



COMBATING RACISM, XENOPHOBIA AND EXTREMISM IN CENTRAL EUROPE



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1. Introduction

This book was written in cooperation of four organizations whose main issue is to prevent racism, xenophobia and extremism in the Central Europe: Kulturbüro Sachsen (Germany), Organization for Aid to Refugees (Czech Republic), Foundation of Subjective Values (Hungary) and Milan Šimečka Foundation (Slovakia). The book's aim is to summarize good and bad experience in prevention and repressive action against rightwing extremism, xenophobia and racism and thus to provide a manual on how to proceed and face this serious issue in an efficient manner. We have acquired many interesting ideas and experience from Sachsen, although plenty of conclusions are to be drawn from remarkable ideas of the three "learning" countries – Czech Republic, Slovakia and Hungary. We do not intend to give lectures or advise after a year of long, intensive project work. However, we do hope to have contributed to a professional analysis of the issue so that no previous mistakes will be repeated in all four countries and that appropriate attention is dedicated to the issue. Overlooking extremist attitudes is, besides infiltration of extremist, racist and xenophobic opinions into the social and political mainstream discourse, one of the most dangerous issues in our Central European region. The aim of this project was also to point out this problem and prevent its aggravation through school programmes. I would like to thank especially to my colleagues from Kulturbüro Sachsen and Foundation of Subjective Values for support in all project activities.

Martin Rozumek, director, Organization for Aid to Refugees

2. Terminology (definition of Extremism)

When four organizations from four different countries work together on such controversial issues as racism, xenophobia and extremism, no one should be surprised when it comes to conflicts. What do we exactly mean with these terms? Do we understand each other when we talk about racism or extremism? All the participating organizations deal in their everyday work with these terms, but sometimes on very different levels. These differences are also caused by public discourse in respective countries.

The least problem we had was with the word “xenophobia”. The Oxford Standard English dictionary defines it as “an unreasonable fear of foreigners or strangers or of that which is foreign or strange.”¹ This definition we can comply with. It starts to be complicated, when we come to racism. Trying to find a suitable definition, we found a hundreds of them, more or less useful for us. For the purpose of our project we agreed on a simple definition, which is in accordance with the common use of this word in public. Racism is in this case a discrimination, violence or verbal attacks against people, because of their colour of skin, religion, culture, nationality or origin. We decided to include not only the “biological” characteristics as skin colour, but also cultural characteristics such as religion, because modern racism, for example in the form of anti-Islamic racism works on the same principle. It takes some cultural characteristics and declares them for unchangeable (Arab = Muslim = Islamist). This definition lacks some important aspects, such as power or institutional racism. The seminars at schools showed us, that it is very complicated in a short time to explain these aspects to such young people.

Extremism is a very modern and very controversial word. In Central Europe, as it dominates public, political and media discourse. Extremism comes from political science² and found its way into the politics and law enforcement, where it is used to describe crimes with racist, xenophobic etc. motivation and crimes or solely expressions against the democratic order of the state. Though there is a massive criticism of this term from other social scientists and practitioners in the area of prevention of such phenomena, most politicians stick to it. The reason could be, that extremism brings clarity in two ways. It defines a democratic majority of the society and pushes the perpetrators to the extreme edge of the society. More than that, it also allows to brand-mark them with clear names – right-wing, left-wing, environmental or Islamite extremists. Every political enemy can be labelled as extremist and in this way deterred from the democratic participation.

The alternatives to the term extremism are different in each country. In the Czech Republic there is a strong effort to get the term hate crime/hate violence accepted. This effort was successful in great parts of civic society and in the media. Its advantage is that it moves the focus from the perpetrator to the victim. In Germany the discussion tends to differentiation. The attitudes or crimes should not be labelled with this general term extremism, but to be called, what they really are: racism, neo-Nazism, anti-Semitism, anti-Roma racism, xenophobia, homophobia, sexism etc.

There is one reason, why the project partners and other NGOs still use the term extremism. Extremism is understood in the society and at political levels. However, the adherence to extremism was the main conflict point in our discussions.

3. COUNTRY SUMMARY

3.1. Hungary

3.1.1. Historical development after 1989

Forty-three years after the '56 revolution, Hungary became a democratic republic once again on October 23rd 1989. Peaceful change relied on round-table discussions between the reform-communists (Miklós Németh – Gyula Horn) and opposition organisations e.g. Duna-kör, MDF, Demokratikus Charta and FIDESZ. Owing to the fact that many decisions and laws were made still in 1988 to help the regime change, the far-right is still very critical of the results.

The next year in 1990 there were elections, in which the conservative MDF (Hungarian Democratic Forum) won the most votes (41%). The strongest opposition party being the SZDSZ (Alliance of Free Liberals), which captured almost a third of the votes (30%). That was enough for the liberals to create a new government, led by József Antall, who died in 1993 and was followed by Péter Boross for the rest of the year until the next elections, to accept a Liberal president, Árpád Göncz. In this period under the leadership of István Csurka, the first radical party was established, called the MIÉP, and their weekly paper, the Magyar Fórum, became the centre of organised right-wing extremism. Their ideology centred on the radical right ideas of the 20s-40s (Hungarism) in Hungary, but the main elements were the revision of the country's borders and the struggle against the “cosmopolitan Jewish conspiracy”. Of course, they covered many other topics too (anti-communism, social demagoguery, anti-liberal ideas), but these were much less important in their daily life. The Soviet troops (almost a hundred thousand soldiers) left Hungary between 1990 and 1991. In the following years Hungary applied to the Euro-Atlantic group (NATO and EU). Membership to NATO was obtained in 1999 and to the EU in 2004.

1 Quoted by Wikipedia: <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Xenophobia>; as seen on January 27th 2012.

2 See especially Backes, Uwe/Jesse, Eckhard. (1996). Politischer Extremismus in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland. Bonn.

In this period, the young democracy had its first mass demonstration, a blockade caused by the taxi drivers at the end of 1990 (Oct. 25), after the government raised the tax of the fuel. They stopped the traffic all over Budapest (the bridges and main roads were blockaded by parked taxi-cars) and even in the countryside. Because of the mass protests, the government finally had to withdraw their high tax. Many expected the liberals to support the actions, but this did not occur.

The Antall-Boross government struggled to create a reasonably well-functioning parliamentary democracy in a market-economy and to manage the related political, social and economic crises resulting from the collapse of the former Communist system. A massive decline in living standards led to a huge loss of political support. The change from Communism to Capitalism was a hard process. Many (with a drop of approx 30% of GDP) became unemployed or just didn't find their place in the new system. The former paternalism of the state was changing, but governments still saved something from the past and didn't remove this paternalism completely. Punishments for criminals remained quite soft. The health care and the education system are still waiting for reforms, and the semi-private pension system and a large portion of the National Oil Company's shares were re-communalised recently. In the 90s most of the state's property was sold. Corruption was extremely high before '89, but it also remained for the next decade and there were quite a few scandals about misuse of State money, maybe the largest of which was the "Tocsik case", where almost 800 million HUF (55 million USD at that time) was spent on a lawyer's fee, because she received a share of the profit after selling state property.

