



**REPORT**  
**XENOPHOBIA, DISCRIMINATION AND AGGRESSIVE NATIONALISM IN EUROPE**  
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## **Introduction.**

Present report aims to analyse the most prominent manifestations of hatred in countries of the so-called “Greater Europe”, i.e. Council of Europe member-states and countries located within European geographical borders. The main objective was to identify factors that influence the demand for radicalism and factors that contribute to the reduction of radical sentiments in society.

The first stage involved experts specialising in 10 European countries: United Kingdom (Dr Anna Castriota), Hungary (Dr Ildiko Barna and Dr Péter Krekó), Germany (Dr Tatjana Ljujic), Greece (Dr Tika Pranvera), Italy (Dr Anna Castriota), the Netherlands (Dr Vanja Ljujic), Poland (Ph.D. student Katarzyna du Vall), Russia (Dr Semen Charny), Ukraine (Dr Arkady Monastyrsky) and France (Dr Giovanni Savino).

Analysis was conducted in the following areas: legislation affecting minorities (changes and compliance during the monitored period); law enforcement practices; discriminatory practices affecting minorities; statements and actions of public officials affecting minorities; position of immigrants and society’s attitude towards immigrants, foreign nationals, different ethnic groups; religious and ethnic hate speech; activity of neo-Nazi and radical nationalist groups and parties, their influence in government and in civil society; various degrees of hate crime; public glorification of German National-Socialism and Nazi collaborationists, desecration of war cemeteries, memorials, Holocaust denial; misuse of anti-extremism legislation and persecution of human rights activists.

Present report draws upon several sources: legislative acts, internal documentation of government institutions in public domain (such as statistical reports on hate crime), documentation from the office of the human rights ombudsman, materials of international human rights organisations, sociological surveys conducted in countries during the observed period, and media reports.

Analysis of the situation in 10 aforementioned countries leads to the following conclusions:

### **1. Legislation.**

Legislation directly discriminating minorities or inciting hatred was not present in countries subject to this study.

However, criminal legislation in several countries does not consider *racial or religious hatred as an aggravating circumstance* in a crime (Hungary and Poland, for example). Certain countries leave this decision for the court (Germany); or link racist actions to certain conditions, such as “direct intent”, which must be proven in court (Ukraine), or intent to affect the wider public in order to “affect its behaviour” (Italy<sup>1</sup>).

Legislation in some countries contains *discriminatory norms towards certain religions*. For example, Greek law allows for discrimination of “non-traditional religious”. Article 13(2) of the Greek Constitution states that “any *known* religion is free; its religious rights are performed freely under protection of the law.” The condition that a religion must be *known* is also seen in Paragraph 3 of the same Article, as well as in Article 14 (3a), which deals with “insulting Christianity or any other *known* religion.”

Greek authorities officially recognise only three religious organisations – the Orthodox Church, Thracian Muslims and the Jewish Community. Other religious organisations are deprived of this status, making them unable to legally own property as official religious institutions.

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<sup>1</sup>NB. Italy is the only country under review that over the past 10 years reduced the punishment for hate crime from 3 to 1.5 years, setting the maximum fine of 6 000 euros for racial discrimination or hate speech (Law N 85/2006) – *author’s note.*

Religious services conducted in their places of worship are considered invalid without a special permission from the Ministry of Education. This problem is most notable among Muslims outside Thrace, who do not have a single legal mosque outside that region (there are, however, more than 100 illegal mosques, currently under threat of being shut down). They also lack appropriate cemeteries. In Thrace, where the Muslim minority have their religious autonomy as per Lausanne Peace Treaty of 1923, imams are appointed by the government without consulting the community itself<sup>2</sup>.

Hungarian Law “On the right to freedom of conscience and faith, religion, church and religious organisations” (2011) also created problems for new religious organisations that have not been present in the country for more than 20 years and who have less than 1000 followers permanently residing in Hungary.

German legislation also provides for inequality of some religious organisations, dividing them into “*corporate bodies under public law*” and others. *Corporate bodies under public law* have the right to collect their part of the Church Tax, which is derived from the taxable income by the regional financial body (*Finanzamt*) and given to the community. Other religious organisations are deprived of this status, which presumes that a religious community is guaranteed long-term existence by its statute and the number of followers. Currently, such status is applied to various Christian denominations, including Orthodox Mormons, Jehovah’s Witnesses, as well as the Jewish community and the Union of Religious Communities that consists of several smaller communities and sects (predominantly Christian). Meanwhile, the Muslim community in Germany, which has more than 4 million members (almost 5% of the population), does not fall under the status of a corporate body under public law, despite meeting all necessary conditions.

France essentially lacks any state funding for Islamic schools, removing Islamic education from government’s control. This situation is derived from a law of 1925, which prohibited state funding for all religious organisations that have no ties with France, its history and culture. Thus, majority of migrants’ religious organisations, many of whom are Muslims, have no access to state resources. Financing is provided only for Catholics, Protestants and Jews<sup>3</sup>.

Italy requires religious communities to enter in a special contract with the government. Those that have not done so (including Muslims) encounter various problems.

Ukraine amended its Law “On freedom of conscience and religious organisations” in 2012, making registration of religious organisations more difficult and providing various government bodies with the authority to monitor and control their activities (including Prosecution, Ministry of Culture, and other local and central bodies). 2012 amendments also introduced a procedure for conducting peaceful public religious events, which contradicts Article 39 of the Ukrainian Constitution.

It is worth mentioning the Law “On protecting religious feelings,” adopted by Russia in 2013<sup>4</sup>. The law is characterised with an extremely ambiguous wording, which essentially allows prosecuting criticism of religious organisations or their “disrespectful” portrayal in art. For example, the law introduces the concept of “public actions displaying clear disrespect towards a community and committed in order to insult religious feelings” (Article 148.1 of the Criminal Code)<sup>5</sup>, but does not further expand on its meaning, which allows for misuse of the law, particularly towards atheists and members of “non-traditional” religions.

Article 6.21 of the Russian Code of Administrative Offences (2013) has a similar issue. The Article provides administrative punishment for the “propaganda of non-traditional sexual relations

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<sup>2</sup><http://cm.greekhelsinki.gr/index.php?sec=194&cid=3834>

<sup>3</sup><http://academic.udayton.edu/race/06hrights/georegions/Europe/France01.htm>

<sup>4</sup>Official title: Law “On introducing amendments to Article 148 of the Russian Criminal Code and several legislative acts in order to combat insults of religious beliefs and feelings of citizens” – *author’s note*.

<sup>5</sup> <http://www.rg.ru/2013/06/30/zashita-site-dok.html>

among minors". The need for this law was not apparent in the first place, since Russian legislation had always prohibited "propaganda" of *any* sexual relations among minors. However, after its adoption, many human rights organisations criticised the law for its ambiguity. The law defines "propaganda" as "spread of information aimed at forming non-traditional sexual orientation among minors, imposing the attractiveness of non-traditional sexual relations and skewed perception about the equality of non-traditional and traditional sexual relations, causing interest in them"<sup>6</sup>. The law does not expand on several terms, including "spread of information" or "imposition of information", etc. This creates opportunity for abuse in law enforcement practice, especially towards LGBT educational projects aimed at teenagers.

Issues with liberalising same-sex relations also exist in Poland, Northern Ireland, Hungary, Germany, Greece, Italy and Ukraine.

However, the *main problem in European legislation is attitude towards national minorities*. This problem has two sides:

First, it is the *failure to recognise ethnic minorities* as such, which deprives them of corresponding rights. Ethnicity and self-determination of minorities is excluded from the legal and political vocabulary in countries like France and Greece (excluding Western Thrace). The argument for this practice is that recognising "special rights" of national minorities would escalate racism and inequality on ethnic grounds. Thus, France and Greece have been reluctant to join the Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities and the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages. Meanwhile, *de facto* national minorities in France and Greece constitute at least 10% of their populations. Their presence is officially unrecognised, and therefore, their rights are not protected.

Second, it is the *manipulation of the list of officially recognised ethnic minorities*. Many monitored countries seek to limit this list by including smaller indigenous ethnic minority groups and excluding larger groups. These countries have joined the aforementioned Framework Convention with considerable reservations.

This is particularly characteristic for Germany, which only recognises German citizens identifying as Serb, Dutch, Frisian or German Roma as national minorities. The Netherlands recognises only the Frisian minority; Poland does not recognise national minorities whose members are not Polish citizens.

Non-indigenous peoples – particularly immigrants – are affected by this the most. However, there also millions of citizens in Germany, for example, who were born in these countries, but not recognised as national minorities due to not identifying themselves as any of the 4 accepted ethnic groups. These are people of Asian and African origins, who are excluded from the Framework Convention.

Today it apparent that governments in most European states are not supporting national-religious development, but attempts to impose their model of conduct. In other words, governments provide minorities with their assimilation programmes, which aims to partly or completely change their identity. So far, most members of unrecognised national minorities accept this programme. For example, approximately 75% of Muslims in France identify themselves first as "somewhat" or "fully" French, and then according to their respective religion, ethnic group or country of origin<sup>7</sup>. However, 25% (which is a large figure) do not accept this model. They consider ethnicity, religion or place of origin a more important characteristic, which is particularly common among people of Asian and African origins. Some of them, even as second or third generation immigrants, do not accept the European model; some even drifted towards Islamic

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<sup>6</sup><http://www.gay.ru/news/rainbow/2013/06/30-26423.htm>

<sup>7</sup><http://councilforeuropeanstudies.org/critcom/the-diversity-of-muslims-in-france-pre-and-post-charlie-hebdo/>

fundamentalism. Herein lies the largest threat, as such processes may soon lead to a serious conflict in Europe.

European countries are facing problems in integration of immigrants, lagging behind and demonstrating their powerlessness, while trying to adopt new repressive laws to slow down the spread of extremism. For example, after the shooting at Charlie Hebdo and the departure of European Muslims to fight for the Islamic State, governments of several monitored countries hastily adopted laws which deprived IS fighters of European citizenship and denied them access to various benefits. Such law in its purest form was adopted by the Netherlands<sup>8</sup>; elements of such legislation are contained in the British (since 2013) and French legislation, although the latter blocked a similar bill on April 2, 2015.

*Changes in legislation* in the monitored countries in the first half of 2015 also tightened anti-discrimination and anti-terrorism legislation, which sparked criticism in the opposition of many countries, including France, Greece and Italy.

On the other hand, EU policy towards immigrants is fairly contradictory. For example, the UK, Hungary, Italy and France have adopted several laws in recent years, which tightened the procedure of accepting immigrants and their social benefits. In 2014, Germany recognised the Balkan States as safe to stay, which caused many asylum seekers from these countries to be rejected. At the same time, in 2013-14 Germany adopted extensive programmes to accept 20 000 Syrian refugees on humanitarian grounds. The main objective was family reunification. In June 2015, Greece adopted a law that provided citizenship for children who have been born on its soil. This was an important milestone, not only for the 200 000 second-generation immigrants, but also for people who have just moved to Greece<sup>9</sup>.

On April 2, 2015, Italian Prime Minister reduced the number of legal vacancies for migrant workers from 15 to 13 thousand.<sup>10</sup> However, only several months earlier, Italy allocated additional funds for reception of migrants from non-EU states. This measure was adopted in accordance with EU resolution N514/2014 and approved by the Cabinet on April 16, 2015<sup>11</sup>. Therefore, Italian government allocates additional resources to accept migrants, understanding that their inflow will only increase, while simultaneously reducing the number of legal vacancies for foreign nationals. Thus, Italian authorities are facilitating the growth of illegal workforce and criminalisation among immigrants.

Non-EU countries subject to this study have also been experiencing problems with the rising migration flows. According to the Russian Federal Migration Service (FMS), more than 10 million foreign nationals were present in the country by the end of July. Most of them are citizens of former Soviet republics. More than 25% of them were Ukrainian, 35% - Central Asian and 11% from the Caucasus. As of May this year, Russia accepted 970 thousand Ukrainian refugees. Of those, about 500 thousand had the right to temporary asylum or residence<sup>12</sup>.

Russia is taking measures to streamline immigration process. On the one hand, as of May 2015, Russian authorities rejected entry for 1.35 million foreign nationals who violated the regulations of stay. Registration of foreign nationals has been somewhat improved. Previously, many migrant workers were registering in so-called "rubber flats" – addresses that have no relation to their actual place of residence. Such flats often officially housed hundreds of migrants, who actually lived in other places, or did not have housing at all. Since the adoption of a corresponding law, the number of rubber flats was reduced from 10 090 to 1 160.<sup>13</sup>

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<sup>8</sup> <http://www.nctv.nl/onderwerpen/tb/actieprogramma-integrale-aanpak-jihadisme/>

<sup>9</sup> [http://grreporter.info/en/greece\\_grants\\_citizenship\\_100000\\_children\\_immigrants/12824](http://grreporter.info/en/greece_grants_citizenship_100000_children_immigrants/12824)

<sup>10</sup> [www.immigrazione.biz/legge.php?id=795](http://www.immigrazione.biz/legge.php?id=795)

<sup>11</sup> [www.immigrazione.biz/legge.php?id=789](http://www.immigrazione.biz/legge.php?id=789)

<sup>12</sup> <http://kremlin.ru/events/president/transcripts/49417>

<sup>13</sup> As above.

On the other hand, Russia attempted to ease employment for migrant workers. Since January 2015, those who require an entry visa continue to work on the basis of special quotas. Citizens of states that have visa-free agreements with the Russian Federation have been excluded from quotas and are required to obtain work permits. Such permits are issued to people who have indicated “work” as their reason to entry at the border. Thus, migrant workers are divided into two categories, which should improve the conditions for citizens of visa-free countries. However, law enforcement practices have essentially nullified these improvements (see below).

Lack of a cohesive anti-discrimination legislation remains a problem for Russia. “Discrimination” as a term is only contained in the Russian Criminal Code and is poorly defined as violation of citizens’ rights, freedoms and legal interests. However, according to international law, violation of rights and freedoms can be one of the goals or consequences of discrimination, but not its form. In addition, Russian legislation does not specify what constitutes as a “violation of rights”, does not identify forms of discrimination, differences between direct and indirect discrimination, victimisation, and does not prohibit discrimination by officials or discrimination based on nationality. A whole range of important legislative documents did not contain the prohibition of discrimination at all. Normative acts that prevent informal discrimination in employment, housing, education, healthcare, etc. are virtually non-existent.

