Krzysztof Białobłocki

Anti-immigrant far-right parties in the visegrad countries: representation, political success and ideological positioning

The article is devoted to consideration and comparison of representativeness, political (electoral, parliamentary and governmental) successes and ideological positioning of anti-immigrant parties in the Visegrad countries. The researcher explained that the formation of anti-immigrant parties in the region has passed several stages that were conditioned with significant events of their development, but reckoned that the electoral successes of anti-immigrant parties are distinctive. It was found that anti-immigrant parties in the countries of Visegrad group ideologically are the products of post-materialistic society. The author also stated that the rhetoric of anti-immigrant parties in the region gained publicity and relevance after 2010, when the problems of migration policy of the European Union appeared to be the most dangerous. Generally speaking, it was argued that ideological issues of migration policy are the cornerstone of ideological and political positioning of anti-immigrant parties, but they are not sufficient to warrant their positioning as a separate ideological family of parties.

Keywords: *party, anti-immigrant party, "new right" parties, "new" policy, the Visegrad countries.*

АНТИІММІГРАНТСЬКІ УЛЬТРАПРАВІ ПАРТІЇ В КРАЇНАХ ВИШЕГРАДСЬКОЇ ГРУПИ: РЕПРЕЗЕНТАТИВНІСТЬ, ПОЛІТИЧНІ УСПІХИ ТА ІДЕОЛОГІЧНЕ ПОЗИЦІОНУВАННЯ

Стаття присвячена розгляду й порівнянню репрезентативності, політичних (електоральних, парламентських і урядових) успіхів й ідеологічного позиціонування антиіммігрантських партій в країнах Вишеградської групи. Дослідник аргументував, що формування антиіммігрантських партій в регіоні пройшло кілька етапів, які зумовлювались певними знаковими подіями їхнього розвитку. Але виявлено, що електоральні успіхи антиіммігрантських партій є дистинктивними. Встановлено, що ідеологічно антиіммігрантські партії у країнах Вишеградської групи є продуктом постматеріалістичного суспільства. Виявлено, що риторика антиіммігрантських партій у країнах регіону розголосу та актуальності набула після 2010 р., коли максимально виявились проблеми міграційної політики Європейського союзу. Аргументовано, що ідеологічно питання міграційної політики є нарізним каменем ідеологічного і політичного

позиціонування антиіммігрантських партій. Але це не є достатньою підставою їхнього позиціонування як ідеологічної сім'ї партій.

Ключові слова: *партія, антиіммігрантська партія, «нові праві» партії, «нова» політика, країни Вишеградської групи.*

The issue of migration policy in the Visegrad countries found its representation in constructing one of the divisions of the "new" policy, which combined issues concerning protection of ethnic community's rights and liberties in certain countries, as well as solutions of migration problems and preservation of national heritage. It is incorporated in the fact that since the 90s of the 20th century, however mainly in 2003-2016 some "new" far-right political parties in Poland, Slovakia, Hungary and the Czech Republic started positioning themselves as straightly anti-immigrant, consequently this phenomenon (first of all on the ground of supplementing experience of anti-immigrant parties in Western European countries) was generalized and substantiated in political science. It revealed in the fact that the main attribute and distinctive marker of anti-immigrant parties became their mainly populist and even xenophobic[1] trend against immigrants. Therefore, it is quite urgent and topical in political science to specify and systematize knowledge on history of formation, representativeness, ideological positioning and political (electoral and governmental) successes of anti-immigrant parties, in particular on the instance of the Visegrad countries, which over 2015-2017 were the ones, which to the biggest extent faced the problems of the migration crisis in Europe.

Current range of problems has found its theoretical and methodological justification in the works by such scholars as I. Androshchuk[2], D. Art[3], J. Berg[4], L. Bustikova[5], M. Fennema[6], B. Filatov[7], G. Harris[8], J. Hainmueller and M. Hiscox[9], C. Keller[10], M. Krtolica[11],

[1] R. Inglehart, *Modernization and Postmodernization: Cultural, Economic, and Political Change in 43 Societies*, Wyd. Princeton University Press 1997, s. 251.; A. Romanyuk, *Sociopolitychnyj podil „novoyi polityky" v krayinax Zahidnoyi Evropy*, „Politolohichnyj visnyk" 2007, vol 27, nr. 239-253.