In 1994 the MSZP (Hungarian Socialist Party – the former State party) achieved plurality with more than 50% of the votes in the elections and they made a coalition with liberals (SZDSZ), since together with them they had 72% of the mandate. The prime minister was Gyula Horn, who opened the Hungarian borders to Austria in 1989, letting many East-Germans escape through Hungary to the West. This government continued the Euro-Atlantic integration policy and faced the threat of State bankruptcy. Horn initiated economic reforms and the aggressive privatization of State enterprises into multinational companies, in return for an expectation of investment (in the form of reconstruction, expansion and modernization). His Minister of Finance, Lajos Bokros, led a very strict cost reducing policy. It was called the "Bokros-plan", which caused huge increase of unemployment and criminality, drastic cuts of social expenses and a big protest in society.

At the general elections in 1994 the radical MIÉP gained 85.000 votes (1,59%), which was not enough for them to get into Parliament, since the entrance limit is 5% in Hungary. The party gained a few new topics, such as anti-globalism, and EU and NATO scepticism, but their voice was marginalised and with their activities they could only reach voters in Budapest, as all their concerns were not relevant for citizens in the countryside.

The next election was won by the conservative (ex-liberal) Viktor Orbán. He was then 35 years old, and his party was the Fidesz (Union of Young Democrats). Together with the MDF and FKGP they began a so-called civic policy. With an increasing GDP the government could increase support of students and families with children. While governing Fidesz gained control over its coalition partners and this led to a new system of conservative forces, with only one strong party (Fidesz) instead of former 3-4 formations. The Viktor Orbán dominance of the party was already strong enough to build an iconic image of his role, which was one of the reasons they lost the next election in 2002 with a record-high 73% voter turnout.

At the 1998 elections MIÉP gained enough votes to establish a fraction in the Hungarian parliament. They almost tripled the number of their voters to 250.000, which was 5,55% of the total votes. Their role in that period was very marginalised. They were neither in opposition, as they supported the ruling FIDESZ in some cases, nor in the Government, so didn't obtain any rank or position. After four years of Fidesz government, the MSZP-SZDSZ coalition was able to win again. The new prime minister was Péter Medgyessy. After two years he was removed by the leading parties and the liberal capitalist Ferenc Gyurcsány became the Head of the Government. Until the next elections Hungary officially joined the EU. In 2005 the coalition couldn't agree on the new President of Hungary, thus making use of this vacuum, László Sólyom was elected, who became a strong opponent of the social-liberal government. While almost the same number of people voted for the radical right MIÉP in 2002 (245.000), it was only 4,37% of all

voters, so the party fell from parliament. Because of this failure and also because of bad cooperation, many participants from the youth movement of the party joined the newly formed Jobbik party. Nor did they have enough votes in 2006, as then 119.000 votes were collected, which was 2,20%, but this time they were already going for the mandate together with the Jobbik party.

In 2006 after winning the elections again, Ferenc Gyurcsány held a speech at a meeting of the Socialist fraction, where he talked about his lies which misled the nation to vote for the Socialists. He also urged a new dialogue with voters. But this event was controversial. It was released to the public and strong demonstrations started against Gyurcsány. The demonstrators attacked the building of the National Television and they managed to occupy it. In the autumn of 2006, there were many riots on the streets of Budapest, which were finally suppressed by the police. In this environment, the government couldn't finish its plans and with the increased activity of the opposition they had to resign in 2009 (after losing the EU elections). For one year, when Gordon Bajnai led the government as a technocrat, he would only make essential macroeconomic decisions. In 2010 Viktor Orbán and his party won with a huge majority in the elections. The new government began a very dominant policy, which led to many debates about the new Constitution and the Media Law, topics which were on front pages all over the EU, while Hungary held the EU presidency in the second half of the year.

Hungary took a role in UN and NATO actions and also sent troops to Kosovo, Iraq and Afghanistan (including engineers and medics, but on the last occasion fighting soldiers as well). Since 1989 Hungary remained a very homogenic country. Migration is very low (2-3 %) and almost half of newcomers are ethnic-Hungarians from neighbouring countries.

3.1.2. Political parties, organized groups and informal groups currently involved in extreme, xenophobic and racist activities

The list below of course cannot be totally complete, as many small groups can exist without any knowledge of them, and of course there are many formal or informal initiatives which are on the edge of being extremist. Here is a list of those groups, which exist today, that have clearly extremist views (such as anti-roma, anti-semitic and neo-nazi)

MIÉP

The Party of Hungarian Justice and Life was founded by a group of expelled politicians from the first governing conservative party in 1993. As I wrote in the previous chapter, their ideology was inherited from the past, from the radicals of the 1920s and 1944-45, which included a strong anti-Semitism and nationalism. After getting into the parliament in 1998, they fell out in 2002 and were never able to come back again. The party leader, István Csurka a former writer, ruled the party, which was considered a "one man show" in many cases. Maybe this is also the reason why the party lost their supporters, as Csurka is getting older and became boring, at least compared to Jobbik.

Hungarian Guard and the New Hungarian Guard

The organisation was founded in 2007 and it was banned in 2009, after they founded a new one with the same members. Their main activities were the demonstrations in villages and towns, usually against "Roma criminals". Their uniform and paramilitary marches scared many people and because of their Árpád flag symbols they were considered right-wing extremists.

The Jobbik party from the beginning was a close ally of the guard, until the division to two sides in 2008 the Guard split into a Jobbik-dependent and an independent movement.

Conscience 88

While they are denying it, the number 88 could mean also the neonazi symbol of heil Hitler (the 8th letter is the H). The official statement says the organisation was established to protest against destroying Hungarian villages in Romania in 1988, but after many passive years they were reactivated in 2002. The organisation is active in protesting against socialist governments, they are demonstrating against drug liberalization and against the membership of the EU. They were also protesting against sending Hungarian troops to Iraq and Afghanistan. They were supporting Zündel, who was imprisoned in Germany because of Holocaust-denial.

Blood and honour Hungary

The well known international neonazi organisation was working in Hungary too, until being banned in 2005-06, since then they are working under a different name with an unofficial movement.

Kurucinfo

The website kuruc.info ("kuruc" a name of independence fighters from the 18th century) is running from American web servers, and the authors of the news and articles of the site are anonymous. Whilst there are quite clear facts as to who are in the background, still there are no decisions against any owner or writer of the site. It has been operating since 2004 after the failed referendum about giving citizenship for ethnic Hungarians abroad.

The portal is the most important one among right-wing extremist websites, sharing fresh and relevant news, while it is very provocative and the language is clearly racist.

Hatvannégy Vármegye Ifjúsági Mozgalom

Their name is reflecting the historical Hungary's 64 counties and their main activities are connected to the Hungarian communities and history over the nowadays borders. They have been operating since 2001 and are in a strong cooperation with Jobbik party.

