

Pekka Kallioniemi @P\_Kallioniemi Feb 5, 2024 - 19 tweets - <u>P\_Kallioniemi/status/1754499616316240043</u>

In today's #vatniksoup, I'll introduce an Austrian right-wing, populist party FPÖ (@FPOE\_TV). They're best-known for their anti-immigration and euroskeptic rhetoric and policies, and for their close ties to the Kremlin and other pro-Kremlin parties around Europe.

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FPÖ was found in 1956, and its first leader was Anton Reinthaller, a former Nazi Minister of Agriculture and SS officer. He was later replaced by another former SS officer, Friedrich Peter. FPÖ finally shed its Nazi past in 1967 after its more extreme faction left the party. 2/18

### National Socialism in Austria before and after 1945

Nazi Minister Anton Reinthaller and the Origins of the Austrian Freedom Party

MARGIT REITER

### TRANSLATION BY SINÉAD CROWE

After 1949, many former Austrian National Socialists reorganized in the Federation of Independents (VdU, Verband der Unabhängigen) and its successot party, the Austrian Freedom Party (FPÖ, Freiheitliche Partei Österreichs). As the first party leader of the FPÖ beginning in 1955/56. Anton Reinthallet (1895-1958) played a central tole in the postwar political mobilization of former National Socialists, known in Austria as the Ehemaligen (formers). On the basis of the hitherto unused personal papers of Anton Reinthaller, Margit Reiter's contribution sketches the political career of the founder of the FPÖ from his time as a member of the illegal National Socialist Party during the era of Austrofascism, through his appointment as a Nazi minister in 1938 and to various other positions during the Nazi period, to his postwar denazification and teentry into politics. The cottespondence, personal notes, and court documents contained in his papers not only provide a good overview of the networks and the discourse among former Nazis after 1945, but also allow for an investigation into Reinthaller's attitude towards National Socialism and his retrospective self-presentation in front of the denazification court. The early history of the FPÖ is analyzed by interweaving party history with a biographical approach. In its tension between biographical and ideological continuities, on the one hand, and a willingness and ability to adapt to changed political circumstances, on the other, the example of Anton Reinthaller reveals a typical "Austrian" perpetrator biography of a sort that has been neglected in historical research.

### Introduction

The Austrian Freedom Party (FPÖ, *Freiheitliche Partei Österreichs*) was officially established on April 7, 1956, by Anton Reinthaller, a former high-ranking Nazi.<sup>1</sup> At the time Reinthaller, who also became the party's first chairman, was a national rallying figure for Austria's former Nazis. The FPÖ emerged from and supplanted the Federation of Independents (VdU, *Verband der Unabhängigen*), a party that had held seats in parliament since 1949 and had widely been regarded as a hotbed of former Nazis. Indeed, as I will demonstrate, contemporary observers believed that the new party, often

For the first decade of its existence the FPÖ was regarded as overtly right-wing extremist due, in large part, to the number of former Nazis within its ranks. Until the mid 1960s, it was considered a pariah and was excluded from government at every level. In 1966, however, under the leadership of ex-SS officer Friedrich Peter, the party began a move to the political centre-ground. It promoted economically liberal policies and even joined the Liberal International in 1979. This apparent conversion led a number of right-wing members to leave the party in 1967 and to set up the *Nationaldemokratische Partei* (NDP). For many observers this confirmed that the FPÖ had finally shed its Nazi legacy. The party's relations with the both the ÖVP and the SPÖ improved throughout this period and, in 1983, under the stewardship of Norbert Steger, this process of liberalization culminated in the FPÖ becoming the junior partner in an SPÖ-FPÖ governmental coalition.

During the 90s, with Jörg Heider as their leader, FPÖ focused more on anti-immigration and euroskepticism.

After they were included in a coalition government in 2000, 14 EU countries imposed sanctions on Austria due to the "legitimisation of extreme right" in Europe.

