

THE NEW RADICAL RIGHT POLITICAL PARTIES IN CENTRAL, EASTERN AND SOUTHEASTERN EUROPE: DANGER TO THE DEMOCRACY OR JUST AN ILLIBERAL DÉCOR?

Abstract.

The political parties of the new radical right have been a major and constant threat for the liberal values and flows in the Western democracies. Almost the entire second part of the XX century has been filled with raises and falls of the new radical right parties in the countries of the first and second wave of democratization. Today, the new radical right parties are strongly reemerging in the Western Europe. What can be easily noticed is the fact that in the last few years the virus called new radical right slowly but certainly has started to occupy also the countries in Central, Eastern and Southeastern Europe. Although the new radical right parties in this part of Europe are still far behind the successes of the new radical right parties in Western Europe, the emergence and success of JOBBIK in Hungary, Golden Dawn in Greece, ATAKA in Bulgaria, SLOBODA in Ukraine etc. represents phenomena which should be followed very closely and carefully. These parties share the ideological background of the new radical right parties in Western Europe (anti-establishment position, anti-immigrant position, anti-globalization position, Euroscepticism, nationalism, dogmatism, rigidity, exclusivity, authoritarianism, xenophobia and racism) but they also have some ideological specifics which are strictly connected to them and not to the new radical right parties coming from Western Europe. The main subject of this paper will be the values and the reasons for the (un)success of the new radical right political parties in Central, Eastern and Southeastern Europe. This paper attempts to prove that although the new radical right parties in Central, Eastern and Southeastern Europe do not have power and success like the new radical right parties in Western democracies, they still represent great danger to the new democracies in Europe, because they are introducing radical rhetoric in the political discourse and contribute for the radicalization of the mainstream right-wing political parties.

Key words: politics, democracy, parties, radical right, economy, nationalism, authoritarianism, immigration.

* Teaching and Research Assistant and PhD candidate at the Faculty of Law “Iustinianus Primus”, University “Ss. Cyril and Methodius”, Skopje, Republic of Macedonia.

Introduction

The Central, Eastern and Southeastern part of Europe had much more experience with the radical political parties that come from the left side of the ideological axis rather than with the radical political parties that come from the right side of the ideological axis. And while, during the second half of the XX century and especially throughout the XXI century, the Western part of Europe is constantly disturbed by the successes of the new radical right political parties on national, regional and local elections, as well as on the European Parliament elections, the ideas of the radical right throughout the XX century and the beginning of the XXI century in the Central, Eastern and Southeastern European countries, were mostly transmitted by spontaneous and poorly organized social movements. That is the main reason why the focus of the academia is far more oriented towards analysis of the radical right in Western Europe, rather than towards the radical right in Central, Eastern and Southeastern Europe. However, in the past few years, the virus called new radical right slowly, but surely, begins to occupy the party and political life of the countries from Central, Eastern and Southeastern Europe. The emergence and success of ATAKA in Bulgaria, Golden Dawn in Greece, JOBBIK in Hungary, Slovak National Party in Slovakia, Sloboda in Ukraine etc., have succeeded to change the perception for absence of the new radical right in Central, Eastern and Southeastern Europe and to attract the attention of the theoreticians. Although the successes of the new radical right parties in this part of Europe are far behind the successes of their sister parties in the Western part of Europe, still, the emergence of these parties in parts of Europe which never before had serious experiences with radical right, represents a dangerous phenomenon that needs to be carefully monitored. In order to explain why these political parties represent a threat to the democratic flows in this part of Europe the first thing that needs to be explained is their ideological matrix.

1. Ideological matrix of the new radical right political parties in Central, Eastern and Southeastern Europe

When we talk about the new radical right parties and the positions these parties represent we should have in mind that there is a big heterogeneity among them. In this regard, it should be taken into consideration that the new radical right parties in Central, Eastern and Southeastern Europe share most of their positions with their sister parties from Western Europe (anti-establishment position, anti-immigrant

position, anti-globalization position, Euroscepticism, nationalism, dogmatism, rigidity, exclusivity, authoritarianism, xenophobia and racism), but also, it should be taken into consideration the fact that there are certain ideological specifics, which are bound solely to these parties, but not to the new radical right political parties in Western Europe. Let us first look at the positions, which the new radical right parties in Central, Eastern and Southeastern Europe share with their sister parties from Western Europe, and later to pay attention to the ideological specifics which bind solely to them.

