



A COMPARATIVE PERSPECTIVE ON TWO CRISES IN THE FOREIGN POLICY DISCOURSE OF THE EMOTIONS OF MILOŠ ZEMAN

Hana NAXERA HLAVÁČKOVÁ and Lucie HRUBÁ¹

The article examines Czech President Miloš Zeman's foreign policy stance on the 2015 EU migration crisis and 2022 Ukraine war, with an emphasis on emotions in comparative perspective. The migration crisis in the presidential discourse triggered criticism of the EU and NATO, emphasizing national sovereignty, while the Ukraine war shifted the focus to cooperation with them. Dominating emotions were anger, fear, and trust, but their proportions changed in the two crises. Anger dominated the 2015 migration crisis for the measures taken and the failure to address the situation efficiently. On the contrary, emotion of trust was prominent in the later crisis, where the collective solutions were considered the path forward. The findings show that observed crises triggered specific foreign policy attitudes expressed through emotions, with the identification of emotions facilitating the identification of foreign policy attitudes in the future.

Key words: Czech politics; president; emotions; migration; Ukraine War; comparative politics.

1 INTRODUCTION

The article examines the foreign policy of the Czech Republic in Miloš Zeman's discourse, focusing on the emotions that emerge in the context of two international crises. The migration crisis in 2015 brought challenges not only to foreign policy and security issues, but also to questions of continued integration within the EU. The war in Ukraine, which began in 2022, shows yet another level of relations affected by this crisis. The article demonstrates how emotions and topics that appear with emotions are changing based on two ongoing crises.

This article goes beyond classical foreign policy analysis and adds a psychological perspective. The theoretical framework is based on the study of emotions in foreign policy (e.g. Crawford 2000; Sasley 2011; Mercer 2006). Research starts

¹ Hana NAXERA HLAVÁČKOVÁ, Associate Professor, University of West Bohemia. Contact: hlvckv@gmail.com. Lucie HRUBÁ, PhD student, University of West Bohemia. Contact: cermakl@ff.zcu.cz.

from the premise that studying individuals, specifically politicians who form foreign policy, is beneficial (cf. Sasley 2013; Pace and Bilgic 2018) because they set the mood in society and wield influence in international fora.

Two different situations have been chosen for the research, which are reflected in the study of emotions. These are expressed by the President in front of different audiences, both on the domestic stage and in front of an international forum. The emotions he expresses in his speeches indicate the beliefs he has about the situation and the purpose of his speeches. The president's use of emotions influences the nature of foreign policy and how it is perceived abroad (Drulák 2024). Emotions in times of crisis show how the president reacts and makes policy in escalating situations from a security perspective. And the use of emotions is also a strategy to bring himself and his policies closer to the people. We also consider the conscious use of emotions by politicians as a strategy to influence their goals and gain benefits such as power.

Tracing how basic emotions are used by the president is the main purpose of the article. The second purpose is to compare emotions. What do they mean in the context of different crises? What is anger in one crisis? What is anger (and the rest of eight emotions) in the other? Each of the emotions is presented in its broader perspective and is analysed multidimensionally.

The article works with eight basic emotions: fear, anger, joy, sadness, trust, disgust, anticipation and surprise (Plutchik 2001; Plutchik 2009). These provide a general overview of how the president perceives and relates to a given situation. The research findings reveal the multidimensional model of emotions associated with foreign policy during crises. The findings show that the crises under study triggered different foreign policy attitudes expressed through emotions, with the identification of emotions. Comparison of the two crises shows, that the emotion of anger prevailed, however the deeper meaning has changed, same as fear of the measures taken and the failure to address the situation (Zeman's dissatisfaction with the actions of the European Commission, interference with sovereignty, irresponsible behaviour in the case of migration policy and a total failure to protect the borders, and thus the member states, fear from war), sadness and anticipation. Joy and confidence were the emotions whose meaning did not change.

The article begins with the conceptualisation of emotions that allows a deeper look into the themes of Zeman's foreign policy. The next part operationalises the emotions and explains on which corpus and how the analysis was conducted. The interpretive section on the influence of crises on the discourse presents the eight primary emotions, revealing Zeman's motivations for his actions and showing the transformation of the Czech foreign policy in his discourse. The last section summarises the findings from the comparison of the two crises through the lens of emotions.

2 EMOTIONS IN FOREIGN POLICY ANALYSIS

In this section, the theoretical framework of emotions in foreign policy is outlined. At the same time, specific emotions employed in the research are presented here. Psychological approaches in IR can reveal elements in behaviour that do not correspond to rational considerations one makes in a certain role but rather correspond to one's personality characteristics (cf. Forsberg and Pursiainen 2017). Emotions are thus necessary elements of understanding in-depth

discussions about foreign policy motives and decision-making. According to Finnemore and Sikkink (1998), current world politics cannot be observed by rationalist approaches alone because the world (including politics) is full of emotions such as passion, fear, etc., as Ross (2006) shows in his research on anger and the 9/11 attacks. The inclusion of emotions in foreign policy research in IR is increasingly popular. For example, Sasley (2011), Bleiker and Hutchinson (2008), Mercer (1997), and Crawford (2000) have blazed trails, and many others have followed up with their own practical research (Pace and Bilgic 2018; Van Hoef 2018; Forsberg and Pursiainen 2017).