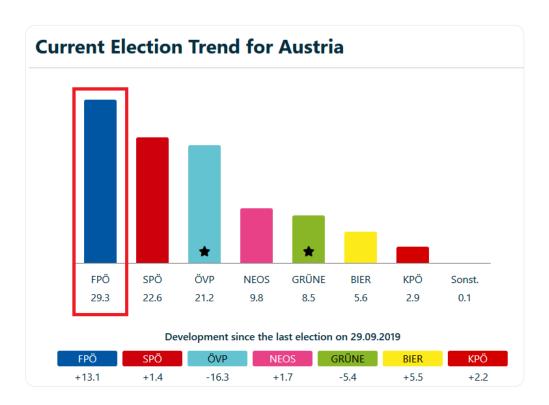


Although the Austrian Freedom Party's entrance into government was a legitimate consequence of democratic elections, the result triggered the threatened diplomatic boycott from the other EU-14 members, resulting in reduced bilateral contacts to Austria outside of formal EU

meetings. This measure was later justified as follows: '(...) the admission of the FPÖ into a coalition government legitimises the extreme right in Europe' (Pelinka 2001:12).<sup>3</sup>

The reaction from Europe was partly explained by the FPÖ uncomfortable historical legacies in National Socialism and positions on immigration issues and questions of identity and belonging. For this reason, the party had for long been considered a pariah by most of the Austrian political establishment. It had not always been like this. In the 1980s, the FPÖ had developed a clearly neo-liberal profile under the liberal leadership of Norbert Steger. But when Jörg Haider took over the party leadership in September 1986, the FPÖ made a clear turn to the right, rewarding the more radical right wing in the party.

With the upcoming 2024 Austrian legislative election, FPÖ is expected to become the biggest party - recent polls have suggested that they'd get around 26-31% of all votes. Their popularity has been rising since the so-called "Ibiza gate" - a political scandal that shook...





...Austria in 2019 after a publishing of a secretly recorded video. The 2017 video showed the former vice chancellor of Austria and leader of FPÖ, Heinz-Christian Strache & the party's former deputy leader, Johann Gudenus talking with a woman calling herself Alyona Makarova.



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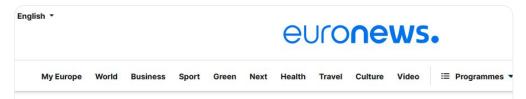
### Austrian government collapses over Russia scandal

Kurz calls for snap election after video shows far-right leaders offering contracts for cash.



Sebastian Kurz | Alex Halada/AFP via Getty Images

MAY 18, 2019 8:16 PM CET BY MATTHEW KARNITSCHNIG



G > News > World > Austria

### Ibizagate: Former Austrian vice-chancellor Heinz-Christian Strache convicted of corruption



By Euronews with AFP Published on 27/08/2021 - 13:37 • Updated 14:27



Norbert Hofer (L), Austrian Transport Minister and designated leader of the right-wing Austrian Freedom Party (FPO), and Austrian Interior Minister Herbert Kickl (R) of the FPO deliver a press statement at a FPO parliamentary group office in Vienna, Austria, 20 May 2019. [Christian Bruna/EPA/EFE] During the discussion, "Miss Makarova" offered the FPÖ leaders positive news coverage in return for government contracts. She also claimed to be the niece of Russian businessman Igor Makarov. What the FPÖ boys didn't know was that the entire exchange was staged & recorded.

6/18



The video was published just few days before the EU election and it led to the collapse of the government & the resignation of Strache. Some time later, FPÖ's remaining ministers, including Minister of the Interior and the current leader of the party, Herbert Kickl, resigned. 7/18



19.05.19, 18:16 Updated: 20.05.19, 10:02



# Austria's FPÖ ministers resign en masse to protest colleague's sacking in wake of video scandal



But after the scandal, FPÖ has regained their popularity by speaking against COVID-19 lockdowns and vaccinations, by attributing negative economic aspects to EU's sanctions against Russia, and by presenting Austrians as victims of "Western elites".

### **Social Europe**

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NEWSLETTER

## Exploiting every crisis: why the FPÖ is topping the polls

#### GABRIELA GREILINGER 5th June 2023

At the heart of the scandal that broke the right-wing coalition government in 2019, the Freedom Party is now riding high.