1.1 Positions which the new radical right parties from Central, Eastern and Southeastern Europe share with the parties of the new radical right in Western Europe

As we already mentioned most of the positions that can be encountered in the new radical right political parties in Central, Eastern and Southeastern Europe can also be encountered in the new radical right political parties in Western Europe.

First of all, the new right radical parties in Central, Eastern and Southeastern Europe but also in Western Europe presents themselves as parties close to the people, i.e., the voice of common people¹. Accepting the values and the rules of democracy, the new radical right parties highlight that the corrupt technocratic governments had caused the crisis of the representative democracy. According to them, common people are too far from the decision-making processes and that is one of the reasons why they feel alienated from their institutions. Therefore, the new radical right parties promote greater degree of direct democracy through which the voice of the common people should be heard². Also, the political parties of the radical right accused the mainstream and moderate political parties with great passion that they have not succeeded in providing answers and solutions to the accumulated economic problems in Europeans societies. The new radical right parties in Europe believe that in order to solve the problems radical changes are needed, which the moderate political parties do not have the courage and determination to take it.

Second, in addition to the fact that the new radical right parties represent themselves as representatives of the common people, they represent themselves also

¹ Matthew Goodwin, Vidhya Ramalingam, Rachel Briggs, *The New Radical Right: Violent and Non – Violent Movements in Europe*, London: Institute for Strategic Dialogue, 2012, 14.

² Meagan Ashley Ayward, *The Rise of the Tea Party Movement and Western European Right – Wing Populist Parties: a Comparative Analysis*, DIS. Chapel Hil: University of North Carolina, Rise of the TEA party, 2011, 17

as a defenders of the nation and national values (culture, language, state). Taking this in consideration, they are supporters of the so-called nativism and ethno-nationalism. The nativism and the ethno-nationalism indicate that one country should be composed of one nation solely. The elements that are not part of that nation (members or ideas) represent fundamental danger to the national country.³ Thus, members of the new radical right parties call upon the concept of national country based on the theory for national sovereignty. According to them, the nation is an organic, collective, and indivisible body⁴ composed of members that speak the same language, have the same culture, customs, blood, and history. Therefore, the new radical right parties criticize severely and reject the positions of multiculturalism and the idea of popular sovereignty. According to them, the mixture of different ethnicities only leads to cultural extinction.⁵ The term *radical*, itself, can be defined from two aspects. On the one hand, the term *radical* could represent a need of change from the root, but on the other hand, it could also mean going back to the roots⁶. In this regard, the new radical right political parties in Europe are going back to the roots, i.e., they refer that the source of the sovereignty in one society should be the nation, an understanding that refers to the XVIII and XIX centuries, when the first national states in Europe have been created and were based on the principle: one nation – one country (l’Etat-nation).⁷

Third, the new radical right political parties in Central, Eastern and Southeastern Europe are against further European integration. For the new radical right parties in Europe the main argument against the EU is the fact that the European integration process influences the reduction of the national governments’ responsibilities in economic and social-politics field.⁸ Considering that this situation violates national interest, the new radical right political parties in Central, Eastern and Southeastern Europe but also in Western Europe are opponents of the European Union because for

³ Cas Muddle, *The Populist Radical Right: A Pathological Normalcy*, *Willy Brandt Series of Working Papers in International Migration and Ethnic Relations*, Malmö: Malmö Institute for Studies of Migration, Diversity and Welfare and Malmö University, 2008, 5.

⁴ Svetomir Skaric, *Уставно право – втора knjiga*, Скопје: Union Trade, 1995, 14.

⁵ Alina Polyakova, *Explaining Support for Radical Right Parties in New Democracies: The Limits of Structural Determinants and the Potentiality of Civil Society*, Berkeley: University of California, 2012, 7.

⁶ Vedran Obucina, “Varijacije unutar radikalne desnice: komparativna analiza programa radikalno desnih stranaka u Zapadnoj i Istочноj Europi” *Sociologija i Prostor* Vol. 47 No.2, Zagreb: Institut za društvena istraživanja u Zagreb, 2009, 187 - 204, 189

⁷ Svetomir Skaric, Gordana Siljanovska, *Уставно право*, Скопје: Култура, 2009, 283.