Bombagyár

The "bomb factory" portal was run by Tamás Polgár also known as "Tomcat" between 2004-2009, who established it as a blog for people banned from other websites or forums. As he was selling provocative T-shirts "Tomcat" always had the good sense to get the media's attention. He had several provocative action against socialist-liberal values. He was also an active organiser of the attacks on the gay pride march in 2008. Since he finished running that blog, he became involved in a new one, but then with less activity he disappeared from the far-right scene. His last action was a fist fight after a trial with Előd Novák EP of the Jobbik party.

Magyar Nemzeti Arcvonal

This organisation is existing since 1989 and it is a real Hungarianistic movement, following the ideology of Ferenc Szálasi, who was leading Hungary in 1944-45 and was one of the most faithful followers of Hitler. Whilst in the 1990s it was quite passive in the last years they reactivated, having some activities such as musical events, military trainings and some publications.

3.1.3. Topics of extremists

The topics of the extremist groups are changing in Hungary. Some of them are very relevant and they focus on them a lot (anti-gypsism, irredentism or homophobia). Some others are weak topics and even the extremists do not care too much about them (neo-Nazism or the skinhead subculture).

The great Hungary and injustice of Trianon

Hungary was a multi ethnic country at the beginning of the 20th century and after World War I. In the peace which was forced on them (they signed it in the palace of Trianon in Versailles), the country lost the two thirds of its territory in which many ethnic Hungarians were situated, something that shocked the nation. This led to a revisionist policy and it was one of the main reasons to participate in World War II., on the side of the Axis in order to gain back their territories (Hungary got back some parts from Slovakia, Romania and Yugoslavia between 1938 and 1941 because of help from Hitler and Mussolini). After 1945 Hungary was again forced to give up these territories, and in the Communist era it was absolutely a taboo to question the new borders.

After 1989 the governments of Hungary kept very far away from revisionist voices. They signed treaties to strengthen these borders, but there was always some kind of activity to reconnect Hungarians through the borders. Depending on the personalities of the politicians they managed to create a good (or sometimes a bad) relationship with neighbouring countries concerning the "Hungarian issue".

Of course, the extremists never agreed with this situation and from early on started a revisionist discourse. As it is also a topic of all political movements. It's hard to determine the extremist and normal approaches, but there are a

few aspects which clearly belong to the radicals. Blaming the leftish revolution in 1918 and the Communists in power in 1919, underlining the Jewish background of the leaders of the Communists, is similar to the tactics of the Nazis in Germany in the thirties. While it was clear that Hungary had to lose these territories anyway, it is felt that before the treaty that Hungary had some chances, a leftish government and 131 days of communist dictatorship to have actually taken back some of the occupied territories.

Nowadays maps with its former-historical borders are very popular, not only among extremists, but also as a part of the patriotic subculture. They are well spread on car rear windows as a vignette for patriots, but the extremist attitude is to wear it on one's clothes. By the way the trauma of Trianon-treaty is a kind of tragedy for extremists ideology, it is the origin of all the problems by their views and still today it is a not solved tragedy for them.

Roma-Gypsies in Hungary

Ethnic minorities are always a target for Right-wing extremists. In Hungary approximately 4-600 thousand people have Roma origins. The majority of them lack basic education and as a direct consequence live in deep poverty and in historic formal and informal segregation with no chance of breaking from this vicious circle.

The extremists consider these people as naturally born criminals, who terrorising local "true-Hungarians" by extremists views - (romas are not Hungarians). Also they blame their large family model, with a high number of children. In past years, two scandals strengthened this negative Roma-image. One was a street lynching of an innocent driver who thought that he crashed into a young Roma-child. The other happened in a night-club, where a Roma gang mortally wounded a popular handball player in a fight. Both stories got huge media coverage and directly raised support of the anti-Roma political party by 2-3 percent.

The Jobbik party have successfully changed the enemy's image and the ethnic agenda from the Jews to the Roma since 2006. Roma people are less visible and have less defence from the international community than Jewish communities have since 1945, and prejudice against the Roma is stronger in the Hungarian society. Saying that Roma people are criminals is a very popular statement by right wing extremists. While it was still a taboo, the police-chief of Miskolc held a press-conference in 2009 in which he stated that criminals of a certain type of crime are all Roma. This phrase of "Roma-criminality" is a very strong tool in extremist communication still nowadays.

Attacking gay-pride marches

After 12 years of peaceful marches, the Budapest gay community suffered a serious attack on the annual gay-pride march in 2007 and in the next year too. The extremists threw eggs, tomatoes, stones, smoke-grenades and petards on to the marching people and police forces couldn't properly protect the participants. So from 2009, the streets were closed, an action which gave back security, but also produced an isolated feeling to the pride march. It's interesting that, while in Western European countries many far-right politicians belong to LGBTQ, in Hungary it is still impossible for them here.

Anti-semitism

Hungary has one of the biggest Jewish communities in Europe. Not only because of this, right-wing extremists are very anti-semitic and the State of Israel is a normal target of their communication. It is also controversial, as in Western countries the anti-Muslim forces are changing their opinion about Israel and supporting them in order to fight against "Muslim terrorism". Hungary just recently had a scandal with a member of the EP, Krisztina Morvai, a well-known member of the extremist party Jobbik, who joined an allied party called the European Alliance for Freedom. She then had to cancel this alliance, as the Jobbik party did not condone it.

Islamophobia

While in the western European countries the far-right is strongly islamophobic, in Hungary because of the traditional anti-semitism and anti-Israel view of the extremists, muslim communities even sometimes are partners of far-right events. In 2011, after Breivik's brutal attack in Norway the Pax Hungarica hate group launched a racist campaign on the internet against muslims in Hungary, but it is still a weak part of Hungarian extremists' ideology.

The Árpád flag

The white-red lined flag was one of the ancient historic banners of Hungary, used mainly in the mediaeval ages, but it was re-established by the Nyilas movement (the extreme-radicals of 1944-45, who collaborated with Nazis) and became a symbol of the Holocaust in Hungary too. The red-white lines appeared on a neo-nazi demonstration once

again (on the Day of Honour, which was organised by the Blood and Honour Association). Since then, it has become an element of extremist demonstrations and meetings. Besides the socialists and liberals, the conservative FIDESZ party and President Sólyom were also against letting the flag be used in demonstrations and there were some attempts to forbid it. Today it is still legal and can be used. The Jobbik party took it for its agenda and is still using it in some cases. As a motive in vignettes clothes it is the strongest general symbol for the far-right and extremists groups.

Ancient Hungarian culture

The ancient history of Hungarian tribes is very mystified. There are many more theories about Hungarian origin. While the scientific approaches are very carefully handling this issue, the extremists circles are having a clear vision about the great ancient Hungarian culture and history. The most wild theories say Hungarians were living in the great ancient cultures (in Egypt, in South-America, in the Middle-East sometimes in the Far-East) and they lost everything because of a kind of Jewish conspiracy or even because of an alien attack or invasion. The special writing is a kind of rune also very important for this sub-culture as the ancient religion (shamanism) and the nomad lifestyle too. Usually you can meet these things at extremists events (at Magyar Sziget for example). Of course not all people who have a positive attitude for ancient history and culture are extremists, but from the other point of view the coincidence is very well visible.