[2] I. Androshchuk, *Ultrapravi politychni partii, yikhnie pokhodzhennia, ideolohichne pozytsionuvannia ta mistse v partiinii systemi Chekhii (1990-2015 rr.)*,"Politykus" 2016, vol 1, s. 7-13.

[3] D. Art, *Inside the Radical Right. The Development of Anti-Immigrant Parties in Western Europe*, Wyd. Cambridge University Press 2011.

[4] J. Berg, *Race, Class, Gender and Social Space: Using an Intersectional Approach to Study Immigration Attitudes*, „The Sociological Quarterly" 2010, vol 51, nr. 2, s. 278-302.

[5] L. Bustikova, *The Radical Right in Eastern Europe*, [w:] *The Oxford Handbook of the Radical Right*, Wyd. Oxford University Press 2017.

[6] M. Fennema, *Some Conceptual Issues and Problems in the Comparison of Anti-Immigrant Parties in Western Europe*, „Party Politics" 1997, vol 3, nr. 4, s. 473-492.

[7] B. Filatov, *Patriotychni partii suchasnoho ES: osoblyvosti instytutsiinoho dyzainu*, „Zbirnyk naukovykh prats „Hileia: naukovyi visnyk"" 2017, vol 116, nr. 1, s. 322-326.

[8] G. Harris, *The extreme right in contemporary Europe: a sign of the times or an enemy within the gates?*, Paper prepared for the EUSA Biennial Conference, Boston, March 5-7, 2015.

[9] J. Hainmueller, M. Hiscox, *Educated Preferences: Explaining Attitudes Toward Immigration in Europe*, „International Organization" 2007, vol 61, nr. 2, s. 399-442.

[10] S. Carolyn, *Elections and Anti-Immigrant Sentiment in the European Union*, Presented in session „Attitudes towards immigration: change over time" at the 3rd International ESS Conference, Lausanne, July 13-15, 2016.

[11] M. Krtolica, *The new radical right political parties in Central, Eastern and Southeastern Europe: danger to the democracy or just an illiberal décor?*, Wyd. The University „Ss. Cyril and Methodius" 2016.

R. Kunovich[12], G. Lahav[13], L. McLaren[14], L. Quillian[15], J. Rovny[16], S. Schneider[17], I. Sletaune[18], N. van de Walle[19]. However, appealing to them does not generate a systemized logical frame and diversified image concerning understanding of the anti-immigrant parties' phenomenon in the Visegrad countries, which is a key task of the current research.

It is historically known, that anti-immigrant political parties in the Visegrad group started their formation in the late 80s and early 90s of the 20th century. During this period were formed such parties as: "The Coalition for Republic – Republicans" and "The Right Bloc" (Pravý Blok, PB) – in the Czech Republic; the Slovak National Party (Slovenská národná strana, SNS) and the People's Party "Our Slovakia" (Ľudová strana Naše Slovensko, LSNS) – in Slovakia; "The Party for Justice and Life" (Magyar Igazság és Élet Pártja, MIÉP) – in Hungary; the National Party (Stronnictwo Narodowe, SN), "The Party X" (Partia X Patriotów Polskich, X), the Polish National Community (Polska Wspólnota Narodowa, PWN), "The Polish National Front" (Polski Front Narodowy, PFN), "Fatherland" (Ojczyzna, O), "Action Poland" (Akcja Polska, AP), The Catholic-National Movement (Ruch Katolicko-Narodowy, RKN) and "The Polish Accord" (Porozumienie Polskie, PrP) – in Poland.

