of Haider talk is the absence of overt negative evaluation markers (Martin) which renders what he says "reasonable" and measured. The only evaluative claims in the talk are what Martin refers to as "tokens of Judgment" (Iedema, Feez & White). Tokens of Judgment "imply" but do not state openly that the people who are being judged are to blame. For example, Haider makes the claims that immigrants will cause an ethnic problem, they will cause an economic problem, and they will be rendering Austrians unemployed (and again the information is deeply embedded within a very long turn-at-talk).

Eine untersuchung [die]	Bedeutet	Dass zweihunderttausend Menschen aus diesem Raum nach Österreich kommen wollen, Das heisst, auch, [sie wollen] ein ethnisches Problem schaffen, das heisst aber auch, [sie wollen] ein ökonomisches Problem [schaffen], nämlich es werden plötzlich Billigarbeitskräfte in Österreich auftreten und die Österreicher arbeitslos machen.
a study [which]	says	that 200,000 people will come from there to Austria, which means also that they will cause an ethnic problem, and which also means that [they will cause] an economic problem, namely there will be a lot of cheap labour who'll be entering Austria and who'll be rendering Austrians unemployed.
SAYER	VERBAL PR.	[PROJECTION]

Finally, when Haider refers to himself or his party he does so in very short and pithy statements, using relational or being processes which project stasis, positive evaluations (Appraisal), and no negatives: "Wir haben – klare Grundsätze, wir sind einschätzbar, und wir sind eine verlässliche Bewegung für all jene, denen es um Österreich geht." ("We have clear principles; we are clear, and we are a party for all those who care about Austria").

In these ways, social segregation is brought home not just thanks to syntactic divergence, but also thanks to the cryptogrammatical (Whorf) values that inhere in the categories themselves. For example, Haider exploits the social-normative perception of 'mentality' as more worthy and sensitive than the mundane and menial essence of 'materiality'. He exploits different sources to project and 'edify' his own views. He allocates negativity, causality and action to immigrants, while reserving for himself the appearance of a considerate and un-aggressive thinker. His evaluations of the people he discriminates against are not realized overtly (e.g. 'greedy', 'mean', etc.), but as tokens of judgment, whose mitigating effect rounds off the rationality he manages to project.

These strategies reveal that it is particularly at the level of his grammar that Haider's symbolic violence (Bourdieu) is most evident. It is this violence, more than the semantic obfuscations seen above, we suggest, which fuels the social impact and damage effected by his party. It is also this violence, we think, which is in most need of deconstruction and unmasking, to enable the general public and other, more fair-minded politicians to detect and explode Haider's discursive arsenal. It is at this level that Haider's discursive power is housed, and where it is in most need of challenge.

6. CONCLUSION

This paper has revealed a number of facets of Haider's discursive self-presentation and persuasive rhetoric. From the perspective of the "topoi" that guide the

semantics of his talk, we have illustrated the ways and means of including and excluding certain social groups in his discourse. The consequences of such inclusions and exclusions imply severe discrimination of foreigners. Basically, Haider relies on specific "topoi," like the "topos" of definition, the "topos" of authority and the "topos" of efficiency, to emphasize and persuade the viewers of his line of argumentation. Moreover, he is able to convince his audience of the very positive efforts of his party and of the big responsibility his party has taken on. In this way, his discourse is mainly focused on positive self-presentation and on constructive proposals.

In terms of the lexico-grammar, we noted that Haider manages to institute rigid boundaries between the kinds of Austrians whom he favors, and those who are against the divisive policies, which he and his party adhere to. Because these boundaries are construed at the level of the lexico-grammar rather than primarily at the level of the semantics, they are at once less obvious and less challengeable. While the "topoi" analysis has shown that Haider attempts to manipulate a limited number of semantic schemas to his party's advantage, the lexico-grammatical analysis brings out that the power of his argument is as much an issue of syntactic segregation as of semantic argumentation.

