

EUROPEAN XENOPHOBIA AND RADICALISM (2016)

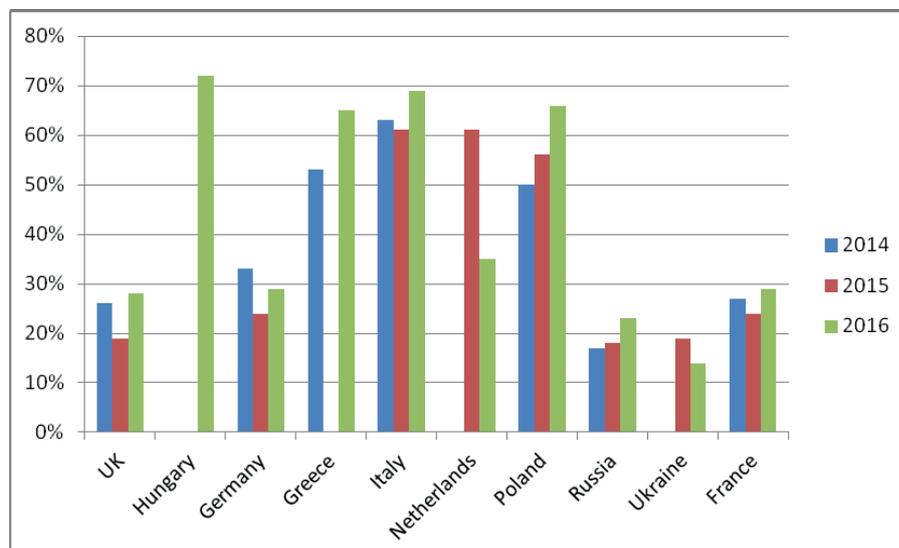
The preparation of the material involved researchers from various European universities and research centers: Department of History at Northampton University, UK; the Center for the Study of Fascism, Antifascism, and Post-Fascism at Teesside University, UK; the Institute for Strategic Studies of France; Department of Sociology and the Department of Social Research Methodology at Eötvös Loránd University (ELTE), Budapest; Political Capital Institute, Budapest; Faculty of Social Science at The Pantheon University of Athens; the Berlin Register for documentation of manifestations of right-wing extremism and discrimination in the district of Steglitz-Zehlendorf, Germany; the Institute for the Study of Crime and Law Enforcement, Netherlands; The history of the Jagiellonian University, Krakow; the Russian Institute for the Study of National Politics and Interethnic Relations, Moscow; the Ukrainian Institute of Analysis and Management.

Analysis is given on the basis of 8 EU countries (France, Germany, Greece, Hungary, Italy, the Netherlands, Poland and the United Kingdom), as well as Russia and Ukraine, as countries who play a significant role in political and economic processes in Europe.

The problem of Xenophobia and Radicalism remains for a number of years one of the main problems in the so-called "Greater Europe." What has changed over the past year?

The level of Xenophobia as a whole decreased, except for countries facing the worst consequences of the migration crisis (Italy, Greece), as well as those states where governments for political purposes artificially inflamed the situation of fear of migrants and Muslims (Hungary, Poland). The samples of Xenophobia provoked by the authorities of the European country are Hungary and Poland, where in 2016 they were organized by the State and supported by state-owned media, massive campaigns against migrants.

As a result, Hungary and Poland, where live the minimum number of Muslims (less than 1%) showed one of the highest levels of Islamophobia - 72% and 66% respectively.



All this took place against the background of a decrease in the activity of radical organizations. We can speak here about so called restructuring, when some parties accumulated around themselves the main protest electorate, while others practically lost their influence. But only UKIP was successful in the election. Other right-wings parties demonstrated the results lower than we expected.

This happened in France, Germany, the UK, etc. At the same time, it can be stated that voters who vote for right-wing radicals in Europe are by no means ideological opponents of the parties in the democratic spectrum. It is a protest electorate, frightened by a sharp change in the socio-cultural landscape and worried about their jobs, social guarantees, etc. Under certain conditions, he is ready to again vote for "system" politicians. The question is: can they be provided with such conditions? While polarization takes place mainly along the line "for or against the reception of refugees".

Anti-Semitism

At the same time, anti-Semitic stereotypes continue to be a driver for radicals of all types. For example, Islamist terrorists in substantiating their crimes, for example in Barcelona, cited the argument about a "global Jewish conspiracy," "Israeli occupation," and about Jews who impose their will on Brussels. Left radicals use anti-Zionist slogans that differ little from ordinary anti-Semitic clichés. The same is true of right-wing radicals who equate the words "liberal" and "Jew." It is known, for example, that the main slogan of the ultra-right in American Charlottesville was "Defend our values, regardless of the Jews in Washington." According to the police statistics of Germany, 90% All violent crimes on the basis of anti-Semitism are committed not by Islamists, but by right-wing radicals.