⁸ Simon Bornschier, *The Extreme Right – Wing Populist Challenge and the Transformation of Political Space in Western Europe*, Aarhus: NCCR, 2008, 2

them European integration represents violation of the national states' sovereignty. For them, the European Union should be organized as a Union of national states with an aim to defend European values.⁹ Furthermore, a number of new radical right political parties call upon democratic deficit of the European institutions.

Fourth, the new radical right in Europe is great opponent of the globalization processes. For the new radical right parties the globalization is an evil which is imposed from outside.¹⁰ The new radical right political parties defend their position against globalization on two levels: cultural and economic level.

On one hand, the new radical right political parties believe that globalization contributes for many changes, which represent a threat for erosion of national identities and national culture¹¹. The globalization process, according to them, can lead to extinction of national cultures and national languages because the globalization contributes for spreading and imposing of unified values, which are influenced by USA's values.¹² From here, it is completely clear why the new radical right political parties oppose globalization, having in mind the fact that the new radical right introducing themselves as a protectors of the national culture and the national languages.

On the other hand, globalization contributes for many changes in the economic sector of the countries (formation of post-industrial societies). The changes in the economic sector under the baton of globalization cause emergence of winners and losers¹³, i.e., people who profit from the modernization of society, and also, people who cannot adjust to the changes and are left jobless. For the new radical right the losers from the globalization process are the common people¹⁴. In this regard, the new radical right political parties, introducing themselves as parties of the common people, have no doubt that they should raise their voice against globalization as a process that increases the knot between the rich and the poor.

⁹ Vedran Obucin, op cit., 200

¹⁰ Florian Hartleb, *After Their Establishment: Right – wing Populist Parties in Europe*, Brussels: The Centre for European Studies, 2011, 37

¹¹ Hans – George Betz, *Exclusionary Populism in Western Europe in the 1990s and Beyond: A Threat to Democracy and Civil Rights?*, Geneva: UNRISD, 2004,8

¹² Montserrat Guibernau, *Migration and the rise of the radical right*, London: Policy Network, 2010, 6

¹³ Cas Muddle, op cit., 4

¹⁴ Simon Bornschier, *The Extreme Right – Wing Populist Challenge and the Transformation of Political Space in Western Europe*, Aarau: NCCR, 2008, 10

1.2 Ideological specifics of the new radical right parties in Central, Eastern and Southeastern Europe

Analyzing the fundamental values of the radical right party family, we can now place the focus on the positions, which bind solely to the new radical right parties in Central, Eastern and Southeastern Europe.

First, while the new radical right parties in Western European countries (presenting themselves as representatives of the common people) speak about the fight against technocratic governments, the crisis of the representative democracy and the implementation of higher degree of direct democracy, the new radical right parties in Central, Eastern and Southeastern Europe deal with the corruption issue far more intensively. This is because corruption is greater and more widespread problem in Central, Eastern and Southeastern European countries rather than in Western European countries. For the new radical right in this part of Europe, the societies are divided in two blocks – good and honest citizens, on one side, and corrupted political elites on other side.¹⁵ The corrupted political elites which accomplish their interests on the backs of good and honest citizens. Presenting themselves as parties of the common and honest citizens, they place the issue for fight against corrupted political elites as one of the main issues in their programs. In that fight, the new radical right parties speak about brutal punishments and sanctions for the perpetrators of the corruptive activities,¹⁶ but also go a step further and raise their voice even against communism and communist elites. These parties blame reformed communist parties and former members of the nomenclature for mismanagement during the privatization process and acts of cronyism.¹⁷ Therefore, very often the process of lustration is mentioned in their programs as one of the mechanisms in the fight against corruption.

Second, we already mentioned that the new radical right parties in Central, Eastern and Southeastern Europe, just like their sister parties in Western Europe show their nationalist positions through nativism and ethno-nationalism. Still, it should be taken into consideration that the new radical right parties in Central, Eastern and Southeastern Europe go a step further in terms of nationalism, in comparison to their sister parties in Western Europe. Thus, the new radical right parties in this part of

¹⁵ Andrea L.P. Pirro, "Populist Radical Right Parties in Central and Eastern Europe: The Different Context and Issues of the Prophets of the Patria," *Government and Opposition* 4 (2014): 617.

¹⁶ Andrea L.P. Pirro, "Digging into the breeding ground: insights into the electoral performance of populist radical right parties in Central and Eastern Europe," *East European Politics* 2 (2014): 257.