Emotions help to describe and explore real-world problems (Bleiker and Hutchinson 2008). When considering the role of emotions in IR, Sasley (2011) claims that they are an essential tool when detecting the process of state's decision-making. We also argue (and others, see Van Hoef 2018) that this is of value for studying individuals involved in decision-making. Emotions have their function in the states' policies, when politicians use them consciously as a strategy that influence their aims and bring benefits such as power (Mercer 2006), which proves that emotions are deliberately employed in political speeches. At the same time, the use of emotions in speeches makes listeners more likely to be convinced of what the individual is saying (cf. Salama and Aboukoura 2018).

By using emotions as a tool of inquiry, a different insight can be gained. Emotions themselves help to expand the range of meanings derived from discourse analysis. This is due to the importance of language in the creation of reality and identity (according to constructivism), where the possibilities of exploring discourse are expanded thanks to the effect of emotions on language (Koschut 2018). Using emotions in speeches evokes certain feelings just by employing emotionally tinged words and can influence the overall discourse and framing of world politics (Zappettini, Ponton and Larina 2021). Emotions are therefore essentially another lens through which the world can be seen. They are always part of a particular discourse, which changes depending on our experiences and creates feelings that subconsciously tell us what is socially acceptable. Emotions thus help in subsequent decision-making in various aspects of life, including politics (Hutchison and Bleiker 2017). They trigger memory, recollection, habits, and become a public mood. Van Hoef (2018, 83) adds that emotions can influence future relationships or the development of a situation.

There are different ways of approaching emotion research – the state as an actor, examining individuals, or examining group emotions (Sasley 2013). The article focuses on the individual who is in power at a particular time, the president.

Miloš Zeman became the third president of the Czech Republic in 2013. He encountered foreign policy as prime minister, an office he held from 1998 to 2002; in 2013, he became president by direct election. Zeman is interesting from a comparative point of view during both crises. His attitude towards the EU during the migration crisis was the most critical of European leaders (even within V4), not during the war in Ukraine.

Zeman has been studied several times in the Czech context (Mudde 2004; Naxera and Krčál 2018; Naxera 2022; Brunclík and Kubát 2016). The Czech politics was evaluated in relation to the EU, as Koller (2016) called, the emancipation phase, which also support other authors (cf. Csanyi 2020; Csanyi and Kucharčík 2023). Druhlák's (2024) research shows that genuinely critical positions continued to emerge in relation to the crisis, which influenced the emotions that Zeman displayed.

This article fills a research gap as there has been no previous study of emotions in Zeman's speeches, making this research unique. At the same time, it also expanded research on emotions in the Czech Republic's foreign policy, which has not been extensive either (Hrubá 2024). This research selected from a multitude of models of emotions (e.g., the models of Panksepp and Watt 2011; Ekman and Cordaro 2011; Jack, Garrod and Schyns 2014; Izard 2007; Levenson 2011) that differ in various characteristics, such as the number of basic emotions, the one conducted by Plutchik. He identified eight basic emotions that come in polarity pairs. It is fear – anger, joy – sadness, trust – disgust, anticipation – surprise. A brief description follows.

3 RESEARCH DESIGN AND OPERATIONALISATION

In this section, we present how the research was conducted at a specific time and on a specific corpus, explaining how we established the corpus and why. We follow a tradition where discourse is considered a relevant source for analysis (Meernik and Ault 2013). By discourse we mean the speeches of President Miloš Zeman from 2013–2023. For the choice of methodology, we use Clément and Sangar's (2018) arguments that qualitative content analysis has merit in foreign policy research in conjunction with emotions. It is possible to focus on the individual and their significance. The emotions in Zeman's statements reveal how he perceives certain events. Emotions cannot be seen, which is why it is difficult to include them in social science research, but with adherence to clear methodological rules it is possible.²

The data corpus was created from all public speeches of Miloš Zeman in the two periods, for migration crisis 2015-2018 were chosen and for the war in Ukraine two last years of Zeman's presidential mandate 2022-2023. The corpus contains speeches, interviews, transcript audio, and video performances that are published on the official website www.zemanmilos.cz.³

We analyse each individual paragraph that contains information about foreign policy attitude and emotion. The corpus was subjected to a multi-step analysis – first, the reading process was combined with qualitative coding, identifying foreign policy claims; second, emotions were identified in these statements; third, a multidimensional model of emotions were done and performed in the interpretation in two time periods.

In the interpretation, we work with the eight basic emotions. Anger arises when an individual tries to eliminate a threat. This emotion appears aggressive and seeks to destroy the obstacle to survival. Anger leads to the individual feeling important, suddenly feeling much more courageous and not afraid to go directly into confrontation, trying to assert and enforce their opinion (Plutchik 2001; Dennison 2024). Anger itself also leads to more aggressive behaviour, reduced decision time, increased acceptance of risk or reduced demands for information, and generally negatively biased perceptions (Lerner and Keltner 2000; Van Kleef et al. 2008, cited in Koschut et al. 2017).

² Researchers agree that the influence on the perception and experience of emotions depends on the environment in which the individual grew up, and what his or her upbringing was like (Plutchik 2009).

³ As of April 2024, the site is down and under auction.

Fear, which is the parity of anger, aids survival, protecting the individual. If fear acts for a long time, it will turn into anger. Fear leads to the individual feeling unimportant and preferring to retreat or submit to the situation. Joy expresses the desire to possess or expand influence. Joy manifests itself in a desire for connection with others or with the stimulus given. It is an emotion much associated with meeting, contacting or conversing – a very social emotion. Sadness is caused by the loss of something or someone and exposure to isolation. Often the purpose of this emotion is to reintegrate the individual into society or a preferred group. When an individual is feeling sadness, their behaviour is more passive. He often turns inward, withdraws, and tends to avoid the stimulus. Trust indicates inclusion or belonging to a group. Trust can be seen in the acceptance of a given stimulus or situation. If an individual has confidence in each stimulus, they will support and accept it, sometimes even celebrate it. Seeking acceptance leads one to seek partners or friends. Disgust captures rejection by someone trusted. An individual feels disgust when they encounter something that annoys them and therefore interferes with their functioning. Effectively, disgust may look like distancing oneself from the stimulus, disengaging from a group or action, or removing the stimulus itself. (Plutchik 2001; Dennison 2024). Anticipation is an assumption about the future (positive and negative) and brings with it expectations about how the future will unfold. Surprise is caused by shock, new, unexpected information - does not occur in interviews due to the nature of interviews where the subject is questioned rather than presented with new information.