Interesting results of the polls relating to the Jews were presented in Germany by the Ebert Foundation. They complement this data. Thus, open forms of anti-Semitism find resonance in 6% of the respondents in this country. Along with this, forms of latent anti-Semitism and the associated negative attitude towards Israel remain at a high level. 25% of respondents supported the statement "Jews today use for their own aims the past tragedy of the war2, the" Third Reich ". 40% agree with the thesis "Given the Israeli policy, I can understand those who are bad about Jews."

Speaking about anti-Semitism, it is necessary to remember one more phenomenon, which few people pay attention to today. It's about the new phenomenon - so-called "Indirect anti-Semitism", what seems neutral to Jews, but really is against them or has one of the results of insulting Jews, violating their rights, etc.

Today we can speak about the three indirect forms of anti-Semitism: the heroization of executioners, the denial or trivialization of the Holocaust, and attempts to equalize communism and Nazism. The last two factors are typical, mainly for the countries of Eastern Europe, the first - for Ukraine. And the saddest thing is that since April 2015 - this

is the State ideology of Ukraine, where the law "On the legal status and respect for the memory of fighters for Ukrainian independence in the twentieth century" came into force.

The members of the militaristic organizations that collaborated collectively or individually with the Nazi regime, who fought against the countries of the anti-Hitler coalition were heroized by this law. The law calls them "fighters for the freedom of Ukraine". There are the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN), the People's Liberation Revolutionary Organization (Nvro), the Ukrainian Insurgent Army Ukrainian Insurgent Army ataman Taras Borovets (Bulba) "Woodland Sich" Ukrainian People's Revolutionary Army (UTRA) , Ukrainian Main Liberation Council (UGVR).

Article 6 of this Law provides that a person who publicly manifest disregard for the fighters for Ukraine's independence, prevent the realization of the rights of independence fighters, bear responsibility in accordance with the current legislation of Ukraine. In addition, the public denial of the "legitimacy of the struggle for Ukrainian independence in the twentieth century" recognized the desecration of the memory of fighters for Ukrainian independence in the XX century, the humiliation of the Ukrainian people and is unlawful.

The Danger of Islamism and Terrorism

At the same time, the Islamists did not loose their activity. 39 terrorist attacks in 2016 and an unprecedented increase in the number of "jihad-tourists" leaving for Syria and Iraq, state the opposite. The defeats of ISIS in Syria and Iraq call for new "warriors of Allah". Terrorist organisations are trying to secure this by spreading enmity, fear and hatred between European Muslims and indigenous Europeans and by recruiting new supporters among the adherents of Islamic religious groups stupefied by Islamist propaganda.

It can not be said that the authorities do not understand the danger. In 2016, they passed a number of serious Acts to combat Xenophobia and Radicalism. So, on December 22, 2016 in France, the Equality Act came into force/ This Act defined racial hatred and hatred on the grounds of sexual orientation as aggravating circumstances in the commission of crimes. In December 2016, the new anti-discrimination law was passed in Greece No. 4443/2016. The Law prohibited discrimination based on race, color, ethnicity in the labor and employment sector. In 2016, the denial of the Holocaust was criminalized in Italy.

Some measures have been taken to improve the situation of certain categories of minorities, in particular, of indigenous minorities in Italy and of sexual minorities in Greece - the Greeks were entitled to an official sex change without surgical intervention.

On May 17, the House of Representatives of the Netherlands (Tweed Kamer) adopted the draft Provisional Law on Administrative Measures to Combat Terrorism, submitted by the Ministry of Security and Justice (MSJ). The bill restricts the freedom of movement of persons posing a threat to national security, and those who intend to join terrorist groups

or provide them with financial support. It also applies to persons who return from places of hostilities (in Syria, Iraq, Afghanistan, etc.)

The amendments were made to a number of anti-extremist and anti-terrorist laws in Russia. In total, 12 federal laws were amended. As a result, the Criminal liability was introduced for the spread of hate on the Internet. It was also forbidden to disseminate information defaming individuals or groups of people based on gender, age, race, nationality, language, attitude to religion, occupation, place of residence and work, and also in connection with their political beliefs.