The second stage of anti-immigrant parties' formation in the Visegrad countries was observed in the early and late 2000s, when were established such political forces as: "The League of Polish Families" (Liga Polskich Rodzin, LPR), "The National League" (Liga Narodowa, LN), "The Alliance for Poland" (Przymierze dla Polski, PdP), "The League of Sovereignty Protection" (Liga Obrony Suwerenności, LOS), "The Defense of the Polish People" (Obrona Narodu Polskiego, ONP), "The Family –Fatherland" (Rodzina-Ojczyzna, R-O), "The Native Home" (Dom Ojczysty, DO), The Polish National Party (Polska Partia Narodowa, PPN), "The Polish Forum" (Forum Polskie, FP), "The Patriotic Movement" (Ruch Patriotyczny, RPt), "The Polish National Congress" (Narodowy Kongres Polski, NKP), "Forward Poland" (Naprzód Polsko, NP), "The Patriotic Poland" (Polska Patriotyczna, PP), "The Alliance of the Polish Nation" (Przymierze Narodu Polskiego, PNP) and "Libertas" (Libertas Polska, LP) – in Poland; "The Movement for Better Hungary" (Jobbik Magyarországért Mozgalom, Jobbik) – in Hungary; "The Republicans of Myroslav Sladek" (Republikáni Miroslava Sládka, RMS), "The Labor Party" (Dělnická strana,

[12] R. Kunovich, *Social Structural Sources of Anti-immigrant Prejudice in Europe*, „International Journal of Sociology" 2002, vol 31, nr. 1, s. 39-57.

[13] G. Lahav, *Public Opinion Toward Immigration in the European Union: Does it Matter?*, „Comparative Political Studies" 2004, vol 37, nr. 10, s. 1151-1183.

[14] L. McLaren, *Anti-Immigrant Threat in Europe: Contact, Threat Perception and Preferences for the Exclusion of Migrants*, „Social Forces" 2003, vol 81, nr. 3, s. 909-936.

[15] L. Quillian, *Prejudice as a Response to Perceived Group Threat: Population Composition and Anti-Immigrant and Racial Prejudice in Europe*, „American Sociological Review" 1995, vol 60, nr. 1, s. 586-611.

[16] J. Rovny, *The Other „Other": Party Responses to Immigration in Eastern Europe*, Wyd. University of Gothenburg 2014.

[17] S. Schneider, *Anti-Immigrant Attitudes in Europe: Outgroup Size and Perceived Ethnic Threat*, „European Sociological Review" 2008, vol 24, nr. 1, s. 53-67.

[18] I. Sletaune, *Anti-immigration parties in the European Parliament*, Wyd. University of Oslo 2013.

[19] N. van de Walle, *Neither Right, Nor Left, But French? Historical Legacies, the Rise of Anti-Immigrant Sentiment, and the Far Right in France*, „CUREJ" 2008, vol 86.

DS), "The Labor Party of Social Justice" (Dělnická strana sociální spravedlnosti, DSSS) and "The Independent Democrats" (Nezávislí demokraté, ND) – in the Czech Republic; "The Right Slovak National Party" (Pravá Slovenská národná strana, PSNS) – in Slovakia.

And finally since 2010 the third stage of anti-immigrant parties formation in the Visegrad group has started, as at that time were formed such political forces as: "The Congress of New Rights" (Kongres Nowej Prawicy, KNP), "The National Movement" (Ruch Narodowy, RN) and Kukiz'15 (Kukiz'15, K) – in Poland; "We are Family" (Sme Rodina, SR) and "The Nation and Justice" – "Our Party" (Národ a spravodlivos – Naša strana, NaS-NS) – in Slovakia; "The Czech Sovereignty" (Česká suverenita, ČS) – in the Czech Republic.

Generally, it allows us to summarize that historically the biggest number of anti-immigrant parties over the whole period after the collapse of the Warsaw Treaty system, among the analyzed countries, were formed in Poland, while the lowest number appeared in Hungary. Initially, formation of anti-immigrant parties was presupposed by the Euro-integration processes in the region, later it was the result of joining the EU, and now it is the consequence of the European migration crisis. Along with that, it is notable that not all of the abovementioned parties are functioning nowadays, as many of them (in detail see Table 1) at different times stopped their activity. Moreover, not all anti-immigrant parties are equally politically (electorally and governmentally) successful.