The studied emotions are expressed in the corpus in different ways depending on the dimension of use. It was easiest to identify the emotions if they were directly mentioned in the speeches (I am happy that... I am sorry that... I trust...), but even then, it was necessary to be careful about the meaning (in the case of Zeman, sarcasm often appeared). In Table 1, we operationalise what is happening in the discourse when Zeman expresses a particular emotion. Also, in Table 1 we operationalize the multidimensionality of the emotions. Each of the emotions studied has its own definition. If we look at them more closely, we can elaborate on them. It's not just being afraid of something; it's also being afraid of something. We elaborate this multidimensional view in the context of our study of emotions in foreign policy. In doing so, we provide a more comprehensive, coherent and systematic analysis of each emotion we identify in the discourse. We observed emotions in Zeman's statements on foreign policy. We were interested in what emotions and related themes emerge in times of crisis, and we created multidimensional models of each emotion, showing which themes are associated with fear and what possible reasons Zeman has for expressing fear (what is the purpose).

TABLE 1: OPERATIONALISATION OF EMOTIONS IN THE DISCOURSE

| Emotion multidimensionality of the emotion | Operationalisation of the emotion | Example of the emotion in the discourse |
|--|---|--|
| Fear Fear for security Fear of the consequences of the solutions adopted, of threats to sovereignty | Protecting an important matter from a threat, the emphasis on it and ways of protecting it Czech loss of sovereignty, EU policy, US meddling in European affairs, threats outside the EU | "...I fear that in the next six months at least another half a million refugees will arrive on the European continent, perhaps more." (Zeman 2016) |
| Anger Anger at the undermining of state sovereignty, hence the inclination towards individual partners rather than the whole | Objections to functioning, efforts to overcome obstacles by drawing attention to the situation EU policy (inadequate border protection, violation of Czech sovereignty, insufficient measures against the migration wave, use of sanctions), NATO policy (withdrawal of troops from Afghanistan), UN, US policy (lack of effectiveness, action against terrorist threats) | "...when Europe-wide protection of external borders does not work, I am of the opinion that we must defend ourselves from illegal immigrants, and I stress the word illegal, with our own forces..." (Zeman 2015) |
| Joy Joy about economic cooperation and new partnership, new opportunities, expansion | New opportunities, expanding the sphere of influence Economic cooperation (China, Russia, etc.), Czech membership in the EU, cooperation among EU countries | "Every morning we should repeat our gratitude that we are not at war and that our country is a member of NATO and the EU..." (Zeman 2022b) |
| Sadness Sadness about something lost, difference of opinion about what is best for the Czech Republic and other countries | The loss, the unfulfillment of something important EU policy (inability to effectively defend borders, use of sanctions), Czech loss and withdrawal of troops from Afghanistan, end of friendly relations with Russia after the beginning of the occupation of Ukraine, functioning of NATO, UN | "Unfortunately, I have not yet succeeded in convincing everyone that the terrorism I have been talking about is as dangerous as Nazi terrorism, even though the number of victims of Islamic terrorism has not yet reached the number of victims of Nazism." (Zeman 2019) |
| Trust Trust in joint activity to ensure security; in cooperation that will result in economic stability or alliances that will strengthen the country; in the power of change for the better | Praising words towards subjects of trust, faith in their functioning EU, EU member states, UN, NATO, V4, Russia | "Look, thank God for Visegrad, because it is only thanks to Visegrad that the monstrous idea of migration quotas has been destroyed." (Zeman 2018) |
| Disgust Expressing displeasure at something the subject does not like and does not identify with (various topics) | Insulting the other side, sarcasm Czech political behaviour (submissiveness, moralising), different approaches of states to dealing with issues (mostly USA), UNHCR comic strip | "... it's another idiotic project of the UN High Commissioner for Refugees, these comics, ... I think that is as naive as the Bolshevik propaganda, which, although it did not take the form of comics, was basically just as stupid." (Zeman 2016) |
| Anticipation Expectations of how foreign policy will evolve | Assumption of the future (positive and negative) The EU's reaction to the Czech rejection of sanctions, the future role of the V4, dealing with the migration wave, the future focus of Czech arms spending on national defence | "I consider China to be the most important, ...Whoever constantly swears by human rights and consorts with the Dalai Lama will come when the best is taken already." (Zeman 2015) |
| Surprise Shock reaction to new information from different sectors | Shock, new, unexpected information - does not occur in interviews due to the nature of interviews, where the subject is questioned rather than presented with new information | "...the attack on Ukraine was surprising..." (Zeman 2022a) |

Source: Authors based on data corpus.

4 EMOTIONS OF MILOŠ ZEMAN IN THE FOREIGN POLICY

In this section the research focuses on the comparative perspective of the emotions of the two crises under study. This part brings their multidimensionality and concludes how the crises differ from each other. First, there is need to outline the president's apparent intentions in his speech. The main activity of the president is usually to protect the security, sovereignty and economy of the state. In raising these issues, he was following the traditional

policy towards the EU at that time - criticism of the EU, efforts to strengthen the position of the Czech Republic within the EU and promotion of his own issues and views. However, these situations evoke different emotions in the context of the two selected crises. They are different, but they evoke similar emotions, which differ from each other on closer examination. There is no fear like fear. But some themes remain.