The Criminal Code of the Russian Federation was supplemented with a new article 361 "The Act of International Terrorism", which criminalized the crimes endangering the life, health, freedom or inviolability of Russian citizens outside the territory of the Russian Federation. In addition, there have been changes in a number of articles of the Criminal Code, in particular in Art. 208, which criminalizes participation in illegal armed groups, including abroad.

Furthermore, the number of European countries took unprecedented security measures bordering on human rights violations. In France, as early as 2015, a state of emergency was introduced, and in 2016 - a state of emergency was extended.

In the Netherlands, a law was enacted, that allowed the acceleration of the deprivation of citizenship of jihadists returning from the war.

In Russia, a reform of anti-extremist legislation was implemented in 2016, imposing restrictions and new obligations on religious organizations, mail, cellular telephone of companies, etc.

The same situation is with the lawenforcement practises.

Together with Germany, Britain expanded the list of the so-called "safe countries", including a completely unsafe Afghanistan, which automatically means the expulsion of all asylum seekers from that country. A whole series of laws aimed at squeezing refugees and asylum seekers from the country was adopted in 2016 by Hungary. All this was accompanied by an unprecedented xenophobic campaign in state-owned media.

The Law enforcement practices were subject to the same goals. Here I would like also to focus on the initiative of the French government to establish the "Freedom of Islam Foundation." This organization was established in 2016, led by former Minister Jean-Pierre Chevènement. The task of the new foundation will be teaching imams in French and with basics of French culture. The aim of the project is to reduce the influence of Morocco, Algeria, Tunisia and Turkey on the Islamic population of France. At the moment the influence is gained by appointment of imams and the financing of mosques. This situation, as a rule, forces the French population to think that Muslims are not their fellow citizens, but agents of foreign countries whose loyalty to France is under question. The second

reason for the launch of the fund was the frustration of the French authorities in CFCM, the central organ of Muslim organizations, which does not have enough influence on Muslim communities to prevent radicalism.

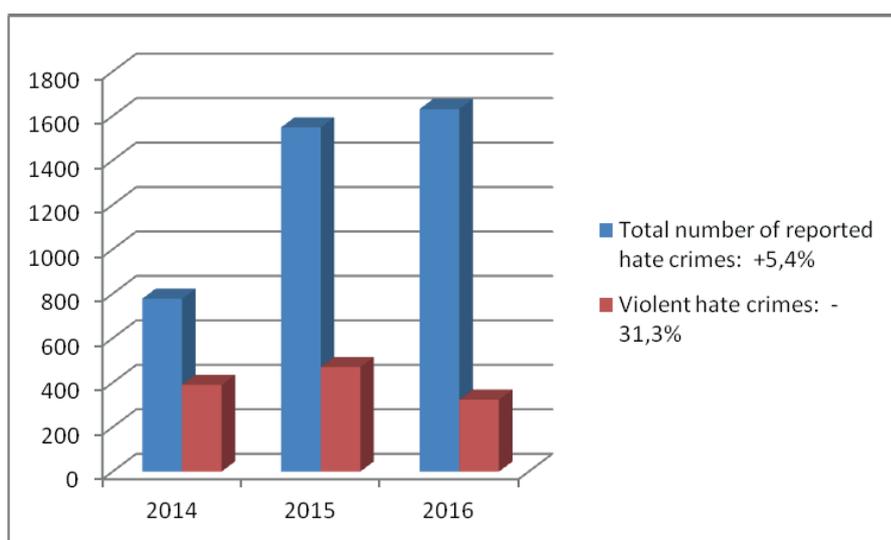
Hate crime

Meanwhile, practically in all countries of monitoring we observe the growth of hate crimes in 2016.

Better the situation with hate crimes is in Russia and Poland only, where the number of reported hate crimes increased with a significant reduction in the number of violent crimes.