A difficult situation arose with Internally Displace Persons (IDPs) in Ukraine. According to the UN, the number of IDPs in Ukraine is almost 1.4 million.<sup>14</sup> Among those running from the conflict in the east are Ukrainians, Jews, Roma, Greeks, Russians and members of Caucasian and other peoples<sup>15</sup>. Ukraine is committed to reform its asylum system, which is among the conditions for a visa-free regime with Schengen nations. However, these reforms have not been implemented so far. Ukrainian officials claim lack of funds, which they hope to receive from the EU and other international financial organisations.

## ***2. Law enforcement practice***

**Law enforcement practice** is highly dependent on legislative norms concerning minorities and professionalism as well as personal views of law enforcement officers. An important assessment criterion in this regard is authorities’ ability to establish an *effective infrastructure* to combat discrimination and hate crime. This includes data gathering methods, implementation of police measures and legal protection. In this regard, countries like Germany, Great Britain and the Netherlands have a distinguished experience.

The Netherlands have a two-step system that extends to the maximum portion of the population. Anti-Discrimination Bureau works directly with the locals in 393 municipalities. Any person can appeal to their regional bureau for consultation or to file a complaint. Each complaint is registered and transferred to the National Association of Anti-Discrimination Bureaus, which works closely with the Netherlands Institute of Human Rights – a quasi-judicial organisation that provides legal assessment of incidents based on the Equality Act. Officially, NIHR decisions are not compulsory, but courts are obliged to take its assessments into account.

National Association of Anti-Discrimination Bureaus maintains an anonymous 24-hour discrimination hotline.

Victims of hate crime appeal to the police, which then pools all information into a special department of the Public Prosecutor, which has offices in all 11 regions of the country. Public Prosecutor then makes the final assessment of hate crime and incites criminal proceedings. He is usually assisted by the National Centre of Expertise on Discrimination.

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<sup>14</sup> <http://rian.com.ua/society/20150714/370485794.html>

<sup>15</sup> <http://donoda.gov.ua/?args=&cmd=main&iface=Public&lang=ru&sec=01.04>

Thus, all cases of discrimination are divided into hate crime and common incidents or administrative offences related to discrimination. Every citizen of the Netherlands knows which institution to appeal to (sometimes anonymously), depending on the issue and location. This multi-step system relieves some of the burden from the law enforcement bodies, removing all incidents unrelated to hate crime without violating the rights of citizens, who receive free consultations in the Anti-Discrimination Bureau and can appeal for free expertise in NIHR and protect their rights in the administrative court, knowing and understanding the prospects of their case.

Germany and the UK have extensive experience in combatting discrimination and hate crime with the help of non-governmental organisations. NGOs and local councils conduct extensive educational activities among citizens, initiate boycotts of neo-Nazis and right-wing radicals. Great Britain in 2012 announced a new anti-hate crime programme called *Challenge It, Report It, Stop It*, which intended to involve the general population in preventing such crime<sup>16</sup>. Also in 2012, the UK launched the *Tell Mama* project, which focused on crimes against Muslims.

However, most countries subject to this report have outdated procedures that fail to identify hate crime from the mass of other offences. Many countries lack a specialised body to investigate discrimination and hate crime; some countries lack such specialisation in the law enforcement system itself. Thus, local police officers have to deal with hate crime as well as regular hooliganism, which often results in misclassification of hate crime as common crime or even reluctance to report such crime at all.

This issue is particularly acute in Ukraine today. Since 1998, the country has no official expert body on interethnic relations and hate crime. To incite a hate crime case, premeditated motives must be proven. In addition, Ukraine does not provide relevant police training. As a result, only 26 cases of hate crime have been recorded in Ukraine in 2014 (excluding war crimes committed in Eastern Ukraine during the armed conflict), despite the considerably high level of general xenophobia in society. Italy, Hungary, Greece and Russia face similar problems.

Russia should be mentioned separately, as it is the country that does not have a developed anti-discrimination legislation or an effective system of working with victims of discrimination and hate crime. However, this is compensated by an effective political infrastructure designed to ensure interethnic and interreligious peace. This allows for conducting regular monitoring of the situation at the institutional level (religious organisations and national associations). Corresponding departments are present on all levels of government – from Presidential Administration to subjects of the Federation and large municipal organisations. In March 2015, Russia established a Federal Agency on National Affairs, which is designed to prevent attempts to incite racial, national or religious hatred. One of its goals is to establish a state monitoring system of interethnic and interreligious relations in the country.

Another important criterion of assessing law enforcement practice is their *focus on results* in combating racism and hate crime. Poor attitude of law enforcement officers practically voids the effectiveness of any infrastructure. For example, while the Netherlands has some of the most advanced anti-discrimination systems, out of 1600 discrimination complaints in 2014 its Public Prosecutor agreed to initiate criminal proceedings in only 83 cases<sup>17</sup>. This is the lowest figure since 1998. Meanwhile, the level of xenophobia in the country did not decrease: NIHR reports that the Anti-Discrimination Bureau received 9714 complaints in 2014, compared to 6186 in 2013.<sup>18</sup> LawenforcementinUK<sup>19</sup>, Germany<sup>20</sup>and Poland<sup>21</sup> have similar problems, despite the latter country

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<sup>16</sup><https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/hate-crime-action-plan-challenge-it-report-it-stop-it>

<sup>17</sup> <http://www.nrc.nl/nieuws/2015/03/29/aangifte-van-discriminatie-belandt-vaak-niet-bij-om/>

<sup>18</sup> <http://www.art1.nl/>

<sup>19</sup><http://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2014/feb/08/gay-asylum-seekers-humiliation-home-office>;

<http://www.theguardian.com/politics/2014/jun/15/police-uphold-just-one-percent-of-public-complaints-of-racism>

<sup>20</sup><http://www.turkishweekly.net/2015/04/28/news/un-urged-to-examine-murders-of-turks-racism-in-germany/>;

demonstrating the highest level of professionalism in combating hate crime. Meanwhile, French courts issued guilty verdicts in only 35 cases related to hate crime in 2014<sup>22</sup> out of 1 662 hate crime cases reported that year (1 274 in 2013)<sup>23</sup>.

Greece and Russia, despite their systemic problems in combating discrimination, were able to significantly reduce the number and severity of hate crime, as well as the activity of radical nationalists, compared to 2013. This was largely due to political will of the government, which took this issue under “manual control”.

Greece is perhaps the clearest example of a successful policy, as the country that had been exhibiting the highest level of radical nationalism in the society. Previously, politically-motivated murder and even terrorist attacks were not considered a sensation in that country; and neo-Nazis actively combined their parliamentary activities with street actions.

During the monitored period, as well as in 2014, Greece had a significant reduction in crime motivated by racial or religious intolerance. There have been no racial murders or political terrorist attacks. Greek neo-Nazis, despite the worsening economic climate, did not increase their ranks. These improvements can be attributed to modernisation of anti-extremism and anti-racism legislation, as well as the active struggle against hate crime and repressions against the neo-Nazi Golden Dawn party. For example, in August 2014, 78 of its members have been put on trial (including members of its parliamentary faction)<sup>24</sup>.

Russia also experienced a reduction in crime rate. In 2013, 583 people have been sentenced on charges of hate crime; and 509 in 2014. Russia also has a continuously updated Federal List of Extremist Materials, maintained by the Ministry of Justice, which includes physical and digital xenophobic materials. Items listed in the list are removed from sale or blocked from the internet. In 2014, 369 items have been added to the Federal List (2 558 items in total). Inclusion in the list can be appealed in court.

However, it must be noted that conflict in Ukraine also played a role in the falling hate crime rate in Russia, as local nationalists shifted their focus to the neighbouring country, joining either side of the conflict. As a result, the levels of violent hate crimes in Russia reduced by 54% in 2014.

The situation in Greece and Russia serves as evidence that police will of the government, which recognised the threat of neo-Nazism and took radical measures to combat hate crime, usually yields favourable results. At the same time, if this result is achieved *solely* through “manual control” of the government, the effect is usually short-term. Sustainable results are achieved only through all measures combined: political will, professionalism of law enforcement officers and a developed infrastructure, based on cooperation and collaboration between the state and civil society.

Effectiveness of the state *migrant and refugee policy* is another factor in assessing the effectiveness of law enforcement practices in terms of combating discrimination and hate crime.

Analysis of the situation in European countries revealed significant shortcomings in the system of reception of migrants and asylum seekers. Besides poor living conditions, this particularly concerns the creation of artificial bureaucratic obstacles for new migrants. Note, however, that majority of countries have fulfilled the recommendations of international organisations regarding the construction of migrant reception centres and the rules of stay in them. On the other hand, almost all monitored countries have been suffering from the migrant crisis – experiencing lack of accommodation space for the continuously increasing number of migrants.

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Human Rights Watch, WORLD REPORT 2015; <http://dip21.bundestag.de/dip21/btd/18/016/1801629.pdf>

<sup>21</sup> [http://www.hfhr.pl/wp-content/uploads/2014/02/HFHR\\_CERD\\_84\\_session\\_shadow\\_report.pdf](http://www.hfhr.pl/wp-content/uploads/2014/02/HFHR_CERD_84_session_shadow_report.pdf)

<sup>22</sup> See: "White Papers of Hate", Moscow, 2015.

<sup>23</sup> [http://www.cncdh.fr/sites/default/files/cncdh\\_-\\_essentiels\\_rapport\\_racisme\\_2014.pdf](http://www.cncdh.fr/sites/default/files/cncdh_-_essentiels_rapport_racisme_2014.pdf)

<sup>24</sup> [We are not Nazis](http://www.humanrights.org/news/2014/08/28/we-are-not-nazis) HumanRightsWatsh, 2014.



Inhumane treatment of migrants is another serious problem, concerning refugees residing in centres and other migrants, who often face racism among police officers.

Discrimination of immigrants at work, particularly in terms of wages, has been recorded in Italy, Greece and Russia. However, in many cases this concerns illegal migrant workers.

During the monitored period, Russia faced difficulties in implementing new rules for employment of migrant workers from visa-free countries. According to new regulations, since January 1, 2015, these people can seek employment outside quotas by simply purchasing a work patent (permit). However, application for such permit is extremely complicated. Immigrants have only 30 days to gather all necessary documents, go through medical examination, pass exams on Russian language, culture and law, set up health insurance, provide a legal translation of their passports, fill out necessary forms and then receive the patent. The work patent is about two times more expensive than the previous work permit. Furthermore, the patent is restricted by region – working in other regions leads to deportation.<sup>25</sup> For the first time, migrants have to physically collect their work patents. As a result, Moscow offices of the Federal Migration Service were overcrowded with applicants. People were complaining about massive queues and authorities admitted that some migrants have no time to go through all procedures. In March 2015, migrants who received patents in 2014 were allowed to extend them for 12 months<sup>26</sup>.

In Ukraine, the government is failing to manage the huge amount of Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs). The official figure (1.4 IDPs) is most likely underestimated. The state can guarantee IDPs only minimal benefits, and even these funds are soon to run out. Experts believe that without external assistance to support refugees, Ukraine is likely to experience a humanitarian disaster very soon<sup>27</sup>.

In summary, law enforcement practice in terms of combating discrimination and hate crime usually suffers as a result of poor legislative base, lack of effective state cooperation with the civil society, lack of professionalism, lack of political will and lack of resources to accommodate unexpected influx of migrants.

### ***3. The role of government and media.***

It is no secret that *mass media and communication* play an important role in forming public opinion. A clear example is the portrayal of migrants in European media, which resulted in citizens (of countries like Poland and Hungary) naming Arabs as the “least desirable” immigrants in public opinion polls, without even personally encountering migrants from Arab countries<sup>28</sup>. Media was also undoubtedly responsible for anti-immigration sentiments in Greece and Italy, as well as homophobic sentiments in Russia<sup>29</sup>.

In fact, Russia serves as a great example of how media can facilitate negative perceptions in society. For example, despite the presence of various phobias towards certain ethnic and religious groups (see below), majority of Russians (86%) have not been discriminated based on their ethnicity; only 23% claimed to feel “ethnic tensions” in their regions<sup>30</sup>. Thus, negative attitude of Russians towards members of other ethnic and religious groups have not been due to personal experience, but due to portrayal of these groups in the media, or general xenophobic traditions in their circles.

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<sup>25</sup><http://www.kommersant.ru/doc/2709017>

<sup>26</sup><http://www.fergananews.com/articles/8480>

<sup>27</sup><http://rian.com.ua/society/20150714/370485794.html>

<sup>28</sup>See: Newcomers from near and far. Immigrants in Poland, CBOS Public Opinion Research Center, May 2015, [http://www.cbos.pl/SPISKOM.POL/2015/K\\_093\\_15.PDF](http://www.cbos.pl/SPISKOM.POL/2015/K_093_15.PDF) [accessed: 14 August 2015]; <http://www.finugor.ru/dve-pyatykh-vengrov-protiv-immigrantov>

<sup>29</sup><http://fom.ru/TSennosti/12121>; <http://wciom.ru/index.php?id=459&uid=114190>

<sup>30</sup> <http://fom.ru/Obraz-zhizni/11876>

Ukrainian media are currently guilty of regularly publishing materials dehumanising their political opponents, which occurs on both sides of the conflict. As a result, degrading terms have been added to political and everyday vocabularies to describe those who hold different opinions (*vatnik* or *vata* – “wadding”, used to describe pro-Russian Ukrainians; *ukrop* – “dill”, used to describe pro-West Ukrainians).

On the other hand, mass media also plays a great role in combatting racism, as is noted in Italy and Russia as well<sup>31</sup>.

Media is also used to broadcast *positions of the government and other political forces* on most sensitive issues. Government position is usually defining in not only legislation or law enforcement, but also in forming public opinion. With the exception of political crises and revolutions, the population usually regards the state and its leaders as the legitimate authority in solving internal issues of their country. Therefore, any statements made by state representatives against racism and discrimination usually facilitate a more tolerant environment, and vice versa.