4.1 The 2015 migration crisis

The migration crisis brings a range of emotions. This is due to the breadth of issues – the (in)active EU and NATO, security, terrorism, migration, ineffectiveness of the organisations, low responsiveness, incoherence – that influence the Zeman's experience and his attitudes. The emotions appear in this order – anger (38% of all emotions in foreign policy statements), trust (32%), fear (13%), joy (7%), sadness (4%), anticipation (6%), disgust (6%), surprise did not occur here.

Tracking the emotions used by President Zeman during the migration crisis showed that the main link was the identification with the institutions and their failures, setbacks and slow actions. The president was heading for another election term (in 2018), so defining himself against the institutions that affect the sovereignty of the state was important in this period and in this political mood of society.

Anger comes from trying to remove a threat. Zeman was more likely to point out the threat, to engage in verbal confrontation, but not to try to remove obstacles. A multi-dimensional view of the emotion of anger reveals an attachment to certain institutions. Indeed, Zeman has expressed anger at the passivity/ineffectiveness in providing international security. In fact, he has often called for a deepening or broadening of activities in international forums. This is typical of a statesman of his stature, since his professional goal is to ensure the security of the state. Instead of trying to eliminate the threat, he also created it with his speeches (disunity might be a threat). Zeman has expressed himself against the activities of the EU (slow and insufficient actions, insufficient border protection, interfering with the sovereignty of the Czech Republic, economic sanctions, quotas, threatening the entire V4), against NATO (insufficient actions against terrorism); against the behaviour of the USA (withdrawal of troops from Afghanistan); against the UN (for not listening to Zeman's call for more activity); criticism of the government of the Czech Republic (for being submissive, reflecting the relationship between the president and the prime minister). Here he expressed anger, often returning to the past, I told you so.

If we look at the multidimensional model of fear, it turns out to have several layers. Fear of sovereignty (subdivided into fear that the EU is interfering too much and a general loss of sovereignty caused, for example, by restrictions on Schengen or the location of foreign troops on Czech territory). Another dimension is the fear of security (fear of migration and migrants, but also of Islamism and terrorism). Fear that the broader concept of security will not be guaranteed (fear that the EU and NATO will not be able to guarantee security). Zeman has also shown fear of cultural integrity and fear of the economy (by restricting Schengen at the beginning of crisis).

The meaning of the emotion of fear has changed over the years. First Zeman expressed fear of the limitations of the sovereignty of the Schengen area, later he transformed fear towards the incoming migrants and their cultural difference.

Shift is clearly visible on these statements: "The European Union still does not have a common foreign policy. As for the so-called soft, informal policy, I must say critically that sometimes it looks to me like a repeat of the appeasement of the 1930s" (Zeman 2014). "If we let them in as a migration wave, we will suffer the consequences, because we will create new no-go areas here, new excluded localities, and of course we will cause such scenes as there were now in Vienna" (Zeman 2017). By fearing and at the same time criticising the EU's actions, Zeman encouraged fear of migration in the society.

A multidimensional view of the emotion of trust shows to whom and in what context the emotion was expressed. Zeman, somewhat surprisingly after his very critical statements, showed trust towards the European Union (it was about the future, common ideas and alliance). Another dimension was trust in other international organisations and their solutions to international security (UN and NATO). He also showed trust in the Czech government to handle the whole situation. At the same time, an emotion of trust appeared in statements about the V4 and the importance of regional cooperation. Confidence in economic cooperation with partners, especially China and Russia, was also a very strong component of this emotion.

A brief stop at the topic of V4. During this crisis was V4 a tool to raise the voice against quotas, to have more political power in institutions. Zeman argued "Poland, the Czech Republic, Hungary and Slovakia should form a kind of indivisible unit within the European Union to promote their common interests. This concerns the migration crisis, the proposal for migration quotas, relocations [...]" (Zeman 2018).

The multidimensional model of joy shows that it appeared in specific situations related to foreign policy. One dimension of joy was related to economic cooperation (mainly from cooperation with China, and to a lesser extent with other countries - Iran, Austria, Russia). Foreign investment and the acquisition of new resources. Another dimension of joy in times of the migration crisis was joy about new alliances, still connected to the economy. Zeman placed importance of the economy (also in case of sanctions) above other topics. Finally, Zeman also expressed joy at cooperation with the EU. Expectation was another emotion that Zeman expressed in his speeches and interviews during the migration crisis. He expected economic cooperation with China to deepen, the EU to change (in the context of the change of leadership in the European institutions in 2016) and expectations in the dimension of V4 cooperation (that the V4 would be the engine of change in the EU and the issue of Dublin IV). Zeman linked the expectations to the future, how the current situation will develop. The emotion of disgust also had several dimensions that reveal Zeman's interests and political traits. Zeman's disgust was expressed at Czech subservience. At the US, and at the UN - first at the fact that the Human Rights Council was chaired by Saudi Arabia, and then at the comix that spoke in favour of accepting refugees. The multidimensional model of the emotion of sadness pointed in the direction of the EU. Zeman showed sadness during the migration crisis that there are still sanctions (feel of isolation), lack of border protection and inability to protect the borders. Another dimension of sadness was related to the fact that trade is not developing as it could because of sanctions. And sadness was also expressed in foreign policy statements about the loss of Czech soldiers in Afghanistan. The migration crisis of 2015 started a process of realisation for Zeman as to whether it is beneficial to remain a member of the EU and under what conditions. As the impact of the migration crisis was coming to an end, Zeman came to a clear position that a sovereign state can function in the EU/NATO if it has enough power to express its interests and possibly seek other allies.