Overall, the paper has argued in favor of a two-fold analysis of political language: a discourse-semantic analysis that links the talk back to the "topoi" which are intrinsic to it, and a lexico-grammatical analysis which reveals the "work" done below the surface. It is by combining these analyses that we begin to appreciate the force of Haider discourse, and that we can formulate strategies for countering his talk. These strategies would not only target the discourse-semantics, but also would have to address the ways in which stakeholders are segregated by lexico-grammatical means. For example, questions could be raised about how Haider identifies 'us' with being mentally superior to those who do not classify as neighbors, or about the linguistic and cultural discrimination that might be the cause for "non-neighbors" being primarily involved in menial, dispensable jobs. Importantly, the approach advocated here looks beyond only focusing on the reasoned aspects of Haider's position. It crucially aims to engage critique not just at the level of how language means, but also how it structures that meaning.

WORKS CITED

Bailer-Galanda, B. & W. Neugebauer. *Haider und die "Freiheitlichen" in Österreich.* Berlin: Elefanten, 1997.

Beard, A. *The Language of Politics.* London: Routledge, 2000.

Bell, P. & T. van Leeuwen. *The Media Interview: Confession, Contest, Conversation.* Sydney: U of New South Wales P, 1994.

Bhabha, H. *The Location of Culture.* London: Routledge, 1994.

—— "The Other Question: Stereotype, Discrimination and the Discourse of Colonialism." *The Location of Culture.* Ed. H. Bhabba. London: Routledge, 1994. 66-84.

Blommaert, J. & J. Verschueren. *The Diversity Debate.* London: Routledge, 1998.

Bourdieu, P. *Language and Symbolic Power.* Cambridge: Polity, 1991.

Chilton, P., ed. *Political Discourse in Transition in Europe 1989-1991.* Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 1998.

Chilton, P. & C. Schäffner. "Discourse and Politics." *Discourse as Social Interaction: Discourse Studies.* Vol. II. Ed. T.A. van Dijk. London: Sage, 1997. 206-230.

Dijk, T.A. van. *Prejudice in Discourse.* Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 1984.

DÖW (Dokumentatinsarchiv des Österreichischen Widerstandes). *Handbuch des österreichischen Rechtsextremismus.* Wien: Deuticke, 1993.

Dubiel, H., ed. *Ungewißheit und Politik.* Frankfurt/Main: Suhrkamp, 1994.

Eismann, W., ed. *Rechtspopulismus: Österreichische Krankheit oder europäische Normalität?* Wien: Czernin, 2002.

Gilman, S. *Inscribing the Other.* Lincoln: U of Nebraska P, 1991.

Girnth, H. "Texte im Politischen Diskurs. Ein Vorschlag zur Diskursorientierten Beschreibung von Textsorten." *Muttersprache* 106.1 (1996): 66-80.

Grünalternative Jugend. *Der Schoß ist fruchtbar noch… NSDAP (1920-1933) - FPÖ (1986-1998). Kontinuitäten, Ähnlichkeiten.* Wien: Grünalternative Jugend, 1998.

Halliday, M.A.K. *An Introduction to Functional Grammar.* London: Edward Arnold, 1994.

Horkheimer, M. & T. Andorn. "Elements of Anti-Semitism." *Dialectic of Enlightenment.* Ed. M. Horkheimer & T. Andorn. Boston: Beacon, 1972. 168-208.

Iedema, R., S. Feez & P. White. *Media Literacy: Write It Right Industry Research Report.* Vol. II. Erskinville, Sydney: Disadvantaged Schools Program, 1995.

KIENPOINTNER, M. *Alltagslogik. Struktur und Funktion von Argumenta-tionsmustern*. Stuttgart-Bad-Cannstatt: Frommann-holzboog, 1992.

—— *Vernünftig Argumentieren. Regeln und Techniken der Diskussion*. Hamburg: Rowohlt, 1996.

KIENPOINTNER, M. & W. KINDT. "On the Problem of Bias in Political Argumentation: An Investigation into Discussions about Political Asylum in Germany and Austria." *Journal of Pragmatics* 27 (1997): 555-585.

KINDT, W. "Argumentation und Konfliktaustragung in Äußerungen über den Golfkrieg." *Zeitschrift für Sprachwissenschaft* 11 (1992): 189-215.

KOPPERSCHMIDT, J. *Methodik der Argumentationsanalyse*. Stuttgart: Frommann-holzboog, 1989.

LEEUWEN, T. van & R. WODAK. "Legitimizing Immigration Control: A Discourse-Historical Analysis." *Discourse Studies* 1 (1999): 67-99.