3.1.4. Biggest events

The Hungarian island – Magyar Sziget

There is a big international multicultural Summer festival in Budapest called “Sziget”, which means island, as it is held on an island every year. To stand as a counter-event, the Sixty-four Counties Youth Movement (the name refers to “big Hungary”) has been organising the Hungarian Island Festival, which is a week-long event in the countryside 20-30 km from Budapest, since 2002. In past years, the number of visitors reached the 10 thousand mark.

Nationalist, skinhead bands and also moderate rock-and-roll bands perform, sometimes causing a shock to their followers, as this event is considered an extremist one. Almost every year there was some kind of scandal: once there was some atrocity with local Roma people; later, the organisers couldn't guarantee the safety of one of the performer's vocalists, because they were black. They don't let the Press in to the festival; and they terrorise journalists, because they work for liberal magazines.

At the latest festival in 2011, the leader of the British National Party was greeting the crowd of the SAGA concert with a “sieg heil”, which band was an idol of the Norwegian mass murderer. The other case happened at a talk show, where a clear call was about shooting other ethnicities which was told by Tyrityán, who is a leader from the paramilitaristic Betyársereg. Later the Parliament's Committee of National Security held a meeting about this issue.

Day of Honour – February 12

The same day when Dresden was bombed in 1944, in Budapest the surrounded Nazi troops and many civilians tried to break out from the besieged town. Their last stronghold was the castle of Buda, but the mainly German and partly Hungarian soldiers were almost entirely shot, in the narrow streets and later in the surrounding hill's forests by the Soviet Red Army. This day is called the Day of Honour among neo-Nazis and year by year they have a kind of demonstration or commemoration on that day. Usually skinheads come from Germany and other countries too. No more than a few hundred people in uniforms salute the memory of the killed soldiers. The event is organised by Blood and Honour: since the organisation was forbidden, they then founded an informal movement, called Pax Hungarica (see earlier).

Marches of the Hungarian Guard

One of the most successful organised activities for the far-right in Hungary. The guard was founded by the Jobbik party in 2007 and it was dissolved three years later by the supreme court, as they said.....“The ethnicity- and race-based opinions expressed at the demonstrations and events organized by the Hungarian guard against “gypsy crime”, have in fact breached the basic principle of the right to human dignity. The Hungarian guard has [...] turned discrimination into an agenda. In order to express this, the Hungarian guard has held intimidating demonstrations on several occasions.” While it existed, they organised several real hostile campaigns against Roma (marches and demonstrations) mainly to small towns or villages to oppose local Roma communities. They claimed these marches were a demonstration against

Roma-criminality, a concept which is often used in far-right circles. Their uniform, their marching style and form and historical flags caused them to be seen as a paramilitary group, also because they hold trainings and inaugurations. Since their dissolution they were unable to reorganise the group so effectively, but for example the Gyöngyöspata marchings were launched by them.

In March 2011, in a small village called Gyöngyöspata, a far-right group called Véderő (Defence Forces) started to patrol in the streets against criminals. Their members were invited by locals claiming that the Roma people make troubles and commit crimes in the village. The government was hesitating to react on this issue, while the conflict caused a clash between local Roma and extremists and 300 Roma children and women were evacuated to Budapest, which action was called later by the government as a provocation. After weeks of activity and influencing the national agenda, the organisation left the village, because one night the police occupied the village, not allowing them to continue the patrols, while the government created a new law against "uniformed far-right groups". The later published civil reports are accusing the government, because of their low and unclear reaction. Gyöngyöspata was the first big action in the time of Fidesz-KDNP government by extremists and almost all actors of the field were involved to the situation, causing a kind of trauma in the national agenda. The mayor of the village resigned and after the whole story the Jobbik could win the local elections, where the new mayor created a very strict welfare system, causing troubles mainly the local Roma people.

3.1.5. Extremist views in the current political mainstream parties

Currently in Hungary there are five parties in Parliament. The governing Fidesz and Christian Democrat conservatives, the Socialist Party (MSZP), the Jobbik far-right party and the Politics Can Be Different (LMP) newly established principally green-ecological party. The MSZP and LMP try to be in the position of the defenders of the human rights, so the case of racist acts or events both parties counteract with more or less effectiveness. While LMP is a new formation, MSZP governed Hungary for two periods between 2002-10. The socialists couldn't solve many problems and social conflicts in this time, and as the extremely unpopular PM Ferenc Gyurcsány was always an active participant at antifascist or human rights demonstrations, this was counterproductive, since his bad reputation had a negative effect on these movements too.

The current conservative government is trying to create a distance between their party and the far-right, while for the last eight years it was not so important for them to do so. Some media programmes support extremists and the conservatives at the same time, and both sides were happy with that to be the case

While the Fidesz party and Viktor Orbán are far from being anti-Semitic, the reactions on anti-Roma voices are not so effective or visible. As a huge percent of non-Roma Hungarians hold negative attitudes toward Roma it is not a surprise that anti-Roma declarations or politicians appear on every side, but Fidesz is trying avoiding a quick reaction to this topic, as they don't want to lose voters by protecting Roma people. However, most of their supporters do not consider themselves as part of an anti-roma movement, even though criticism, prejudice and stereotypes are useful for their daily political life.

The former MP and FIDESZ member Oszkár Molnár, for example, made a statement about local Roma women, saying that they hit their body with a gummy-hammer while they are pregnant in order to give birth to children with disabilities, so they can get larger social benefits. After this scandal the Fidesz was not supporting him to go for next elections, but he lost his membership only then, when he nominated himself as an independent aspirant for mayor in his village in Edelény.

The Jobbik party is a clearly anti-Roma movement. They gained their support by promising to "create order" among Roma people, to cut their benefits and to provide strict protection for the ethnically divided regions of Hungary. The state cannot change a situation concerning almost half a million people in a few years. Maybe decades are needed to integrate Roma people: but this is costly and people don't want to wait, so Jobbik is providing a populist answer for a difficult issue, while they successfully increased the ethnic division in the country, through which topic they can gain more and more support.

3.1.6. State approach in Hungary - Good and bad approaches of prevention of extremist, xenophobic and racist activities

Minority self-governments

The cornerstone of minority rights protection in Hungary is the 1993 Law on the Rights of National and Ethnic Minorities. The 1993 Act recognized the existence of thirteen minorities: Armenians, Bulgarians, Croats, Germans, Greeks, Poles, Roma, Romanians, Ruthenes, Serbs, Slovaks, Slovenes and Ukrainians. A condition for recognition is that the relevant minority has to have been present in Hungary for at least a century. All recognized minorities are entitled to establish Minority Self-Governments (MSGs), which provide wide cultural autonomy for minorities and primarily handle cultural and educational affairs. The president of each MSG also has the right to speak at and attend local government assemblies. The Act, which includes prohibitions against assimilation, discrimination and harassment, makes the provision of minority-language classes compulsory when demanded by more than eight children. The state is obliged to support cultural activities of minorities, and local bodies are instructed to make official documents and street names bilingual in areas of minority settlement. There were around 5,000 Roma members in the local MSGs and 1118 out of 2045 active MSGs were Roma following the local elections of October 2006. There are two Roma members of the European Parliament in the Hungarian delegation.