4.2 War in Ukraine

Now, in the interpretation, the focus turns to emotions that Zeman expressed in connection with the war on Ukraine. Order of the eight emotions appear is – trust (30%), anger (20%), joy (18%), fear (12%), sadness (8%) and surprise (8%), anticipation (4%), and disgust did not occur here. The war in Ukraine has shown that despite all the disagreements with the institutions mentioned above, it is worth renewing cooperation in the name of ensuring security. Zeman's opinion brings a critical stance towards NATO's activities; this, compared to the previous crisis, replaced the critical attitude towards the EU. In this situation, President Zeman has assessed, and it is logical to preserve the security and integrity of the state in the event of a threat, that he is in favour of support for European integration and common interests, and the same regarding cooperation with NATO.

Multidimensional view of trust here revealed several topics. First layer of trust was cooperation (mainly security and economic cooperation). The trust that emerged in response to the Ukrainian crisis in 2022 was directed towards both the EU and NATO. With the institutions there was another layer - trust in common defence. Zeman clearly explained his opinion: "The Czech Republic is a small to medium-sized country and issues of war and peace will, whether we like it or not, be decided by the superpowers. On the one hand Russia, on the other hand the United States, but also France or Germany. So yes, we can and should be part of the European Union and the North Atlantic Alliance" (Zeman 2023). Trust was expressed to the V4 group again, but it was divided in the wake of the Russian aggression. Hungary's Prime Minister Orbán expressed sympathy for Russian gas and more general cooperation, an opinion not shared by other V4 leaders. Zeman, however, expressed trust that the group would overcome these divisions and continue to function. The emotion of anger showed the change in Zeman's relationship with Russia. He was very angry about Russia's unprovoked aggression in Ukraine. He showed by anger the importance of the threat: "almost beyond our borders and we cannot pretend that this war does not concern us" (Zeman 2022b). Another layer of anger pointed to the international community for failing to prevent it. "We as an international community have underestimated the believed historical wrongs, emotions and the lowest human instincts that lead to violence. The world has moved a little closer to its end on the imaginary Doomsday Clock." (ibid). Joy was associated with the fact that the Czech Republic had avoided war (and that the Czech Republic was connected to others). Although he emphasised that this does not mean that it does not concern us. Zeman points out that "Every morning we should repeat gratitude for the fact that there is no war in our country and that our country is a member of NATO and the EU. At the same time, we should realise every day that we must fight for our security, even if the war is taking place beyond our borders." (Zeman 2022a). Zeman also expressed his joy at the successful joint actions to defend Ukraine.

As in the previous crisis, there remained the joy of bilateral relations that strengthened economic cooperation and economic growth of the country. Zeman has emphasised many times that economic diplomacy should play a leading role in foreign relations. Expanding cooperation with existing partners, or new economic partnerships, triggered joy in his speeches. In a multidimensional view, fear had several layers. One concerned the failure of the international community and its implications for the future. The underestimation of historical wrongs has led to the situation in Ukraine. There was also the fear of a widespread military conflict, i.e. a threat not only to Czech security. This was also linked to the issue

of terrorism, which Zeman often mentioned in his speeches. He wanted to prevent an increase in the number and strength of terrorist organisations. He was referring to the withdrawal of allied troops from Afghanistan. He argued, "[...] today [the situation in Ukraine, authors note] we are in a somewhat similar situation. Even at the beginning of Operation Enduring Freedom, the Alliance was united in Afghanistan, and this unity has gradually crumbled. I would very much not like a similar process to take place in the case of the Ukrainian conflict" (Zeman 2022c). In the emotion of sadness, Zeman pointed to the need to stay in the alliance, even at the cost of higher spending. Zeman argued that not since the mid-20th century has the West been more united than it is now. He expressed sadness at the situation, which he said was a "wake-up call" for the West. He also expressed sadness for the Ukrainian refugees, about his opinion of the situation in the past. He claimed that Russia would never attack. The emotion of surprise appeared several times in the president's discourse during the period under review. Zeman expressed his surprise at the Russian aggression. The anticipation was expressed to his own government that he hoped we would remain a trusted ally and participate in the resolution of the war as part of the Alliance. Another layer was to the Czech Army about the integration of drones into the arsenal.

4.3 Same emotions, different meaning

In this section, a comparative perspective of the two crises is added. Zeman's foreign policy through emotions was presented, here is provided insight into differences between emotions and his motives or purposes for his opinion. The distribution of emotions in the discourse changed in the context of the two crises. The multidimensional view of emotions revealed that there are fundamental differences in the perception. This is because of the different conditions, the different purpose of his talks and speeches. Deeper understanding through emotions reveals that the war itself presents a new topic for security changing attitudes. Zeman reflected it for example by reestablishing ideological links with the organisations. The analysis of the emotions in the discourse shows several trends. (1) The diminishing importance of the relationship with the EU, which dominated during the migration crisis, but increased in importance during the war; (2) The emphasis on sovereignty remained, but the threats changed (EU, in the migration crisis, Russian attack in the war in Ukraine); (3) The mistrust of state security on the part of the EU, which subsequently changed to trust in both the EU and NATO, given the dilemma of the war in Ukraine. (4) The prioritisation of economic cooperation in the first crisis, while the issue changed and revealed a super-priority (i.e. aid in the war and to the war refugees); and (5) the focus on the states of the region, indicating deeper relations - this remained a tool of power in the migration crisis, but was not visible in the second crisis. The emotion of fear had different connotations in the two crises. During the migrant crisis, the strongest fears were of the threat to sovereignty posed by the EU, the migrant wave itself, Islamism and the undermining of the integrity of the EU. During the war in Ukraine, the fears were about international security, the use of nuclear weapons, that the international community was not helping Ukraine enough. The logic is the opposite. In the first crisis, the fear was that the EU was too active, that it was interfering in sovereignty. In the second crisis, the fear was also about sovereignty, but that the measures would be insufficient. The emotion of anger had different manifestations in the two crises studied. They differ in terms of who the anger was directed at. During the migration crisis, Zeman was divided on whether he was angry at EU or NATO politicians. The difference was that during the war in Ukraine he used anger to express his desire for unity (Green Deal, Gender and other policies are destroying families and Europe will be a helpless victim). However, during the war in Ukraine he used anger in

