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THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE NATION AND ITS ENEMIES IN THE DISCOURSE OF THE SLOVAK EXTREME RIGHT PARTY K-ĽSNS

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ABSTRACT

The paper deals with the discursive construction of a nation and its enemies in the discourse of the Slovak extreme right party, Kotlebovci – People's Party Our Slovakia (K-ĽSNS). K-ĽSNS is one of the most dominant extreme right parties in Slovakia and the concept of the nation belong among key concepts they work with. The communication of the political parties has been research objective for a long time because political discourse has huge influence on public opinion. The paper's main objective was to reveal how the Slovak nation and its enemies are constructed in the discourse of K-ĽSNS and how discursive strategies were applied in this construction. Attention was also paid to the relationship between the Slovak nation and K-ĽSNS. The pre-election newspaper consisting of the election program of K-ĽSNS from 2020, was analysed. In the paper, the nation was understood as a social construct that must be systematically legitimized and reconstructed by various discourses in everyday social and political life. Thus, discourse analysis was chosen for text analysis. The analysis showed that the Slovak nation was presented as a victim and under the constant threat of its enemies (mainly politicians and minorities). The most often mentioned enemies were the Roma people and liberals. K-ĽSNS presented itself as the only political party able to protect the Slovak nation against its enemies.

Key words: Nation, K-ĽSNS, Discourse, Extreme Right, Slovakia, In-group, Out-group

Introduction

We can observe the rise of the populist, nationalist, Eurosceptic, radical, and extreme right parties across Europe and the world in recent years. The British newspaper The Guardian, with the cooperation with academics, researched 31 European countries and revealed that populist parties (far-left, and mainly far-

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right) have strengthened over the last 20 years. In 1998, 7% of Europeans voted for populist parties, and the number had risen to 25% by 2018. Half of the votes belong to the populist far-right.[1] Several Slovak political parties were included in the research. Smer-SD from the left side of the political spectrum, Slovak National Party (SNS), Ordinary People and Independent Personalities (OĽANO), and We are Family from the political spectrum's right side. The research revealed the development of support for left-wing populist parties like Five Star Movement (Italy), Podemos (Spain), Die Linke (Germany), Syriza (Greece) and right-wing populists like National Rally (France), North League (Italy), Alternative for Germany (Germany), Fidesz (Hungary), Law and Justice (Poland), and others. (Barr, 2018). Radical and extreme right parties strengthened in the election to the European Parliament (the EP) in 2019. Most of these parties are united in the political group Identity and Democracy (ID) with 76 mandates (the fifth most substantial political group in the EP) (EP, 2020). However, not all radical and extreme right parties are united in the ID group. For example, Hungarian Jobbik, Greek Golden Dawn, or Slovak Kotlebovci – People's Party Our Slovakia (in Slovak Kotlebovci – Ľudová Strana Naše Slovensko, K-ĽSNS) are non-inscrits. K-ĽSNS obtained 12,07% and two mandates in the election to EP in 2019 (Štatistický úrad, 2019). They were elected to the Slovak parliament in 2016 (they obtained 8,04% and 14 mandates) (Štatistický úrad, 2016). Since then, they have become a regular part of Slovak political life, and they are the most dominant extreme right force in Slovakia. K-ĽSNS received 7,97% and 17 mandates in the 2020's Slovak parliamentary election (Štatistický úrad, 2020). They successfully form public discourse from their position as the fourth-strongest political party in Slovakia. I find it essential to analyse their discourse and how they create the Slovak nation's image, its enemies, and the image of themselves in it.

K-ĽSNS is the only extreme right party in the Slovak parliament. They have absorbed other extreme right movements. There are some other marginal far-right parties and movements such as Homeland (Vlasť), which obtained 2,93% in the 2020's parliamentary election. Slovak Revival Movement (Slovenské Hnutie Obrody, SHO) obtained 0,06%, just like People's voice (Hlas ľudu) and Slovak

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[1] Far-right is a term covering up both radical and extreme right (Nociar, 2016). The term Alt-Right (Alternative right) is used to name some far-right movements, especially in USA. Alt-Right is far-right white supremacist movement mostly connected with supporters of Donald Trump and his successful election campaign in 2016. Alt-Right is known for its using of irony and humor as propaganda tools on internet. It distinct itself from mainstream conservatives and uses similar ideology to extreme right movements (Hawley – Thompson, 2020).

People's Party of Andrej Hlinka (Slovenská Ľudová Strana Andreja Hlinku) received 0,28% (Štatistický úrad, 2020).

The rise of the far-right parties across Europe and K-ĽSNS, mainly since 2016 in Slovakia, has not stayed out of academic focus. Social sciences try to find the roots of this rise in the specifics of societies and political scenes. They examine the discourse of far-right and far-left parties, social and political consequences of their activities. The discourse of K-ĽSNS is described in studies of political scientist **Alena Kluknavská**. She analysed K-ĽSNS discourse about Roma people who are presented by negative stereotypes (Kluknavská, 2013). Her cooperation with Czech political scientist **Josef Smolík** has led to the study about the development of the Slovak extreme right discourse and framing strategies in relation to their election results in 1993-2016 (Kluknavská – Smolík, 2016) and communication of K-ĽSNS on social media is analysed in the study from 2019 (Kluknavská – Hruška, 2019). Political scientists **Radoslav Štefančík** and **Miloslav Hvasta** analyse the discourse of K-ĽSNS in their book *Language of Right-Wing Extremism* (2019). They describe the history of K-ĽSNS and analyse essential topics in their discourse. They have noted that K-ĽSNS works with simplified binarity "us" and "them" and present group "them" as a threat in various forms (Štefančík – Hvasta, 2019). **Štefančík** cooperated with linguist **Irina Dulebová** on a book about political linguistic and the language of politics. They introduce various theoretical approaches and methodologies to study the language of politics (Štefančík – Dulebová, 2017). One chapter is devoted to K-ĽSNS in the book *Fascism* (2019), written by historian **Jakub Drábik**. He describes the history of fascism, theoretical approaches for studying fascism, and contemporary forms of fascism. These studies contribute to the understanding of political radicalism and extremism and its impact on society. This paper aims to add a piece of knowledge into the discussion about specific political discourse and its strategies of creating the image of the Slovak nation. Knowledge of political discourses can help us understand the society where these discourses are rooted.