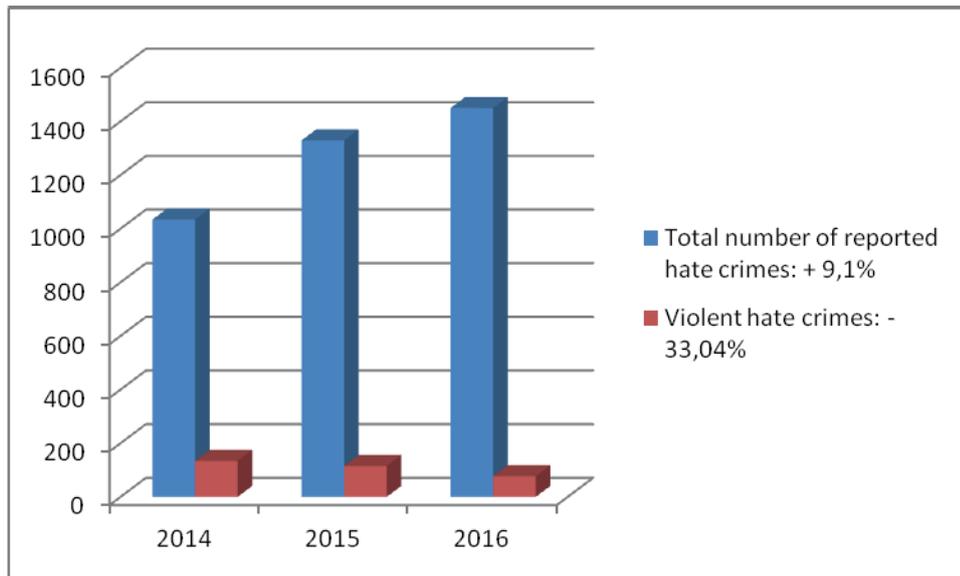
This means that the police are more likely to initiate criminal cases for non-violent crimes of hatred. First of all, it concerns the spread of hate on the Internet.

In 2016 there was a significant decrease in the number of violent hate crimes in Poland against the backdrop of a slight increase in the total number of recorded crimes.



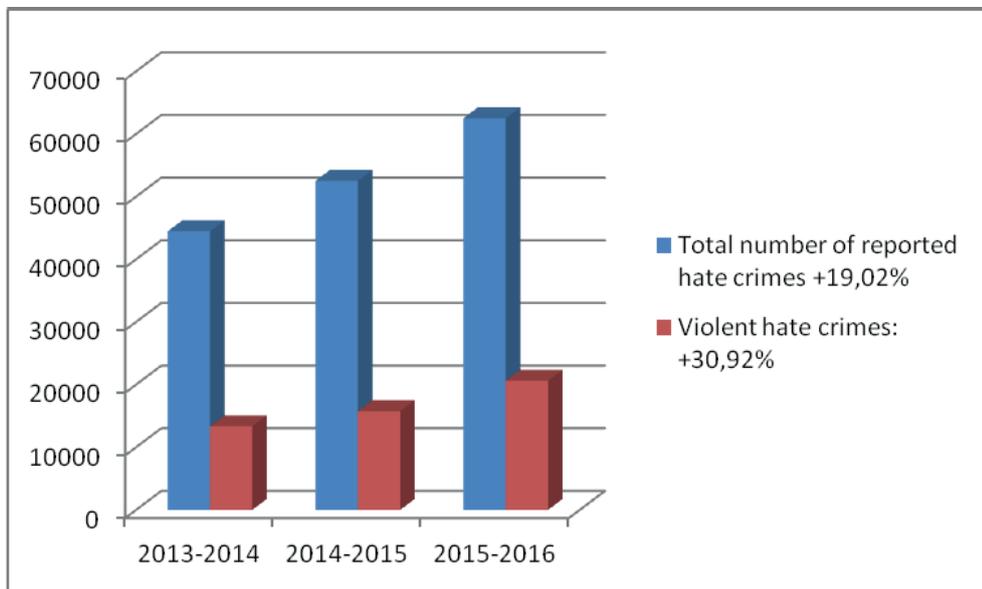
In Russia, according to the General Prosecutor's Office of the Russian Federation, 1'450 crimes motivated by hate (extremist crimes) were registered in 2016, which is 121 more than in 2015 and 416 more than in 2014. The increase was mainly due to non-violent crimes - first of all in Internet.

On the other hand, the number of registered violent crimes decreased from 115 in 2015 to 77 in 2016. And compared with 2014, when there were 134 crimes, the fall was more than 57%.



The rest of the countries recorded growth, and in such countries as UK and Italy, significant growth.

In October 2016 statistics were published on *England and Wales*, which includes an annual observation period. It shows that in this territory, as compared to 2015, the total growth of registered hate crimes by 19.02%, as well as the increase in violent hate crimes against the person by 30.92%, was recorded. This is an unprecedented growth, considering that in 2015 the dynamics was fixed at + 18.12% and + 18.09% respectively.