connection with the failure of the international community. And he also showed anger at Russia as a specific aggressor, which it was not in the first crisis. Then there was anger at the violation of the sovereignty of the Czech Republic. In both periods there is still anger about the withdrawal of NATO and the US from Afghanistan.

On the contrary, the expression of joy associated with economic cooperation was the same across crises. The fact that joy during the war in Ukraine had a higher proportion was caused by joy from joint successful actions in protecting the security of the Czech Republic. One of the reasons for the change in discourse is the view of security. Looking deeper, it is possible to add another element that influenced the results of the discourse, namely Zeman's view on migration. While in the first crisis Zeman perceived the newcomers as economic migrants, in the second crisis there were, in his view, refugees from war. "The Ukrainians, that is, the refugees, are mostly women and children because the men are fighting at home. While the Arab refugees were young, healthy men who, on the other hand, left their women and children at home" Zeman (2022a).

The dimensions of sadness were also different in the two periods. While in the first period he expressed sadness about the sanctions that hindered the economic growth of the Czech Republic and about the incompetence of EU and NATO policy, in the second period he expressed sadness about the war and about his past attitudes that did not assess the situation well. The emotion of trust was used in a similar way in both crises. Zeman trusted the institutions and the Czech Republic's commitment to them. Ideologically, they agreed with him. He also cited trust in proactive approaches, such as foreign missions that could help fight terrorism. This was identical in both crises. The trust mentioned during the migration crisis was less frequent and less rhetorically strong. Zeman mentioned it in passing, alongside all the criticism of organisations. During the war in Ukraine, however, trust was at the forefront. He trusted in joint action, in NATO, which he described as the strongest military alliance in the world, and in the fact that the fight in Ukraine was a fight for the entire West. Interestingly, even trust in the V4 has been maintained, despite the rather strong criticism of Orbán's policies in Hungary. Zeman, however, opted for a conciliatory tone, saying that the problems would be solved. Disgust did not appear in the discourse in the years 2022–2023. In the migration crisis disgust has emerged over the Czech Republic's attitude of being submissive and the US actions in Afghanistan.

During the migration crisis, for example, the anticipation was that external actors would change and that a change of personalities in the EU would bring about a change of policy. In contrast, during the war in Ukraine, the anticipation was that the Czech Republic would remain a credible ally. Surprise did not occur during the migration crisis, however it did during the war in Ukraine, about the war itself. For a long time Zeman declared that there would be no war, that only a fool would do that.

5 CONCLUSION

The research showed that both crises under study fulfilled the potential to influence Zeman's discourse. There was a transformation of the attitudes that had previously been common in his conception of foreign policy. One finding was that the 2015 migration crisis influenced Zeman's view of foreign policy to such an extent that in his speeches he strongly criticised the EU (and possibly NATO) for inaction or bad actions that undermined the Czech Republic's national

interest and often even its sovereignty (in the case of migration quotas). During this period, Zeman was very critical and rather than talking about constructive solutions and advice on what the Czech Republic could offer as a solution, he talked about what should not be done and how the EU is a growing bureaucratic apparatus. The emotions of anger and fear were expressed frequently. In the reflection of the 2015 migrant crisis, we also find hints of an emotion of trust based on Zeman's trust in common solutions or solutions created at the Central European level. Zeman's reaction to the war on Ukraine was different. He did not question the actions of the EU or NATO but instead supported joint activities and promoted common solutions. This shift is logical. War is an existential threat, and in this case, instead of criticising disagreements and inadequate solutions, Zeman moved towards expressions of trust in cooperation and joint action. This is not the case in the migration crisis. The reason may be, to some extent, that the image of the migration crisis in Czech society has been constructed and exploited by populist rhetoric, to which Miloš Zeman also resorted. The contribution of this topic to the comparative analysis goes beyond the scope of this paper. It would be very interesting to make a comparison of the V4 leaders during the crises studied. In fact, it would be very interesting to make a comparison of the emotions of the leaders of the whole of Central and Eastern Europe.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This article was published with the support of the Czech Science Foundation (GACR) for the project "Czech foreign policy during the European refugee crisis: roles and ideologies" with registration number 22-13914S.