1. Methodology

This paper's primary objective is to describe and analyse the image of the Slovak nation and its enemies in the discourse of K-ĽSNS. The Slovak nation is a significant category in their ideology. The discursive construction of the nation and its enemies offered by this party can influence public opinion. The secondary

objective is to identify and analyse discursive strategies that legitimize the constructed reality of the K-ĽSNS discourse. Attention is paid to strategies constructing the Slovak nation in a relationship with its enemies. These strategies justify the ascribed identities and characteristics of actors presented in (and by) the analysed discourse. Another objective is to reveal how K-ĽSNS constructs its image in the relationship to the Slovak nation and its enemies. Academics describe K-ĽSNS as an extreme right party (Filipec – Garaj – Mihálik, 2018; Stojárová, 2018; Drábik, 2019; Štefančík – Hvasta, 2019). Drábik perceives K-ĽSNS as *"basically neo-Nazi party, which belongs to the wider family of fascist movements"* (Drábik, 2019, p.561). I assume that K-ĽSNS presents the Slovak nation as a central category that deserves protection against its (in-group and out-group) enemies and that this protection can be provided only by K-ĽSNS. I assume that strategies applied in analysed discourse present and emphasize the Slovak nation's positive features and K-ĽSNS (in-group) in opposition to presented and emphasized their enemies' negative features (out-group).

Analysis of discourse and discursive strategies applied in the construction of the nation will help to understand how the image of the nation and the concrete national identity is constructed and reproduced and how the image of the enemy (with its role in consolidating own national identity) is used in the concrete political discourse. The paper should reveal how linguistic means are used to create the nation and its enemies in the analysed political document. Analysis should be useful for other researches of various political discourses. Applied discursive strategies may be used by various political and non-political actors, not only by extreme rights. Following the paper's objectives, the next research questions are formulated:

- What is the image of the nation and its enemies in the analysed discourse of K-ĽSNS?
- What discursive strategies are applied in the construction and legitimation of this image?
- What is the image of K-ĽSNS in its discourse, and by what strategies is this image constructed and legitimized?
- What relationships are created among K-ĽSNS, the Slovak nation, and its enemies?

The representative document of K-ĽSNS was chosen for discourse analysis. K-ĽSNS publishes its newspaper and distributes them around Slovakia. The newspaper serves as a platform for presenting their activities, worldviews, and

opinions on current political affairs. I have selected the pre-election number of this newspaper from 2020, where the political program of K-ĽSNS **is presented**. In this pre-election number of newspaper and political program, the party presents what it wants the masses of people to think of them and tries to persuade people to give them their vote.

Political scientist **Cas Mudde** writes that the election programs of extreme right parties should attract voters and enhance their profile. He also argues that extreme right parties have "back-stage" ideology (internal communication between members) that is more radical than (relative) moderate "front-stage" ideology (political program) (Mudde, 2000). The paper's objective is not to determine the real character of K-ĽSNS. **I analyse the external** discourse only, and I do not assume that the whole ideology in its complexity is presented in the external discourse. Analysis of external discourse is important because it is offered for the mass population and can influence their behaviour. Most people do not see the internal discourse of K-ĽSNS **because it is designed for internal** members and the core of the party. Thus, I deal only with a partial pre-election discourse of K-ĽSNS.

2. Discourse and Discourse Analysis

Discourse belongs to the frequently used terms in social sciences with many definitions. Many definitions of discourse have several common elements. Discourse is perceived as a set of socially constructed knowledge about some topic. The social environment constitutes it, and it is constitutive for the social environment. The discourse always reproduces power and legitimizes some version of reality. According to Discourse-Historical Approach (DHA), discourse is:

- A cluster of context-dependent semiotic practices that are situated within specific fields of social action.
- Socially constituted and socially constitutive.
- Related to macro-topic.
- Linked to the argumentation about validity claims such as truth and normative validity involving several social actors with different points of view (Reisigl – Wodak, 2009, p.89).

Discourses can be divided according to social spheres (media, politics, scientific discourse) or specific themes (discourse of hate, solidarity). We can divide them according to ideology or levels on discourses and meta-discourses

(they stay above discourses, so they are discourses about discourses) (Bočák, 2008). Within the thematically similar discourses, we can distinguish dominant and alternative discourses (Štefančík – Dulebová, 2017).

The people's knowledge about the world is socially constructed. Discourse is a human method for understanding and interpreting the world and limiting this understanding (De Vos, 2003). Discourse is a tool for the construction of reality and a guide for understanding this reality. We do not have a tool for naming reality without discourse. *"Through discourse, social actors constitute objects of knowledge, situation, and social roles as well as identities and interpersonal relations between different social groups and those who interact with them"* (Wodak, 2009, p.8). The logical implication of the quoted idea is that the nation, the national identity, and other identities are socially constructed and reproduced through discourse.

The discourse always reproduces power. Power is expressed because discourse determines what and how people can express themselves and what is included and excluded from discourse. Simultaneously, it is impossible to withdraw from the discourse because all the statements make sense within the given framework. Each discourse seeks a hegemonic status and creates a state in which power is masked and perceived as legitimate (Sedláková, 2014). Power is *"the possibility of having one's own will within a social relationship against the will or interests of others"* (Reisigl – Wodak, 2009, p.88). Power relates to an asymmetric relationship among social actors. Discourse legitimizes or de-legitimizes power relationships among social actors. Texts are social struggle sites where traces of different ideological fights for dominance, and hegemony can be found (Reisigl – Wodak, 2009).

Alongside power, ideologies are disseminated through discourses too. Ideologies serve as essential means of establishing, maintaining, and reproducing power relations among social actors (Reisigl – Wodak, 2009). Ideology is *"a body of normative or normative-related ideas about nature of man and society as well as the organization and purposes of society"* (Sainsbury in Mudde, 2000, p.19). Linguist **Teun van Dijk** writes that discourses are crucial social practices in forming ideologies in their social reproduction. Ideologies are socially shared frameworks of social beliefs that organize social interpretations, practices, power relations, and other relations between social groups. Ideologies are principles that organize beliefs. They operate at a global level of social structure as socially shared mental representations and the local level of situated practices of everyday life (van Dijk, 1998).

Following the theoretical framework of this paper, the method of discourse analysis was chosen for text analysis. I use the method of DHA presented by linguist **Ruth Wodak**. DHA is part of the Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) what is widely used in social sciences. The objective of DHA is to demystify hegemony and ideologies of specific discourses. *"DHA focuses on the ways in which linguistic and other semiotic practices mediate and reproduce ideology in a range of social institutions"* (Wodak, 2015, p.4). In the context of this paper, attention is paid to reproducing nationalist and extreme right ideology. Ideology is expressed in linguistic and semiotic practices used in the text. DHA was chosen as a method of analysis in this paper because it can identify and describe these linguistic practices and reveal the image of the nation and its enemies and broader worldviews (hidden behind used words) of K-ĽSNS.

According to **Wodak** (2015), DHA is a three-dimensional approach, consisting of three steps:

- Identify the specific contents or topics of a specific discourse.
- Investigate discursive strategies.
- Identify linguistic means as types and specific context-dependent linguistic realizations as tokens.