Position of *members of parliament and local officials* is no less important in forming public opinion.

Monitoring revealed that senior officials often recognise the danger of racism and intolerance on ethnic or religious grounds (often making statements against these sentiments), but may sometimes speak against sexual minorities and immigrants. For example, Imre Kerényi – Personal Representative of Prime Minister of Hungary on Cultural Issues – stated in May 2014 that the world must resist the “gay lobby”<sup>32</sup>; meanwhile, Minister of Order and Civil Protection of Greece, Nikos Dendias, complained about the “low quality of immigrants” in January 2014<sup>33</sup>.

On the other hand, right-wing MPs and members of local governments often make xenophobic statements, trying to focus on nationalist and homophobic voters. In this regard, one of the leading oppositional parties in the Netherlands – the Freedom Party – is most notable. Its leader, Geert Wilders, is infamous for his anti-Muslim statements<sup>34</sup>. Hungarian Jobbik party is not lagging behind, specialising in anti-Semitic, anti-Roma and homophobic sentiments. The same can be said about Greece’s Golden Dawn party and Italy’s Lega Nord.

France’s National Front underwent an interesting transformation in recent years. Seeking to distance itself from the image of an extremist anti-Semitic party, its leader Marine Le Pen and other senior party officials met with members of the European Jewish Parliament, where they made several statements against anti-Semitism. In addition, the party abandoned its homophobic views and even dismissed some of its more odious members, including its founder - Jean-Marie Le Pen. Nevertheless, National Front continues to promote anti-Islamic views<sup>35</sup>.

Members of local governments in France, Italy and several other countries made several blatantly xenophobic actions. For example, it was reported that mayor of Béziers (Southern France) introduced a record of Muslim children in order to choose who will be accepted in municipal schools<sup>36</sup>.

In December 2014, France was shocked when Mayor of Champlan, Christian Leclerc, rejected a Roma family in burying their child in a municipal cemetery, saying that the cemetery has little places and priority is given to taxpayers, implying that Roma don’t pay taxes<sup>37</sup>. He later

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<sup>31</sup><http://iltirreno.gelocal.it/pisa/cronaca/2015/05/19/news//la-ragazza-non-va-a-scuola-prima-devono-punirli-1.11452510>

<sup>32</sup><http://www.hir24.hu/velemeney/2014/07/25/felfele-buknak-a-partkatonak/>

<sup>33</sup> <http://lenta.ru/news/2014/01/30/quality/>

<sup>34</sup> <http://www.humanrightseurope.org/2013/10/anti-racism-monitors-report-on-the-netherlands/>

<sup>35</sup><http://www.itv.com/news/update/2015-06-26/le-pen-calls-for-action-against-islamic-extremism/>

<sup>36</sup><http://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/may/05/french-mayor-attacked-for-counting-schoolchildren-with-muslim-names>

<sup>37</sup><http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/europe/france/11324730/New-France-Roma-row-as-mayor-refuses-burial-of-baby.html>

apologised and said that his words were taken out of context, however the press accused him of racism and Prime Minister Manuel Valls called his remarks “insulting to France”<sup>38</sup>. On July 9, Borgosesia mayor from Lega Nord, MEP Gianluca Bonanno suggested the introduction of a fine of 500 euros for gays for public display of affection<sup>39</sup>; on October 31, it was reported that member of the Motta Visconti City Council, Maxssimila Conti called for burning of Roma in furnaces in a Facebook post<sup>40</sup>.

With the growth of radical nationalist sentiments in society in recent years, mainstream parliamentary parties have been borrowing nationalist slogans from far-right groups in order to attract more voters. This situation is present in Russia, where nationalists and senior officials – including Mayor of Moscow – have been making remarks against migrants and LGBT<sup>41</sup>.

A more severe situation is in Ukraine, where politicians do not hesitate to appeal to the radical nationalist electorate. For example, on June 3, 2015, Ukrainian MP Vladimir Parasyuk said that gays who come to the LGBT parade in Kiev should be “gathered in a van and send to the war zone in the southeast”, because “they too must protect the Homeland.” Another MP, Mikhail Gavriyuk threatened to “castrate gays” and “crush their spines”.<sup>42</sup>

Mainstream parties in Hungary, Greece and France have also been noticed using radical rhetoric.

At the same time, leading politicians in countries like Great Britain, Greece and Russia over the past 1.5 years have been actively using anti-xenophobic rhetoric and conducting events to promote tolerance.

#### ***4. Radical nationalist groups and parties.***

Extreme right groups exist in all countries subject to monitoring. However, in some countries these groups are represented in parliament (Jobbik party in Hungary; Golden Dawn party in Greece; Freedom Party in the Netherlands; National Front in France). It should be noted a significant influence of the Ukrainian neo-Nazi party "Freedom" ("Svoboda") in local authorities in the western regions of Ukraine. A strong local position has also the Jobbik party.

Great Britain and Italy have moderate nationalist parties represented in their parliaments (UKIP and Lega Nord, respectively). All these parties form the opposition in their respective parliaments, relying the constantly growing electorate (from 11% in Greece to 25% in France).

Extreme right parties share several ideas, including anti-immigration, anti-Semitism, anti-Islam and anti-Roma sentiments, as well as Euroscepticism. In Hungary and Ukraine, this is accompanied by attempts to glorify World War Two collaborationists<sup>4344</sup>.

Radical nationalists usually successfully combine parliamentary activity with street action. This was particularly true for the Greek Golden Dawn party, despite the government ceasing all state funding of the party and started investigating its members.

It is obvious that radical nationalist parties are seeking easy answers to modern issues, but their positions continue to gain appeal among the electorate. Fearing their increased influence,

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<sup>38</sup> As above.

<sup>39</sup>[http://torino.repubblica.it/cronaca/2014/07/09/news/incorreggibile\\_buonanno\\_multe\\_per\\_i\\_baci\\_gay\\_in\\_publico-91124136/](http://torino.repubblica.it/cronaca/2014/07/09/news/incorreggibile_buonanno_multe_per_i_baci_gay_in_publico-91124136/)

<sup>40</sup>[http://milano.corriere.it/notizie/politica/14\\_ottobre\\_31/per-rom-ci-vorrebbero-forni-bufera-consigliere-comunale-0c21a4bc-611b-11e4-938d-44e9b2056a93.shtml](http://milano.corriere.it/notizie/politica/14_ottobre_31/per-rom-ci-vorrebbero-forni-bufera-consigliere-comunale-0c21a4bc-611b-11e4-938d-44e9b2056a93.shtml)

<sup>41</sup><http://www.rg.ru/2014/04/21/sobyainin-site.html>; <https://twitter.com/Rogozin/status/430276874779262977>

<sup>42</sup> <http://news.bigmir.net/ukraine/905619-Parasjuk-hochet-otpravit--geev-v-ATO--a-Gavriljuk---perebit--hrebet->

<sup>43</sup> <http://eajc.org/page16/news42633.html>

<sup>44</sup><http://www.unian.net/politics/912242-vo-lvove-okolo-polutyisyachi-chelovek-prinyali-uchastie-v-marshe-v-chest-divizii-galichina.html>

mainstream parties are borrowing extreme right slogans in order to attract conservative nationalists, who sympathise with far right views, but are wary of change and possible chaos that an extreme right government entails.

Therefore, lack of radical nationalist parties in parliament does not always indicate lower levels of xenophobia in society. More often, it means that xenophobic electorate had voted for the party that has more chances of winning, without plunging the country into chaos. Thus, we saw the defeat of Ukraine's Svoboda party and the Right Sector in recent parliamentary elections. Their slogans, however, were borrowed by the liberal-nationalists from other parties that passed into parliament (excluding the Oppositional Bloc).

As a result, we are observing an objective increase of the radical nationalist electoral base, along with the subjective radicalisation of mainstream parties. This process has been noted in Hungary, where the ruling Fidesz party is actively borrowing anti-immigrant and homophobic rhetoric from the Jobbik party. UKIP managed to rally the previously divided nationalist electorate in Great Britain. Nicolas Sarkozy's party in France has been successfully borrowing slogans from the National Front, particularly with regards to same-sexmarriage<sup>45</sup>. Law and Justice Party in Poland has been periodically using anti-Semitic and anti-Russian rhetoric. Almost all Russian political parties, including many liberal parties (such as Yabloko), have been using anti-immigration slogans in 2013-2014, borrowed from Russian nationalist groups.

## 5. Xenophobia

Xenophobia is the dislike of or hostility towards that which is perceived to be foreign or strange. Its roots often lie in stereotypes that have been entrenched in traditions (religious, family, historical), as well as in modern government policies (legislation, law enforcement) and political ideology towards ethnic, religious and other specific groups of people. If such ideology is absent or unsatisfactory, it is replaced by various movements that influence the public opinion.

Xenophobia lies in the motives of all hate crime. It is present in all monitored countries in various shapes and forms. It is caused by various objective and subjective factors that affect the social environment.

Various sources and reports allowed us to identify 4 most common forms of xenophobia, inherent to all countries under review:

✓ **Ethnic and religious xenophobia** – the dislike towards members of a certain ethnic or religious group. This form of xenophobia is common in most countries under review.

- *Anti-Roma* sentiments are extremely common. Surveys show that dislike towards Romas expressed by 86% of Italians<sup>46</sup>, 70% Hungarians, who often perceive Romanians as Roma<sup>47</sup>, 60% Ukrainians (80% Ukrainian Roma said they feel the negative attitude towards them in the country)<sup>48</sup>, 60% French<sup>49</sup>, 48% Poles<sup>50</sup>, 37% Brits, 34% Germans<sup>51</sup> and 23% Russians<sup>52</sup>.

At the same time, despite these figures, the attitude towards Roma in 2015 has improved on average – by 16% in the UK, according to Pew Research Centre<sup>53</sup>. In Poland, this indicator improved by 19%<sup>54</sup>, and in Russia – by 9%<sup>55</sup>. Although, the situation remained the same in Italy and Hungary.

<sup>45</sup><http://www.gay.ru/news/rainbow/2014/11/17-30145.htm>

<sup>46</sup><http://www.giornalettismo.com/archives/1484477/litalia-e-uno-dei-paesi-piu-razzisti-deuropa/>

<sup>47</sup><http://www.finugor.ru/dve-pyatikh-vengrov-protiv-immigrantov>

<sup>48</sup><http://vchaspik.ua/ukraina/180733v-ukraine-prozhivayut-bolee-200-tys-cygan>

<sup>49</sup>"WE ASK FOR JUSTICE": EUROPE'S FAILURE TO PROTECT ROMA FROM RACIST VIOLENCE. INDEX: EUR 01/007/2014 [AmnestyInternational](http://www.amnestyinternational.org) April 2014

<sup>50</sup>See: <http://www.pewglobal.org/files/2015/06/Pew-Research-Center-European-Union-Report-FINAL-June-2-20151.pdf>

<sup>51</sup> Ibid.

<sup>52</sup> <http://www.levada.ru/26-08-2014/natsionalizm-ksenofobiya-i-migratsiya>

<sup>53</sup> <http://www.pewglobal.org/2015/06/02/chapter-3-anti-minority-sentiment-not-rising/>

- *Anti-Islamic* views are professed by 61% of citizens of the Netherlands<sup>56</sup>(a country that has been known as the most tolerant and open society in Europe) and 61% of Italians<sup>57</sup>, 56% of Poles<sup>58</sup>, 24% of citizens of France and Germany<sup>59</sup>and 18% of Russians (although, 40% of Russians believe that Islam has plays a generally negative role in the world)<sup>60</sup>.

Comparing to previous periods, the attitude towards Muslims has improved by 11% in Germany, 8% in the UK<sup>61</sup> and 5% in Russia<sup>62</sup>. The situation in other countries remained unchanged.

- *Anti-Semitism* is professed by 28% of Poles, 21% of Italians, 15% of Hungarians<sup>63</sup>, 11% of the Netherlands<sup>64</sup>, 9% of Germans, 7% of citizens of France and Great Britain<sup>65</sup>, and 8% of Russians<sup>66</sup>.

The study did not cover Ukraine in 2014-2015, but research in 2013 revealed that 38% of Ukrainians hold anti-Semitic views to varying degrees<sup>67</sup>.

The level of anti-Semitism remained constant compared to 2014 in all countries, except for France, where we noted a small reduction. Pew Research Centre reports that the number of open anti-Semites in this country reduced by 3%<sup>68</sup>. Anti-Semitism in the Netherlands grew by 6% (more than two times), according to Dr V. Luzich<sup>69</sup>.

Some forms of ethnic or religious xenophobia are specific to certain countries. For example – Russophobia in Poland<sup>70</sup>, anti-Romanian sentiments in Hungary, anti-Pakistani sentiments in Greece and anti-Caucasian sentiments in Russia.

Russia has recently faced a problem of xenophobia towards new religious movements, which are perceived by many as fraudulent schemes aimed at deceiving people for money. New religious movements include spiritual organisations that have been established in the 20<sup>th</sup> or 21<sup>st</sup> century, such as Hare Krishna, Jehovah's Witnesses, Neopaganism, Pentecostalism, etc. 58% of Russians expressed their dislike towards these religions<sup>71</sup>.

An alarming figure is the 29% of British citizens who identified themselves as racist (2014)<sup>72</sup>. In France, this figure is 9% (26% "somewhat racist")<sup>73</sup>. Despite the overall reduction in xenophobia and small nationalist groups in Russia, nationalism is still regarded positively by twice as many people. In 2009, 9% of Russians were "generally positive" towards nationalism; this year, however, this figure grew to 20%. Majority of "pro-nationalists" are aged 18 to 24. The number of people who have a negative attitude towards nationalism decreased by 11% - from 75% in 2009 to

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<sup>54</sup>Konflikt między Polakami a Romami w Andrychowie. Będą "patrole obywatelskie" // <http://wiadomosci.onet.pl/krakow/konflikt-miedzy-polakami-a-romami-w-andrychowie-beda-patrole-obywatelskie/f93sm>

<sup>55</sup><http://www.levada.ru/05-11-2013/rossiyane-o-migratsii-i-mezhnatsionalnoi-napryazhennosti>

<sup>56</sup><http://www.dutchnews.nl/news/archives/2015/06/anti-muslim-sentiment-far-higher-than-anti-jewish-prejudice-report-shows/>

<sup>57</sup><http://www.pewglobal.org/files/2015/06/Pew-Research-Center-European-Union-Report-FINAL-June-2-20151.pdf>

<sup>58</sup> <http://www.pewglobal.org/2015/06/02/chapter-3-anti-minority-sentiment-not-rising/>.