—— "Discourses of Un/Employment: The Austrian Case." *TEXT* 22.3 (2002): 345-368.

MARTIN, J.R. "Beyond Exchange: Appraisal Systems in English." *Evaluation in Text*. Ed. S. Hunston & G. Thompson. Oxford: Oxford UP, 2000.

MARTIN, J.R. & R. WODAK, eds. *Re/Reading the Past*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 2003.

MITTEN, R. "Jörg Haider, the Anti-Immigrant Petition and Immigration Policy in Austria." *Patterns of Prejudice* 2 (1994): 27-47.

MÖHRING, R., ed. "*Österreich allein Zuhause.*" *Politik, Medien und Justiz nach der politischen Wende*. Frankfurt/Main: IKO-Verlag für interkulturelle Kommunikation, 2001.

MORRISON, T. *Playing in the Dark*. Cambridge: Harvard UP, 1992.

NOHLEN, D., ed. *Politische Begriffe*. München: Beck, 1998.

PELINKA, A. *Österreich und Europa. Wie "westlich" ist die Österreichische Demokratie? Beitrag für Waldemar Hummer und Anton Pelinka*. Manuskript (in preparation), 2001.

REEVES, F. *British Racial Discourse. A Study of British political Discourse about Race and Race-Related Matters*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1983.

REINFELDT, S., ed. *Nicht-wir und Die-da. Studien zum rechten Populismus*. Wien: Braumüller, 2000.

REISIGL, M. "Dem Volk aufs Maul schauen, nach dem Mund rden und Angst und Bange machen. Von populistischen Anrufungen, Anbiederungen und Agitationsweisen in der Sprache Österreichischer PolitikerInnen." *Rechtspopulismus. Österreichische Krankheit oder europäische Normalität?* Ed. W. Eismann. Wien: Czernin, 2002. 149-198.

REISIGL, M. & R. WODAK. "'Austria First': A Discourse-Historical Analysis of the Austrian 'Anti-Foreigner-Petition' in 1992 and 1993." *The Semiotics of Racism*. Ed. M. Reisigl & R. Wodak. Wien: Passagen Verlag, 2000. 269-303.

—— *Discourse and Discrimination*. London: Routledge, 2001.

—— "Nationalpopulistische Rhetorik." *Konjunkturen des Rassismus*. Ed. A. Demirovic & M. Bojadzijev. Munster: Westphalisches Dampfboot, 2002. 50-89.

SCHARSACH, H.H. *Haiders Kampf*. Wien: Kremayr & Scheriau, 1993.

SCHARSACH, H.H. & K. KUCH, eds. *Haider: Schatten über Europa*. Köln: Kiepenheuer & Witsch, 2000.

TER WAL, J. "Comparing Argumentation and Counter-Argumentation in Italian Parliamentary Debate on Immigration." *The Semiotics of Racism*. Ed. M. Reisigl & R. Wodak. Wien: Passagen, 2001. 129-154.

Wengeler, M. "Argumentation im Einwanderungsdiskurs: Ein Vergleich der Zeiträume 1970-1973 und 1980-1983." *Die Sprache des Migrationsdiskurses: Das Reden über "Ausländer" in Medien, Politik und Alltag*. Ed. M. Jung, M. Wengeler & K. Böke. Opladen: Westdeutscher, 1997. 121-149.

Whorf, B.L. *Language, Thought & Reality: Selected Writings of Benjamin Lee Whorf*. MA: MIT, 1956.

Wodak, R. "The Rise of Racism: An Austrian or a European Phenomenon?" *Discourse & Society* 11.1 (2000): 5-6.

—— "Echt, anständig und ordentlich: Wie Jörg Haider und die FPÖ die österreichische Vergangenheit, Gegenwart und Zukunft beurteilen." *Haider: Österreich und die rechte Versuchung*. Ed. H.H. Scharsach. Hamburg: Rororo, 2000. 180-187.

—— "The Discourse-Historical Approach." *Methods of Critical Discourse Analysis*. Ed. R. Wodak & M. Meyer. London: Sage, 2001. 63-95.

—— "Freund und Feindbilder: Diffamierung politischer Gegner oder berechtigte und notwendige Kritik?" *Österreich allein zuhause. Politik, Medien und Justiz nach der politischen Wende*. Ed. R. Möhring. Frankfurt/Main: IKO-Verlag, 2001. 124-144.