This paper deals with the discursive representation of "us" (the Slovak nation) and "them" (enemies). **Wodak** (2015) writes that the researcher analysing the representation of "us" and "them" should orient to five fundamental questions:

1. How are persons, objects, phenomena, processes, and actions named and referred to linguistically?
2. What characteristics are attributed to social actors, objects, phenomena, and processes?
3. What arguments are employed in the discourse?
4. From what perspective are these nominations, attributions, and arguments expressed?
5. Are the respective utterances articulated overtly? Are they intensified or mitigated?

This approach is applied in this paper. **Wodak** argues that strategy is more or less an intentional plan of practices adopted to achieve a particular social, political, psychological, or linguistic goal (Wodak, 2009). Five types of discursive strategies can be derived from five mentioned questions:

Table 1: Discursive strategies

Strategies:	Objectives:	Devices:
Nomination	Discursive construction of social actors, objects, phenomena/events, and processes/actions.	Membership categorization devices, deictics, anthroponyms. Tropes such as metaphors, metonymies, and synecdoche (*pars pro toto, totum pro parte*). Verbs and nouns used to denote processes and actions.
Predication	Discursive qualification of social actors, objects, phenomena/events/processes, and actions (more, or less positively, or negatively).	Stereotypical, evaluative attributions of negative or positive traits (e.g., in the form of adjectives, appositions, prepositional phrases, relative clauses, conjunctional clauses, infinitive clauses, and participial clauses or groups). Explicit predicates or predicative nouns/adjectives/pronouns. Collocation. Explicit comparisons, similes, metaphors, and other rhetorical figures (including metonymies, hyperboles, litotes, euphemisms). Allusions, evocations, and presuppositions/implicatures. Other.
Argumentation	Justification and questioning of claims of truth and normative rightness.	Topoi (formal or more content-related). Fallacies.
Perspectivization, framing, or	Positioning speaker's or writer's point of view and	Deictics.

discourse representation	expressing involvement or distance.	Direct, indirect, or free indirect speeches. Quotation marks, discourse markers/particles. Metaphors. Animating prosody. Other.
Intensification, mitigation	Modifying (intensifying or mitigating) the illocutionary force and thus the epistemic or deontic status of utterances.	Diminutives or augmentatives. (Modal) particles, tag questions, subjunctive, hesitations, vague expressions etc. Hyperboles, litotes. Indirect speech acts (e.g., question instead of assertion). Verbs of saying, feeling, thinking. Other.

Source: Reisigl – Wodak, 2009, p. 95

I try to find out how these strategies are applied in the construction of the nation and its enemies. Important parts of argumentation strategies are topoi. *"Topos is an old rhetorical notion referring to content related warrants which connect premises with conclusion… Topoi are a type of stereotypical argument based on socially shared opinions generally implying "common sense reasoning schemes" for the sake of persuasion"* (Abdel Kader, 2016, p.34). Topoi and content establish the internal logic of an argument, how the issue should be dealt with. **Wodak** mentions few common topoi present in discourses on "us" and "them". I will look at how these and other topoi are applied in the discourse of K-ĽSNS in the empirical part:

1. **Topos of Burdening** – If an institution is burdened by a specific problem, then one should act to diminish it.
2. **Topos of Reality** – tautologically infers that as reality as it, a particular action should be performed.
3. **Topos of Numbers** – If sufficient numerical/statistical evidence is given, a specific action should be performed.

4. **Topos of History** – Because history teaches that specific actions have specific consequences, one should perform or omit a specific action in a specific situation.
5. **Topos of Authority** – If one refers to somebody in a position of authority, then the action is legitimate.
6. **Topos of Threat** – If specific dangers or threats are identified, one should do something about them.
7. **Topos of Definition** – A person or thing is designated X should carry the qualities/traits/attributes consistent with the meaning of X.
8. **Topos of Justice** – If person/actions/situations are equal in specific respects, they should be treated/dealt with in the same way.
9. **Topos of Urgency** – Decisions or actions need to be drawn/found/done very quickly because of an external, important, and unchangeable event beyond one's reach and responsibility (Wodak, 2015, p.11).

3. The construction of the nation in the extreme right discourse

The nation is one of the crucial concepts organizing the contemporary world and social identities in it. The term nation does not have one unified definition. The objective of this paper is not to confirm the real existence of the nation or its characteristics. The objective is to find out strategies applied in the creation of its image. Thus, the nation is understood in the intentions of social constructivism in this paper.

The nation is a socially constructed, imagined community that must be systematically reproduced and legitimized through discourse (Wodak, 2017). Political scientist **Michael Billig** comes with the term *banal nationalism*. He presents it as everyday processes of reproducing and legitimating the nation's existence, solidarity among its members, and mutual awareness of belonging to the national community. *Banal nationalism* is everyday social practices, including the use of the national symbols, songs, sporting events, implied togetherness in language, and the national press. Many of these symbols and language means are effective because they are perceived as harmless and naturalized (objective of discourse is perceived as natural, "normal", right). Nationalism is an endemic condition in establishing nations (Billig, 1995). **Wodak** comes with three primary characteristics of the nations:

- The nations are primarily mental constructs, in the sense that they exist as discrete political communities in the imagination of their members.
- The national identity includes a set of dispositions, attitudes, and conventions that are largely internalized through socialization and create a "national habitus", drawing on Bourdieu's concepts of habitus, capital, and field.
- The nationhood as a form of social identity is produced, transformed, maintained, and dismantled through discourse (Wodak, 2017, p.8).

Wodak writes that the national (imagined) communities are relatively stable to allow identification and cohesion of social groups, but they are flexible and dynamic enough to be articulated by various actors in various contexts and for various audiences (Wodak, 2017). It means that the nation's image can be regularly modified and reconstructed according to actors and situations' needs.

Daily construction of the nation takes place using homogenization and materialization of the nation. It is decided what the nation is, what is not, who belongs to the nation, who does not. The ultimate instance of this homogenization is the discursive construction of the nation's enemy. An enemy can harm the nation, but it can be groups of people that pose a challenge to the nation's homogeneity by their otherness (cultural, ethnic, religious) (Androvičová, 2015). Although the nationalist ideology tries to construct the image of the homogenized national community discursively, **Wodak** argues that *"the idea of homogenous "pure" identity on the individual or collective level is a deceptive fiction and illusion"* (Wodak, 2009, p.16).

Every social identity is constructed in the relationship with other social identities. Out-group identity is a condition for creating an in-group identity (Tajfel - Turner, 2004). The nation and national identity are not exceptions. A crucial element in the national community's constitution (group) and its national identity is antagonism to out-groups. Political scientist **Patrick De Vos** declares that every group "us" needs an antagonist group "them" to distance against it and establish their own identity. This antagonism sets boundaries between social groups. Every out-group helps to constitute an in-group identity. Different out-groups are often presented as a threat to the in-group, which mobilizes identity and mutual awareness of belonging inside the in-group (De Vos, 2003).