<sup>59</sup>Ibid.

<sup>60</sup> <http://fom.ru/TSennosti/12121>

<sup>61</sup> <http://www.pewglobal.org/2015/06/02/chapter-3-anti-minority-sentiment-not-rising/>

<sup>62</sup> <http://fom.ru/TSennosti/10652>

<sup>63</sup><http://global100.adl.org/#country/hungary>

<sup>64</sup> <http://www.ynetnews.com/articles/0,7340,L-4674840,00.html>

<sup>65</sup> <http://www.pewglobal.org/2015/06/02/faith-in-european-project-reviving/eu-report-17/>

<sup>66</sup><http://www.levada.ru/26-08-2014/natsionalizm-ksenofobiya-i-migratsiya>

<sup>67</sup><http://global100.adl.org/#country/ukraine>

<sup>68</sup><http://www.pewglobal.org/2015/06/02/chapter-3-anti-minority-sentiment-not-rising/>

<sup>69</sup><http://www.ynetnews.com/articles/0,7340,L-4674840,00.html>

<sup>70</sup>See: Attitude towards other nations, CBOS Public Opinion Research Center, January 2015, [http://www.cbos.pl/SPISKOM.POL/2015/K\\_014\\_15.PDF](http://www.cbos.pl/SPISKOM.POL/2015/K_014_15.PDF) [accessed: 12 August 2015]

<sup>71</sup> [fom.ru/TSennosti/11418](http://fom.ru/TSennosti/11418)

<sup>72</sup><http://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2014/may/27/-sp-racism-on-rise-in-britain>

<sup>73</sup> <http://www.bva.fr>; <http://ru.rfi.fr/frantsiya/20140401-sotsiologi-rasizm-vo-frantsii-perestal-byt-marginalnym>

64% in 2015<sup>74</sup>. On the other hand, Russian analytical agency “Levada Centre” notes that modern youth perceives the term “nationalism” as a synonym to “civil” or “state” (as it is defined in European traditions), rather than as a concept of ethnic inequality<sup>75</sup>.

✓ **Anti-immigration.** This is the most widespread form of xenophobia, recorded in virtually all European countries, including those not covered by the present report.

Eurostat reports (18 May 2015) that dislike of immigrants is most common in Italy – more than 80%. It is followed by Greece and Hungary (72%-78%); France and Germany (65%-71%); Poland and Great Britain (58%-64%) and the Netherlands (54%, which is considered a relatively favourable figure)<sup>76</sup>.

Russia’s Levada Centre reports that 68% of Russians are negative towards migrants<sup>77</sup>. Russians seem to be more loyal towards refugees from Ukraine, according to the Public Opinion Foundation. Despite the common view that “migrants are taking locals’ jobs”, 80% of people in the Russian-Ukrainian border district do not report any changes following the influx of Ukrainian migrants in the area. Residents of Rostov region are positive towards Ukrainians; conflicts between locals and migrants are extremely rare. At the same time, more than half of respondents would not provide housing for refugees and preferred they leave after the conflict is over<sup>78</sup>.

Immigration is no longer a priority issue for Russians. VTsIOM agency reported on February 13 and March 31, 2015, that only 1% of respondents considered Russia’s migration policy as the most relevant issue in the country<sup>79</sup>. Levada Centre survey (March 16, 2015) showed that only 9% of respondents said that “influx of migrants” is the “most acute issue” at the moment<sup>80</sup>.

With regards to Ukraine, in April 2015 the United Nations reported a growth of xenophobia towards IDPs in the country. According to the UN Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (OCHA), harassment of refugees from Eastern regions of Ukraine became more common in the country. “Increasingly, there are reports of tensions between migrants and host communities in Ukraine. Monitoring carried out by local non-governmental organisations shows that IDPs have been subjected to hate speech in various regions. In the city of Pavlograd, Dnepropetrovsk region, IDPs were accused of many social problems”<sup>81</sup>.

✓ **Anti-LGBT.** 65% of Russian respondents are negative towards sexual minorities<sup>82</sup> (although, this figure is 9% lower than in 2013). In Poland, this figure is 46%<sup>83</sup>; in Greece – 40%<sup>84</sup>; in the Netherlands – 35%<sup>85</sup>; in France – 22%<sup>86</sup>; in Great Britain – 18%; and in Germany – 11%<sup>87</sup>.

✓ **Xenophobia in sports.** Also known as “sports racism”, this form of xenophobia is characterised by racist abuse and hate speech targeting players and/or fans of a rival team.

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<sup>74</sup>[http://www.levada.ru/25-08-2015/loyalnost-rossiyan-k-migrantam-dostigla-rekordnogo-urovnya&sa=U&ved=0CA4QFjADahUKEwji\\_7Wioe\\_HAhVBWRoKHX2SA5E&client=internal-uds-cse&usg=AFQjCNEQSFey3EJe4vr-qgO-640Jp3rvDA](http://www.levada.ru/25-08-2015/loyalnost-rossiyan-k-migrantam-dostigla-rekordnogo-urovnya&sa=U&ved=0CA4QFjADahUKEwji_7Wioe_HAhVBWRoKHX2SA5E&client=internal-uds-cse&usg=AFQjCNEQSFey3EJe4vr-qgO-640Jp3rvDA)

<sup>75</sup> Ibid.

<sup>76</sup><http://www.voxeurop.eu/en/content/news-brief/4932007-map-showing-eu-countries-attitude-towards-foreign-immigration>

<sup>77</sup>[http://www.levada.ru/25-08-2015/ksenofobiya-i-natsionalizm&sa=U&ved=0CAsQFjACahUKEwji\\_7Wioe\\_HAhVBWRoKHX2SA5E&client=internal-uds-cse&usg=AFQjCNE7wFG916TPllhqlRtqX9ThbCHNXA](http://www.levada.ru/25-08-2015/ksenofobiya-i-natsionalizm&sa=U&ved=0CAsQFjACahUKEwji_7Wioe_HAhVBWRoKHX2SA5E&client=internal-uds-cse&usg=AFQjCNE7wFG916TPllhqlRtqX9ThbCHNXA)

<sup>78</sup> <http://fom.ru/Mir/12188>

<sup>79</sup> <http://wciom.ru/index.php?id=236&uid=115209>, <http://wciom.ru/index.php?id=236&uid=115151>

<sup>80</sup> <http://www.levada.ru/16-03-2015/trevozhashchie-problemy-i-pretenzii-k-pravitelstvu>

<sup>81</sup> <http://rian.com.ua/society/20150421/366476146.html>

<sup>82</sup> [http://www.levada.ru/15-05-2015/nevidimoe-mensinstvo-k-probleme-gomofobii-v-rossii&sa=U&ved=0CAsQFjACahUKEwjo6begwe\\_HAhVLiRoKHR32Cog&client=internal-uds-cse&usg=AFQjCNE2u3mCiDgbTGbp-G3ZqYlaQtyp\\_Q](http://www.levada.ru/15-05-2015/nevidimoe-mensinstvo-k-probleme-gomofobii-v-rossii&sa=U&ved=0CAsQFjACahUKEwjo6begwe_HAhVLiRoKHR32Cog&client=internal-uds-cse&usg=AFQjCNE2u3mCiDgbTGbp-G3ZqYlaQtyp_Q)

<sup>83</sup> As of 2013: <http://www.pewglobal.org/2013/06/04/the-global-divide-on-homosexuality/>

<sup>84</sup> Ibid.

<sup>85</sup> <http://www.icare.to/news.php?en>

<sup>86</sup> As of 2013: <http://www.pewglobal.org/2013/06/04/the-global-divide-on-homosexuality/>

<sup>87</sup> Ibid.

Stadiums and sports events can become a powerful catalyst for racist and even neo-Nazi sentiments, particularly among the youth. Extreme right parties and groups often use such events to recruit new followers and activists, which is why governments and sports associations have been intensely combatting such manifestations. According to various experts, there is a direct link between the level of xenophobia in a society and the activity of radical sports fans.

In 2014-2015, xenophobic manifestations have been recorded in all monitored countries. Traditionally, the situation in France was more satisfactory, having only one racist incident in February 2015 against Chelsea FC, where French fans shouted racist abuse and blocked the way for black players of the British football club. The incident is currently under investigation<sup>88</sup>.

Only two racist incidents have been recorded in Germany. On August 10, 2014, anti-Semitic language sounded at a football match between Hannover FC and Lazio FC<sup>89</sup>. In May 2015, a group of young neo-Nazi hooligans attacked players of an amateur football team in Neuhausen. The team consisted of asylum seekers, living in one of the local camps. Attackers shouted racist slogans and threw bananas at players. Later, the same group of people attacked and assaulted a player from a refugee team. Police launched criminal investigation<sup>90</sup>.

The largest number of racist incidents occurred in Italian football. Considerable outrage was caused by President of the Italian Football Association (FIGC) Carlo Tavecchio, who made racist remarks in his speech<sup>91</sup>. He was elected as president despite the investigation launched by FIFA.

Several serious incidents occurred in the Netherlands. In April 2015, a local football team in Utrecht was hosting "Ajax" from Amsterdam – often branded as a "Jewish football club". In this case, local fans chanted at Ajax FC, " Hamas, Hamas, Jews to the gas" and "My father was in the commandos, my mother was in the SS, and together they burned Jews, because Jews burn the best!"<sup>92</sup> Utrecht FC was fined EUR 10 000.

Information about xenophobia in Polish sports in 2015 is so far unavailable, but local antifascist organisations reported around 400 racist incidents in 2013-2015<sup>93</sup>. Report of the Polish Prosecutor General on hate crime in 2014 (published in May, 2015) showed that of 1 365 racist incidents, 34 have been committed by radical sports fanatics<sup>94</sup>.

There have been several xenophobic incidents in the Russian sports in 2015. On March 15, Torpedo FC fans shouted racist abuse at a Zenit FC player from Brazil<sup>95</sup>. On April 5, Torpedo FC fans displayed Nazi symbols in a game against Arsenal FC in Tula<sup>96</sup>. Some sports commentators have also made xenophobic remarks, which was previously unheard of. On June 10, commentator Alexei Andronov called Shakhtar FC trainer M. Lucescu a "dirty gypsy"<sup>97</sup>.

In Ukraine, it was reported on September 15, 2014, that Karpati FC from the city of Lviv, western Ukraine, is updating their uniform to resemble that of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA), a WW2-era organisation that collaborated with Nazi Germany and took part in the Jewish genocide in Lviv and Babiy Yar (1941), as well the Volyn massacre (1943). It was also announced

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<sup>88</sup><http://www.theguardian.com/football/2015/feb/18/racist-chelsea-fans-push-black-man-paris-metro>

<sup>89</sup><http://jfd.de/blog/2014/08/10/bei-freundschaftsspiel-massive-antisemitische-hetzparolen/>

<sup>90</sup><http://america.aljazeera.com/articles/2015/6/15/asylum-seekers-face-increasing-violence-in-germany.html>

<sup>91</sup>[http://www.corriere.it/sport/14\\_luglio\\_25/gaffe-tavecchio-stranieri-mangiano-banane-poi-subito-a-e498ffd6-1434-11e4-9950-e546b7448c47.shtml](http://www.corriere.it/sport/14_luglio_25/gaffe-tavecchio-stranieri-mangiano-banane-poi-subito-a-e498ffd6-1434-11e4-9950-e546b7448c47.shtml)

<sup>92</sup><http://www.jpost.com/Diaspora/Dutch-Soccer-fans-boast-Nazi-heritage-at-game-chant-Hamas-Hamas-Jews-to-the-gas-396413>

<sup>93</sup>See: [http://www.nigdywiecej.org/index.php?option=com\\_content&task=view&id=1632&Itemid=13](http://www.nigdywiecej.org/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=1632&Itemid=13) [accessed: 6 August 2015]

<sup>94</sup><http://www.pg.gov.pl/aktualnosci-prokuratury-generalnej/prokuratorzy-w-walce-z-rasizmem-i-ksenofobia-raport-za-2014-r.html#.Vdy0SmTtmko> [accessed: 10 August 2015]

<sup>95</sup><http://rsport.ru/football/20150318/815925308.html>

<sup>96</sup><http://rsport.ru/football/20150407/821311386.html>

<sup>97</sup><http://dynamo.kiev.ua/news/208866-aleksej-andronov-a-tsyigan-vse-tot-zhe>

that FC would use the black-red UPA flag as its symbol<sup>98</sup>. In November, press liaison of the Ukrainian national football team Alexandr Glivinsky spoke in favour of legalising Ukrainian SS Galicia symbols in sports: “If we speak of SS Galicia symbols, those were the Sich Riflemen, not German SS.”<sup>99</sup>

Xenophobic incidents have not been recorded in Ukrainian football in 2015. However, according to some sources, radical football hooligans were heavily involved in an attack on foreign students in Kharkiv<sup>100</sup>.

Several acts sports racism were recorded in 2014 in Hungary. However, the Monitoring indicates a reduction in the number of such manifestations in this country. In the first half of 2015 there were recorded just two such manifestations<sup>101</sup>.

Some non-traditional forms of xenophobia can also be seen in some European countries. In particular, the **glorification of Nazi collaborationists**, which is common in Southern and Eastern Europe – countries that in the 90s started revising their socialist past and the consequences of the Second World War. To an extent, this problem exists in Italy, which was part of the Axis during the war.

Such glorification pursues any or all of the following goals:

1. To strengthen the ideological base of extreme right movements by building historical links and parallels with political regimes of the 1930s-1940s.
2. To establish historical justification for opposing Russia as an heir to the Soviet Union – the main rival of the Nazi Germany and its allies on the Eastern front.
3. To reinforce and justify negative attitudes towards ethnic minorities, who were the targets of collaborationists and pro-Nazi regimes (Russians, Czechs, Serbs, Poles, etc.)