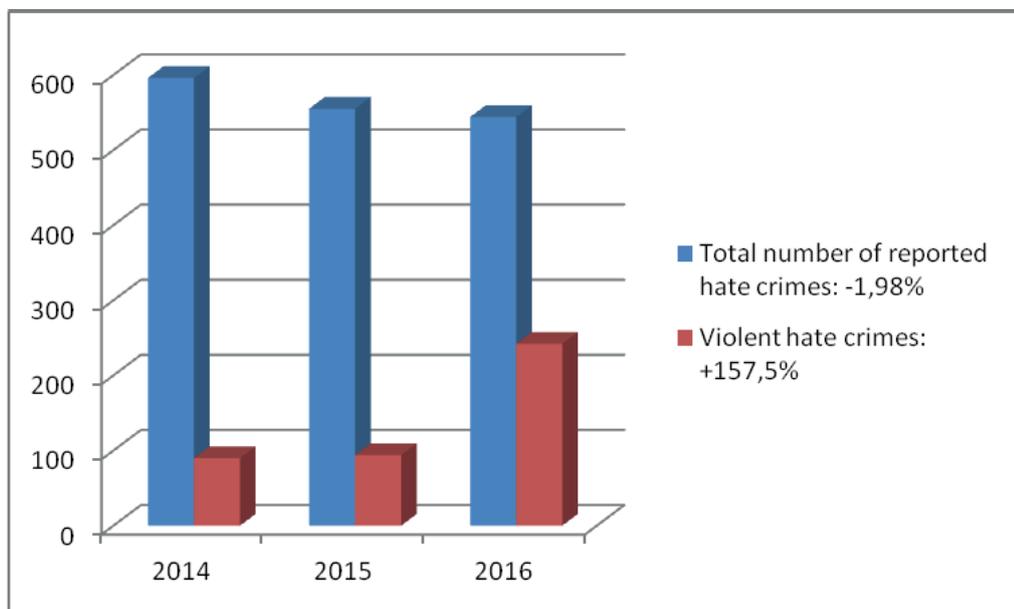


The *Scottish* Prosecutor's Office also published a report on hate crimes. This report states that 3'712 crimes were registered in 2015-16, but this is the lowest number since 2003-04. Also this is 3% less than in 2014-15. At the same time, the number of Islamophobic crimes in this period increased by 89%.

According to the British Jewish human rights organization CST, in 2016, there were 1'309 anti-Semitic incidents in the country, which is 36% more than in 2015 and 11% more than in 2014.

According to the British branch of the Islamist organization Hizb-ut Tahrir, which, in turn, refers to police information, from March 2016 to March 2017, there were 1'260 crimes against Muslims in the country.

The Government of *Italy* did not publish statistics on crimes committed in 2016 at the time of this report. Nevertheless, there are NGO data according to which 544 hate crimes were committed in Italy in 2016. According to preliminary data, there are 242 cases of violence, which is almost two and a half times more than in 2015.



In *France* in 2016, there were 12 terrorist attacks, including the most resonant in Nice on July 14, when a lorry driven by jihadists deliberately crashed into a crowd of people on the Promenade des Anglais. In total, 89 people were killed in this year's terrorist attacks and 451 injured.

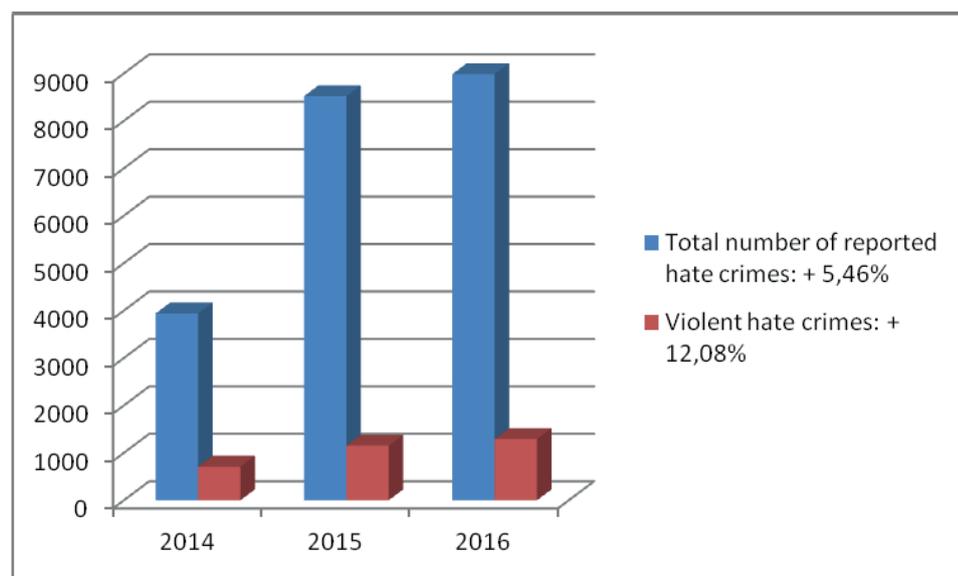
In general, the number of hate crimes in this country grew by 14.78% in 2016 compared to 2015 and amounted to 3,649 cases, including a new position - attacks on Christian churches.