¹⁷ Pirro, "Digging into the breeding ground," 248.

Europe openly speak about territorial pretensions towards other states.¹⁸ Claiming that during the Balkan Wars and the First World War their countries had been damaged when drawing the borders, these parties today call for redrawing the borders and annexing the lost territories to their countries. In this regard, calls for final unification of their nation into one big national country are often encountered among the new radical right parties in this part of Europe.¹⁹ Final unification through annexing territories from other countries. Therefore, these parties are obsessed with creating great states (Great Hungary, Great Romania, Great Slovakia, Great Bulgaria etc.). That kind of nationalism cannot be seen within the new radical right in Western Europe and represents solely a characteristic of the parties of the new radical right that come from the countries from Central, Eastern, and Western Europe.

Third, the anti-immigrant policy is dominant between the new radical right political parties in Western Europe.²⁰ This is the case because these countries are the most attractive and the most affected by the number of immigrants. Even with the big Syrian refugee crises the anti-immigrants attitude is rarely met in the programs of the new radical right parties that come from Central, Eastern and Southeast Europe.²¹ Unlike Western Europe, the countries from Central, Eastern and Southeast Europe are not an attractive destination for the immigrants. Therefore, the focus of these countries' new radical right parties has been moved from the immigrants towards everything that is different from their nation.²² The new radical right political parties that originate from Central, Eastern and Southeast Europe are dominated by distrust towards the members of minority groups and speak about solving the minority questions (Solving the Roma question, the Jew question, the LGBT question, the Macedonian question, the Turkish question, the Hungarian question, the Romanian question, the Slovak question etc.). And, the solution according to them is quite easy - the representatives of minority groups cannot be integrated into society if they are

¹⁸ Miroslav Mares, "The Extreme Right in Eastern Europe and Territorial Issues", Central European Political Studies Review Vol.XI No.2-3, Brno: Masaryk University, 2009, 82-106, 85.

¹⁹ Miroslav Mares, op cit., 90.

²⁰ Marcel Lubbers, Merove Gijsberts, Peer Scheepers, "Extreme right – wing voting in Western Europe", European Journal of Political Research Vol. 41 No.3, Oxford: European Consortium for Political Research, 2002, 345 – 378, 350.

²¹ Michael Minkenberg, Pascal Perrineau, "The Radical Right in the European Elections 2004" International Political Science Review Vol. 28 No.1, Washington: The International Political Science Review, 2007, 29 – 55, 51

²² Vedran Obucin, op cit., 195

not assimilated.²³ Representatives of other minority groups have to be either assimilated or they have to leave the state.

Fourth, aiming to show that they are taking care of the tradition and the customs, the parties of the new radical right in Central, Eastern and Southeastern Europe are trying to establish a close connection with Christianity and present themselves as Christian parties. Taking this in consideration, we can say that clericalism is one of the most distinctive features of the new radical right parties in Central, Eastern and Southeastern Europe. Clericalism, as advocated by these parties, goes beyond a mere emphasis on Christian values and calls for a greater interpenetration of Church and state.²⁴

Fifth, defining the new radical right in terms of the economic issues represents a complicated matter. Coming from the right side of the ideological axis, it is completely expectable that the new radical right parties will tie themselves to the neoliberal economic principles. However, in the nineties of the XX century, the radical right managed to get closer to the working class which has led to its proletarianization.²⁵ Apart from the neoliberal principles, today these parties often speak for social transfers and redistribution of income in the field of economy (measures exclusively intended for the members of the domicile population – Welfare chauvinism). Such grim image in the field of economy becomes even grimmer if we analyze the new radical right parties in Central, Eastern and Southeastern Europe. Although part of the right side of the ideological axis, these parties additionally distance themselves from the neoliberal principles and openly speak about fostering social national economics.²⁶ Such rhetoric of the new radical right in this part of Europe is an answer to the process of privatization in their countries and should allow these parties to present themselves as defenders of the transitional losers.²⁷ For these parties, losers in the process of privatization and transition are the members of the common people. Representing themselves as defenders of the common people, the new radical right in this part of Europe is trying to reach out to the common citizens

²³ Montserrat Guibernau, *op cit.*, 14

²⁴ Pirro, "Populist Radical Right Parties," 606.