Those seeking to glorify local collaborationists, who supposedly “actually” fought against communism and Stalinism, are having problems explaining the Holocaust, since collaborationists played an active role in this tragedy. As a result, Holocaust denial becomes a common phenomenon in these circles. While the Catastrophe of European Jewry is recognised, the role of local collaborationists is portrayed as passive victims of the conflict between Nazism and communism. However, there are also those who completely deny the Holocaust, who whitewash Hitler’s regime and equate it to other totalitarian regimes in history.

It must be mentioned that countries under review have different approaches to glorification of Nazism in their policy and legislation. For example, leader of Italy’s Lega Nord Matteo Salvini and some of his supporters were charged in May 2015 for greeting their leader with “Roman” greetings and shouting “Duce” upon his arrival in Lecce, Apulia region.<sup>102</sup> Another incident occurred in Udine, where a local was charged for posting the portrait of Mussolini on Facebook, inviting his friends to “like” the post<sup>103</sup>.

Russia has a similar situation. On April 20, a group of neo-Nazi youth organised a party dedicated to Adolf Hitler’s birthday. Police subsequently arrested around 40 people, confiscating weapons and Nazi symbols<sup>104</sup>. All participants were brought up on criminal charges, including on Article 354.1 of the Criminal Code – “Rehabilitation of Nazism”, introduced in April 2014.

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<sup>98</sup> <http://www.rg.ru/2014/09/15/karpati.html>

<sup>99</sup> <http://www.politnavigator.net/ss-ne-imeet-otnosheniya-k-fashizmu-press-attashe-sbornojj-ukrainy-po-futbolu.html>

<sup>100</sup> <http://khpg.org/index.php?id=1434244542>

<sup>101</sup> MLSZ – Pézbüntetés a Győrnek és a Ferencvárosnak. [MLSZ – Fine for the Győr and the Ferencváros]. 8 April, 2015. <http://archiv1988tol.mti.hu/Pages/HirSearch.aspx>; PMFC is a football-club from Pécs, a city in South-West Hungary; MLSZ: 500 ezret fizet a PMFC. [ ]. 2 June, 2015. <http://www.bama.hu/baranya/sport/mlsz-500-ezret-fizet-a-pmfc-613997>

<sup>102</sup> <http://www.direttanews.it/2015/05/18/lecce-salvini-denunciato-per-apologia-di-fascismo>

<sup>103</sup> [http://www.ilgazzettino.it/nordest/facebook\\_foto\\_mussolini\\_udine\\_apologia\\_fascismo/notizie/1407328shmtl](http://www.ilgazzettino.it/nordest/facebook_foto_mussolini_udine_apologia_fascismo/notizie/1407328shmtl)

<sup>104</sup> <http://ria.ru/incidents/20150421/1060049118.html#ixzz3XyNiBguT>



Several days earlier, on April 1, 2015, it was reported that Donskoye Cemetery in Moscow has a memorial plaque to “Fighters of Tyranny” – officers of the “Vlasov Army”<sup>105</sup> and SS Gruppenfuehrer Arthur Nebe, party to the death of 46 000 Jews in Belarus (in 1944, he took part in a plot to assassinate Adolf Hitler). The monument also included other members of the Hitler assassination plot (July 20, 1944) and several Soviet intelligence officers. The plaque was removed, following controversy<sup>106</sup>.

The situation is different in countries that lack legislation prohibiting glorification of Nazism. For example, followers of Miklos Horthy – Hungarian dictator and Adolf Hitler’s ally, responsible for the Holocaust in Hungary and deaths of many other foreign nationals – hold an annual “Honour March” dedicated to Hungarian Waffen SS officers who were killed by the Red Army in 1945.

In 2013, a bust of Miklos Horthy was installed on the Freedom Square in Budapest, initiated by the Jobbik party. Hungarian authorities try to distance themselves from such events, and make no effort to stop them. Furthermore, the government is deliberately avoiding forming an official position on this matter, despite numerous public protests, citing freedom of speech<sup>107</sup>.

The situation in Ukraine is different. Symbols of the Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists – Ukrainian Insurgent Army (OUN-UPA) have been seen above the barricades on Maidan Square in 2013-2014.

On August 24, Ukrainian Independence Day, President Poroshenko mentioned the Ukrainian Insurgent Army, which collaborated with Nazi Germany during the Second World War, as heroes of Ukrainian history.<sup>108</sup> Ukrainian television broadcasted documentary and feature films dedicated to Stepan Bandera. On September 25, President of Ukraine Petro Poroshenko said that he considers the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) heroes and role models for modern Ukrainian patriots.

“OUN-UPA is a very important issue and very timely delivered. Previously, it split the country and therefore not given a priority. But today is a very good time. Who is a warrior who defends his country like a UPA soldier? If you paid attention, my inauguration speech and my speech during the State Flag Day mentioned UPA as heroes. This is my position”<sup>109</sup>.

On October 14, Ukraine made the day of establishment of the UPA a national holiday – “Day of the Defender of Ukraine”<sup>110</sup>.

Permanent Representative of Ukraine to the UN Yuriy Sergeyev publicly justified Ukrainian nationalists on March 3, 2014, saying that charges presented by the USSR at the Nuremberg trials were fabricated<sup>111</sup>.

On May 15, 2015, President Poroshenko signed a Law “On the legal status and commemoration of fighters for Ukraine’s independence in the 20<sup>th</sup> century”, as part of the “de-communisation” legislation.<sup>112</sup> These “fighters”, criticising whom is now against the law, are OUN-UPA soldiers, who collaborated with the Nazis and took part in the Volyn Massacre, as well as mass murder of Jews in Lviv and Babiy Yar, and soldiers of the Ukrainian People’s Republic (1918-1920, headed by S. Petlyura), who also took part in Jewish massacres<sup>113</sup>. Another Law – “On condemning communist and National Socialist totalitarian regimes in Ukraine and prohibiting the propaganda

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<sup>105</sup> Andrey Andreyevich Vlasov or Wlassow (Russian: Андрéй Андрéевич Влáсов) was a Russian Red Army general who collaborated with Nazi Germany during World War II. Members of his army were often called “Vlasovs”

<sup>106</sup><http://www.nakanune.ru/news/2015/4/2/22394238/>

<sup>107</sup>[http://mandiner.hu/cikk/20131104\\_zsido\\_szervezetek\\_tiltakoznak\\_a\\_horthy\\_szoboravato\\_ellen/fullsite](http://mandiner.hu/cikk/20131104_zsido_szervezetek_tiltakoznak_a_horthy_szoboravato_ellen/fullsite)

<sup>108</sup>[http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=WRy5mUINI\\_4](http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=WRy5mUINI_4)

<sup>109</sup>[http://censor.net.ua/video\\_news/304269/voiny\\_upa\\_eto\\_primer\\_geroizma\\_poroshenko\\_video](http://censor.net.ua/video_news/304269/voiny_upa_eto_primer_geroizma_poroshenko_video)

<sup>110</sup><http://www.pravda.com.ua/news/2014/10/14/7040682/>, <http://president.gov.ua/documents/18252.html>

<sup>111</sup><http://korrespondent.net/ukraine/3314415-banderovtsy-byly-oklevetany-na-nuirnberhskom-protsesse-predstavitel-ukrayny-pty-on>

<sup>112</sup><http://www.pravda.com.ua/rus/news/2015/05/15/7068057/?attempt=1>

<sup>113</sup><http://www.pravda.com.ua/rus/news/2015/04/9/7064239/>

and symbols [of those regimes]" – prohibited the use of communist and Nazi symbols, equating the two regimes<sup>114</sup>.

Thus, Ukraine is the only observed country that has glorification of Nazi collaborationists and local radical nationalists on the state level, including the President.

There have been cases of Holocaust denial during the monitored period. For example, on February 25, 2015, former attorney Sylvia Stolz, known for holding pro-Nazi views, was sentenced for denying the Holocaust in Europe<sup>115</sup>.

Two Polish Holocaust denial websites have been identified during the monitored period<sup>116</sup>.

In addition, there was a deliberate understatement of Ukrainian collaborationists' involvement in the Holocaust in the *Ukraine During World War 2* textbook published by the Ukrainian Institute of National Memory<sup>117</sup>. The textbook distributed by Ukraine's Ministry of Education states that mass destruction of the Jewish population started in the first days of the war, but blames all atrocities on German Nazis, not mentioning the active involvement of Ukrainian people (who, in some cases, did not need encouragement from the Nazis)<sup>118</sup>.

On June 1, Rivne State Commission refused to approve the inscription dedicated to the fallen Jews in Ostrozhets, because the plaque stated that Nazis murdered Jews with the help of local collaborationists. Members of the Commission argued that it was the Russians who collaborated with the Nazis and voted not to include the inscription at all – saying that they are unwilling to play into the hands of Russian propaganda<sup>119</sup>.

Exhibition in Zolochiv, where 9000 Jews (or 60% of its population) have been murdered, does not mention this massacre at all. Instead, it details the destruction of Ukrainian prisoners in NKVD in 1941. The plaque on the prison castle states that Jews were killed by the Nazis.

From late 2014 to May 2015 there were recorded 5 cases of denial of the Holocaust in Hungary. This was stated by the Jewish "Action and Protection Foundation" (TEV).

## **6.Hate crimes**

Hate crime (also known as bias-motivated crime) is a usually violent, prejudice-motivated crime that occurs when a perpetrator targets a victim because of his or her perceived membership in a certain social group. Examples of such groups include but are not limited to: ethnicity, gender identity, disability, language, nationality, physical appearance, religion, or sexual orientation.

Conducting a comparative analysis of crime rate and detection rate in different countries is extremely challenging, as the accuracy of sources and the availability of data, varies depending on the country.

For example, hate crime statistics in Great Britain, Germany, France, Poland and the Netherlands are held to certain standards and are available in public domain; however, countries like Italy and Greece do not publish such data or do not record hate crime at all. Non-governmental institutions in these countries also do not record accurate hate crime statistics. Russian Ministry of Internal Affairs publishes abridged information regarding "extremism-related crime" on its website, providing comparisons to different periods<sup>120</sup>. However, it does not distinguish between

<sup>114</sup><http://ria.ru/world/20150409/1057657585.html>

<sup>115</sup><http://www.haaretz.com/jewish-world/jewish-world-news/1.644197#!>

<sup>116</sup>The address of the website has been disclosed by Otwarta Rzeczpospolita – Association against Anti-Semitism and Xenophobia, <http://zglosnienawisc.otwarta.org/incydent/610?lang=pl> and <http://zglosnienawisc.otwarta.org/incydent/609> [accessed: 12 August 2015]

<sup>117</sup> <http://mon.gov.ua/usi-novivni/novini/2015/04/30/ukrayinskij-institut-nacjonalnoyi-pam%E2%80%99yati-rozrobiv-metodichni-materiali-dlya-vidznachennya-70-yi-richniczi-peremogi-nad-naczizmom-u-evropi/>

<sup>118</sup><http://www.memory.gov.ua/sites/default/files/userupload/broshura-ukr-sait.pdf>

<sup>119</sup>[www.lechaim.ru/5816](http://www.lechaim.ru/5816)

<sup>120</sup> <https://mvd.ru>

types of hate crime, as well as the proportion of violent hate crime and target groups. This is supplemented by a range of NGOs. Official statistics in Hungary and Ukraine are clearly inaccurate. All countries that have “closed” or “semi-closed” access to such data are prone to misclassification of hate crime as everyday crime. Although, such cases are still fairly frequent in countries with open statistics, too.

Furthermore, classification of hate crime also differs depending on the country, as there are no universal standards. Thus, some countries would include crimes based on gender identity, for example, while others would not. Therefore, the results of comparing hate crime levels in different countries are bound to be inaccurate – often, countries that provide open access to their hate crime data would display the highest levels of hate crime, whereas countries that hide these statistics would display better results.

Nevertheless, we identified several classifications of hate crime. These are as follows:

✓ **Hate speech** (incitement of interethnic or interreligious enmity or hatred towards a certain group of people). Each country has a different definition for hate speech. Italy, for example, only criminalises hate speech aimed at a “wide audience” and aimed at “changing its behaviour”<sup>121</sup>; Ukraine, meanwhile, requires “direct intent”.

Nevertheless, even in such wording of the law, there have been several cases of hate speech in Italy. For example, in July 2014, imam Raudi Abdelbar in San Dona di Piave called for the murder of all Jews for the “prosperity of Muslims”<sup>122</sup>.

In general, all countries subject to this study have been prone to cases of hate speech during the monitored period.

✓ **Vandalism** or desecration of religious objects, cemeteries, properties of ethnic or social communities, based on hostility towards such groups. While there are practically no disparities in the statistics of such crime between different countries, the accuracy of official statistics must be taken into account. Usually, this data can be verified through media reports and non-governmental organisations.

For example, *Germany* surprisingly had the highest number of vandalism against religious and cultural objects in 2014 (229 cases of xenophobic vandalism). Most targets were objects related to migrants (172 cases), followed by Jewish objects (39 – mostly related to the Gaza conflict), Muslim objects (7), objects related to victims of the Nazi regime (4), and Christian objects (2). One case of vandalism each was related to LGBT, Roma, antifascists, die Linke party and Ukrainian nationalists.

*Ukraine* is in the second place with 53 cases of xenophobic vandalism (46 in 2013). 23 of those were based on anti-Semitism. 16 cases were anti-Christian and 14 cases had other motives. 53 such incidents were also recorded in *Russia* (77 in 2013); 43 in *France* (45 in 2013); followed by *Great Britain, Italy, Hungary, Greece* and *Poland* in that order<sup>123</sup>.