Equal Treatment Act – Equal Treatment authority

The 2003 Equal Treatment Act also includes an important innovation in Hungarian law, the so called ‘actio popularis’ procedure, whereby non-governmental organisations are able to act as plaintiffs in cases where they consider a provision to be discriminatory even though no individual has yet suffered any harm. Although important measures had been taken to promote the integration of Roma into society, it is still true that Roma communities continue to face various forms of discrimination in a range of fields such as education, employment, housing and healthcare. The Roma self governing system is not affecting their life in the way it should and its lack of power to bring changes making the effort in the eye of the people illegitimate.

The Equal Treatment Authority was established by Act CXXV of 2003 on equal treatment and the promotion of equal opportunities as set in the Government Decree No 362/2004 (XII.26.). The Authority started its work on the 1st of February 2005. It is an independent organization, which was set up by the Hungarian Government to receive and deal with individual and public complaints about unequal treatment and to implement the principles of equality and non-discrimination. The Authority works under the direction of the Minister for Social Affairs and Labour, however neither the government nor the Ministry may instruct the Authority when it performs its tasks under the Equal Treatment Act. This provision intends to guarantee the Authority's independence from the Government.

The Authority is led by a president, appointed by the Prime Minister. The Equal Treatment Act required the setting up of an Advisory Body to assist the Authority in issues of strategic importance. The Board consists of experts with outstanding experience in asserting the right of equal treatment. The 6-member Board was appointed by the Prime Minister after an extensive consultation process, in the course of which NGOs nominated the 24 candidates. The members are well known in professional circles as truly independent experts in this field. The Board has co-decision powers with the Authority on the adoption of proposals for Government decisions and draft legislation relating to equal treatment and on reporting in general.

The law §174/B

In the criminal code there is this law since 1996, which is punishing the violence against any ethnic, racial or religious group. The problem with this law, that only in a few cases they use it, even in clear situation, so it doesn't protect minorities. But it is much more problematic, that it was used against Roma people where in fact they were provoked by extremists before the conflicts. For more details see the “Hate crime” part later.

3.1.7. State approach in Hungary - good and bad approaches of state repression against extremist, xenophobic and racist activities

Riots in 2006

After Gyurcsány's speech in 2006 (about their lies in the campaign), many protesters demonstrated on the streets. While during the first days it was shocking for the state that riots could reach such level (occupying the State television's offices), in following days strict police action was taken and these became battles between the police force and the street rioters, many of whom were football hooligans. While this approach was really efficient, the police in many cases were not acting correctly. This led to later trials, from which many protesters got rewards from unjust police treatment and after many years of investigation process, even the accusations of attacker-rioters were dismissed, as the process took too much time, which created an image, that rioting was not really against the law. These cases also strengthened the "bad Socialist Government" image, which was really practical at that time for the Fidesz opposition and the supporters of Jobbik extremists.

Dissolution of Magyar Garda

As mentioned before, the Hungarian Guard was disbanded because the Hungarian Public Prosecutor sued the group, alleging that its activity differs from its memorandum of association, causing fear among ethnic groups and they tried to take over such state sovereignty, as keeping the order. The case was delayed several times. On the 16th December 2008, the Metropolitan Court of Budapest disbanded the "Magyar Garda" Organization because the court held that the activities of the organization were against the human rights of minorities. The "Magyar Garda" Organization appealed against the judgment, but the judgment of the first instance court was upheld by Supreme Court in 2010.

Prohibition of patrolling in uniforms

In 2011 a new law was accepted as a result of the Gyöngyöspata incidents. It is now forbidden to patrol in uniforms in order to maintain order and frighten people, because of their origins.

Prosecution of key extremists

György Budaházy is one of the emblematic figure of the Hungarian right-wing extremists. He was the organizer of a bridge-closing illegal demonstration against socialist government in 2002 in Budapest. In the following years his name appeared as a member of Magyarok Nyilai (Arrows of the Hungarians), which was a terror-group. They had several minor attacks (Molotov cocktails) on the properties of government members, a physical attack on a conservative (former socialist) politician and they claimed the responsibility of the attack on a music store, where the staff had conflict about not distributing tickets on a nationalist concert. They attacked two gay-bars too. The police arrested him in 2009 and he spent two years in jail, now he is in home-detention. If the charges are proved, he could get a life sentence. Until the end of the trial the far-right side is trying to make him a martyr of struggle against corrupt, cosmopolitan governments. As I was writing about the extremist and provocative kuruc.info website, the state tried to shut down their page not once as it is running from the USA, where freedom of speech is much wider. After some unofficial pressure a few companies shut down the site, which always managed to move to another server. In 2011 the Facebook banned their fan page and it was not allowed to share news from the site, but the website and fan page are running again.

The issue of serial-killing of Roma people

The six murdered victims in the nine attacks in 2008-09 is a shocking part of the modern history of Hungary. The four members of the hate-group from the countryside systematically chose their target and made their attacks on completely unknown Roma people. (Usually they chose one of the last houses in small villages, where they knew Roma people were living.) Beside the murdered ones, they seriously wounded other five people and fifty-five people were in peril from their brutal attacks. The father and his son who were shot to death when they were escaping from a burning house or the teenager girls, who survived the last attack while their mother was killed in the same room as their beds became a tragical symbols of the actions.

In the time of the attacks, the Roma people were traumatised, they never knew when the next attack will happen and who will be the next victim. Even in one case a group of non-Roma people were driving slowly at night-time in their car among Romas' house to provoke them which ended with a fist-fighting incident, where the local Romas were arrested and they are now facing serious punishment.

Without quoting numerous details At the time the authorities did not recognise the seriousness and the connections between the cases Later the background of the groups raised many questions (one of the attackers was working for the secret-service too).

Also problematic, as their accusation says “murdering”, while we would use “terror-attack” as they used their actions to deepen the conflicts between Roma and non-Roma in order to launch a civil-war.

3.1.8. Non-State Actors – successful activities and lessons learned

In Hungary there are only a few dozen of organizations and experts working in the field of anti-discrimination and only just a few of them are acting against right-wing extremism in any way. As most of them have been working for a few years I will introduce their general activities. Unfortunately the list cannot be complete. There are always organizations doing good work, but having only local impact or less effect on right-wing extremism We cannot introduce them here all.