Political scientists **Manuela Caiani** and **Patricia Kröll** agree that the opposition to the out-groups belongs to the basic elements in the process of constructing the nation by nationalism. Nationalism is built on the horizontal logic

of in-group versus out-group. The nations are constructed as communities that share mutual feelings of belonging to the homogeneous national community in which differences are ignored. The nation is always built as sovereign, and integration projects like the EU or globalization are a danger to the nation's sovereignty (Caiani – Kröll, 2017).

Wodak writes that right-wing populists define the nation as *"a limited and sovereign community that exists and persists through time and is tied to a specific territory (space), inherently and essentially constructed through and in/out (member/non-member) opposition and its out-groups"* (Wodak, 2017, p.15). K-ĽSNS is an extreme right party, but I believe that K-ĽSNS shares this understanding of the nation with right-wing populists because they are ideologically close.

People often confuse radical right and extreme right parties. They have many common characteristics but have few differences. According to **Caiani**, **della Porta**, **Wagemann** (2012), **Nociar** (2016), or **Stojarová** (2018), the most significant difference is that extreme right parties usually manifest their rejection of the fundamental values, procedures, and institutions of the democratic state. They reject pluralism, egalitarianism, and principles of fundamental human equality. Extreme right tries to undermine the democratic constitutional order. Extreme right discourse is anti-democratic and often anti-parliamentary. The radical right is critical to the concept of liberal democracy, its institutions but accepts constitutional democratic order and does not want to replace it with a more authoritarian system (Caiani – della Porta - Wagemann, 2012). *"Extremism (extremist parties) is then hostile towards democracy seeking for its replacement with authoritarian regime, while radicalism (radical parties) is illiberal but essentially democratic operating within the constitutional settings"* (Stojarová, 2018, p.33). Another ideological feature of extreme right includes xenophobia, ethnonationalism, sociocultural authoritarianism (law and order), and anti-system populism. The extreme right discourse is not only anti-elitist but also exclusivist because not only political elites but also other groups (minorities) are excluded from the homogeneous group of "people" (Caiani – della Porta - Wagemann, 2012). Ethnonationalism and xenophobia (nativism), authoritarianism, and populism are common and minimum definition criteria of the radical and extreme right.

Mudde defines the populist radical right's ideology with three mentioned features: The first is nativism - a combination of ethnonationalism and xenophobia. The main idea of nativism is that members of the native group should

inhabit the state, and different "others" should be excluded because they represent a threat to the native population. The second is authoritarianism – belief in a strictly ordered society where infringements of authority must be punished severely. Extreme right parties call for more control, more strict law, more numerous police with stronger competencies. Social problems are criminalized, less right for criminals and more discipline in school is required. The third feature is populism, defined as ideology dividing society into two antagonist camps, "the pure people" and "corrupted elites". Politics should be an expression of the *volonté générale* (general will) of the people. Populists often present themselves as defenders of people against injustice (Mudde, 2016). In the populist rhetoric (often used by the extreme right), elites are presented as the traitors of the people's interests. The objective of populist rhetoric is to raise feelings of fear and anger in people to manipulate them (Frič – Gyarfášová, 2019). Both radical right and extreme right share these characteristics, but radical right is not anti-democratic. It is critical to the concept of liberal democracy, pluralism, and the principle of minority's rights but accepts the principle of people's sovereignty and government of majority (Nociar, 2016).

The main category of extreme right discourse is the nation presented under various threats. These threats can be eliminated only by extreme right politicians presented as "true defenders" of the national interests (Giblin, 2012). Extreme right works with binarity "us" and "them" where\ in-group "us" is threatened by out-group "them". They usually emphasize this danger by various linguistic means and try to homogenize both groups with stereotypical images. Politicians, minorities, foreigners, other nations, states, pluralistic societies, and ideologies like multiculturalism or liberalism are traditional enemies against which in-group (nation) should be mobilized (Pelinka, 2013). In the analytical part of the paper, I analyse how this binarity is used in the pre-election discourse of Slovak extreme right party K-ĽSNS and how the nation and its enemies are constructed in it.

4. Analysis of the K-ĽSNS discourse
4.1 Topics
The first step of DHA is to identify discourse topics, which structure the content of discourse. I identified topics of discourse according to the election program divided into the policy areas. Every area was a particular topic of discourse. Election program is present in a newspaper, and the identified topics are various:

The internal political situation and its criticism. Warning against liberals.
Presentation of the party's activities: We have protected Slovakia against the invasion of immigrants. We have refused dangerous LGBT and Gender ideology. We belong to the most active parties in parliament. We have stopped raising of the retirement age.
Program Ten Commandments[2] of People's Party Our Slovakia
To improve living standards and an effective state (financial and economic topic)
For the strong economy and support of the Slovak economy (economic topic)
For quality roads and state construction of highways (transport topic)
To renew free and affordable healthcare (health topic)
For a return to traditional values and educate children to respect the elderly (a topic of values)
For the restoration of agriculture and the protection of nature (a topic of agriculture and environment)
For a fair social system and help for decent families (a topic of social affairs)
For the rule of law and elimination of double standards (justice topic)
For a resolute defence of Slovak interests at home and abroad (foreign topic)
For safety on the streets and the renewal of the Slovak army (defence topic)
The penultimate page is the topic of the Roma people

K-ĽSNS presents typical pre-election topics similar to other political parties (economy, justice, social affairs, health system, foreign relations) in its pre-election newspaper. The current political situation, government, and other political parties are highly criticized and presented as responsible for Slovakia's poor living conditions. Slovakia is presented in deep crisis, and K-ĽSNS is presented positively (what is logical) as an active party, offering solutions for many Slovak problems and as a defender of the Slovak nation against its enemies, mostly Roma people and liberals.