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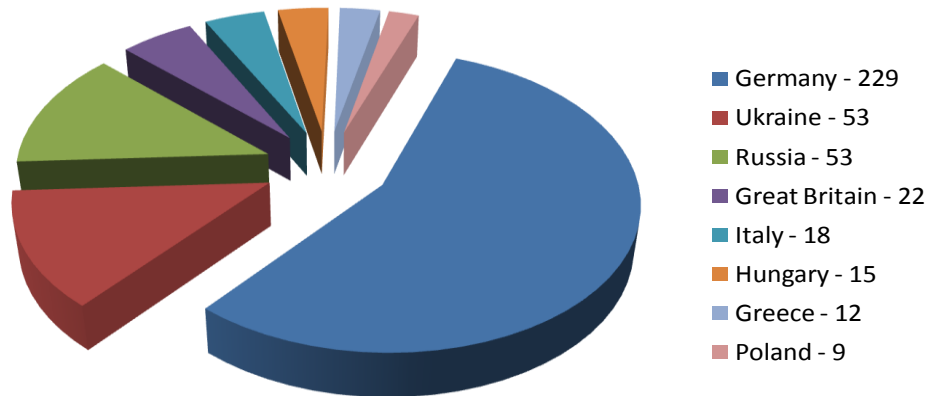
<sup>121</sup><http://www.coe.int/t/dghl/monitoring/ecri/country-by-country/italy/ITA-CbC-IV-2012-002-ENG.pdf>

<sup>122</sup><http://www.sedmitza.ru/text/4964624.html>

<sup>123</sup> See: “White Papers of Hate”, Moscow, 2015.

# Vandalism

Cases of vandalism motivated by hatred in 2014



The present report does not include vandalism data in the Netherlands in 2014; however, according to various sources, 39% of all 475 mosques in the country had been subjected to vandalism, including arson<sup>124</sup>.

In the first half of 2015, cases of vandalism continued in all monitored countries. France in particular, which had attacks on 26 mosques after the Charlie Hebdo attack<sup>125</sup>. However, Muslims were not the only victims. In February 2015 alone, 300 graves had been desecrated in Sarre Union Jewish cemetery, close to Strasbourg<sup>126</sup>, as well as the Holocaust memorial in Elbeuf, northern France<sup>127</sup>.

A wave of vandalism against religious objects and cemeteries occurred in Poland in the first half of 2015.<sup>128</sup>

30 cases of xenophobic graffiti and vandalism have been reported in Russia. At the same time, vandalism in the cemeteries have decreased, while desecration of religious objects constitute for 35% of all cases. 5 of them were anti-Muslim, 3 – anti-Semitic and 1 – anti-Christian. Russophobic graffiti and desecration of military monuments constitute for 10% of all cases.

11 cases of xenophobic vandalism were reported in Greece between February 24 and June 6, 2015.

20 cases of xenophobic vandalism were officially reported in Ukraine in the first half of this year. Ten incidents were aimed against the Ukrainian Orthodox Church (Moscow Patriarchate), and another ten were anti-Semitic. 21 such incidents were recorded in 2014.

✓ **Hate crime against the person.** This term refers to a broad array of criminal offenses which usually involve bodily harm, the threat of bodily harm, or other actions committed against the will of an individual, on the basis of his or her belonging to a certain group. There are no accurate statistics on such type of hate crime in any of the monitored

<sup>124</sup> <http://www.euro-islam.info/2015/04/26/monitoring-muslim-discrimination-pdf-report/>

<sup>125</sup> <http://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/europe/firebombs-and-pigs-heads-thrown-into-mosques-as-antimuslim-attacks-increase-after-paris-shootings-9977423.html>

<sup>126</sup> <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/feb/15/hundreds-of-tombs-defaced-in-french-jewish-cemetery>

<sup>127</sup> <http://www.haaretz.com/jewish-world/jewish-world-news/1.643945>

<sup>128</sup> P. Żytnicki, Akcja przeciwko islamowi w Poznaniu. Okleili meczet, Gazeta Wyborcza, 19 stycznia 2015 r., [http://wyborcza.pl/1,75248,17280308,Akcja\\_przeciwko\\_islamowi\\_w\\_Poznaniu\\_Okleili\\_meczet.html](http://wyborcza.pl/1,75248,17280308,Akcja_przeciwko_islamowi_w_Poznaniu_Okleili_meczet.html) [accessed: 7 August 2015]; B. Romanek, Sataniści sprofanowali zabytkowy kościół w Częstochowie, 25 lutego 2015 r., <http://www.polskatimes.pl/artykul/3763567.sataniści-sprofanowali-zabytkowy-kościół-w-częstochowie-zdjęcia-ave-satan-ten-kościół-splonie.id.t.html> [accessed: 7 August 2015]; P. Kubiczek, Wandalizm czy antysemityzm? Olkuski kirkut zdewastowany, 7 kwietnia 2015 r., <http://przeгляд.olkuski.pl/index.php/artykuly/aktualnosci/11905-wandalizm-czy-antysemityzm-olkuski-kirkut-zdewastowany> [accessed: 7 August 2015]

countries. Furthermore, as was already mentioned, there are no universal guidelines that would allow for a uniform identification of such crime.

For example, British Home Office Statistical Bulletin provides hate crime data for England and Wales, identifying the number of cases where violence was used. According to the report for 2013/14, there have been 44 480 cases of hate crime in this region of the United Kingdom, of which 30% (13 344) were violent hate crime offences. Furthermore, 34% of all hate crime offences have resulted in maiming or injury of victims<sup>129</sup>. However, police report for Northern Ireland presents only the total figure of hate crime offences, grouped by motives (racism, religious hatred, sectarian incidents, homophobia, transphobia, hatred towards the disabled) – altogether, 3 419 incidents. The number of violent hate crime cases is not reported<sup>130</sup>. This information is also absent in the Crown Office and Procurator Fiscal Service (COPFS) in Scotland, which only had 5 388 hate crime cases in 2014/2015<sup>131</sup>. Similar situation is in the Netherlands, Hungary and Ukraine.

As was already mentioned, Greece and Italy do not publish such data; however, NGO sources provide some information about racist attacks. According to general information, Greece had 81 hate crime attacks in 2014, which is two times less than in 2013 (166 incidents), which is possibly related to the prosecution of Golden Dawn party activists. Nevertheless, the number of such incidents in 2015 has been increasing once more. Most involved migrants, young people of different appearance and transgender persons. In the first half of this year, there have been more than 30 attacks based on racism, and 60 attacks based on hatred towards the LGBT community.<sup>132</sup>

Open sources paint the following picture in other countries:

- Germany. 990 violent hate crime offences have been recorded in 2014, compared to 801 in 2013 (23.6% increase). However, the overall number of “politically-motivated offences” had decreased from 17 042 to 17 020<sup>133</sup>. The number of racially-motivated offences increased from 273 to 512 in 2014. Anti-Semitic crimes decreased from 45 to 31 in 2014<sup>134</sup>. Attacks continued in 2015, majority being directed against Muslims and migrants.<sup>135</sup>
- France. 397 violent hate crime offences have been recorded<sup>136</sup>. 241 were motivated by anti-Semitism, 55 – Islamophobia, 101 – other motives<sup>137</sup>. The total number of hate crime offences in 2014 was 1 662, with anti-Semitic attacks growing by 101% compared to 2013 (423 in 2013; 851 in 2014; 509 in the first half of 2015 (vs 276 over the same period in 2014 and 195 in 2013)<sup>138</sup>). Attacks motivated by Islamophobia decreased by 41% (133 vs 226) and attacks motivated by racism increased by 8.5% (678 vs 625)<sup>139</sup>. The number of violent hate crime incidents in the first half of 2015 was 121, compared to 76 in 2014 and 54 in 2013 over the same period<sup>140</sup>.
- Russia. 101 violent hate crime offences have been recorded in 2014, compared to 184 in 2013 (54.9% decrease). Ministry of Internal Affairs reports 1 024 “extremism-related

<sup>129</sup> [http://www.report-it.org.uk/files/home\\_office\\_hate\\_crime\\_data\\_201314.pdf](http://www.report-it.org.uk/files/home_office_hate_crime_data_201314.pdf)

<sup>130</sup> [http://www.psni.police.uk/psni\\_statistical\\_press\\_release\\_2014\\_15\\_final.pdf](http://www.psni.police.uk/psni_statistical_press_release_2014_15_final.pdf)

<sup>131</sup> <http://www.crownoffice.gov.uk/images/HateCrimeinScotland2014-15.pdf>

<sup>132</sup> <https://omniatv.com/blog/5466-the-chronicle-of-fascist-violence-2015>

<sup>133</sup> <http://www.netz-gegen-nazis.de/artikel/verfassungsschutzbericht-2014-zahlen-daten-fakten-10459>

<sup>134</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>135</sup> <http://www.dw.com/en/schuster-jewish-institutions-still-need-police-protection/a-18594623>

<sup>136</sup> [https://www.scribd.com/fullscreen/253859922?access\\_key=key-0UVFT1Tqs99tluOt2uhY&allow\\_share=true&escape=false&view\\_mode=scroll](https://www.scribd.com/fullscreen/253859922?access_key=key-0UVFT1Tqs99tluOt2uhY&allow_share=true&escape=false&view_mode=scroll), p.22.

<sup>137</sup> [https://www.scribd.com/fullscreen/253859922?access\\_key=key-0UVFT1Tqs99tluOt2uhY&allow\\_share=true&escape=false&view\\_mode=scroll](https://www.scribd.com/fullscreen/253859922?access_key=key-0UVFT1Tqs99tluOt2uhY&allow_share=true&escape=false&view_mode=scroll),

<sup>138</sup> <http://antisemitism.org.il/article/98176/antis%25C3%25A9mitisme-en-france-janvier-%25C3%25A0-mai-2015&usg=ALkJrhi6cLHpUvr2yqKVRBaDYyOGMnvyMg>

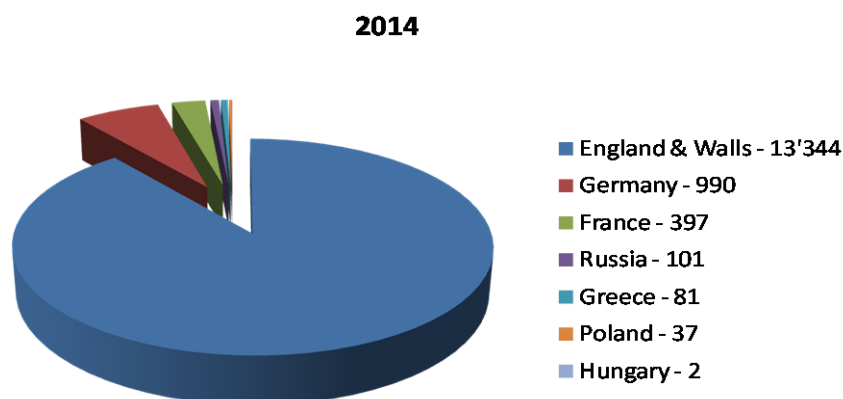
<sup>139</sup> [http://www.cncdh.fr/sites/default/files/cncdh\\_-\\_essentiels\\_rapport\\_racisme\\_2014.pdf](http://www.cncdh.fr/sites/default/files/cncdh_-_essentiels_rapport_racisme_2014.pdf)

<sup>140</sup> <http://antisemitism.org.il/article/98176/antis%25C3%25A9mitisme-en-france-janvier-%25C3%25A0-mai-2015&usg=ALkJrhi6cLHpUvr2yqKVRBaDYyOGMnvyMg>

crimes”, indicating an increase in such crime compared to 2013<sup>141</sup>. The monitoring recorded 30 attacks in the first half of 2015, with 31 victims<sup>142</sup>. Over the same period in 2014, 77 people have been victims of hate crime; in 2013 – 99 victims. The Ministry reports that 830 “extremism-related crimes” have been recorded over the same period (30% increase)<sup>143</sup>. Therefore, with the general increase of hate crime incidents in Russia, the number of violent attacks has been gradually reducing over the past three years.

- Poland. 37 violent hate crime incidents have been recorded in 2014, with the total number of hate crime offences of 154<sup>144</sup>.

## Violent hate crimes



**Murders motivated by hatred** are usually recorded separately. Such cases have been recorded in Germany (2 victims in 2014), Italy (2 victims in 2014)<sup>145</sup>, Great Britain (3 victims in 2014)<sup>146</sup>, France (17 victims of terrorist attacks in 2015), Russia (35 victims in 2014<sup>147</sup>; 6 victims in the first half of 2015, of which 4 were migrants, other two - homosexual<sup>148</sup>), Ukraine (48 victims due to the incident in Odessa on May 2, 2014<sup>149</sup>; 3 victims in the first half of 2015<sup>150</sup>).

Mass murder of 48 people in Odessa (Ukraine) became the largest hate crime in 2014. Besides the deaths, 70 people have been injured. On this day, extremist supporters of the current

<sup>141</sup> <https://mvd.ru/folder/101762/item/2994866/>

<sup>142</sup> Not a final figure, as the number of victims was unknown in at least one case – *author's note*

<sup>143</sup> <https://mvd.ru/folder/101762/item/6350811/>

<sup>144</sup> <http://www.pg.gov.pl/aktualnosci-prokuratury-generalnej/prokuratorzy-w-walce-z-rasizmem-i-ksenofobia-raport-za-2014-r.html#.VdxoXGTmko> [accessed: 10 August 2015]

<sup>145</sup> <http://www.qcodemag.it/2014/07/06/omicidio-ciro-esposito-fascisti;>

<http://www.internazionale.it/reportage/2014/12/11/come-i-neofascisti-hanno-provato-a-prendere-le-periferie-romane>

<sup>146</sup> <http://islam.ru/news/2014-06-26/11545;> <http://www.manchestereveningnews.co.uk/news/greater-manchester-news/rhyan-wilson-death-police-accused-7660000;> <http://www.gay.ru/news/rainbow/2014/12/06-30288.htm>

<sup>147</sup> See: "White Papers of Hate", Moscow, 2015.