REFERENCES

- Bleiker, Roland and Emma Hutchinson. 2008. "Fear no more: emotions and world politics." *Review of International Studies* 34 (1): 115–135.
- Brunclík, Miloš and Michal Kubát. 2016. "The Czech Parliamentary Regime After 1989: Origins, Developments and Challenges." *Acta Politologica* 8 (2): 5–29.
- Clément, Maéva and Eric Sangar. 2018. Introduction: Methodological Challenges and Opportunities for the Study of Emotions. In *Researching Emotions in International Relations: Methodological Perspectives on the Emotional Turn*, eds. Clément, Maéva and Eric Sangar, 1–30. Cham: Palgrave MacMillan.
- Crawford, Neta C. 2000. "The Passion of World Politics: Propositions on Emotions and Emotional Relationships." *International Security* 24 (4): 116–136.
- Csanyi, Peter. 2020. "Impact of Immigration on Europe and its Approach towards the Migration (European Union States Vs Visegrad Group Countries)." *Journal of Comparative Politics* 13 (2): 4–23.
- Csanyi, Peter and Rudolf Kucharčík. 2023. "Central European Leaders' Attitudes Towards the Migration and the Migration Crisis." *Journal of Comparative Politics* 16 (2): 20–37.
- Dennison, James. 2024. "Emotions: functions and significance for attitudes, behaviour, and communication." *Migration Studies* 12 (1): 1–20.
- Drulák, Petr. 2024. *Roles and Ideologies in the Czech Foreign Policy: The Case of European Migration Crisis*. Basingstoke: Palgrave.
- Ekman, Paul and Daniel Cordaro. 2011. "What is meant by calling emotions basic." *Emotion Review* 3 (4): 364–370.
- Finnemore, Martha and Kathryn Sikkink. 1998. "International Norm Dynamics and Political Change." *International Organization* 52 (4): 887–917.
- Forsberg, Tuomas and Christer Pursiainen. 2017. "The Psychological Dimension of Russian Foreign Policy: Putin and the Annexation of Crimea." *Global Society* 31 (2): 220–244.

- Hrubá, Lucie. 2024. Emotions. In *Roles and Ideologies in the Czech Foreign Policy: The Case of European Migration Crisis*, ed. Petr Drulák, 145–168. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Izard, Carroll E. 2007. "Basic emotions, natural kinds, emotion schemas, and a new paradigm." *Perspectives on Psychological Science* 2 (3): 260–280.
- Jack, Rachael E., Oliver G.B Garrod and Philippe G. Schyns. 2014. "Dynamic facial expressions of emotion transmit an evolving hierarchy of signals over time." *Current Biology* 24 (2): 187–192.
- Koller, Boglárka. 2016. "Identity Patterns in East-Central Europe in a Comparative Perspective." *Journal of Comparative Politics* 9 (2): 85–98.
- Koschut, Simon, Todd H. Hall, Reinhard Wolf, Ty Solomon, Emma Hutchison and Roland Bleiker. 2017. "Discourse and Emotions in International Relations." *International Studies Review* 19 (3): 481–508.
- Koschut, Simon. 2018. Speaking from the Heart: Emotion Discourse Analysis in International Relations. In *Researching Emotions in International Relations*, eds. Clément, Maéva and Eric Sangar, 277–301. Cham: Palgrave MacMillan.
- Lerner, Jennifer S. and Dacher Keltner. 2000. "Beyond Valence: Toward a Model of Emotion-specific Influences on Judgement and Choice." *Cognition & Emotion* 14 (4): 473–493.
- Levenson, Robert W. 2011 "Basic emotion questions." *Emotion Review* 3 (4): 379–386.
- Meernik, James and Michael Ault. 2013. "The tactics of foreign policy agenda-setting: Issue choice and the president's weekly radio address." *International Area Studies Review* 16 (1): 74–88.
- Mercer, Jonathan. 1997. "Reputation and rational deterrence theory." *Security Studies* 7 (1): 100–113.
- Mercer, Jonathan. 2006. "Human nature and the first image: emotion in international politics." *Journal of International Relations and Development* 9: 288–303.
- Mudde, Cas. 2004. "The Populist Zeitgeist." *Government & Opposition* 39 (4): 541–563.
- Naxera, Vladimír and Petr Krčál. 2018. "This is a Controlled Invasion": The Czech President Miloš Zeman's Populist Perception of Islam and Immigration as Security Threats." *Journal of Nationalism, Memory & Language Politics* 12 (2): 192–215.
- Naxera, Vladimír and Petr Krčál. 2020. "Ostrovy deviace" v populistické rétorice Miloše Zemana." *Sociologický časopis* 52 (1): 82–99.
- Pace, Michelle and Ali Bilgic. 2018. "Trauma, Emotions and Memory in World Politics: The Case of the European Union's Foreign Policy in the Middle East Conflict." *Political Psychology* 39 (3): 503–517.
- Panksepp, Jaak and Douglas, Watt D. 2011. "What is basic about basic emotions? Lasting lessons from affective neuroscience." *Emotion Review* 3 (4): 387–396.
- Plutchik, Robert. 2001. "The Nature of Emotions: Human emotions have deep evolutionary roots, a fact that may explain their complexity and provide tools for clinical practice." *American Scientist* 89 (4): 344–350.
- Plutchik, Robert. 2009. Emotions: A General Psychoevolutionary Theory. In *Approaches to emotion*, eds. Sherer, Klaus R. and Paul Ekman, 197–220. San Francisco: Psychology Press.
- Ross, Andrew A. G. (2006). "Coming in from the Cold: Constructivism and Emotions." *European Journal of International Relations* 12 (2): 197–222.
- Salama, Sefat and Aboukoura, Khalil. 2018. "Role of Emotions in Climate Change Communication." In *Handbook of Climate Change Communication: Vol. 1. Climate Change Management*, eds. Filho, W. Leal, E. Manolas, A. Azul, U. Azeiteiro, and H. McGhie, 145–160. Cham: Springer.
- Sasley, Brent. 2011. "Theorizing States' Emotions." *International Studies Review* 13 (3): 452–476.
- Sasley, Brent. 2013. "Emotions in International Relations." E-International Relations. Available at <https://www.e-ir.info/2013/06/12/emotions-in-international-relations/>.
- Turner, Jonathan H. and Jan E. Stets. 2005. *The Sociology of Emotions*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Van Hoef, Yuri. 2018. Interpreting Affect Between State Leaders: Assessing the Political Friendship Between Winston S. Churchill and Franklin D. Roosevelt. In *Researching Emotions in International Relations Methodological Perspectives on the Emotional Turn*, eds. Clément, Maéva and Eric Sangar, 51–73. Cham: Palgrave MacMillan.