In this context, i.e. in the light of electoral and governmental successes of anti-immigrant parties, there are good reasons to divide all countries of the region into three groups. The first group is represented by the Czech Republic, where the impact of the "new right" parties is rather slight/transitional, though earlier it was characterized by their popularity (as in case of the political force "The Coalition for Republic – Republicans" (SPR/RSČ)), in particular their presence in the parliament. To the second group belong Poland and Hungary, where anti-immigrant parties are represented in legislature (as of 2017 in Poland it is Kukiz'15, and before it was "The League of Polish Families" (LPR), in Hungary – "The Movement for Better Hungary" (Jobbik), earlier it was "The Party for Justice and Life" (MIÉP)), though traditionally (with some exceptions) they do not participate in government formation. Finally, to the third group belongs Slovakia, where anti-immigrant parties are permanently represented in legislature (as of 2017 there are 3 such parties, namely the Slovak National Party (SNS), the People's Party "Our Slovakia" (LSNS) and "We are Family" (SR)), and some of them (in particular the Slovak National Party) occasionally take part in formation of governmental cabinets (in detail see Table 1).

In general, it makes the ground for the conclusion that the most influential "new right" anti-immigrant parties in the Visegrad countries since the 80s of the 20th century were and are (in descending order of political successes) such political forces as "The Slovak National Party" (SNS), "The Movement for Better Hungary" (Jobbik), "The League of Polish Families" (LPR), Kukiz'15 (K), "The Party for Justice and Life" (MIEP) and "The Coalition for Republic – The Republic Party of Czechoslovakia" (SPR-RSČ), The People's Party "Our Slovakia" (LSNS) and "We are Family" (SR).

Table 1. Anti-immigrant parties (and movements/associations which are equivalent to them) in the Visegrad countries: ideological positioning and political successes (1989–2017)

Country	Name of the party/electoral bloc ideological positioning	Year of the party formation	Maximum number of electorate, %	Maximum number of parliamentary mandates	Parliamentary representation (number of times)	Maximum number of votes at the elections to the EP, %	Maximum number of MEP	Representation in the EP	Governmental party (number of times)
Poland	The Catholic-National Movement (Ruch Katolicko-Narodowy, RKN): national-Catholicism, euro-scepticism, anticommunism	1997 – effective	K	5 (2005)	2	–	–	–	–
	"The League of Polish Families" (Liga Polskich Rodzin, LPR): national-conservatism, national-Catholicism, Christian-democracy, euro-scepticism, protectionism, solidarism	2001 – effective	8,0	38 (2001)	2	15,9	10 (2004)	1	2
	"The National League" (Liga Narodowa, LN): national-democracy, euro-scepticism	2007 – effective	K	3 (2007)	1	K	–	–	–
	"The Congress of New Rights" (Kongres Nowej Prawicy, KNP): liberal-conservatism, social-conservatism, euro-scepticism	2011 – effective	1,1	1 (2015)	1	7,2	4 (2014)	1	–
	The National Movement (Ruch Narodowy, RN): national-conservatism, national-Catholicism, nationalism, euro-scepticism	2012 – effective	K	1 (2015)	1	1,4	–	–	–
	Kukiz'15 (Kukiz'15, K): nationalism, right populism, euro-scepticism, republicanism	2015 – effective	8,8	42 (2015)	1	–	–	–	–
Slovakia	The Slovak National Party (Slovenská národná strana, SNS): Slovak nationalism, national-conservatism, social-conservatism, euro-scepticism	1989 – effective	13,9	22 (1990)	9	5,6	1 (2009)	1	7
	The People's Party "Our Slovakia" (Ľudová strana Naše Slovensko, LSNS): Slovak nationalism, euro-scepticism, right populism, national-conservatism, social-conservatism, antiglobalism	2000 – effective	8,0	14 (2016)	1	1,7	–	–	–
	"We are Family" (Sme Rodina, SR): conservatism, right populism, euro-scepticism	2015 – effective	6,6	11 (2016)	1	–	–	–	–
Hungary	"The Party for Justice and Life" (Magyar Igazság és Élet Pártja, MIÉP): Hungarian nationalism, social-conservatism	1993 – effective	5,5	14 (1998)	1	2,4	–	–	–
	"The Movement for Better Hungary" (Jobbik Magyarországért Mozgalom, Jobbik): Hungarian nationalism, irredentism, social-conservatism, euro-scepticism, anti-globalism, anti-Zionism, neo-Nazism, extremism	2003 – effective	20,2	23 (2014)	2	14,8	3 (2009, 2014)	2	–
The Czech Republic	"The Coalition for Republic – Republicans" (Sdružení pro Republiku - Republikánská strana Československa, SPR/RSČ): national-conservatism, republicanism, euro-scepticism, anti-Germans, anti-globalism, right populism	1989–2001, 2008–2013, 2016 – effective	8,0	18 (1996)	2	0,3	–	–	–