Music Against Racism

Zene a Rassizmus Ellen - ZARE (Music Against Racism) is a Hungarian movement following the footsteps of the British Rock Against Racism (RAR) and Love Music Hate Racism (LMHR). ZARE was established by the British Embassy in Budapest in 2009, and it is operated by the Hungarian NGO Foundation of Subjective Values since that year. The aim of the movement is to take a stand against dangerous extremist ideas such as racism, using the language of music. It is open for people to join, stand up for the rights and equality of all people, and support tolerance. In the last two years, hundreds of thousands of people have attended events with active campaigns and many musicians have joined the campaign as well. The campaign has a living and popular website and Facebook page.

Amnesty International

The AI is a global organisation dealing with lot of issues, but in Hungary in recent years they have left Guantanamo and Africa's conflicts behind and started to focus on Roma issue of Hungary. Publishing a report on hate crimes and the State's policy was a useful action. The organisation has also become very active in LGBTQ topics and has built a strong and active activist network, mainly among young students.

Háttér Support Society for LGBT People

The association was founded in 1995, is the largest LGBT NGO in Hungary. It operates a telephone hotline, a legal aid service, an HIV/AIDS prevention programme and an archive documenting the history of the LGBT movement in Hungary. Besides its core activities Háttér regularly participates in research and training projects and is actively involved in lobbying for advancing the rights of LGBT people through legal change. Háttér is founding member of the Hungarian LGBT Alliance, and active member of ILGA-Europe.

Menedék Association

Their name means shelter. The organization is mainly helping refugees and conducting social work. It was established in January 1995 as a civil initiative. Their main objectives are to represent international migrants among the majority society and to promote the social and cultural integration of those refugees and migrants that plan to stay in Hungary, by means of targeted programmes and projects, raising awareness of the topic resulted in such projects as “Self-portrait of refugees” or “Immigrant Budapest”. Using an intercultural approach, these projects are popular and successful in their way. Another important project was in 2009, the “Promoting the Integration of Migrants by Reducing Discrimination” programme. The goal of the project was to find, sanction and ultimately reduce incidents of discrimination based on race, ethnicity, colour, economic status, religion and ideology faced by migrants living in Hungary, in order to further their integration.

To map discrimination against migrants and better understand the discriminatory situations they face, Menedék established a monitoring network with the participation of NGOs, authorities and organisations that come into contact with migrants on a regular basis. The participants of the monitoring network forwarded the incidents that appear to be discriminatory to Menedék, who then conducted fact finding visits and contacted the relevant authorities if necessary.

During the project, Menedék provided legal representation to the victims of discrimination in a few important cases before the Equal Treatment Authority. The project was accompanied by a campaign and a publication that attracted attention to discrimination faced by migrants and raised public awareness thereof, reducing the prevalence of discrimination.

Jai Bhim Network

The community belonging to the Buddhist Church of Hungary is running several schools in the countryside of Hungary in villages where mostly Roma people are living. The successful project educated hundreds of Roma children and their parents too, as many adults didn't finish their studies. The first and largest school is situated in Sajókaza. Nowadays their work is in danger, as the new law about religions does not consider them to be a proper church, so they don't get the same support from the state to run their schools as other religious schools.

Athena Institute

The institute's mission by their website is to enhance human dignity and protect the most vulnerable communities while combating social exclusion and stepping up against those representing extremist agendas by launching powerful initiatives to shape the public discourse.

In a broader context the Institute's public interventions aim is to prevent small-scale human rights violations to spiralling out of control and become a full-fledged security policy challenge. The Institute is an independent, nonprofit and nonpartisan organization that neither solicits, nor accepts funding from the Hungarian Government. The Athena Institute is committed to high quality research and analysis as it is dedicated to raise public awareness to reinforce our most profound values. On their website they publish an updated description of the Hungarian extremists groups and their activity, they also publish reports on incidents and investigative background information too. (see their web address among other organisations' at the end of this study).

Artemisszió Foundation

The Artemisszió Foundation has been operating since 1998 as a non-profit organization of public interest. The goals of the Artemisszió Foundation are to encourage continuous dialogue and interaction between culturally, ethnically and socially diverse groups and to foster their mutual understanding, to support the social integration of socially and culturally disadvantaged groups. The mission of the Foundation is to provide an opportunity for the widest possible section of society to take part in activities that develop competencies that strengthen relations among people, improve communication and conflict-resolution skills, and contribute to the development of tolerance, mutual understanding and cooperation. For us it is a priority to include socially disadvantaged groups - the unemployed, people living in rural areas, the Roma and immigrants - to increase their equal opportunities and to fight social exclusion.

Centre for Independent Journalism and their trainings for journalists

The Centre for Independent Journalism (CIJ) is a non-profit and non-political organization with the aim of promoting ethical, fact-based journalism and independent media in Hungary. CIJ has been the only organization in Hungary offering journalism and media training on a non-profit basis since its foundation in 1995, and has trained thousands of media students and professionals. From 1995 to 2003, CIJ focused its activities on basic journalism training, but in past years – according to changing requirements – the Centre has put a special emphasis on the further training of professional journalists to contribute to ethical and quality journalism. In recent years, priority areas have been: training of journalists and managers; diversity reporting and multiculturalism; international cooperation and networking; media self-regulation and freedom of information issues.

MEASZ and their Democracy Academy

Union of Hungarian Resistance and Anti-fascists follows the traditions of anti-fascist movements from the time of World War II. With remembrance programmes and street demonstrations they are a well known part of Hungarian antifascist movements, but because of their strong leftish political attitude it is hard to unite other activists. Their Democracy Academy educates young adults on the most important human rights and spreading of democratic values, while the yearly Radnóti-prize is one of the most important titles in the field of tolerance, working among NGOs and activists.

Társaság a szabadságjogokért

The Hungarian Civil Liberties Union (HCLU) is a non-profit human rights watchdog NGO established in Budapest, Hungary in 1994. Their website HCLU is a law reform and legal defence public interest NGO in Hungary, working independently of political parties, the state or any of its institutions. HCLU's aim is to promote the case of fundamental rights and principles laid down by the Constitution of the Republic of Hungary and by international conventions. Generally it has the goal of building and strengthening the civil society and rule of law in Hungary and the CEE region. The HCLU strives to educate citizens about their basic human rights and freedoms, and takes stand against undue interference and misuse of power by those in positions of authority. They have a strong focus on Roma issues which makes them an opposition of the extremists many times too.

Méltóságot Mindenkinek Mozgalom (Dignity for everyone)

MMM was established in 2009 and their main goal is to combat all types of racism, but with a strong focus on Roma issues. Running a blog created a kind of positive publicity on the Internet and using a community website they are spreading useful and important information.