<sup>148</sup> <http://www.mk.ru/incident/2015/03/16/nesovershennoletnie-nacionalisty-zabili-ukrainca-do-smerti-vpervye-vstretivshis-v-realnosti.html>; <http://www.gay.ru/news/rainbow/2015/02/26-30845.htm>;

<http://www.gay.ru/news/rainbow/2015/02/26-30843.htm>;

<http://www.fontanka.ru/2015/04/27/044/>; <http://www.gazeta.spb.ru/1832290-0/>;

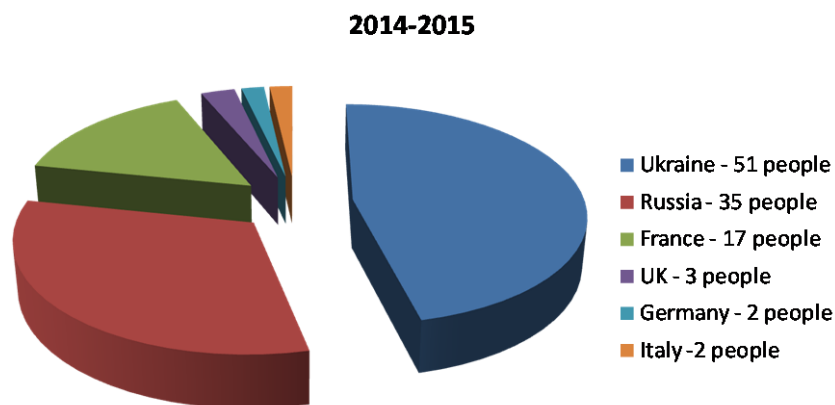
<http://rus.ozodi.org/content/beheaded-body-tajik-migrant-transferred-dushanbe-/27010037.html>

<sup>149</sup> <http://www.wsws.org/en/articles/2014/05/03/ukra-m03.html>.

<sup>150</sup> <https://youtu.be/yAqF2rEu-c0?t=50s>; <http://www.pravda.com.ua/rus/news/2015/04/16/7064932/>;  
[http://upogau.org/ru/inform/uanews/uanews\\_2223.html](http://upogau.org/ru/inform/uanews/uanews_2223.html)

Kiev government, including members of the Right Sector and Kharkiv football fans, organised a procession “For Ukrainian Unity” and clashed with the supporters of federalisation. Activists on both sides were armed with weapons and firearms<sup>151</sup>.

## The murders motivated by hatred



✓ **Terrorist attacks motivated by hatred.** These include bombings, arson, planned mass murder or other actions aimed at intimidating a certain group of the population and destabilising the situation in the country, or threat of such.

Terrorist attacks in France this year have outraged the international community. The country also experience several attacks in 2014, which did not result in any victims, including an attempt of a radical Islamist to run over 11 people in Nantes on December 22<sup>152</sup> and the shooting of the synagogue building in Paris on December 23<sup>153</sup>. The attack on the office of a satirical magazine *Charlie Hebdo* on January 7, 2015, has resulted in 12 deaths. On the next day, a police officer was attacked in a Paris suburb and on January 9, an attack was made on a kosher food store *Hyper Cacher*, which resulted in 4 more deaths. Together, the series of Islamist terrorist attacks in January resulted in 17 people killed. As a result, 26 mosques across France have been attacked with Molotov’s Cocktails. 60 anti-Muslim incidents have been recorded in total.<sup>154</sup>

Another serious terrorist attack occurred in Ukraine in 2014, where 48 people died and 70 were injured in clash at the Odessa House of Trade Unions (see above). On May 28, 2015, a bombing happened in Kiev’s *Roshen* supermarket, owned by President Petro Poroshenko. No one was injured. On the next day, right-wing Kiev Division posted a [video](#) of a man armed with a baseball bat assuming responsibility for the bombing. The organisation called President Poroshenko a “Jew dictator” and called for attacks on “the business of an illegitimate occupier, who destroyed our country”<sup>155</sup>.

<sup>151</sup><http://www.wsws.org/en/articles/2014/05/03/ukra-m03.html>.

<sup>152</sup><http://cursorinfo.co.il/news/world/2014/12/22/terrorist-vrezalsya-na-avtomobile-v-tolpu-lyudey-na-rinke-v-nante/>

<sup>153</sup><http://www.leparisien.fr/paris-75/paris-une-synagogue-visee-par-un-tir-23-12-2014-4396459.php#xtref=https%3A%2F%2Fwww.google.fr%2F>

<sup>154</sup><http://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/europe/firebombs-and-pigs-heads-thrown-into-mosques-as-antimuslim-attacks-increase-after-paris-shootings-9977423.html>

<sup>155</sup><http://eajc.org/page16/news51874.html>

3 terrorist attacks were recorded in Hungary in 2014. A Roma home in the northeast of Hungary has been attacked by Molotov Cocktails in May.<sup>156</sup> On November 13 and 14, a Jewish school “Lauder Yavne” was shot at in Budapest<sup>157</sup>.

3 terrorist attacks were recorded in Northern Ireland in 2014. On March 8, homemade bombs were throwing the homes of two Romanian families in Derry<sup>158</sup>. On March 16, a Polish family living in a Belfast suburb was forced to leave their home after several men threw homemade bombs at the building<sup>159</sup>. In March, hooligans attacked the home of a Polish family in Belfast and destroyed their vehicle<sup>160</sup>.

2 terrorist attacks were recorded in Russia in 2014. On February 9, private security guard and radical neo-Pagan Stepan Komarov, 24, opened fire in a Christian temple in Yuzhno-Sakhalinsk. 2 people were killed and 7 injured.<sup>161</sup> On April 21, Chelyabinsk regional Prosecution offices have been set on fire. Swastika and pro-Nazi graffiti appeared on the building<sup>162</sup>. No such incidents have been reported in the first half of 2015.

A terrorist attack was recorded on September 7, 2014, in Italy, when a Molotov Cocktail was thrown into the refugee centre in Mercogliano<sup>163</sup>.

### Terrorist Attacks (2014 – June 2015)

Nº	Country	Terrorist Attacks	Dead	Injured
1	Ukraine <sup>164</sup>	2	48	70
2	France	9	17	11
3	Russia	2	2	7
4	Hungary	3	-	-
5	N. Ireland (UK)	3	-	-
6	Italy	1	-	-

**Ethnic and religious clashes** are an important catalysing factor of incidents described above. Such clashes often result in mass large-scale crimes against the person.

For example, on June 6, 2014, six young people aged 15-16 attacked two Roma women in Andrychów, Poland, provoking massive clashes in the city. Roma retaliated by beating up two young Andrychów locals. On June 9, Polish nationalists attacked Roma homes<sup>165</sup>.

In 2014, there have been 10 attempts to turn an everyday conflict into an interethnic clash in Russia. Some attempts have been successful. For example, on January 11, 2014, Russians clashed with Tajiki migrants, which resulted in two Tajiks injured. 134 people have been detained by police,

<sup>156</sup>Human Rights Watch, WORLD REPORT 2015

<sup>157</sup>[http://index.hu/mindekozben/poszt/2014/11/14/csuzlival\\_lottek\\_a\\_lauderre/](http://index.hu/mindekozben/poszt/2014/11/14/csuzlival_lottek_a_lauderre/)

<sup>158</sup><http://www.belfasttelegraph.co.uk/news/local-national/northern-ireland/migrant-families-in-derry-targeted-in-racist-pipe-bomb-attacks-30077595.html>

<sup>159</sup><http://www.belfasttelegraph.co.uk/news/local-national/northern-ireland/forced-out-by-racists-rathcoole-family-terrorised-by-petrol-bombs-and-smashed-windows-30100785.html>

<sup>160</sup><http://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2014/jun/17/racism-northern-ireland-race-related-incidents-reported-daily>

<sup>161</sup><http://lenta.ru/news/2014/02/10/hram/>

<sup>162</sup><http://znak.com/chel/news/2014-04-21/1021497.html>

<sup>163</sup><http://www.orticalab.it/Mercogliano-molotov-contro-il>

<sup>164</sup>Excluding war crimes – *author’s note*

<sup>165</sup><http://www.polskieradio.pl/5/3/Artykul/1155756.Andrychow-narodowcy-i-pseudokibice-planuja-wielka-antyromska-manifestacje>



including 90 minors<sup>166</sup>. In May, unrest occurred in Pushkin area of Moscow region, sparked by the murder of Spartak FC fan by a migrant on May 13<sup>167</sup>.

Attempts to incite interethnic clashes have been recorded in France as well. On July 13, 2014, Muslim youth in Paris tried to attack three local synagogues. Attackers were armed with baseball bats and stolen chairs. Three members of the Jewish community and six police officers have been injured in clashes<sup>168</sup>. On July 20, 2014, Muslim youth was shattering windows and looting Jewish shops in Sarcelles. Police recommended Jewish locals to stay at home for safety<sup>169</sup>.

In Rivne, Ukraine, locals clashed with foreign students on November 11<sup>170</sup>. On June 11, a massive clash occurred in Kharkiv. Around 40 people, some masked and armed with knives and bats, attacked a group of foreign students near a nightclub.<sup>171</sup> 4 students were injured.<sup>172</sup>

In Italy, around 2000 people protested against the refugee centre in Tor Sapienza, Rome, claiming that migrants caused increase crime rate. Peaceful protest escalated into an attack on the refugee centre and a subsequent clash with the police and migrants. 14 people were injured<sup>173</sup>. Clashes continued on the following day; one refugee was injured<sup>174</sup>.

In Germany, Yazidi Kurds clashed with Muslims in Hamburg and Celle on October 7, 2014. Both sides were armed with knives, bats and brass knuckles. Dozens of people were injured<sup>175</sup>.

## Conclusion

Xenophobia became an integral part of everyday life in European countries. These sentiments are fuelling the popularity of extreme right organisations, leading to radicalisation of mainstream parties and causing interethnic clashes and hate crime.

Present assessment of the situation identifies several basic trends which we saw during the monitored period:

First, the explosive growth of radicalism in Ukraine, fuelled by the crisis in the eastern regions. Ukrainian separatists are prone to anti-Semitism – expressed by leaders of the self-proclaimed republics – and homophobia, which was enshrined in their legislation. Kiev government, meanwhile, is heavily influenced by radical nationalists, as evidenced by events in Mukachevo and Kiev. Increased hate crime rate, along with the previously uncommon terrorist attacks in Ukraine, is causing many deaths in the country.

Radical nationalist forces played a significant role in the Ukrainian revolution in February 2014. Their active involvements in Maidan protests have painted the social protest against government corruption in nationalist colours. These protest sentiments and increased popularity of nationalists as the only force capable of opposing the government have caused several small radical nationalist groups to unite under a single banner of the Right Sector. This party quickly displaced the more “traditional” neo-Nazi Svoboda party, which preferred to make loud statements and share posts in the interim government.

Understanding that nationalist slogans are becoming more popular, the new political establishment, consisting of opposition leaders and activists and various new parties, started

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<sup>166</sup>[www.regnum.ru/news/1759083.html](http://www.regnum.ru/news/1759083.html)

<sup>167</sup><http://www.tvc.ru/news/show/id/39768>

<sup>168</sup>[HTTP://WWW.NEWSRU.CO.IL/WORLD/14JUL2014/SYNAGOGE456.HTML](http://WWW.NEWSRU.CO.IL/WORLD/14JUL2014/SYNAGOGE456.HTML), <http://news.walla.co.il/?w=/14/2764806>

<sup>169</sup> [http://aen.ru/?page=brief&article\\_id=71169](http://aen.ru/?page=brief&article_id=71169)

<sup>170</sup> <http://www.wsws.org/en/articles/2014/05/03/ukra-m03.html>

<sup>171</sup> <http://vesti-ukr.com/harkov/103299-massovoe-izbienie-v-harkove-schitajut-mestju>

<sup>172</sup><https://twitter.com/itsector/status/609305854366601216>, <http://dozor.kharkov.ua/news/crime/1162987.html>

<sup>173</sup><http://www.romatoday.it/cronaca/rivolta-viale-morandi-tor-sapienza.html>

<sup>174</sup>[http://roma.repubblica.it/cronaca/2014/11/12/news/tor\\_sapienza-100372119/](http://roma.repubblica.it/cronaca/2014/11/12/news/tor_sapienza-100372119/)

<sup>175</sup><http://lenta.ru/news/2014/10/08/kurds>

borrowing radical nationalist rhetoric and ideology. As a result, the ideology of Ukrainian nationalism from Stepan Bandera period became the official state ideology de facto and de jure.

This ideology is a combination of pro-Western slogans about the “European Choice” and the doctrine of “integral nationalism”, which was prominent in the 1930s-1940s among the Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists – Ukrainian Insurgent Army (OUN-UPA).

The new government was hoping to position themselves against Russia and attract the “revolutionary masses” to its side. By focusing on the national-conservative electorate, parties adhering to this strategy managed to secure the government.

The new regime immediately found itself in confrontation with its ideological left-wing opposition, which opposed Ukrainian nationalism, European integration and conflict with Russia.

Radical nationalist forces thus became temporary allies of the new government – Right Sector party and several militarised voluntary units, established in 2014 from those who fought against Ukrainian security forces during Maidan protests.

These forces were used to suppress resistance in eastern regions of the country. These forces also arranged the massacre in Odessa on May 2, 2014, and attacks on pro-Russian activists in other regions of the country. These forces also influenced the government to prohibit the Communist party, cancel the Regional Languages Act and launch a war in South-East Ukraine, when they had every chance to come to a peaceful agreement by providing more autonomy to the regions (which was subsequently carried out as part of the Minsk-2 Agreements). These forces are essentially outside of government’s control; and soon they started posing a threat to official Kiev itself. By mid-2015, after losing the elections, but regaining its popularity, the Svoboda party joined these forces. This had considerably reinforced the extreme right positions and their influence on the government and the public. All these factors are bound to impact the overall level of xenophobia and tensions in the country.

Second, the increased radical nationalist activity in the previously stable countries, such as Germany, Italy, France, the UK and the Netherlands. During the monitored period, all these countries experienced growth in hate crime rates, which was reflected in violent incidents (including murders) on racial and religious grounds, and such previously rare occurrences as interethnic clashes and terrorist attacks.

The growing demand for extreme right agenda, specifically “controlling immigration”, is the underlying cause for such manifestations. Immigration, which became a major issue in these countries, became a landmark factor for the whole European Union. In 2014-15, Germany had the highest number of crimes against immigrants (172 attacks on immigration-related objects in 2014). Strong anti-immigrant sentiments were catalysts of anti-Islamic crimes in France and the Netherlands.

It is important to note the influence of radical Islamism on migrants, as well as radical nationalists’ desire to use dissatisfaction of locals to their advantage and government’s desire to appeal to more right-wing voters. Influx of migrants from Muslim countries resulted in increased anti-Semitic incidents, which are becoming more intensive as the situation in Palestine and the Middle East deteriorates. Anti-Semitic manifestations are most common in France, which has a large Middle Eastern community. They are less common in Germany, where most migrants hail from Turkey.

