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RHETORIC OF RIGHT-WING PARTIES IN EU COUNTRIES ABOUT MIGRATION PROBLEMS

The issue of migration in European countries has become very important in the last 15-20 years. This issue is especially relevant for the Mediterranean countries, since these countries act as the country of first arrival for migrants. The burden on social and state structures in these countries is much higher, since these countries are the first to meet migrants and all the negative consequences, especially of illegal migration, are most felt in these countries. Right-wing parties often use the problem of illegal migration in their rhetoric. To better understand this issue, France can be researched. Migrants are very important for French economic. During the 1940s, the country's economy required labour for mining and textile production, but despite the importance of foreign labour, the far right politics had (anti)-immigration position, sometimes, even xenophobic. Right-wing political parties in Western Europe tend to implement policies of protectionism of local culture and economy, and right parties have always associated this policy with the presence of immigrants who are considered to be able to disrupt economic stability and cultural homogeneity [4, p. 518].

National Front (FN) is right-wing party of France. The leader of this party was Jean Marie Le Pen, he demonstrated his (anti)-immigration posi-

tion. Since the 1970s, (anti)-immigration has been the leitmotif of the FN's rhetoric, ideology and campaigns. Traditional slogans of the FN were "A million unemployed is a million immigrants too many!", "France and the French First", "Defend our colours" or "We are in France".

During Jean Marie Le Pen's presidency of FN, anti-immigration and xenophobia were the central theme of the party's program, other policy areas were seen through an anti-immigration lens. When Jean Marie Le Pen introduced his presidential program in the 2007, the first his sentence was connected with immigration. He said: the costs of immigration are 60 billion Euros yearly, 70 per cent of France's prison population is comprised of individuals of foreign origins, when counting legal and illegal immigrants, 95 per cent of foreigners enter France without a work contract, and 50 per cent of the beneficiaries of social welfare are foreigners [5, p. 3].

When Marine Le Pen became the leader of FN, its anti-immigration discourse has changed little. During the president election, immigration was not at the centre of the program. The measures proposed by the FN include the adoption of the national preference in public sector employment or the elimination of all pensions for foreigners who have not worked in France for at least 10 years [5, p. 6]. So, there is little difference between the ideology of the old FN under Jean Marie and that of the new under Marine Le Pen. For over 40 years, the FN has advocated a simplistic 'master frame' [2] that pushes anti-immigrant, anti-establishment and nationalist sentiments [5, p. 3]. As such, the FN portrays French society as tainted by foreign influences and governed by corrupt elites which embrace lax government policies in the area of public security. The FN embeds these vices in an ethnocentric worldview, a worldview which argues that the nation should be primarily reserved for people of a certain type: individuals who share the same ethnicity, history, religion and identity [5, p. 4].

The presidential candidate in the 2017 was Marine Le Pen of Front National. In the first round of the presidential election debate, Marine Le Pen hardened her views on immigration policy at the time.

The second presidential candidate in presidential election was François Fillon of Les Républicains. On a trip to Alpes-Maritimes, Nice on January 11, 2017, Fillon delivered an immigration speech proposing a quota system, selection of immigrants by region of origin, and an overhaul of the asylum system [4, p. 523]. Unlike Le Pen who used nationalist rhetoric and carries sentiments of instability in the country's security, Fillon blamed immigrant

groups for the economic downturn. Fillon said, “Yes. France is currently unable to accept immigrants in decent conditions, everyone wants to come and live here. Therefore, we must reduce the number of immigrants”. Earlier on January 2017, in south eastern France in front of about 2,000 supporters, Fillon also campaigned on immigration and terrorism, “France is generous, but that doesn't mean France is a region without borders. France has the right to choose who can join and that migrants must follow its rules and customs. In the context of the fight against Islamic totalitarianism, as long as Europe's borders are not controlled by the European Union, France will re-enforce its strict controls on its borders”. Based on the rhetoric, it is concluded that Fillon admitted immigration contributes positively to the economic sector in France, even though he used economic motives such as unemployment as an excuse to reduce the influx of immigrants to a minimum. Further, he exploited the terrorist narrative and linked it to the presence of immigrants to prove selectively controlled border policies. The immigration policy that Fillon wanted to implement was nothing new. Earlier in 2005, about 3,000 migrants left France voluntarily under a return fee scheme. In 2007, France under President Nicolas Sarkozy, a former French president who came from the same right party as Fillon (Les Républicains) offered €6,000 per immigrant family to return to their home countries. France has also deported large numbers of illegal immigrants in 2011 under the same president [4, p. 524].

Leader of the recently renamed far-right Rassemblement National (RN, formerly Front National), which she inherited from her controversial father Jean-Marie Le Pen, Marine Le Pen is one of the most prominent populist leaders in Europe. Her electoral performance for the 2017 election was unprecedented for a far-right party candidate in the history of the Fifth Republic in France. While she did not win the presidency, her achievement should not be diminished. By toning down the xenophobic register that made her father famous in an attempt of “dédiabolisation” (de-demonization) of her party and by embracing a strategy that appealed to a broader audience than in her 2012 presidential campaign, Le Pen has sought to radically change the image of her party. In 2017 she lost against newcomer centrist politician Emmanuel Macron, she obtained the highest electoral scores ever for a populist party in France, getting 21 % of the votes in the first round in a very close race with three other major candidates, and 33 % of the votes in the second round, that is 10 million votes, twice the number that her father gathered in the 2002 election [1, p. 2]. Her position as one of the most influential

populist leaders in Europe, and one of the only women that, makes her case particularly interesting to engage with [1, p. 3].

Far right and right candidates used anti (-immigration) rhetoric in the presidential election in 2022. One of candidates proposed to create a ministry for remigration that will expel unwanted foreigners, like offenders, prisoners, those staying illegally, unemployed. Marine Le Pen proposed to ban the regularization of foreign immigrants who are without valid documents and are staying without the requisite permission, penalize illegal entry and expel all foreigners who have not worked in France for more than a year [3].

So, many far right and right politician ladders in EU's states use anti(-immigrants) rhetoric and implement policy to reduce migration influx.

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