²⁵ Polyakova, "Explaining Support for Radical Right Parties," 5.

²⁶ Pirro, "Populist Radical Right Parties," 608

²⁷ *Ibid.*

through leftist economic policies and requests for revision of the privatization process.²⁸

2. What are the reasons for the successes of the new radical right political parties in Central, Eastern and Southeastern Europe

The rise of the new radical right political parties in Central, Eastern and Southeastern Europe is connected to large number of reasons.

First, in the very beginning it has to be mentioned that as of 2008, Europe finds itself in severe economic and financial crisis. The radical political groups, whether they are located on the left or the right side of the ideology axis, they become attractive for the citizens in times of economic and financial crisis. That is the case because the financial crisis will increase the unemployment rates and the unemployment is a particularly crucial variable for explaining support for radical right parties.²⁹ In times of unemployment, the common people are often in need of culprits for their condition and in search of simple solutions to their problems. Precisely this is what the new radical right parties are offering to them. Voters may turn to radical right political parties because they are able to speak to their grievances and provide easy answers.³⁰

Second, the crisis of the representative democracy and the disappointment of the citizens from the moderate political parties and democracy are one of the main reasons for the rise of the new radical right parties in whole Europe. To this general condition in whole Europe, we can add the fact that there is disappointment from the outcome of the 1989 revolutions in the countries from Central, Eastern and Southeastern Europe.³¹ The great expectations from the 1989 changes resulted in great disappointments and nostalgia towards the past. Moreover, it is easy to notice that even in the first years after the 1989 revolution the fall of trust in democratic institutions and democracy is evident in the post-communist countries.³² The dissatisfaction with the functioning of the democracy is used by the new radical right political parties in Central, Eastern and Southeastern Europe, which emphasize that

²⁸ Pirro, "Digging into the breeding ground," 257.

²⁹ Polyakova, "Explaining Support for Radical Right Parties," 10.

³⁰ Alina Polyakova, op cit., 11

³¹ Pirro, "Digging into the breeding ground," 247.

³² Michael Minkenberg, "The Radical Right in Postsocialist Central and Eastern Europe: Comparative Observations and Interpretations", East European Politics and Societies Vol.16 No.2, Berkeley: University of California Press, 335-362, 346.

radical changes are needed in the functioning of democracy.³³ In addition, the new radical right parties in this part of Europe manage to attract many voters with their positions against corruption. Corruption certainly represents a crucial question in post-communist countries and the electoral success of the new radical right parties in Central, Eastern and Southeastern Europe has been also understood as a reaction to corruption and the absence of political accountability.³⁴ It should be taken into consideration that most of these parties do not bind to corruptive scandals because they have never been part of the government, thus their fierce anti-corruption positions cannot be objected in any way. Taking all this into consideration, we can say that the new radical right parties in Central, Eastern and Southeastern Europe, by introducing themselves as an alternative to the traditional political parties and a protest against the corrupted political elites, have managed to attract many supporters who are dissatisfied with the current functioning of the moderate political parties and the representative democracy.

Third, in general, there is a great concern among Central, East and Southeast Europeans over territorial issues.³⁵ The concern about the territorial issues in this part of Europe is bound to the past of this region and to the way the countries in Central, Eastern and Southeastern Europe have been created. The fact that throughout history some areas were under the rule of various states during various eras³⁶ leads different countries in this part of Europe to claim the right on same territories. The process of euro integration of this region led to cancelling the positions for territorial pretensions among the moderate political parties in this part of Europe. However the interest in the territorial issues among the common people has remained. Thus, the new radical right parties remained the only parties, which openly address territorial issues and with that the only option for the citizens concerned with territorial issues.

Fourth, the fact that some areas were under the rule of various states during various eras has contributed most of the countries in Central, Eastern and Southeastern Europe to be multinational countries. That means that the radical right parties in this part of Europe come from countries rich with minority groups and countries in which the minority issues are one of the most important ones. In absence of problems with immigration, the new radical right parties in Central, Eastern and Southeastern Europe

³³ Montserrat Guibernau, *op cit.*, 10

³⁴ Pirro, "Digging into the breeding ground," 248.

³⁵ Minkenberg, "The Radical Right in Postsocialist Central and Eastern Europe," 344.