Źródło: H. Döring, P. Manow, *Parliament and government composition database (ParlGov): An infrastructure for empirical information on parties, elections and governments in modern democracies*, źródło: http://www.parlgov.org/ [odczyt: 01.04.2017].; W. Nordsieck, A. Ramonaitė, *Parties and Elections in Europe: The database about parliamentary elections and political parties in Europe*, źródło: http://www.parties-and-elections.eu/ [odczyt: 01.04.2017].

Other anti-immigrant parties in the Visegrad countries

Erstwhile politically (electorally and governmentally) unsuccessful parties:

Poland: the National Party (Stronnictwo Narodowe, SN) – 1989–2004, "The Party X" (Partia X Patriotów Polskich, X) – 1990–1999, "The Polish National Front" (Polski Front Narodowy, PFN) – 1991–1995, "Fatherland" (Ojczyzna, O) – 1992–1996, "Action Poland" (Akcja Polska, AP) – 1992–1998, "The Family –Fatherland" (Rodzina-Ojczyzna, R-O) – 2003–2006, "The Native Home" (Dom Ojczysty, DO) – 2004–2005, The Polish National Party (Polska Partia Narodowa, PPN) – 2004–2014, "The Polish Forum" (Forum Polskie, FP) – 2005–2006, "The Patriotic Movement" (Ruch Patriotyczny, RPt) – 2005–2014, "The Polish National Congress" (Narodowy Kongres Polski, NKP) – 2007–2010, "Forward Poland" (Naprzód Polsko, NP) – 2008–2010, "The Alliance of the Polish Nation" (Przymierze Narodu Polskiego, PNP) – 2009–2013, „Libertas" (Libertas Polska, LP) – 2009–2014.

The Czech Republic: "The Republicans of Myroslav Sladek" (Republikáni Miroslava Sládka, RMS) – 2001–2008, "The Labor Party" (Dělnická strana, DS) – 2003–2010, "The Independent Democrats" (Nezávislí demokraté, ND) – 2005–2015.

Currently existing and electorally (electorally and governmentally) unsuccessful parties:

Poland: "The National Revival of Poland" (Narodowe Odrodzenie Polski, NOP) – since 1981, the Polish National Community (Polska Wspólnota Narodowa, PWN) – since 1990, "The Polish Accord" (Porozumienie Polskie, PrP) – since 1999, The Polish-Polonia Organization of the Polish Nation – Polish League (Polsko-Polonijna Organizacja Narodu Polskiego – Liga Polska, ONP-LP) – since 2000, "The Alliance for Poland" (Przymierze dla Polski, PdP) – since 2001, "The League of Sovereignty Protection" (Liga Obrony Suwerenności, LOS) – since 2002, "The Defense of the Polish People" (Obrona Narodu Polskiego, ONP) – since 2005, "The Patriotic Poland" (Polska Patriotyczna, PP) – since 2008.

Slovakia: "The Right Slovak National Party" (Pravá Slovenská národná strana, PSNS) – since 2001, "The Nation and Justice" – "Our Party" (Národ a spravodlivos – Naša strana, NaS-NS) – since 2011.

The Czech Republic: "The Right Bloc" (Pravý Blok, PB) – since 1996, "The Labor Party of Social Justice" (Dělnická strana sociální spravedlnosti, DSSS) – since 2004, "The Czech Sovereignty" (Česká suverenita, ČS) – since 2011.