In *Greece* in 2016 there was a decrease in the number of hate crimes. Such a conclusion is made according to the data of non-governmental organizations, since no official information was published at the time of writing the report. According to a non-governmental organization, the Racist and Violence Recording Network (RVRN), there were 188 hate crimes in Greece in 2016, including 95 crimes on racial grounds, 5 cases motivated by anti-Semitism, 57 homophobic cases and 31 cases based on hatred of migrants. This is 117 crimes less than in 2015.

This effect has a few reasons. First, the effectiveness of the programs of the Greek government and NGOs, especially of the program of housing for refugees, which removed social tension among migrants and local residents. Secondly, the decrease in the activity of the Golden Dawn, which is going through bad times due to the actions of law enforcement agencies. In 2016, this neo-Nazi party was accused only in 2 violent crimes. As it is known, in the past years its activists were most active among the criminals.

Thirdly, this may indicate the specifics of the work of the Greek police, which, as a rule, refuses to register hate crimes of a non-violent nature. So, according to RVRN, during 2016, 603 calls were received by the hotline "11414" with messages about incidents of hatred, of which only 21 were registered and only 10 cases were initiated.

According to the Ministry of Internal Affairs, published in late April 2017, in Germany in 2016 there were 41,500 politically motivated offenses. This is 6.6% more than in 2015. Of these, 23,555 cases revealed right-wing radical motivation (2.6%), 9,389 left-wing motivation (-2.2%), and 3,372 political motivation of foreign citizens (+ 66.5%).



There were 8,983 episodes (8,530 crimes committed by local right-wing radicals, 10 by left radicals, 178 by foreigners and 265 by persons "without certain political preferences") of "xenophobic crimes" (hate crimes in the conventional sense), which is 5.46% more than in 2015. This is a big increase, considering that in 2014 there were only 3,939 hate crimes in Germany.

In 2016 in the FRG 1,290 violent crimes were registered, 12.08% more than in 2015. Accordingly, in 2014 this number was 62.8% less than a year later.

At the same time, the Ministry of Internal Affairs recorded 1,468 crimes of anti-Semitic orientation, including 36 acts of violence, 1,335 crimes motivated by racism, 220 of them violent, 1,516 cases motivated by religious hatred, 145 of them violent, 316 cases motivated by homophobia, 81 ended in violence.

In 2016 in Germany there were 7 terrorist attacks - the maximum number in recent years. In general, we see that hate crime continues to be a problem for Germany in the last 2 years. Despite the active work of the police, it does not manage to reduce the number of attacks against members of minorities.

Practically we have no data for Hungary. There are difficulties in the Netherlands, as local authorities do not publish complete information on hate crimes. In particular, there is no information on violent crimes. Thus, the police and the National Center for Discrimination Expertise provided only general data on 4'376 hate crimes in 2016, of which 1'723 on racist grounds, 352 for Islamophobic reasons, 1300 for homophobia, anti-Semitism for anti-Semitism - 355 and on the basis of disability - 400.

In Ukraine there are also big problems with statistics. There is a huge difference in figures between official data and data of non-governmental organizations. So, in 2014 the authorities of Ukraine provided information to the OSCE on 33 hate crimes, while NGOs - about 343. Today, this difference is gradually decreasing. However, the data we have in Ukraine indicate that there are no data on non-violent crimes that simply do not register in the country. The authorities' refusal to consider the incitement of hatred as a crime sooner or later will result in an increase in violence.

Thus, we see that despite a certain decrease in the level of Xenophobia and activity of right-wing radicals, despite the vigorous actions of the authorities, the level of hate crime is growing. So, the measures taken by the European governments are not effective. Why?

I think that there are a number of reasons of objective and subjective nature. Subjective include legislative changes and law enforcement practices of the authorities, which de facto made the situation worse. These may include:

- Violation of the fundamental rights of ethnic and religious minorities;
- Tolerance towards non-violent hate crimes;
- Tolerance towards right-wing and neo-Nazi groups;
- Violation of the rights of migrants and refugees.