The Legal Defence Bureau for National and Ethnic Minorities (NEKI)

It was established in 1993 by the Otherness Foundation (Másság Alapítvány) with the objective of protecting the rights of national and ethnic minorities - especially those of the Roma. By NEKI website it was the first professional NGO specialized in minority rights protection in Hungary. The director of NEKI, dr. Erika Muhi is also the manager of the Foundation's board. NEKI's main objectives are maintaining a free-of-charge legal aid service for disadvantaged Roma and conducting anti-discrimination strategic litigation. In 2008, as a result of a strategic planning process, the Másság Foundation broadened its reach and decided to take cases concerning discrimination on the basis of characteristics other than belonging to an ethnic minority. Thus, NEKI is now engaged in cases concerning discrimination on the grounds of Roma ethnicity, sexual orientation, skin color, age and gender.

In addition to investigating discrimination complaints and taking legal action, NEKI also releases periodic publications and information booklets on various topics. The White Booklet is published annually, and contains brief descriptions of strategic cases and the projects of NEKI and the Másság Foundation. The full list of publications is available under Documents. NEKI has initiated 250-300 cases in the last 10 or so years in the fields of housing, social security, employment, access to goods and services, education, and law enforcement. NEKI has provided legal representation in cases brought before courts and other authorities, particularly the Hungarian equality body, the Equal Treatment Authority. NEKI's legal activities include strategic litigation and free-of-charge legal aid service. A case is considered a strategic one if it could be capable of developing anti-discrimination law or legal practice. Also, a case could fall under this category if the greater number of victims or the seriousness of violation justifies the taking and documenting of the case.

3.1.9. Civil Society Reactions to Violence against Roma

While underscoring that the primary responsibility for addressing intolerance rests with the States, the OSCE (Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe) participating States (Hungary is one of them) have acknowledged the essential role civil society can play in combating intolerance and discrimination and promoting mutual respect and understanding. In particular. They have made commitments to "facilitate the capacity development of civil society to assist victims of hate crimes". A number of NGOs, as well as private individuals, have been involved in activities to try to counter public anti-Roma prejudice and to call for greater action on the part of the Government against those responsible for the attacks on Roma and for creating the environment in which these attacks occurred. One significant event occurred even before the series of attacks, and was prompted by the activities of the Hungarian Guard. On 18 December 2007, over 150 prominent academics and public figures signed a declaration authored by the Hungarian Civil Liberties Union condemning the activities of the Guard and commending the steps taken by the Capital Prosecutor's Office to initiate the dissolution of the organization.

The series of attacks led to the creation of the Méltóságot Mindenkinek Mozgalom (Dignity for All Movement) on 14 March 2009, initiated by Roma and non-Roma academics and civil society activists to protest the violent manifestations of intolerance against Roma and to draw the attention of public and policymakers to the threat posed to social integration and coherence by anti-Roma attitudes and actions.

On 16 February 2009, five human rights NGOs wrote a letter addressed to the President of Hungary, stating that the Roma became scapegoats for current economic and public security challenges and calling on him to make a statement against racism and hatred in Hungary.

This was followed on 22 February by an open letter addressed to the 253/2009. (XI.18.) government decree, in effect since 26 November 2009. It is for the President of Hungary from the "Dignity for All Movement" and a number of its sympathizers, calling on him to make a public statement condemning violence against Roma on the 15th March national holiday. Following the murder in Tatárszentgyörgy on the 23rd February, the President of Hungary called on the investigating authorities to identify the perpetrators and inform the public on the status of the case. Human rights organizations deemed his statement inadequate, as it focused on the general duties of the authorities and did not take a strong stance condemning violence against Roma.

A number of demonstrations were organized by civil society organizations to protest against racism and violence. On 16 May 2009, the Hungarian Democratic Charta (Magyar Demokratikus Charta) and the Roma Civil Rights Movement (Roma Polgárjogi Mozgalom) organized a peaceful protest in Budapest against ethnic exclusion and hatred in Hungary. The then-Minister of Education, the Mayor of Budapest, the head of the Hungarian Socialist Party and the then-Foreign Minister Péter Balázs took part in the demonstration. The Movement of Citizens against the Far Right (Civilek a Szélsőjobb Ellen Mozgalom) organized a peaceful protest against extremism on 15 August 2009 in Budapest.

Civil society organizations have also played an important role in initiating legal measures to combat hate-motivated crime and discrimination and to defend the rights of victims. On 2 March 2009, a Hungarian Member of the European Parliament and the Legal Defence Bureau for National and Ethnic Minorities filed a complaint with the Independent Police Complaints Committee against the law-enforcement officers responsible for investigating the 23 February 2009 attack in Tatárszentgyörgy against a Roma family. The complaint was filed on behalf of the wife of the man and mother of the child killed in the attack.

On 25 June 2009, four human rights NGOs filed a complaint with the National Police and the Capital Prosecutor's Office against a blogger for the dissemination of extremist views and inciting hatred of the Roma via the Internet, after a posting on 16 June saying that Roma had "to be subjugated, expelled from public and cultural life, and any utterance of ethnic nature has to be eliminated without mercy. Their spines have to be broken."

In October 2009, the Hungarian Helsinki Committee filed a complaint with the Equal Treatment Authority against the Mayor of Kiskunlacháza for repeated public anti-Roma statements following the rape and murder in the town in November 2008 of a non-Roma girl. The complaint stated that the Mayor's comments associating the Roma with criminality and violence created an intimidating, hostile and offensive environment for Roma in the town and in neighbouring settlements. As these statements were made to the national media on a number of occasions, the complaint stated that the alleged harassment should be examined at the national level as well.

3.1.10. Demonstrations and actions against far-right extremists

Tarka Magyar (multi-coloured Hungarians)

A civic initiative - independent of political parties - a procession in Budapest starting at the Gödör Klub and passing along Andrassy Avenue, finishing at Heroes Square in 2008 October. The participants rejected every shape and form of violence and exclusion. The end of the procession represented the diversity of society – the participants held a coloured piece of material above their heads and aerial photos are taken.

The March for Life

This is a torch-lit march to honour the Hungarian victims of the Holocaust on the occasion of Holocaust Remembrance Day. The March for Life as a part of the international movement has been held since 2002 starting with 4-500 people marching. The number of participants has now grown to around 20,000.

Demonstrations against Magyar Gárda

The formation of Magyar Gárda on 25th August 2007 was followed by counter-demonstrations organised by anti-fascist, left-wing and Roma organisations. In December 2007 Magyar Gárda held terrifying, anti-Roma demonstration in Tatárszentgyörgy, to which human rights defenders and Roma residents reacted with a counter-demonstration. In 2008 they held a demonstration in Nyírkáta that was followed by a counter-demonstration organised by Roma organisations.

Nights at Gyöngyöspata

Gyöngyöspatai Éjszakák (Gyöngyöspata Nights) is a facebook group, which was launched in mid-March of 2011 as a response to the extremists presence in the town of Gyöngyöspata. The extremists started patrolling the town in early March and stayed for months, terrorizing the local Roma community of over 450 people. The GyÉ facebook group was used as a channel of communication to bring together those in solidarity with the Roma residents of Gyöngyöspata. The group's creators are civilians and human rights activists, independent of any political party. The main activity of the group consisted of organizing carpools of supporters to the town during the most critical nights. The carpools were preceded by consultation with the local Roma leaders.