The peculiarity of the Slovak National Party is that it is permanently represented in the Slovak legislature and several times participated in the governmental cabinet formation. As to its ideological positioning it is a social-national party, which in its rhetoric quite often uses ultranationalist extremist slogans, concerning Hungarians, Roma and homosexualists, which

allows us to define it as neo-racial[20]. This political party is notable for the 2008 events, when on its official website in the section for discussing party issues was published a map, where the territory of Hungary was divided between two countries – Slovakia and Austria. After public disclosure the map was deleted, and the party denied its implication to the accident. Along with that, numerous misunderstandings are caused by the background of one of the party leaders J. Sloty, in particular concerning "aggression" against the Hungarians. It was revealed, for example, in the fact that he repeatedly called the fascist leader J. Tiso "one of the most outstanding sons of the Slovak nation"[21]. Being a member of the government the party often demands the position of the Minister of human rights and national minorities. In their turn, ideological attributes of the People's Party "Our Slovakia" (LSNS) and the party "We are Family" (SR) are Slovak nationalism, euro-scepticism, right populism, national-conservatism, social-conservatism and anti-globalism.

In reference to the most representative and successful anti-immigrant party in Hungary – "The Movement for Better Hungary" (Jobbik) we may say that this political force is conventionally interpreted by political scientists as radical-nationalistic, fascist or neo-fascist, anti-Semitic, anti-Roma and homophobic[22]. Quite interesting is the fact that the party interprets itself as a "principled, conservative and radically patriotic Christian force", whose main task is to protect Hungarian values and interests. Nowadays, the party positions itself as one of the largest (electoral successes) in Hungary, however it is in opposition. Furthermore, the party is represented in the European parliament (according to the results of 2009 and 2014 elections). Another "new" anti-immigrant right party of Hungary (which was successful earlier) is "The Party for Justice and Life" (MIÉP), which was mainly characterized as anti-Semitic. In 2005 this party joined the ranks of Jobbik forming "The Alliance of Parties of Third position" (MIÉP–Jobbik). Consequently, only the former of the analyzed Hungarian "new" right anti-immigrant parties enjoys electoral successes now.

The peculiarity of anti-immigrant parties in Poland is the fact that their number in the country is the highest in the region, however only one of them, namely "The League of Polish Families" (LPR), was earlier characterized as the most successful far-right anti-immigrant political force in the Visegrad countries. It revealed in the fact that in due times this party was

[20] S. Auer, *Liberal Nationalism in Central Europe*, Wyd. Routledge 2004, s. 44.; Z. Barany, *The East European gypsies: regime change, marginality, and Ethnopolitics*, Wyd. Cambridge University Press 2002, s. 408.; I. Jeffries, *Eastern Europe at the turn of the twenty-first century*, Wyd. Routledge 2002, s. 352.; S. Ramet, *Whose democracy?: nationalism, religion, and the doctrine of collective rights in post-1989 Eastern Europe*, Wyd. Rowman & Littlefield 1997, s. 128.; S. White, J. Batt, P. Lewis, *Developments in Central and East European politics*, Wyd. Duke University Press 2007, s. 63.

[21] *New Slovak Government Embraces Ultra-Nationalists, Excludes Hungarian Coalition Party*, „Hungarian Human Rights Foundation", July 9, 2006.

[22] R. Frucht, *Eastern Europe: An Introduction to the People, Lands, and Culture*, Wyd. ABC-CLIO 2004, s. 359-360.; G. Huggan, Law J., *Racism Postcolonialism Europe*, Wyd. Liverpool University Press 2010.; S. Inder, *Democracy, ethnic diversity, and security in post-communist Europe*, Wyd. Central European University Press 2001, s. 97.; H. Kitschelt, *Left-libertarian parties*, „World Politics" 1988, vol 40, nr. 1, s. 194-234.; A. Lisiak, *Urban Cultures in (Post) Colonial Central Europe*, Wyd. Purdue University Press 2010, s. 18.; M. Molnar, *A Concise History of Hungary*, Wyd. Cambridge University Press 2001, s. 262.; L. Schori, *Europe for the Europeans: The Foreign and Security Policy of the Populist Radical Right*, Wyd. Ashgate 2007.; M. Teich, D. Kováč, M. Brown, *Slovakia in History*, Wyd. Cambridge University Press 2011.