### ETUI ADVERTISEM



That was then: a screenshot from the 'Ibiza-gate' video, with Heinz-Christian Strache right

We want to build a media environment similar to that of Orbán.

#### I want a role like Orbán.

So said the former Austrian Freedom Party (FPÖ) vice-chancellor Heinz-Christian Strache during a short 2017 trip to Ibiza, where he and a party colleague met an alleged niece of a Russian oligarch. They wanted to talk business—and did so openly and candidly, while also discussing how they could influence the media and build a quasi-autocracy in Austria, akin to that established under Viktor Orbán in Hungary.



Discover the net Trade Unions in Union

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For a long time,FPÖ has been the most pro-Kremlin party in Austria. Its former leader, Strache, signed a formal cooperation agreement with Putin's United Russia already back in 2016. The party has blamed "Western political elites" for the relations between the West & Russia. 9/18

Austrian former interior minister and club chairman of right-wing Freedom Party of Austria Herbert Kickl addresses a session of the National Council in Vienna | Roland Schlager/APA/AFP via Getty Images effective curb on Western liberalism. The FPÖ signed a formal cooperation agreement with Putin's party United Russia in 2016 and became a defender of Kremlin policy. It has generally blamed Western political elites for the deterioration of international relations and the conflict in the region, including Ukraine. The FPÖ has repeatedly called on the Austrian government to adopt a neutral stance, criticized Western sanctions on Russia, and labelled Ukraine a corrupt state. Especially on the Radical Right, the current conflict is seen as part of a broader contest between liberal and anti-liberal agendas.

FPÖ openly praised Russia for the rejection of "Western liberalism", and strongly condemned the sanctions against Russia after they annexed Crimea. The cooperation agreement between FPÖ and Putin's United Russia was recently formally renewed until 2026.

Before the invasion, the FPÖ maintained close political relations with Russia and President Putin based on shared anti-liberal ideological positions (Weiss 2020, Weidinger et al. 2017). Members of the FPÖ openly praised and admired the Russian regime for its aversion to western liberal principles and shared Moscow's criticism of Brussels during the refugee crisis. The FPÖ condemned the EU's sanctions against Moscow and defended Russia's annexation of Crimea in 2014. This position was reinforced by a formal partnership agreement between Putin's party, United Russia and the FPÖ in 2016 (Weiss, 2020; Cede & Mangott, 2023). Although the FPÖ under Kickl publicly distanced themselves from this agreement, the party let the deadline for terminating the accord pass, thereby allowing it to be renewed until 2026 (Die Presse, 2021). Nevertheless, as Cede and Mangott (2023) note, no Austrian government opposed extending sanctions against Russia over the annexation of Crimea in 2014, including the one in which the FPÖ was a coalition partner from 2017 to 2019. Moreover, the FPÖ has been careful not to be seen as defending Moscow's conduct of the war but rather reframe the conflict in ways that fit the party's political narrative.

### **Die Presse**

News Opinion

## FPÖ phases out cooperation with Putin party

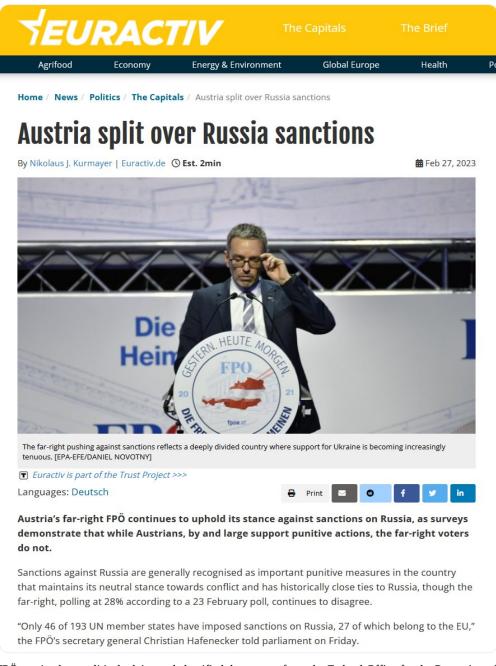


Herbert Kickl sees no sense in the cooperation with the Putin party. (c) APA/ GEORG HOCHMUTH (GEORG HOCHMUTH)

"We simply do not need that," says party leader Kickl for the agreement concluded in 2016. However, the FPÖ has failed to give notice.