³⁶ Mares, "The Extreme Right," 87.

place the focus on the problems with minority groups. The studies show that the new radical right in this part of Europe manages to attract many votes thanks to the sharp rhetoric towards the minority issues. The theoretician Lenka Bustikova in her paper *Revenge of the Radical Right*³⁷ will show that the rise of the new radical right parties in Central, Eastern and Southeastern Europe is determined by the activities and the successes of parties connected with minority groups. According to Bustikova, far stronger radical right parties can be found in post-communist countries where the political parties connected to minority groups have success on elections and are part of the government, as active partners in the ruling coalitions. In such situations, the radical right parties appear as a response to the successes of the minority parties. Also to this study it should be added the fact that countries with the greatest potential for radical right mobilization are those with small, entrenched ethnic minorities (Roma and Jew minorities), as well as those with irredentist claims against their neighbors, whether they are old or new states.³⁸ Moreover, it should be taken into consideration that in the countries where there are politically/economically strong minorities, the new radical right parties do not have great successes. In such societies the majority-minority relationships are extremely sensitive subject, which can lead to questioning the stability of the country, thus, because of that usually the ascending elites must craft broad political alliances and cannot antagonize very substantial ethno-cultural minorities.³⁹

Fifth, today, most of the economic and social politics for the EU member states are created under the influence of Brussels. The competence of the national authorities in this regard are limited and very often national governments, in order to align their legislation with the European one, decide to make moves that are unpopular among their citizens.⁴⁰ The feeling that the problems are being solved far from the common people and that the national governments are limited in seeking and implementing solutions adversely affects the position of the moderate parties in post-communist countries. Moreover, due to their Eurosceptic agendas, the new radical right parties in Central, Eastern and Southeastern Europe benefit from the inflated expectations

³⁷ Lenka Bustikova, "Revenge of the Radical Right," *Comparative Political Studies* 12 (2014)

³⁸ Lenka Bustikova and Herbert Kitschelt, "The radical right in post-communist Europe: Comparative perspectives on legacies and party competition," *Communist and Post-Communist Studies* 42 (2009): 468.

³⁹ Ibid.

⁴⁰ Simon Bornschier, *The Extreme Right – Wing Populist Challenge and the Transformation of Political Space in Western Europe*, Aarau: NCCR, 2008, 11

concerning EU membership and fatigue from long-lasting austerity measures.⁴¹ The disappointment of the functioning of the European Union and the planned austerity measures adopted under the auspices of Brussels cause appearance of number of Eurosceptic citizens in post-communist countries. For these citizens, the new radical right parties with their anti EU positions become more attractive.

3. Main reasons that the new radical right parties in Central, Eastern and Southeastern Europe are far behind the successes of the new radical right parties in Western Europe

The rise of the new radical right parties in Central, Eastern and Southeastern Europe in the past few years is evident. However, at the same time, it can be easily noticed that the new radical right parties in this part of Europe are still behind the successes of the new radical right parties in Western Europe. There are several reasons for this condition.

First, the parties of the new radical right in Central, Eastern and Southeastern Europe represent positions that are far more radical rather than those of the new radical right in Western Europe. The parties of the new radical right in Western Europe succeed to successfully mask their Nazi and Fascist positions and with that to get closer to as many citizens as possible. Unlike the ones in Western Europe, the parties of the new radical right in Central, Eastern, and Southeastern Europe are more extreme and openly antidemocratic.⁴² They even openly rely on implicit fascist symbolism (uniforms, red and black colors, slightly altered symbolism).⁴³ With that, the new radical right parties in this part of Europe are becoming unacceptable for many voters. The statement by Le Pen⁴⁴ after the elections for the European Parliament in 2014 finished, that their party does not intend to make coalition with JOBBIK and Golden Dawn because those parties are too radical even for her taste, is the best indicator for the excessive dose of radicalism in the new radical right in Central, Eastern, and Southeastern Europe.

⁴¹ Pirro, "Populist Radical Right Parties," 609.

⁴² Minkenberg, "The Radical Right in Postsocialist Central and Eastern Europe," 336.

⁴³ Polyakova, "Explaining Support for Radical Right Parties," 6.