—— "Diskurs, Politik, Identität." *Der Mensch und seine Sprache(n)*. Ed. O. Panagl, H. Goebl & E. Brix. Wien: Böhlau, 2001. 133-155.

—— "Discourses of Silence: Anti-Semitic Discourse in Post-War Austria." Forthcoming.

Wodak, R. et al. *Diskursive Konstruktion nationaler Identität*. Frankfurt/Main: Suhrkamp, 1998.

Wodak, R. & T.A. van Dijk, eds. *Racism at the Top: Parliamentary Discourses on Ethnic Issues in Six European States*. Klagenfurt: Drava, 2000.

Wodak, R. & M. Meyer, eds. *Methods of Critical Discourse Analysis*. London: Sage, 2001.

Wodak, R. & A. Pelinka, eds. *The Haider Phenomenon*. New Brunswick: Transaction, 2002.

Wodak, R. & G. Weiss. "European Union Discourses: Theories and Applications." Forthcoming.

APPENDIX A

1. The "topos of advantage or usefulness" can be paraphrased by means of the following conditional: if an action under a specific relevant point of view will be useful, then one should perform it (e.g. usefulness of "guest workers" for a national economy). To this "topos" belong different subtypes, for example the "topos" of "pro bono publico," the "topos" "to the advantage of all," the "topos" of "pro bono nobis" (to the advantage of "us"), and the "topos" of "pro bono eorum" (to the advantage of "them").

2. Like the "topos" of advantage or usefulness, "the topos of uselessness/disadvantage" is also a specific causal argumentation scheme, but in contrast to the former, the latter relies on the conditional. If one can anticipate that the prognosticated consequences of a decision will not occur, or if other political actions are more likely to lead to the declared aim, the decision has to be rejected. (Example from Haider interview?)

3. The "topos of definition or topos of name-interpretation or locus a nominis interpretatione" can be traced back to the following conclusion rule. If an action, a thing or a person (group of persons) is named/designated (as) X, the action, thing or person (group of persons) carries or should carry the qualities/traits/attributes contained in the (literal) meaning of X. This "topos" is employed if immigrant workers in Austria or Germany are euphemistically called "Gastarbeiter" ("guest workers"). The term implies that, because they are "only guests," they will or they must return to the countries they came from.

4. The "topos of danger" or "topos of threat" is based on the following conditionals: if a political action or decision bears specific dangerous, threatening consequences, one should not perform or do it. Or, formulated differently: if there are specific dangers and threats, one should do something against them.

5. The "topos of humanitarianism" can be paraphrased by the following conditional: if a political action or decision does or does not conform with human rights or humanitarian convictions and values, one should or should not perform or take it. This "topos" can be employed in every situation where one argues against unequal treatment and discrimination and for the recognition of "racialized," ethnic, religious, gender or other differences.

6. It is closely connected with the "topos of justice" that is based on the principle and claim of "equal rights for all." As a conditional phrase, it means that if persons/actions/situations are equal in specific respects, they should be treated/dealt with in the same way. For example: as far as social security is concerned, workers should be treated equally, that is to say, irrespective of their citizenship, as they make the same social security payment contributions.

7. A third argumentation scheme closely related to the two "topoi" just mentioned is the "topos of responsibility." It can be summarized by the conditional formula: because a state or a

group of persons is responsible for the emergence of specific problems, it or they should act in order to find solutions of these problems [...]

8. The "topos of burdening" or "weighing down" is to be regarded as a specific causal "topos" (a "topos" of consequence) and can be reduced to the following conditional: if a person, an institution or a "country" is burdened by specific problems, one should act in order to diminish these burdens. Within this context, one can find the metaphorical phrase "das Boot ist voll," "the boat is full/overcrowded."

9. The "topos of opportunity cost" can be characterized by the following conclusion rule: if a specific situation or action costs too much money or causes a loss of revenue, one should perform actions, which diminish the costs or help to avoid the loss. This "topos," which is a specific causal "topos" ("topos" of consequence), comes close to the "topos of burdening." It is, for example, employed implicitly by the former Governor of Upper Austria when he argues against the accommodation of Romanian refugees in the community of Franking. "Here, we are dealing with people whose origin one can explicitly identify by looking at them, and thus, one is afraid of losses within the framework of tourism."4 In this example, the "topos of opportunity cost" focuses on allegedly negative socio-economical consequences.