On the other hand, crimes against Muslims are also extremely common – particularly the attacks on mosques. In 2013, Great Britain had most such attacks, sparked by the murder of British soldier Lee Rigby by two Islamists in downtown London. During the monitored period, France and the Netherlands had most such attacks, which were sparked by a series of terrorist attacks staged by Al Qaeda in January 2015.

A hostile attitude towards the LGBT community has decreased in all monitored countries. To a lesser extent, this occurred in Greece and Eastern Europe.

Third trend concerns countries where the situation had improved in 2014. During the monitored period, these countries were Greece and Russia.

Greece, which had been demonstrating the worst results in terms of radical nationalism, has considerably improved its standing in 2014.

During the monitored period, we noticed a sharp decline in hate crime, no racially motivated murders and no political terrorist attacks.

Greek neo-Nazis, despite the financial crisis, did not attain any more support. These improvements are largely due to new additions to anti-extremism and anti-racism legislation, as well as effective measures against hate crime and repressions against the neo-Nazi Golden Dawn party. However, the first half of 2015 demonstrated an increase in hate crime – particularly racism and homophobia.

Russia is also actively combating manifestations of hate. The number of violent hate crime incidents in 2014-2015 was two times lower than in previous periods, while Ministry of Internal Affairs initiated 30% more criminal cases on charges of extremism in 2015 than in 2014. The number of murders was considerably lower in 2015 as well, an area where Russia demonstrated the worst results in terms of manifestations of hate.

High level of homophobia in Russian society continues to be a big concern, despite the 9% decrease in 2014, which could indicate a positive trend.

Migration is not a priority issue in Russia, which is possibly related to the deteriorating economic climate and the resulting decrease in labour immigration. Citizens themselves are currently more concerned with everyday problems.

At the same time, an important factor that contributed to the reduction of xenophobia in Russia was the physical relocation of many active extreme right activists to Ukraine, where they joined the conflict on either side. Local nationalists became divided based on their stance on the Ukrainian crisis, supporting either separatists or the Kiev government.

At the same time, this is not the main underlying factor in both countries. Lack of an effective government infrastructure to work with the population, low level of professionalism in the law enforcement, lack of resources to accommodate new refugees, as well as underdeveloped anti-discrimination legislation (in Russia) remain the main problems. Therefore, positive trends are most likely unsustainable in the long run and depend heavily on the success of aforementioned reforms.

Hungary and Poland continue to suffer from high levels of xenophobia. The situation is particularly worrying in Hungary, where radical nationalist Jobbik party passed into parliament.

What is the cause of xenophobia in Europe?

It is commonly believed that the main reason is the increase in migration flows from Asia and Africa, which creates demand for extreme right policies from the indigenous populations. However, migration from Third World countries into Europe has been present since the 1950s. In addition, radical Islamists often turn out to be second or third generation immigrants, born in Europe and fluent in the language of the country they live in. Therefore, it is fair to say that the cause is deeper – in their self-determination and the readiness of minorities to respect the traditions of the majority and vice versa. Does this mean that traditions and legislation play the main role in this issue? Not necessarily. There is a whole range of influencing factors, including the type of integration model implemented by a country.

Most European countries, excluding Switzerland and, to some extent, Russia, have implemented an assimilation model of integration.

This model allows member of any ethnic or religious group to become French, Greek or Italian, if he satisfies the strictly defined conditions for naturalisation. In other words, to be a part of the French nation, resident of the French Republic does not have to be French by ethnicity, but must be fluent in French, accept the French history and culture as his own and feel his integral belonging to France – to *voluntarily assimilate*. The word “voluntarily” is key here. This does not mean that he has to forget his roots and native language. In France, for example, we find the descendants of the Russian immigration of 1920s, who preserved Russian language and carefully treat their ancestors’ culture, but they are actually French, in a cultural, linguistic and everyday sense of the word.

This model is still considered a major achievement of European democracy, an essential tool in the struggle against racial and religious discrimination. It is a result of a type of a nation state, a classical European model. It is based on the term “nation”, as a community of people united by not only **common land**, but also a common *supranational* (supra-ethnic) **cultural** and **historical identity, which is based on the traditions of the titular nation**.

This is the reason why countries like France and Greece (excluding Western Thrace) do not recognise minorities at all – in their view, it would prevent their self-determination. Therefore, all citizens of France are considered French and all citizens of Greece – Greek. The same can be said about many other European countries, who refuse to recognise new national minorities, as the support of minority cultures, languages, education, etc. (as required by the Framework Convention For The Protection Of National Minorities), as it goes against the idea of assimilation and cultural identity.

What of the countries that ratified the Framework Convention without reservations? What is their integration model?

Surprisingly, it is the same assimilation model, albeit in a more liberal form. For example, the most advanced country in this respect, Great Britain, ratified the Framework Convention without any reservations and recognises all national minorities, but imposes a range of restrictions on their development.

In a report to the Council of the European Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities of 2012<sup>176</sup>, Britain states that it has one state language (English) and three regional - Welsh in Wales, Gaelic in Scotland and Irish in Northern Ireland. The use of other languages in official business is prohibited, though an interpreter is provided in some cases.

English is the only language of Education in the UK, which is justified by the desire to integrate all students and the fact that there are more than 200 ethnic groups; some schools educate students who speak 60 different languages in total. Students can learn their native language as a second language course, or in extracurricular education<sup>177</sup>. The three regional languages are usually the only ones considered “minority languages” in this country.

Thus, Great Britain lacks national schools with minority language of education. This includes areas of dense minority populations. When it comes to religious education, Church of England is the only official church supported by the state.

As of the Report (2012), the state funded only 2 Muslim schools – in Brent and Birmingham – considering it sufficient for the demands of state education. Instead of establishing religious and national schools, the government implemented the policy of “promotion of religious and cultural identity”. For example, if a large amount of minority students wants to introduce Halal meals, such

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176

<http://webarchive.nationalarchives.gov.uk/20120919132719/www.communities.gov.uk/documents/communities/pdf/152275.pdf>

<sup>177</sup> Ibid.

meals are introduced for the whole school<sup>178</sup>. Minority cultures are studied by minorities themselves only.

All in all, Great Britain does not prevent minorities from education and self-realisation; however, usually this is not funded by the state. The same can be said about religious life.

Generally, this model is supported by a vast majority of foreign nationals. However, this is no longer an absolute majority.

The crisis arose as a result of globalisation processes, when streams of immigrants poured into Europe unwilling to *voluntarily assimilate*. Tunisians in France wanted to stay Tunisians, and not become French. In France, the number of Muslims who do not want to accept the European model of integration is 25%. Not very different is this figure among the Christian immigrants from the Third World<sup>179</sup>. The situation is similar in other European countries. It is a large figure! In other words, a quarter of immigrants from developing countries consider themselves nationals of their original countries, Muslims, Arabs, Turks or Pakistanis – not French, Greek or Italian.

Yes, they enjoy living in these countries, where their children were born; and they were ready to accept themselves as citizens of France or Germany, but not as French and Germans. This is particularly relevant with respect to people who were born in these countries, who even consider themselves European, but with a completely different identity that has nothing in common with European traditions. However, European traditional national states, despite claims of commitments to the ideals of multiculturalism, were not ready to accept the new reality.

If 25% of minorities are unwilling to accept the integration model of the state, then it is a crisis of not only integration, but also the national state itself! Ancient European traditions that founded national states came into conflict with the modern reality and unwillingness to respect these traditions of a significant part of “new” minorities.

Herein lie the foundations of the conflict. Members of national and religious minorities, increasing number of whom is unwilling to assimilate, demand their national-cultural and religious rights to be observed by the state, which denies them on the basis that their minority does not officially exist in the country. As a result, the vacuum is often filled by radicals, such as Islamists.

However, significant part of this 25% is not just rejecting assimilation. These minorities are seeking to impose their own civilizational model on the majority. Governments are welcoming this with their integration policies. For example – introducing Halal meals or demanding “more modest” clothing in schools to accommodate Muslim students. This also manifests in the refusal of some city councils to set up Christmas Trees in city centres; or encouragement not to sell pork and alcohol in certain markets.

Some governments have a completely opposite reaction, which is no less harmful – attempts to repress national-cultural development of minorities. Greece can be given as an example in this regard, which tried to prohibit the reading of Koran in Turkish minority schools and appoint Islamic leaders without consulting the community itself.

Both of these approaches only breed tension and protest of either minority or majority. The resulting conflict leads to radical nationalism and extremism.

The situation became more complicated in post-Soviet countries that have *irredentas*.

There is a difference between the term “diaspora” and “irredenta”. American sociologist Rogers Brubaker uses the term “accidental diasporas” and differentiates between the terms “movement of peoples across borders” and “movements of borders across peoples”.

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<sup>178</sup> Ibid.

<sup>179</sup> <http://councilforeuropeanstudies.org/critcom/the-diversity-of-muslims-in-france-pre-and-post-charlie-hebdo/>

Irredenta (Italian: irredentismo, “unredeemed”), or irredenta nation, is used to describe ethnic minorities inhabiting the territory adjacent to the country dominated by their compatriots. Unredeemed nation is left beyond the borders of its country after wars, annexations, border disputes or as a result of various colonial models – in this case, it was the fall of the Soviet Union.

Unlike a diaspora, whose members are scattered throughout the territories far from their historical homeland, members of irredenta are compactly settled in countries bordering their historical homeland, with particularly high concentration in the border adjacent regions. The main feature of irredenta is its large numbers at a relatively low level of internal consolidation.

Irredenta are usually sensitive to any infringement of the majority on their rights, since they consider themselves autochthonous inhabitants of the territory they occupy. These groups continue to regard themselves as part of majority. They are particularly sensitive to relations between their country of residence and their historical homeland. If discrimination takes on a systematic character, irredenta form a movement for reunification with the territory of the ethnic majority – irredentism. A similar situation arose in Ukraine, which currently tries to implement the European model of national State.

Crisis of traditional European national State has been a long-term problem, where globalisation and intense migration flows caused a contradiction between traditions and principles that founded European national states in the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century and expectations of most national and religious minorities that live on this territory.

Is there a solution to this crisis? Certainly yes. Assimilation model of integration could be replaced with a multicultural model, which recognises equality of cultures and allows for changes of the hosting society under the influence of new arriving cultures. However, attempts to implement such models in the 90s have failed, largely because of contradictions between the multicultural model and the European model of nation-state. Therefore, the only alternative is changing the type of nation-state.

A state built on the traditions of a titular nation can be transformed into an international state, based on a fundamental uniting idea.

For example, establishment of the United States was based on Protestant messianic idea of exploration and democracy. On the basis of this ideology and universal mythology immigrant state, a new American nation was created.

Swiss nation was based on the idea of neutrality. In 1291, three cantons populated by different, primarily Germanic, ethnic groups united to defend themselves against Austrians, Burgundians and other troublesome neighbours. In 1513, they were joined by 10 more cantons (currently – 26). For a small country surrounded by large, constantly warring states, neutrality guaranteed safety and allowed to play an important role in the world arena.

Class idea – the idea of dictatorship of the proletariat and proletarian internationalism – united almost all lands of the disintegrated Russian Empire and created a new country – the Soviet Union. Over the years, USSR almost concluded the process of creating a new multi-ethnic nation, or as it was then called – “a new historical community – the Soviet people”. The idea then lost popularity, was discredited and substituted in several Soviet republics with nationalist ideas, which along with objective destructive processes characteristic for all empires largely contributed to the collapse of the Soviet Union.

Conventionally, a state established around a unifying idea can be called international, since it is not created around the traditions of a particular titular ethnic group. An international state can be built on the principle of federalism – what is currently being attempted in the European Union. Another idea – realised by Russia and Kazakhstan – is the idea of Eurasian confederation. Internationalism can be implemented within one country. Russia serves as an example in this regard, which generally accepted an internationalist idea based on the cooperation of peoples living

on its land. National republics of this country (Tatarstan, Bashkortostan, Chechnya, etc.) have their national languages recognised on an official level (as second state languages); the country guarantees rights to all national minorities of which there is more than 100. However, the influx of Central Asian immigrants in Russia will soon bring up the issue of expanding this list. Then, Russia will face the challenge of fully converting to an *international model of state* or face problems faced by European states today.

Changing the type of nation state is an extremely painful process, as it presumes a change of identity – of both majority and minorities, including those parts that try to impose their civilisation model on the majority.

This process would be easier for former Soviet republics, as they have recent experience of living in an international state. EU countries will find this process more challenging, as their models stood for centuries.

This is why the European idea, the end goal of which is change of individual national identities to a common European identity – multicultural and multireligious – causes so much protest among the nationalist Eurosceptics.

Their proposed alternative is the further growth of nationalistic tendencies, weakening of European institutions, disintegration of Europe and a return to the classic model of the state, which includes assimilation of foreign nationals. However, in the current climate, this policy is a dead end, as the number of foreign nationals to be assimilated will continue to grow, and these people hold different ideological views (especially in social isolation). Forced assimilation in these conditions is unlikely, given the number of subjects, their mutual solidarity and their mistrust or even hostility towards the majority. Such experiment may result in most unexpected and harmful consequences, including the rise of extremism in Europe.

Thus, we can conclude that European xenophobia is the result of fundamental historical traditions and miscalculations in modern legislation. However, both of these factors are related to the obsolete model of European nation-states, built on traditions of titular nations and allowing for only one type of minority integration – through assimilation. Rejection of assimilation among a significant and constantly growing portion of minorities in Europe leads to the crisis of nation-state, which manifests as a conflict between the founding principles of the state and the rejection (or revision) of such principles by minority groups. These conflicts accumulate in the form of xenophobic sentiments between both groups, which then leads to hate crime, as well as interethnic and interreligious tensions in Europe.

Thus, the growth of aggressive Nationalism and Xenophobia in Europe in the first half of 2015, especially considering the impressive flow of asylum-seekers from the Middle East, gradually acquires features of a serious Call, which soon will face the continent. It endangers not only the current model of the nation-state, but also the prospects for European integration, and most importantly - the identity of many European countries formed for centuries.