represented in the government (twice in 2006-2007). In reference to its ideological positioning political scientists have some divergences. However, it is typically described as a populist, clerical and nationalist political force. For example, A. Michlic gives characteristics of the groups which participated in formation of the party calling them chauvinistic, xenophobic and anti-Semitic. Among the most interesting ideas, which laid the foundation to the party's programs at different times were the following: legalization of "soft drugs", legalization of abortions, euthanasia as well as same-sex marriages; introduction of death penalty; publication of the secret police's archives over the period of communistic development in Poland ("absolute decommunization")[23]. However, even despite such position the party gained its representation in the European parliament in 2004. On the other hand, its popularity significantly decreased after 2007. In 2015 appeared its electoral substitution – the party (association) Kukiz'15 (K), which on the basis of nationalism, right populism, euro-scepticism and republicanism, managed to lead more than 40 deputies into the Polish Seim and as a result became the most parliamentary successful anti-immigrant political force in the history of the post-communist Poland.

Finally, in the Czech Republic anti-immigrant political parties usually are not electorally and parliamentary and governmentally successful and are numerically insignificant. The exception is "The Coalition for Republic – Republicans" (SPR/RSČ), which in the late 90s of the 20th century was represented by almost 10% of members of the Chamber of Deputies. This party is quite interesting as it was formed in 1989 within the boundaries of the then Czechoslovakia. After that it changed its format and even was banned for several times, however in due course of time it restarted its activity[24]. This is a national-conservative, republican, Roma-phobia, anti-Germans, anti-Semitic, anti-immigrant and euro-sceptical far-right party, which adheres to the principles of the Austrian school of economics. It is in harsh opposition to the European Union, NATO and current Czech migration policy. Besides, it is important that at proper time SPR/RSČ gained its additional popularity due to clear and strict anti-immigrant rhetoric, aimed first of all against the Vietnamese, who worked in the Czech Republic on the basis of the agreements between the communistic countries, as well as its position against Roma[25]. It is quite notable, that anti-immigrant rhetoric to a much smaller degree is present in activity of such political forces in the Czech Republic as: "Dawn of Direct Democracy" (UPD), later renamed

[23] S. Auer, *Liberal Nationalism in Central Europe*, Wyd. Routledge 2004, s. 94. Borejsza; J., K. Ziemer, M. Hulas, *Totalitarian and authoritarian regimes in Europe: Legacies and lessons from the twentieth century*, Wyd. Polska Akademia Nauk 2006, s. 365.; L. Langea de Sarah, S. Guerrab, *The League of Polish Families between East and West, past and present*, „Communist and Post-Communist Studies" 2009, vol 42, nr. 4, s. 527-549.; J. Michlic, *Poland's Threatening Other: The Image of the Jew from 1880 to the Present*, Wyd. University of Nebraska Press 2006, s. 363.; R. Pankowski, M. Kornak, *Poland*, [w:] C. Mudde (ed.), *Racist Extremism in Central and Eastern Europe*, Wyd. Routledge 2005, s. 157-159.; S. Ramet, *Central and Southeast European Politics Since 1989*, Wyd. Cambridge University Press 2010, s. 80.

[24] I. Androshchuk, *Ultrapravi politychni partii, yikhnie pokhodzhennia, ideolohichne pozytsionuvannia ta mistse v partiinii systemi Chekhii (1990-2015 rr.)*,"Politykus" 2016, vol 1, s. 7-13.; M. Bastl, M. Mareš, J. Smolík, P. Vejvodová, *Krajní pravice a krajní levice v ČR*, Wyd. Grada 2011, s. 240; A. Cerqueirová, *Republikáni: šokující odhalení*, Wyd. Unholy cathedral 1999.; M. Mareš, *Right-Wing Extremism in the Czech Republic*, Wyd. Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung 2012, s. 2.