4.2 Actors and nomination strategies

By using binarity "us" and "them", K-ĽSNS divides actors to group "us" (the Slovak nation, Slovakia, and K-ĽSNS), and all other actors belong to group "them", which present a threat to group "us". Actors were identified according to

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[2] Reference to presented Christian character of K-ĽSNS. Christianity and references to God belong among standard part of the Slovak extremist vocabulary because of religious character of the majority of the Slovak population. Positive references to the Slovak state (1939-1945), its president Jozef Tiso (originally Roman-Catholic priest) belong to strategies manifesting party's declared positive relationship to Christianity (Štefančík – Hvasta, 2019).

their semantic position in the text. Every actor must be subject to performing some activity at least once in the text. Next actors are presented in the analysed document of K-ĽSNS:

1. K-ĽSNS, 2. Politicians, 3. The Slovak nation and Slovakia, 4. International organizations, the EU, and NATO, 5. Minorities – Roma, immigrants, LGBT people, 6. Media, 7. NGOs, 8. Financial groups, 9. Other countries

Nomination strategies:

1. **K-ĽSNS:** Collective names – People's Party Our Slovakia, our party, political party, political force, kotlebovci. **Deictics** – we, us, our, ours. **Individual names of party representatives** – Marian Kotleba, Milan Uhrík, Rastislav Schlosár. **Ideological terms** – extremists, fascists[3]
2. POLITICIANS: Names of the parties – KDH, SMER, SNS. **Individual names of politicians** - **Čaputová, Kiska, Havel, Pellegrini, Lajčák, Truban, Harabin, Bugár, Danko, Orban, Merkel**. **Collective names and professional terms** – political parties, Slovak government, politicians, opposition parties, public officials, and Slovakia's official representatives. **Ideological terms** – blue, red, left, right, liberals, **Pejorative names** – psychopaths, thieves, criminals, puppets of oligarchs, lunatics, thieves from government, parvenus
3. THE SLOVAK NATION AND SLOVAKIA: Deictics – we, us, our, ours. **Collective names** – nation, Slovaks, citizens, Slovak Republic citizens, people, population, young families, young people, parents, grandparents, our kids, pensioners, and foreign Slovaks. **Pejorative names** – victims, beggars. **Professional terms** – employees, businessmen, health workers, workers, manufacturers, farmers, and firefighters. Slovakia – state country, **metonymies** – the land of our ancestors, fatherland, homeland
4. THE EU AND NATO: Professional anthroponyms – the EU, Brussels, MEPs, the NATO, United European States, an economic association of free states. **Ideological terms** – euro-fanatics, lords from the EU
5. MINORITIES: Collective names – Immigrants, Muslims, refugees, newcomers, foreigners, homosexuals, Gypsies, **Pejorative names** – slum dwellers, anti-socials, perverts, **Ideological terms** – extremists

[3] These two terms are used in the context of rejecting accusation of extremism and fascism from K-ĽSNS.

6. **MEDIA**: Media
7. **NGOs AND RESEARCH AGENCIES:** NGOs
8. **FINANCIAL GROUPS: Collective names** – financial groups, oligarchs, **Concrete collective names** – Penta. **Pejorative names** – manoeuvrers, wheeler-dealers. **Individual names** – **Kočner**
9. **OTHER COUNTRIES: Geographical names –** Western European countries, the Western states, the West, Eastern Europe. **Names of countries** – Czechia, Hungary, Poland, Russian Federation, Russia, USA, Austria, Switzerland. **Ideological terms** – world super-powers

Nomination strategies show that the Slovak nation is presented mainly by neutral collective terms typical for most political parties. By terms like "victims" and "beggars", K-ĽSNS implies the Slovak nation's poor living standards. Politicians are responsible for this state of the nation. All politicians except K-ĽSNS are frequently named by pejorative terms of negative connotations ("thieves", "criminals"), implying corruption, and poor governance. Anti-elitism is present in the analysed document. Nomination strategies of minorities show that especially the Roma people are named with terms of negative connotations as "extremists", "anti-socials", or homosexuals are named as "perverts". Instead of a neutral term, the Roma people K-ĽSNS uses a more pejorative term of a negative connotation, "Gypsies". These terms imply a negative and stereotypical attitude about minorities. Financial groups are presented by nomination strategies in a negative light too. Nomination strategies express anti-elitism, anti-establishment, anti-Western, and exclusivist attitudes of K-ĽSNS.

4.3 Predication strategies

Predication strategies are the next discursive strategies. They characterize actors of discourse, and they are essential in the creation of their identities. Predication strategies are expressed by Parts of Speech (nouns, adjectives, verbs) and sentence elements (subject, predicate, object). Following prediction strategies are identified:

1. **K-ĽSNS**
   Adjectives – national and Christian
   Nouns – the only political party
   Explicit predicates (only three chosen) – ĽSNS, together with our partners are the only political force that can stop dangerous liberals in their efforts to destroy Slovakia and the countries of Western Europe.

At the same time, we are the only national and Christian party in which you can be sure that your vote will not be lost.

We protected Slovakia against the invasion of immigrants.

2. **POLITICIANS**
Adjectives – blue, red, left, right, dangerous, the most extreme, crazy, corrupted, standard

Nouns – dangerous liberals, the most extreme liberals, crazy liberals, corrupted politicians, standard politicians, the trojan horse of liberals in Smer-SD, puppets of oligarchs, "the best experts", their chums, liberal lunatics

Concrete politicians – **Hlina** – fake Christian, **Kiska** – tax fraud, gypsy vajda (leader), **Merkel** – grave-digger of Europe, **Danko** – fake captain, fake doctor

Explicit predicates (Only three chosen) – Corrupted politicians gradually handed over health insurance companies, pharmacies, laboratories, ambulances, and even hospitals to greedy financial groups and oligarchs.

Liberals are dangerous, and they want to destroy Slovakia just like they destroyed countries of Western Europe.

Liberals and mass media brainwash mainly young people.

3. **THE SLOVAK NATION AND SLOVAKIA**
Slovak nation:
Adjectives – decent, honest, long-term unemployed

Nouns – decent people, honest people, long-term unemployed people, discrimination of decent people

Explicit predicates – Decent people near illegal slums must suffer thefts, robberies, rapes, and even murders.

Citizens of the Slovak Republic and their families are in the first place for ĽSNS.

Slovakia:
Adjectives – national and Christian, proud and confident

Nouns – fatherland, homeland, the land of our ancestors, the economic colony of the West

Explicit predicates – Our countries – Slovakia, Czechia, Poland, and Hungary – protect themselves (as only ones) against destroying the invasion of immigrants.

4. **THE EU AND NATO**
   The EU:
   Nouns – Brussels dictate, Brussels pressure, threats rolling on us from the EU, Brussels – Capital of euro-chaos
   Explicit predicates – Euro-fanatics wants to divide us (V4).
   NATO:
   Adjectives – crime, military crime
   Nouns – The crime pact NATO, the military crime organization NATO
   Explicit predicates – NATO is pushing us into the war with Russia.
5. **MINORITIES**
   Immigrants:
   Adjectives – African
   Nouns – Invasion of immigrants, destroying invasion of immigrants
   Explicit predicates – Crazy mandatory quotas for refugees' reception aimed to destroy European culture and mix our population with African newcomers.
   Roma people:
   Adjectives – Anti-social, Gypsy
   Nouns – Crime of anti-socials, brutal assaults of anti-socials, the escalating aggression of the slum dwellers requires a bold solution, Gypsy extremists
   Explicit predicates – Anti-socials parasite on the social system.
   Anti-socials attack more and more often.
   Gypsy extremists fight firefighter in Kokava nad Rimavicou.
   Homosexuals:
   Adjectives – Sick
   Nouns – LGBT and gender agenda, LGBT and gender ideology, gender ideology
6. **MEDIA**
   Nouns – Extensive media blockade and anti-campaign against our party
   Explicit predicates – Liberals and mass media brainwash mainly young people.
   Media and NGOs control police.
7. **NGOs**
   Adjectives – Foreign, questionable
   Nouns – Cancer of society
   Explicit predicates – Media and NGOs control police.