The FPÖ does not want to extend the cooperation agreement with the **Putin** United **Russia** party, which expires at <u>the</u> end of the year. "We simply do not need this," party chairman Herbert <u>Kickl</u> confirmed a report of the <u>"Standard</u>" at a press conference on Thursday. However, since the FPÖ had a notice period passed in June 2021, the agreement reached to five years was formally extended until the end of 2026.

When it comes to the war in Ukraine, FPÖ's narrative claims that it's a "struggle between opposing sides" rather than an aggressive war launched by Russia. They also strongly focus on blaming sanctions and the EU for inflation and spikes in energy prices.



FPÖ received geopolitical advice and classified documents from the Federal Office for the Protection of the Constitution and Counter-terrorism (BAT) and the Ministry of the Interior from Wirecard fraudster and spy for Russia, Jan Marsalek.



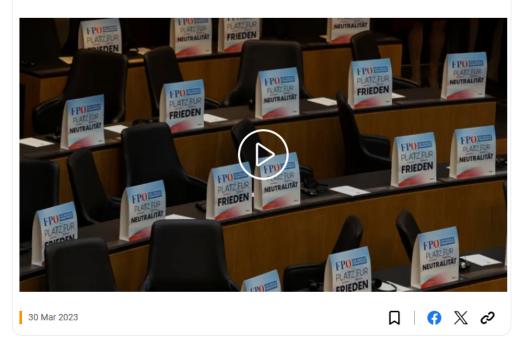
In Mar 2023, FPÖ lawmakers walked out from the lower house of Austria's Parliament during the Ukrainian president Volodymyr Zelenskyy was giving a speech. According to FPÖ, this was done "in protest at this supposed violation of Austria's national principle of neutrality".

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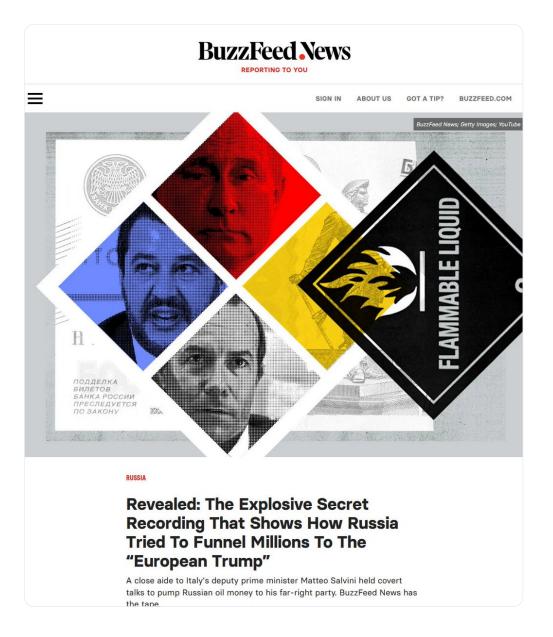
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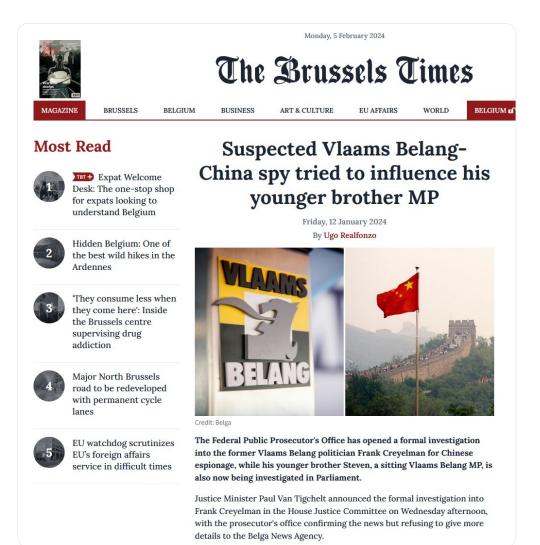
## Austria's far-right lawmakers walk out of Zelenskyy speech