[25] V. Hlousek, L. Kopeček, *Origin, Ideology and Transformation of Political Parties: East Central and Western Europe Compared*, Wyd. Ashgate Publishing 2010, s. 213-214.; J. Smolík, *Česká krajní pravice ve volbách do Evropského parlamentu v roce 2009*, „Rexter" 2010, vol 8, nr. 1, s. 75-96.

into "Dawn – National Coalition" (Úsvit – Národní koalice, UNK), on the basis of which then appeared the party "Freedom and Direct Democracy" (Svoboda a přímá demokracie, SPD). This is a euro-sceptical political force, which adheres to the ideological fundamentals of national-liberalism, right populism, anti-immigrant/anti-Islamic rhetoric and is mainly focused of the problems of direct democracy and patriotism. In average and on the grounds of the analysis of program concepts and slogans of the above-mentioned parties it is obvious that anti-immigrant political forces in the Czech Republic are first of all far-right, as they focus on the established problems and issues of the Czech social and political development, namely: anti-Roma public mood in regions of an escalated interethnic tension[26]; criticism of migration processes, incorporated in potential moderate Islamophobia[27] (many anti-immigrant organizations in the Czech Republic support Islamic struggle against Israel and the USA, and thus interpret anti-Semitism as anti-Zionism).

Generally speaking, referring to the ideological positioning of anti-immigrant parties in the Visegrad countries, we may state the abovementioned conclusion that the analyzed political forces are the products of the post-materialistic society and are based on the market economy and parliamentary democracy. However, they are characterized by the desire to strengthen national identity, protect national culture, in particular by means of isolation and reinforcement of national homogeneity, preserving high level of living standards, intensification of security concerning home-national life, limitation of immigration, reduction of taxes and state expenditures, reinforcement of the state's role in terms of maintaining law and order, protection of traditional family values. Therefore, on the example of such parties we can observe formation of a "new" independent family of right parties, which differ from the family of traditional right parties. The conclusion is that ideologically we cannot interpret such political forces as exclusively anti-immigrant ones; however the question of migration policy is at any rate a cornerstone of their ideological and political positioning.

In general it is noted that the main political and ideological principles of anti-immigrant parties in the Visegrad countries, especially in Slovakia, Poland and Hungary, a bit less in the Czech Republic, are euro-scepticism, anti-globalism, mono-nationalism and its predominant position over the ethnic, religious and sex diversity (in Poland concerning the Jewish minority; in Slovakia – as to Hungarians, Roma and sexual minorities; in Hungary – as to people of Hebrew origin, Roma, representatives of sexual minorities; in the Czech Republic – as to Roma), radicalism, extremism, chauvinism, xenophobia, neo-Nazism and populism. In Poland one can clearly observe clerical tendencies of the "new right" parties: nevertheless "The League of Polish Families" stands for legalization of "soft" drugs, abortions, euthanasia, same-sex marriages and death penalty. It is also notable, that rhetoric of anti-immigrant parties in the countries of the

[26] M. Mareš, *National and right-wing radicalism in the new democracies: Czech Republic*, Paper for the workshop of the Friedrich Ebert Foundation on „Right-wing extremism and its impact on young democracies in the CEE countries", Budapest, November 19, 2010, s. 11-12.

[27] J. Smolík, *Česká krajní pravice ve volbách do Evropského parlamentu v roce 2009*, „Rexter" 2010, vol 8, nr. 1, s. 75-96.

region became quite popular and urgent only after 2010, when to the greatest possible extent revealed problems of the EU migration policy, to which the Visegrad countries belong as well.

At the same time, anti-immigrant parties in the region are distinctive. Thus, in Poland the distinguished parties tend to the ideas and principles of nationalism, national-radicalism, national-conservatism, national-Catholicism, Christian democracy, solidarism, protectionism, anti-globalism and euro-scepticism. In the Czech Republic and Slovakia anti-immigrant parties traditionally function on the grounds of nationalism, national-conservatism, national-socialism, republicanism, euro-scepticism, right populism, anti-Semitism, anti-globalism and neo-Nazism. Finally, Hungarian anti-immigrant parties are conventionally established on the ideas of Hungarian nationalism, irredentism, social-conservatism, euro-scepticism, anti-globalism, anti-Zionism, neo-Nazism and extremism.

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