10. The "topos of reality" is rather a tautological argumentation scheme that can be paraphrased as follows: because reality is as it is, a specific action/decision should be performed/made.

11. The "topos of numbers" (statistical proof) may be subsumed under the conclusion rule: if the numbers prove a specific "topos," a specific action should be performed/not be carried out. This "topos" can become fallacious if it is related to incorrectly presumed majorities which are not verified empirically.

12. The "topos of law" or "topos of right" can be condensed in the conditional: if a law or an otherwise codified norm prescribes or forbids a specific politico-administrative action, the action has to be performed or omitted. The use of this "topos" is institutionalized in politico-administrative genres such as rejections of applications for residence permits (see van Leeuwen & Wodak, "Immigration").

13. The "topos of history" can be described as follows: because history teaches that specific actions have specific consequences, one should perform or omit a specific action in a specific situation (allegedly) comparable with the historical example referred to. A specific subtype of this argumentation scheme is the already Ciceronian "topos of historia magistra vitae", of "history teaching lessons" (see Wodak et al. 205-207). This argumentation scheme focuses on a change situated in the past, strictly speaking, on supposedly having learned from history.

14. The "topos of culture" is based on the following argumentation scheme: because the culture of a specific group of people is as it is, specific problems arise in specific situations. This *topos* is employed by Jörg Haider in combination with the "topos" of danger in his appeal in the: "The greatest damage that one can do to a people is to put the identity, cultural heritage, and the opportunities of its young people negligently at stake. That's why we have introduced the "Austria First" petition. In order to guarantee Austrians their right to a fatherland."5

15. The "topos of abuse" can be paraphrased by the following conclusion rule. If a right or an offer for help is abused, the right should be changed, or the help should be withdrawn, or measures against the abuse should be taken. Rightist politicians fall back upon this "topos" when they argue for restricting asylum policy by means of reference to an alleged abuse of the asylum law.

APPENDIX B

Interview with Jörg Haider about the new Party Program, in "Zeit im Bild 2" 29th October 1997 (Interviewer: Robert Hochner).

RH: Herr Doktor Haider! In diesem Parteiprogramm sind christliche Werte und die Verpflichtung, diese christlichen Werte zu verteidigen, relativ stark unterstrichen. –Äh, es gibt keine christliche Ausländerfeindlichkeit. Das Christentum unterscheidet nicht zwischen Österreichern und Ausländern, und das Christentum verpflichtet eigentlich Menschen, –die wenig haben, das, was man hat, noch zu geben. Wie ver / paßt das eigentlich zur Politik ihrer Partei?

JH: Zum ersten einmal, daß wir christlich sind bei Privilegienabbau, weil wir sind die einzigen, die freiwilligen Einkommensverzicht leisten, —während in Zeiten des Sparpaketes vom Bundeskanzler angefangen bis zu allen Ministern, Landeshauptleuten, Landesregierungsmitgliedern, jeder sich Gehaltserhöhungen verpaßt hat. So, einmal das erste Christliche an uns. Das Zweite ist, —ah daß wir das Papstwort ernst nehmen, und äh der— äh je / jetzige Papst hat ja ganz deutlich gemacht, daß Nächstenliebe bedeutet, wirklich sich um den Nächsten zu kümmern und nicht die ganze Welt zu umarmen, sondern auch an die Österreicher zu denken.

RH: Also, der Näch / der Nächste muß einen österreichischen Paß haben, daß Sie ihn lieben.

JH: Nicht unbedingt, aber er muß eine legale Aufenthaltsberechtigung hier in d / im Lande haben, denn sonst geht's uns so, daß man —äh Illegale hereinläßt— und dann letztlich den Österreichern und den hier legal lebenden Ausländern ein Problem schafft. Wir sind also da sehr —auf der rechtsstaatlichen Grundlage— und der / die Reaktionen der Regierung zeigen ja nur, daß wir völlig richtig liegen auch mit der Linie —äh "Österreich zuerst," daß wir an dieses Land denken und den Ausverkauf beziehungsweise eine ungehemmte Zuwanderung jedenfalls stoppen wollen.