⁴⁴ David O'Riordan, "Le Pen Says No Deal Between National Front and Jobbik," *Politics.hu*, June 6, 2014, accessed November 14, 2016, <http://www.politics.hu/20140606/le-pen-says-no-deal-between-national-front-and-jobbik/>

Second, the parties of the new radical right in Central, Eastern, and Southeastern Europe possess much weaker party organization than the ones of the new radical right in Western Europe. Most of the new radical right parties in Central, Eastern and Southeastern Europe organizationally are less a party and more a social movement phenomenon.⁴⁵

Third, the surveys of the public opinion in the countries of Western Europe indicate that 2/3s of the citizens in these countries believe that the upper limit of immigrants' inflow has been reached and that the inflow has to stop. The domestic citizens in these countries are feeling economically and culturally threatened by the inflow of immigrants. That is why the anti-immigrant policy is dominant between the new radical right political parties in Western Europe⁴⁶ and we can freely say that the parties of the new radical right in Western Europe gain the most points among the citizens due to their sharp rhetoric towards the immigrants, the asylum seekers, and the refugees. As I already mentioned, the countries from Central, Eastern, and Southeastern Europe are not affected by the problem with immigration like are the countries from Western Europe, thus this question is not so much attractive in these countries. The main question here is whether the new radical right in Western Europe would have had such success if the question for immigration had not been so popular. The anti-immigrant policy is the most recognizable characteristic of radical right party family and the new radical right parties in Central, Eastern and Southeastern Europe are handicapped in the political battle with out the existence of the immigration problem in their societies.

Fourth, it can be noticed that even the moderate right-wing political parties in Central, Eastern, and Southeastern Europe often use radical politics and rhetorics⁴⁷. This especially refers to the questions related to the minority groups and the neighborly relations. Additionally, it often happens that politicians from moderate right-wing political parties express dissatisfaction from the functioning of EU. That means that the space for collecting political points through abuse of minority issues and criticizing EU is already taken by the moderate right-wing political parties and due to

⁴⁵ Minkenberg, "The Radical Right in Postsocialist Central and Eastern Europe," 336.

⁴⁶ Marcel Lubbers, Merove Gijsberts, Peer Scheepers, "Extreme right – wing voting in Western Europe", *European Journal of Political Research* Vol. 41 No.3, Oxford: European Consortium for Political Research, 2002, 345 – 378, 350.

⁴⁷ Bustikova, "The radical right in post-communist Europe," 460.

that, the new radical right in Central, Eastern, and Southeastern Europe cannot profit much from those issues.

Conclusion

Since the appearance of the new radical right up until today, it can be concluded that the new radical right parties are the fastest growing party family in Europe. Usually when talking about the new radical right, the focus of interest is tied to Western Europe rather than to Central, Eastern and Southeastern Europe. That is because the most successful stories from this party family come from western part of Europe. However, in the past few years the world witnessed the rise of the radical right political parties in the countries from Central, Eastern and Southeastern Europe. Although the new radical right parties in this part of Europe are, still, far behind the successes of the new radical right parties in Western Europe, still, the emergence of these parties in parts of Europe that never before had serious experiences with radical right is a dangerous phenomenon, which has to be carefully monitored.

In their action, most of the new radical right parties' positions are shared with their sister parties from Western Europe, but there are issues, which are solely tied to the new radical right parties from Central, Eastern and Southeastern Europe. The extensive focus on the corruption issue, the territorial pretensions towards other countries, the problems with minority groups, clericalism, and the focus towards the period of transition and privatization are issues which are only bound to new radical right parties in this part of Europe and are not encountered among the new radical right parties in Western Europe. The crisis of the representative democracy, the high degree of corruption and nepotism in this part of Europe, the unresolved territorial issues, the rich variety of minority groups in this region, the disappointment of the benefits from the EU membership are the main reasons for the rise of the new radical right parties in Central, Eastern and Southeastern Europe.

However, reviewing the successes of the new radical right parties in Europe immediately shows that these parties in Central, Eastern and Southeastern Europe are still far behind the successes of their sister parties from Western Europe. The open demonstration of extensive dose of radicalism and anti-democratism, the poor party organization, the absence of the immigration problem and the role of the moderate right-wing parties in this part of Europe influence the new radical right parties in

Central, Eastern and Southeastern Europe to have far more modest election results in comparison to their sister parties in Western Europe. That, in turn, influences these parties not to be perceived as a serious threat to the democratic flows in their countries. However, their rise speaks that the right-wing radical energy exists in this part of Europe also and that the true strategy of the new radical right parties when targeting this energy can lead to great successes to these parties. Taking into consideration the positions of the new radical right in this part of Europe (especially the positions which are bound solely to them and not to their sister parties in Western Europe) it can be concluded that the success of the new radical right in Central, Eastern and Southeastern Europe will have serious consequences over the democratic flows in this part of Europe and much more – their success can have serious consequences over the stability and peacefulness of this region.