To the actual violations of the rights of ethnic and religious minorities in 2016 may be attributed the ethnic profiling in the police; Institutional racism; forced ethnic segregation in education (for example, among Roma in Hungary, the Czech Republic and other countries); changing of the administrative division of the country to deprive minorities of the right to use language advantages, as for example, in Poland in 2016, where the Opole District with the predominant residence of the Polish majority, was united with four other municipalities with more than 20% of the German minority; the artificial reduction of the number of schools of national minorities, the reduction of the right of national minorities to use their native language at the regional level, and the reduction of quotas for minority languages in the media, as happened in 2016 in Ukraine.

An important factor is also the pressure on religious organizations, which is typical for almost all countries of monitoring. An important factor remains the problem of concealing hate crimes and their transformation into common crimes, which is especially important in Greece, Hungary and Ukraine.

The main problem in Europe is also the contradiction between freedom of speech and the requirements of Art. 4 of the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination, which (I quote) "declare illegal and prohibited organizations, and ... all other propaganda activities, which promote and incite racial discrimination, and shall recognize participation in such organizations or activities as an offence punishable by law."

When signing the Convention, the United Kingdom, France and Italy made reservations to this article. In Italy, the criminal responsibility for the spread of hatred is connected with the proof of the influence of the accused on a broad audience with the "goal of changing her behavior," which is also very difficult to prove. Many other countries that formally acceded to the Convention without reservations, in fact ignore the requirements of Art. 4. For example, also in Ukraine, this is due to the need to prove "direct intent".

Meanwhile, the criminalization of hate speech, especially in social networks, in many ways could help to reduce violent crimes on this basis. After all, as a rule, the criminal, before resorting to violence, turns to his "own" audience, primarily on the Internet, where he seeks accomplices, spreads his views, etc. The suppression of the crime at this stage provides an effect, since, as practice shows, the majority of persons convicted of non-violent crimes do not return to criminal activity and, moreover, to violence, in the future. It was this way that Russia and Poland went.

Speaking about the violations of the rights of migrants and refugees, it is necessary to recall the illegal actions in Hungary to oust migrants and refugees out from the country by reducing cash payments, expanding the list of "safe countries" in Germany and the UK, creating unbearable conditions for illegal immigrants in the United Kingdom, etc.

But the most important thing is the objective reasons (prerequisites) for European xenophobia and radicalism. There are several of them.

1. Features of modern liberal capitalism, which involves the free movement of capital and labor. As a result, in the West formed a new social stratum - poor people with professional education, representatives of working professions, who either lost their jobs due to the transfer of manufactures abroad, to cheaper countries, or began to get significantly lower salary due to the fact that to their countries came many labor migrants who successfully dumped on the labor market.

These people are a protest electorate, similar to the protest electorate from the American "rusty belt" who voted for Trump. These masses oppose globalization, they want to return production to their country, to reduce the number of labor migrants and to get priority to

receiving social benefits to themselves, but not to the foreigners. They do not want the dictates of Brussels or Washington, which pushes the world toward further globalization.

Today nobody interested in these people. This is not even classical unemployment, when there is a hope for the revival of production at the next stage of economic development. They have no chance and no hope. In fact, these people, whom the liberal elite calls losers, provided Brexit. These people are the natural environment for right-wing radical parties.

2) The features of the European constitutional tradition, which does not provide benefits for any ethnic groups other than the titular. As a result, European countries either deny the existence of ethnic minorities (for example, in France and Greece (except West Thrace), or limit their de jure or de facto their number to a narrow circle of traditional minorities, and therefore the only form of integration policy in such countries is voluntary assimilation.

For example, French law does not allow even collecting statistical data on the ethnic origin of its citizens. Many European countries have made reservations when joining the Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities of the Council of Europe, having determined that they treat only ethnic traditional minorities as national minorities. For example, in Germany they are Danes, surbs, friezes, German gypsies, in the Netherlands - only friezes, etc. Even those countries that adopted the Convention without reservations, de facto conduct exactly the same policy towards minorities, as well as those that have done so with reservations. So in Great Britain, which has fully acceded to the Convention, there is one state language (English) and three regional ones - Welsh in Wales, Gaelic in Scotland and Irish in North America. Ireland.

In principle, for almost a century and a half this system worked without problems. The mostly labor migrants, wanted to assimilate themselves as quickly as possible and to join the advantages of Western civilization.