- Van Kleef, Gerben, Eric Van Dijk, Wolfgang Steinel, Fieke Harinck and Ilja Van Beest. 2008. "Anger in Social Conflict: Cross-Situational Comparisons and Suggestions for the Future." *Group Decision and Negotiation* 17 (1): 13–30.
- Zappettini, Franco, Douglas M. Ponton and Tatiana V. Larina. 2021. "Emotionalisation of contemporary media discourse: A research agenda." *Russian Journal of Linguistics* 25 (3): 586–610.
- Zeman, Miloš. 2014. "Projev prezidenta republiky během návštěvy Evropského parlamentu ve Štrasburku" [Speech of the President of the Republic during a visit to the European Parliament in Strasbourg]. Available at <http://www.zemanmilos.cz/cz/clanky/projev-prezidenta-republiky-behem-navstevy-evropskeho-parlamentu-ve-strasburku.htm>.
- Zeman, Miloš. 2015. "Rozhovor prezidenta republiky pro Press klub Frekvence 1" [Interview of the President of the Republic for the Press Club Frequency 1]. Available at <http://www.zemanmilos.cz/cz/clanky/rozhovor-prezidenta-republiky-pro-press-klub-frekvence-1-995541.htm>.
- Zeman, Miloš. 2017. "Rozhovor prezidenta republiky Miloše Zemana pro internetové vysílání webu Blesk.cz „S prezidentem v Lánech“" [Interview of the President of the Republic Miloš Zeman for the internet broadcast of the Blesk.cz website "With the President in Lány"]. Available at <http://www.zemanmilos.cz/cz/clanky/rozhovor-prezidenta-republiky-milose-zemana-pro-internetove-vysilani-webu-bleskcz-%E2%80%9Es-prezidentem-v-lanech%E2%80%9C-5547.htm>.
- Zeman, Miloš. 2018. "Projev prezidenta republiky na tiskové konferenci při oficiální návštěvě Polské republiky" [Speech of the President of the Republic at a press conference during an official visit to the Republic of Poland]. Available at www.zemanmilos.cz.
- Zeman, Miloš. 2019. "Projev prezidenta republiky při recepci u příležitosti státního svátku Ruské federace – Dne vítězství" [Speech of the President of the Republic at the reception on the occasion of the national holiday of the Russian Federation - Victory Day]. Available at <http://www.zemanmilos.cz/cz/clanky/projev-prezidenta-republiky-pri-recepci-u-prilezitosti-statniho-svatku-ruske-federace-%E2%80%93-dne-vitezstvi-820306.htm>.
- Zeman, Miloš. 2022a. "Rozhovor prezidenta republiky pro pořad FTV Prima Partie Terezie Tománkové" [Interview of the President of the Republic for Terezia Tománková's FTV program Prima Partie]. Available at www.zemanmilos.cz.
- Zeman, Miloš. 2022b. "Zdravice prezidenta republiky účastníkům konference Naše bezpečnost není samozřejmost" [Greetings from the President of the Republic to the participants of the conference Our security is not a matter of course]. Available at www.zemanmilos.cz.
- Zeman, Miloš. 2022c. "Projev prezidenta republiky při propůjčení hodnosti brigádního generála" [Speech of the President of the Republic when conferring the rank of Brigadier General]. Available at www.zemanmilos.cz.
- Zeman, Miloš. 2023. "Rozhovor prezidenta republiky pro rádio Frekvence 1" [Interview of the President of the Republic for Frequency 1 radio]. Available at www.zemanmilos.cz.



PRIMERJALNA PERSPEKTIVA DVEH KRIZ V ZUNANJEPOLITIČNEM DISKURSU ČUSTEV MILOŠA ZEMANA

Članek analizira zunanjepolitično stališče češkega predsednika Miloša Zemana do migracijske krize EU leta 2015 in vojne v Ukrajini leta 2022, s poudarkom na čustvih v primerjalni perspektivi. Migracijska kriza je v predsedniškem diskurzu sprožila kritike Evropske unije in Nata, s poudarkom na nacionalni suverenosti, medtem ko je ukrajinska vojna preusmerila pozornost na sodelovanje z njima.

Prevladujoča čustva so bila jeza, strah in zaupanje, vendar so se njihova razmerja v obeh krizah spremenila. V migracijski krizi leta 2015 je prevladovala jeza zaradi sprejetih ukrepov in neuspeha pri učinkovitem reševanju situacije. Nasprotno je v kasnejši krizi prevladovalo čustvo zaupanja, kjer so bile kolektivne rešitve obravnavane kot pot naprej. Ugotovitve kažejo, da so opažene krize sprožile specifične zunanjepolitične odnose, izražene skozi čustva, pri čemer je prepoznavanje čustev olajšalo prepoznavanje zunanjepolitičnih odnosov v prihodnosti.

Ključne besede: češka politika; predsednik; čustva; migracije; vojna v Ukrajini; primerjalna politika.