Bibliography:

1. Skaric, Svetomir and Siljanovska, Gordana, *Уставно право*. Скопје: Култура, 2009.
2. Skaric, Svetomir. *Уставно право – vтора книга*. Скопје: Union Trade, 1995.
3. Guibernau, Montserrat. *Migration and the rise of the radical right*, London: Policy Network, 2010.
4. Goodwin, Matthew, Ramalingam, Vidhya, Briggs, Rachel. *The New Radical Right: Violent and Non – Violent Movements in Europe*. London: Institute for Strategic Dialogue, 2012.
5. Ayward, Ashley, Meagan. *The Rise of the Tea Party Movement and Western European Right – Wing Populist Parties: a Comparative Analysis*. DIS. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina, Rise of the TEA party, 2011.
6. Muddle, Cas. *The Populist Radical Right: A Pathological Normalcy*, Willy Brandt Series of Working Papers in International Migration and Ethnic Relations, Malmo: Malmo Institute for Studies of Migration, Diversity and Welfare and Malmo University, 2008.
7. Hartleb, Florian. *After Their Establishment: Right – wing Populist Parties in Europe*, Brussels: The Centre for European Studies, 2011.
8. Bornschie, Simon. *The Extreme Right – Wing Populist Challenge and the Transformation of Political Space in Western Europe*, Aarau: NCCR, 2008.

9. Betz, George, Hans. *Exclusionary Populism in Western Europe in the 1990s and Beyond: A Threat to Democracy and Civil Rights?*, Geneva: UNRISD, 2004.
10. Obucina, Vedran, "Varijacije unutar radikalne desnice: komparativna analiza programa radikalno desnih stranaka u Zapadnoj i Istocnoj Europi" Sociologija i Prostor Vol. 47 No.2, Zagreb: Institut za drustvena istrazivanja u Zagreb, (2009): 187 – 204.
11. Minkenberg, Michael. Perrineau, Pascal. "The Radical Right in the European Elections 2004" International Political Science Review Vol. 28 No.1, Washington: The International Political Science Review, (2007): 29 – 55.
12. Lubbers, Marcel. Gijsberts, Merove. Scheepers, Peer. "Extreme right – wing voting in Western Europe", European Journal of Political Research Vol. 41 No.3, Oxford: European Consortium for Political Research, (2002): 345 – 378.
13. Polyakova, Alina. *Explaining Support for Radical Right Parties in New Democracies: The Limits of Structural Determinants and the Potentiality of Civil Society*. Berkeley: University of California, 2012.
14. Pirro. L.P Andrea. "Populist Radical Right Parties in Central and Eastern Europe: The Different Context and Issues of the Prophets of the Patria." *Government and Opposition* 4 (2014): 599 - 628.
15. Pirro. L.P Andrea. "Digging into the breeding ground: insights into the electoral performance of populist radical right parties in Central and Eastern Europe." *East European Politics* 2 (2014): 246-270.
16. Mares, Miroslav. "The Extreme Right in Eastern Europe and Territorial Issues", Central European Political Studies Review Vol.XI No.2-3, Brno: Masaryk University, 2009, 82-106.
17. Minkenberg, Michael. "The Radical Right in Postsocialist Central and Eastern Europe: Comparative Observations and Interpretations", East European Politics and Societies Vol.16 No.2, Berkeley: University of California Press, 335-362.
18. Bustikova, Lenka. "Revenge of the Radical Right." *Comparative Political Studies* 12 (2014): 1738 – 1765.
19. Bustikova, Lenka. Kitschelt, Herbert. "The radical right in post-communist Europe: Comparative perspectives on legacies and party competition." *Communist and Post-Communist Studies* 42 (2009): 459 - 483.
20. O'Riordan, David. "Le Pen Says No Deal Between National Front and Jobbik." *Politics.hu*. June 6, 2014. accessed November 14, 2016.

<http://www.politics.hu/20140606/le-pen-says-no-deal-between-national-front-and-jobbik/>