8. **FINANCIAL GROUPS**
   Adjectives – Greedy
   Nouns – Oligarchs of the greedy financial groups, puppets of oligarchs, foreign interests
   Explicit predicates – Financial group Penta privatized the most significant part of the health system.
   Financial groups and oligarchs made a dirty business from the people's health, where patients are only numbers.
9. **OTHER COUNTRIES**
   Adjectives – **Orban's** Hungary, conservative Poland, the wicked West
   Nouns – cooperation with the countries of V4 Czechia, Poland, Hungary, a block of military neutrality – Switzerland, Austria, Slovakia
   Explicit predicates – Russia was not harmed by anti-Russian sanctions, but Slovak producers were.
   Our countries – Slovakia, Czechia, Poland, and Hungary – protect themselves (as only ones) against destroying the invasion of immigrants.

Predication strategies follow nomination strategies and construct K-ĽSNS as the national and Christian party, which is the only party that cares about the Slovak people. K-ĽSNS distances itself (by using the phrase "the only political party ") from other political parties and politicians who are presented as corrupted and dangerous for the people's interests. K-ĽSNS is presented as a steadfast defender of the Slovak nation and Slovakia against various enemies. Other politicians are presented in opposition to K-ĽSNS and characterized by adjectives as "dangerous", "extreme", "crazy", "corrupted", nouns as "liberals", "puppets of oligarch", "lunatics" and verbs as "destroy", "brainwash", or "rob". Politicians harm the Slovak nation in the K-ĽSNS pre-election discourse. Special attention is paid to liberals, who are the most often mentioned politicians. The term liberal is used to name all political opponents. K-ĽSNS stays in opposition to "dangerous liberals" and protects the nation. Liberals are dangerous for the Slovak nation mainly because they support minorities (Roma, immigrants, LGBT) and are pro-Western.

The Slovak nation and Slovakia are presented as victims of these politicians and other enemies. Politicians discriminate against Slovak people and favour minorities in the discourse of K-ĽSNS. Adjectives with positive connotations such as "decent", "honest" are connected to the Slovak nation. The Slovak nation suffers under the constant threat from minorities and the rule of current political

representation. Only K-ĽSNS can bring justice and change the situation. The image of Slovakia is constructed in an ambivalent way, similarly to the Slovak nation. On the one hand, as "fatherland", "homeland", and "land of our ancestors"[4]. On the other hand, as a victim ("the economic colony of the West"). The Western structures the EU and NATO are presented as a threat to the Slovak nation. Predication strategies present the EU as an organization that dictates Slovakia what to do and limits Slovak sovereignty. Slovak sovereignty is one of the chief aims of K-ĽSNS. NATO is constructed as a "criminal" and "military" organization pushing Slovakia "into the war with Russia".

Minorities are dangerous enemies of the Slovak nation. Immigrants destroy European culture, and the process of migration is defined with the military rhetoric as "invasion of immigrants". The term invasion implies intentionality and conflict between Europeans and African immigrants. The whole penultimate page is devoted to the Roma people, who are presented only in a negative light as "anti-socials" attacking "decent people", and "parasitizing on the social system". Media and NGOs are presented as enemies of the Slovak nation too. K-ĽSNS shares a conspiracy narrative that media carry "anti-campaign" against K-ĽSNS (and, therefore, harm the Slovak nation, which is protected by K-ĽSNS) and with NGOs ("cancer of society") have massive power in society. They "control police" and "brainwash mainly young people" (with liberals). The animosity of K-ĽSNS to foreign actors is expressed by the frequent mentioning of "foreign interests" (economic, political, ideological, usually Western) harming Slovakia.

Financial groups are presented as "greedy" enemies with good relations with politicians (except K-ĽSNS). K-ĽSNS is presented as the only political party fighting against financial groups. Thus, K-ĽSNS protects the Slovak nation, which is robbed by "oligarchs". Other countries are constructed by predication strategies too. The West is constructed as "wicked", and Visegrad Four (V4) countries are presented as the closest allies of Slovakia against "Brussels dictate" and "destroying invasion of immigrants". K-ĽSNS openly rejects "anti-Russian sanctions", supports Slovak withdrawal from NATO[5], and establishing Slovak

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[4] Terms implying family are used to present close (blood) bond within the nation. This rhetoric is common for the extreme right discourse where nation is understood as homogenous group connected with biological and cultural ties, which exclude members of minorities, races, cultures from national community (Štefančík – Hvasta, 2019; Wodak, 2017)

[5] K-ĽSNS demonstrated its anti-Western attitudes by collecting votes for petition for Slovak withdrawal from NATO and the EU since 2016 (Haršányová, 2016). They changed their opinion on the withdrawal

military neutrality. Hostile countries are on the West, and partners are V4 and Russia.

The most mentioned enemies are the Roma people – 22 times. Liberals are mentioned 15 times, LGBT and homosexuals nine times, and immigrants eight times. In the K-ĽSNS pre-election newspaper in 2016, the Roma people are mentioned 21 times, immigrants 19 times, and liberals only once (K-ĽSNS, 2016). Immigrants are mentioned less in 2020 than in 2016, but liberals are mentioned more in 2020 (K-ĽSNS, 2020). We can observe a shift in the construction of enemies. A possible explanation can be the lower-income of immigrants in Europe in 2019 and 2020 compared to the years 2015 and 2016. The Roma people represent a relatively stable image of enemies in K-ĽSNS discourse. However, they are mainly called parasites (eight times), anti-socials three times, extremists three times in 2016 (K-ĽSNS, 2016). They are called anti-socials 14 times, slum-dwellers eight times, and extremist once in 2020 (K-ĽSNS, 2020).

4.4 Argumentation strategies

Argumentation strategies create arguments that legitimize and justify reality constructed by discourse. Topos express the internal logic of an argument. All topoi are direct citations from K-ĽSNS pre-election newspaper. The following topoi (argumentation schemes) were identified:

Topos of history and responsibility:

-   Since 1993, governments have been replaced by "the best experts", blue and red, left and right. What is the result today?