The problem arose when a significant number of immigrants rejected voluntary assimilation. For example, according to recent polls, in France about 75% of Muslims feel "to some extent" or "unconditionally" French, and then already representatives of their religion, their ethnicity or country of origin. But 25% (and this is a very large figure) do not agree to adopt such a model. For them, their ethnic, religious and geographical origin is primary. They do not consider themselves French, although for many of them France is the motherland, and they have a French passport in their pocket.

Thus, the state has built a rigid framework. Beyond this framework are all people who can be called victims of globalization and international conflicts - they do not want to change their identity and prefer to educate their children in their native traditions, but for a variety of reasons were forced to leave their country of birth. In the conditions of strict integration rules, this group chose the self-isolation and created a kind of ghetto. And it's not so much about immigrants of the first generation as about large compact immigrant groups of the

second and even third generation, which the state leaves in an ideological and cultural vacuum.

The problem is also that they perceive Europe as their homeland (after all, they really were born there), while at the same time seeking to change the identity of Europeans so that it corresponds to their traditional notions. This creates a basis for the growth of xenophobia, mutual hostility, discrimination and the strengthening of the influence of extremist groups on both sides.

The state, instead of developing a new ethnic policy that ensures the interests of all population groups, categorically does not want to abandon the policy of assimilation, but periodically makes various symbolic concessions, such as the ban on the installation of Christmas trees, alcohol sales in areas populated by Muslims, the introduction Halal food in general public schools, etc. All this only creates additional conditions for the "ghettoization" of communities and increases intercommunity disunity and enmity.

In principle, the European idea could help to solve this long-standing problem, but attempts by the EU leadership to move towards a Federation and, in the long run, to the creation of a single multinational state of Europeans, run counter to their member states, whose governments were not ready to sacrifice their national traditions and interests.

Thus, we have a set of contradictions of a systemic nature. First, liberal capitalism has led to the impoverishment of the big numerous professional workers and made them a base for right-wing radical organizations.

Secondly, the liberal capitalism ensured the influx of cheap foreign labor to Western countries. This labor is representing an alien social and cultural environment that is not ready for voluntary assimilation. Armed conflicts in the Middle East aggravates the situation, because refugees, who are not ready to change their identity, are added to labor migrants.

Thirdly, the constitutional tradition of Western democracies does not provide for any other forms of integration policy of minorities, apart from assimilation, and therefore this new mass of migrants becomes a breeding ground for Islamists who simply fill the vacuum created by the state's refusal to participate in their cultural, educational and Religious life.

Fourth, there is an important contradiction between the main liberal value - freedom of speech and expression, on the one hand, and the requirements of Art. 4 of the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination, which prohibits the spread of racists ideas. This contradiction leads to the fact that in most countries of Europe the hate speech is not criminalized, as a result of this, there is an increase in the supporters of radical parties and groups, as well as the growth of violent hate crimes.

Fifth, the resulting increase in popularity of far-rights in European societies lead to the right drift of the policies of the ruling parties, which also begin to use popular xenophobic slogans for electoral goals. This leads to a number of mistakes of the political elite regarding minorities, which further aggravates the situation.

Sixth, the radical parties effectively use the existing circumstances, trying not only to stir up ethnic or inter-religious conflicts, but also inter-civilizational contradictions. In this case, not only migrants, but also representatives of traditional minorities become victims.

All this indicates that in Europe a socio-political crisis is breaking out, which affects the foundations of European nation states. Its main reason lies in the cornerstones of liberalism. Moreover, the values that for centuries have been the drivers of the growth and development of the states of Western civilization - democracy, freedom of movement for people and capital, consumption society, etc. - are becoming the main drivers of crisis phenomena.

In order to prevent this process, a cardinal adjustment of this course is needed, for the time being it is only possible to offer cosmetic measures as recommendations:

1. First of all, it is recommended to recognize all ethnic minorities, including the so-called. "New minorities", which are the most numerous. It is necessary to take measures to ensure State support for ethnic and religious communities to preserve their identity and to establish State control over their activities.
2. It is necessary to abandon the absolute right to freedom of speech and expression in those cases when it comes to hate speech, especially on the Internet. As the experience of individual countries shows, this will lead to a sharp reduction in violent hate crimes.
3. It is necessary to strengthen the control of radical groups operating in the legal field. It will also be useful to attract religious organizations, especially Christian churches and Islamic associations, to combat hatred and the promotion of tolerance.
4. Strong measures are required to widely implement educational programs against racism and discrimination in the practice of training and improving the skills of law enforcement officers.
5. We need to do everything necessary to ensure that the government's actions against migrants and refugees, including illegally, did not lead to increased discrimination and hatred against these groups and, in general in relation to ethno-religious minorities.