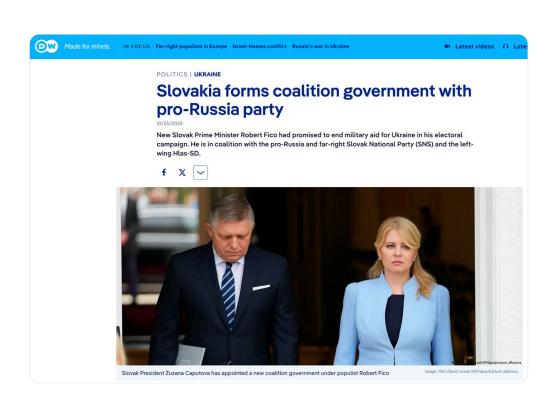
The far-right politicians said they were protesting against the speech because it violated Austria's principle of neutrality.



As is tradition, FPÖ has cooperated with other European far-right, populist parties that have also collaborated closely with Russia. These include Italian Lega Nord, Belgian Vlaams Belang; Slovak, ultranationalist SNS, Orban's Fidesz and the Serbian Progressive Party.

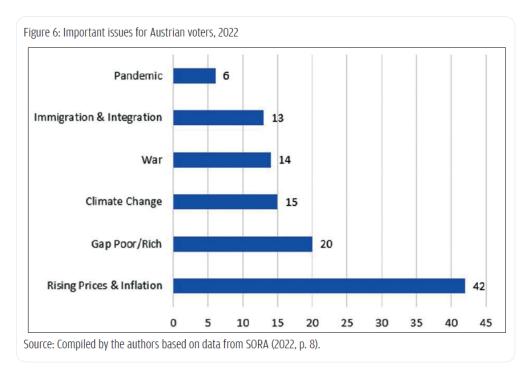




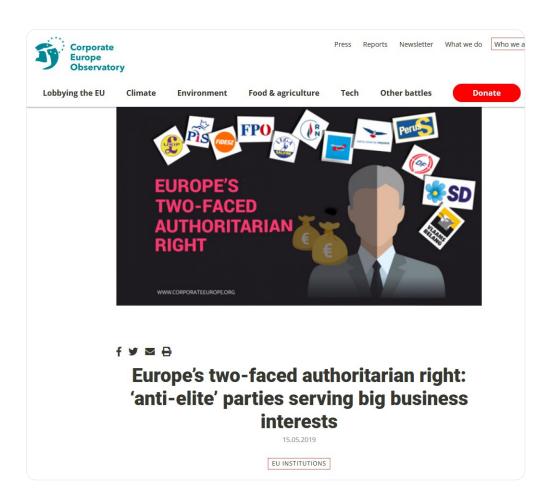




The voters of right-wing and populist parties around Europe are often interested in other things than the ongoing war in Ukraine. They are especially concerned about the day-to-day stuff like rising prices and inflation, and the division between the poor & the rich.



And this is where the populist parties thrive - most often they don't provide solutions per se, but demonize the other parties as "elitists" who have abandoned the "common folk". As an alternative, they offer "neutrality" and increase in business with countries like Russia. 16/18





It's worth mentioning, that Austria is a wealthy, pluralistic country with free elections, a strong civic society & free press; it is not like Hungary under Orbán.

Allegedly, people are generally unhappy with the current government and are looking for a salvation from FPÖ.

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1	Freedom House	Our Issues	Perspectives	Policy Recommendations	Explore the Map
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But one should remember that throughout the years, the party's been riddled with corruption.

And to be fair, there's also some good things FPÖ has achieved: after the Ibiza scandal: Vengaboys' fantastic "We're going to Ibiza" reached #1 in the Austrian music charts again.



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