Topos of history:

-   People do not need much to live better. Just restore what sometimes worked great. As the only political party, we dare to renew state-owned enterprises to construct housing and roads, nationalize strategic enterprises - the golden laying hens of our economy, and replace the import of secondary foodstuffs with the renewal of Slovak agriculture and food industry.
-   It started with **Havel**. Standard politicians and their companions have continued to humble and steal these businesses. Thus, Slovakia became

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from the EU before the election to EP. In 2019, K-ĽSNS gained two mandated in election to the EP (Štatistický úrad, 2019)

an economic colony of the West. At ĽSNS, we are convinced that the economy should serve the people. We will restore what was good!
- History has shown us that we can rely only on ourselves.

Topos of responsibility:
- Of all these, governments have made beggars
- Danko buys American fighter jets, but Slovak firefighters have no equipment.
- Unfortunately, liberal president **Čaputová** has still not respected the will of the constitutional majority of deputies in the National Council of the Slovak Republic and has not denounced the Istanbul Convention.
- We will make politicians carry responsibility for their decisions so that high politics will no longer be the most organized criminal profession.
- Responsible politicians are afraid to name this problem, neither solve it effectively. It must end.

Topos of comparison:
- After all, the state also takes care of prisoners better than its pensioners.

Topos of comparison and similarity:
- Under communism, they forbade everything, even the good, and therefore they failed. Under liberalism, they allow everything, even the bad, and therefore they will fail too.

Topos of numbers:
- Slovakia has such a high debt that even the smallest baby has a debt of more than 8500 euros on its head today.

Topos of authority and illustrative example:
- We are the only ones having the courage to protect Slovakia so that our children would know it as well as we did. National and Christian Slovakia! The Lord God gives us a great opportunity to learn from the mistakes of Western states.
- **Marián Kuffa**[6] has always said that people should vote only for those who protect life and family. It is a fact that there is no one else who has done this in parliament more intensely than ĽSNS.

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[6] **Marian Kuffa** is roman-Catholic priest. He is famous for his controversial hate speeches against LGBT people, gender, migrants, liberalism etc. His brother **Štefan Kuffa** is an independent deputy in Slovak National council since March 2020. He is a member of conservative political party Christian Democracy

Topos of authority:

- We will protect traditional values! The spiritual heritage of Cyril and Methodius is the basic building stone of the Slovak Republic Constitution.
- We will build the education and training of young people on traditional national and Christian principles and values.
- Friends, Kotlebovci are not fascists or extremists. The Supreme Court has finally confirmed this.

Topos of illustrative example and difference:

- The People's Party Our Slovakia, together with our partner parties, is the only political force that can stop dangerous liberals in their efforts to destroy Slovakia in the same way they have destroyed the countries of Western Europe.

Topos of definition:

- Instead of fighting dangerous liberals, **Hlina** and his KDH[7] are fighting furiously against other Christian and national parties. A true Christian can never go to government with **Truban** and **Kiska**.

Topos of threat:

- They already see themselves in ministerial chairs! Let us not allow these psychopaths[8] to control Slovakia.
- Another huge danger that liberal politicians tried to sell us in a beautiful package was the so-called Istanbul Convention.
- The traditional family and Christian values on which our society has stood for centuries are now under constant attack by liberal lunatics.
- **ĽSNS is the only parliamentary party that dares to stand up for the Slovaks, to resist nonsense and threats to us from the EU.**

– Life and Prosperity (In Slovak Kresťanská demokracia – Život a prosperita, KDŽP). In 2020's parliamentary election, members of KDŽP candidate for K-ĽSNS. Three of them, **Tomáš Taraba**, **Štefan Kuffa** and **Filip Kuffa** became deputies but in May 2020 they left deputy club of K-ĽSNS and all are independent deputies (Osvaldová, 2020).

[7] KDH – Christian-Democratic Movement (In Slovak Kresťanskodemokratické hnutie). KDH obtained 4,65% in the 2020's parliamentary election and did not pass into the Slovak parliament (Štatistický úrad, 2020).

[8] This sentence is accompanied by picture of (then) conservative and liberal opposition politicians **Andrej Kiska**, **Michal Truban**, **Richard Sulík,** and **Alojz Hlina**. K-ĽSNS blames politicians from both sides of political spectrum and exclude itself from all parties. K-ĽSNS tries to create image that it is the only party to protect the Slovak interests. Pejorative terms like "psychopaths", serve to raise emotions in people and rejection of these politicians.

- We will not allow to break the unity of the V4 countries, our natural allies against Brussels pressure and efforts to destroy our national identity.

Topos of treason:

- SNS[9] has shown that it has nothing to do with Slovak and national values. They teamed up with **Bugár**, bought American fighter jets, and sent Slovak soldiers to the Russian border! Vote for SNS is simply nonsense today.

Topos of treason, history, and responsibility:

- Wild privatization did not pass the once top Slovak healthcare system. Corrupted politicians gradually handed over health insurance companies, pharmacies, laboratories, ambulances, and even hospitals to greedy financial groups and oligarchs. They left the state only what was loss-making and problematic.

Topos of pressure:

- Thanks to our pressure, the governing parties were finally forced to reject the Marrakesh Protocol.
- At the time when NATO push us into the war with Russia.

Topos of difference:

- As a result, large families would not have to pay any income tax, and on the contrary, anti-socials would not receive anything for free.
- The last brutal attacks of anti-socials against decent people confirmed our words about the need for radical solution to the problem of criminality.

Topos of difference and injustice:

- The crime of antisocial slum dwellers has exceeded all limits. Decent people near illegal slums must suffer thefts, robberies, rapes, and even murders. Only because in practice, the law does not apply for anti-socials as it does for everyone else!
- The police would also like to take action against these perpetrators, but when they see that the media and NGOs now control the police, they are

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[9] SNS – Slovak National party. SNS was part of the coalition government in 2016-2020 with Smer-SD, Most-Híd, Sieť (Sieť integrated into Most-Híd in August 2016, five months after election) (Tódová, 2016). K-ĽSNS blame SNS for betraying the Slovaks because it teamed up with (internal enemy) Hungarian party Most-Híd (head of this party was **Béla Bugár**) after the election in 2016. SNS obtained 3,16% in the 2020's parliamentary election and did not pass into the Slovak parliament (Štatistický úrad, 2020)

afraid of intervening in the fight. We will stand up for these policemen and support them in their actions against dangerous slum dwellers.

Topos of nostalgia (contrast):

- Slovak industry was once one of the world's best. Považie, Detva, or Martin, everywhere there was development and production. Today we just import.
- Food self-sufficiency of the Slovak Republic is currently at the level of a catastrophic 40%. Meat, milk, eggs, and other foods we once managed to produce ourselves are now imported in the amount of 4.5 billion euros a year.

Topos of a false dilemma:

- Promotion of various deviations, LGBT, gender ideology, efforts to legalize drugs, abortion, or euthanasia. Endless materialism, consumption, and the suppression of multiculturalism's ideology instead of love for the nation and the homeland. All of which, liberals and the mass media are brainwashing young people today.

K-ĽSNS uses various argumentation schemes to legitimize its discourse and the image of the Slovak nation and its enemies. Topoi follow binarity "us" and "them". The image of the suffering (but "decent") Slovak nation under the injustice rule of "standard" politicians is legitimized. The Slovaks are presented in opposition to its enemies, mostly the Roma people and liberals. Liberals are dangerous because they favour minorities and want to destroy traditional Christian society just like they did in Western Europe. National and Christian values are ascribed to Slovaks as the best values for the nation. K-ĽSNS constructs the Slovak nation as the Christian nation and refers to God, Cyril and Methodius tradition, and traditional society based on Christian values. K-ĽSNS presents itself as a defender of this Christian heritage.

References to history, especially to socialism in former Czechoslovakia (1948-1989), can be observed in topoi. K-ĽSNS interprets this time by topoi of history or nostalgia (contrast), mentioning some features of socialism (social system, state-owned profitable companies). The period of socialism is constructed when the Slovak nation and Slovakia prospered (unlike today). The time of democracy and capitalism since 1989 is understood as the time of the destruction of the Slovak economy. The contrast between the past and the present should emphasize the negative features of governments' present political

system and policies since 1989, resp. 1993. The reproduction of the collective national past is an important strategy in the construction of the nation.

Homogenization and generalization are frequently used to construct enemies (negatively) and the Slovak nation (positively) as monolithic groups staying against each other. While migrants and LGBT people are constructed as a threat to the Slovak nation's culture, the Roma people are constructed more as a security threat. Traces of authoritarianism are present in the argumentation strategies of K-ĽSNS. Some social actors are criminalized (the Roma people, politicians), and strict control and laws are requested.

4.5 Perspectivization

The entire document is written in the first person of plural. Deictics we, us, our, ours are used to express the author's views. It is logical for the newspaper of the political party with a political program. K-ĽSNS positions itself in the subject's active role, improving the Slovak nation's poor living standards. K-ĽSNS uses the first person of the plural for naming itself, the Slovak nation, and Slovakia. It serves as a tool to mobilize national unity and connects K-ĽSNS with the national in-group. K-ĽSNS presents itself as the only defender of the Slovak people's interests (betrayed by other politicians). As mentioned in the third chapter of the paper, extreme right parties often use populist tactics and present themselves as the only real defenders of the people against enemies. Construction of the nation in crisis, accompanied by appeal on emotions like fear and anger (presenting minorities as a threat or favoured groups responsible for crisis) and following the saviour construction, is an effective political communication tool.

4.6 Intensification and mitigation

Intensification and mitigation strategies serve for supporting or ignoring picked aspects of constructed reality. Positive features of K-ĽSNS are intensified and repeated in the analysed document. The presented actors' positive and negative features are expressed by the logic of binarity "us" and "them". Positive features are intensified, and negative features are ignored in constructing in-group actors K-ĽSNS, the Slovak nation, and Slovakia. Positive characteristics are ignored, and negative characteristics are intensified in the construction of out-group actors, other politicians, international organizations (the EU, NATO), and minorities. These characteristics are emphasized by various adjectives, nouns, or by actions performed by actors. Threats of the out-group actors are intensified to increase emotions and feelings of injustice in the people's minds. Homogeneity,

positive features, and victim image are the most common traces in constructing the Slovak nation. Slovaks are mostly characterized as "decent" people, and heterogeneity inside the in-group and out-group is ignored. Differences among the nation and its enemies (between in-group and out-group) are intensified.

Conclusion

The analysis shows that the discourse of K-ĽSNS is exclusivist. K-ĽSNS constructs the image of the Slovak nation in opposition to the image of its enemies that are represented mainly by politicians (except K-ĽSNS), international organizations (the EU, NATO), or minorities (the Roma people, immigrants, LGBT people). The Slovak nation is presented as a Christian nation of decent people in a deep crisis caused by its enemies. K-ĽSNS uses various discursive strategies for the legitimation of its discourse. Discourse-Historical Approach (DHA), represented by linguist **Ruth Wodak** is used in this paper. Nationalist ideology is present in analysed discourse. The Roma people, immigrants, and LGBT people are excluded from the ideal type of the Slovak nation and are presented as a threat. K-ĽSNS uses ethnonationalism (based on cultural and biological ties) instead of civil nationalism. A populist distinction of society into two antagonist homogeneous camps, "the people" (usually presented as decent people) and "corrupted elite" (in coalition with media, oligarchs, and favouring minorities), is another frequently used tactic in the construction of the Slovak nation in the (partial) pre-election discourse of K-ĽSNS. Anti-Western arguments are visible in the analysed discourse too. The EU and NATO are especially presented as a threat to Slovakia because they force the Slovak nation to limit its sovereignty in favour of these Western structures. The nation constructed by K-ĽSNS fits into the definition of the nation by extreme right from **Wodak** or **Caiani** and **Köller** as a homogenous sovereign community, sharing common past, features ("decent people"), and unity defined in the relations with out-group identities (Wodak, 2017; Caiani – Köller, 2017). All three components of extreme right ideology nativism, authoritarianism, and populism are present in the construction of the nation in the analysed discourse.

K-ĽSNS is the only actor supporting and protecting the nation against enemies in analysed discourse. Other presented actors stay in the role of a threat to the nation. K-ĽSNS excludes itself from the group of "standard" political parties and criticizes them as a part of a corrupted establishment. As mentioned in the methodology, this paper deals with partial, pre-election (external) discourse of K-

ĽSNS. This discourse is important because it is visible to the mass population and can influence people's perception of reality more than the internal discourse of K-ĽSNS, which is, according to Mudde, more radical and intended for the extreme right core of the party (Mudde, 2000). K-ĽSNS uses expressive language and arguments to emphasize the difference between the Slovak nation and its enemies. Binarity "us" and "them" is not neutral in the rhetoric of K-ĽSNS, but it is used to create superiority and inferiority of presented groups and actors. Research has confirmed that the nation is a central category in the K-ĽSNS discourse and is defined by its out-group actors presented as threats. The discourse of K-ĽSNS is built on this construction of threat. Used strategies have a great impact on the final image of the nation. Not only voters of K-ĽSNS, but also others can be influenced by the arguments of K-ĽSNS and take them in their construction of the nation, national identity, and understanding their affiliation to it or distinction from other out-groups.

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