The group also registered and organized a counterprotest in the town of Hejőszalonta where Hungary's far right party Jobbik held a demonstration in April. Jobbik announced the demonstration as a tool to end "gypsy terror and crime" after a local non-Roma woman was reportedly murdered by a Roma man. The solidarity demonstration with the local Roma community brought hundreds from the capital as well as neighbouring towns and was supported by a number of human rights NGOs. The creators of Gy.É. also registered and organized a number demonstrations outside the Ministry of Interior to call on authorities to protect the Roma residents of Gyöngyöspata and to enforce laws against hate crime. In April, when Defense Force (Véderő, a far-right paramilitary group) organizing a training camp in Gyöngyöspata, Gy.É. organized a community weekend to stay with the Roma residents in solidarity. Many of the residents - mostly women and children - left the town for the weekend fearing the paramilitary group; the police arrested a number of paramilitaries. The community event was still held and consisted of cleaning the streets, painting fences, cooking, and making music. Those in solidarity stayed in Gyöngyöspata for 3 days.

The volunteers of Gy.É. also ran a website during the most critical months and translated articles into English to enable the sharing of information. See <http://gyongyospatasolidarity.wordpress.com/>.

Demonstrations for Új Színház (New theatre)

While the Jobbik party is continuously attacking the director of the National Theatre, as they consider him "gay and liberal" only one demonstration and counterdemonstration was held at the end of 2010 with less interest. At the end of 2011 György Dörner a well known Jobbik supporter won the tender for the director position of Új Színház. As his work was very weak from a professional point of view, protests started against him (and he also named István Csurka as a future partner in his work, since then, Csurka died). There were two demonstrations against Dörner, both of them had hundreds of protesters. As the mayor of Budapest didn't change his mind, Dörner started to work in the theatre, but at the second event there were nationalist counterprotesters too.



3.1.11. Anti-immigrant activities of extremists and preventive/repressive measures against it

All over Europe is an ongoing discussion on the topic of immigration. The dilemma is usually simplified as assimilation or multiculturalism. Following the 1989 transition, Hungary experienced increasing rates of transit migration; this “corridor” role may explain why it maintains a passive policy of migrant integration. Accession to the European Union has not brought dramatic changes in the migration trends of the country; the number of immigrants in Hungary has remained low, approximately 1.5 to 2 percent of the population.

Between 80 to 90 percent of immigrants residing in Hungary are Europeans, primarily ethnic Hungarians from Ukraine, Romania and Serbia; 10 to 15 percent of immigrants are from Asia. Immigration to Hungary is primarily a demand-driven, sub-regional labour migration, often based on seasonal or temporary employment. Immigrants in Hungary tend to have higher education levels than the native population and a larger proportion of them are in the active age range for employment, although there is also an increasing trend of family reunification with elderly parents who arrive in Hungary for retirement.

The status of ethnic Hungarians living in countries adjacent to Hungary has been a subject of debate. Hungary’s governments between 1990 and 2002 maintained that they aimed to encourage ethnic Hungarians to remain in the lands of their birth. There is not an active repatriation programme for co-ethnics akin to that of Germany. The Hungarian immigration and naturalisation system has often been criticised for being indifferent towards ethnic Hungarians, despite certain benefits for ethnic Hungarians and persons of Hungarian ancestry in the immigration and naturalisation process. The most topical issue has been the demographic deficit and its implications for increased immigration. Hungary is an ageing society, with a net negative natural population growth. Recommendations from a group of scholars suggested that some immigration should be encouraged and facilitated in order to meet labour market needs.

According to various studies, the anti immigrant feelings of society are going from slightly intolerant to non-tolerant. From 1993-2007, the people who would not allow non-Hungarians to enter the country doubled. Approximately 27% of the country could be considered anti-immigrant, and almost 88% said we should allow only rich Europeans into the country. (Majorities – Attitudes Towards Minorities : Key Findings from the Eurobarometer and the European Social Survey (2005) .European Monitoring Center on Racism and xenophobia.

It is true, while the negative attitudes are worrying, the concrete actions, attacks are very-very rare, maybe because of the tiny number of migrants. Also, information from a number of interlocutors indicates that law-enforcement officials rarely investigate possible racial motivation behind crimes. Convictions on charges of inciting hatred against a community are rare, as the relevant practice of the Constitutional Court requires the prosecution to show a direct causal connection between hate speech and an incident of violence. We are concerned that current hate-speech laws provide “unlimited” free speech, leaving broad opportunities for the dissemination of racist propaganda.

Hate crime against immigrants

The main targets of possible crime among immigrants are the people with visible signs of their ethnicities, From our personal experience they are mainly Africans. While attacks happen from time to time almost none of them are reported unless serious injury or death is caused. One of the last cases was in Budapest in 2005, where an Indian tourist was attacked by eight skinheads. They were beating and kicking him even when he was laying on the ground. His life was saved by his relative who drove his car into the attackers. Even by experts and personal opinions Budapest is considered a safe city for foreigners, the extremists mostly targeting Roma people. Maybe the Indian tourist was also considered as one Roma by the attackers.

Efforts at Combating Hate Speech in the Media and on the Internet

The extreme nationalist, anti-Roma and anti-Semitic website kuruc.info was closed down in Hungary due to its racist content, but the site moved to a server in the United States and continued to operate. The former Prime Minister ordered the then Minister of Justice to address the problem of hate speech by taking all necessary measures to defend constitutional values and civil rights in Hungary. In 2008, the Parliamentary Commissioner for the Rights of National and Ethnic Minorities called on the Magyar Tartalomszolgáltatók Egyesülete (Hungarian Association of Content Providers) to set up a code of ethics aimed at reducing the propagation of hate speech on the Internet.

Sanctions have been imposed on various television channels by the National Radio and Television Board for airing

programmes with hateful content regarding Roma. The Board ruled that a 1 July 2008 programme on Echo TV was based on stereotypes that would foster prejudice and “could have generated hatred against the Roma minority”, and, therefore, violated the Media Act”

3.1.12. Situation of victims of hate crimes

In Hungary there are only a very few official hate crime cases as I wrote about the laws before, in some cases the investigation authorities do not want to recognise the situation, and also many times the victims do not want to report. The Hate Crime Record ran and maintained by Athena Institute sharing the following facts: In Hungary during 2010, reported and verified hate-crimes were motivated by racism in 55 percent of the cases, anti-Semitism in 26 percent, homophobia in 16 percent and anti-Christian hatred in 3 percent of the cases. 74 percent of the cases did not cause personal injury, 23 percent caused personal injury and 3 percent were fatal. 27 percent of the crimes were committed in Budapest, 27 percent in a county seat and 46 percent in other rural settlements,

During the second quarter of 2011 in Hungary, reported and verified hate-crimes were motivated by - racism in 62 percent, by anti-Semitism in 25 percent and by homophobia in 13 percent of the cases. 88 percent of crimes were committed in rural settlements and 12 percent in Budapest,

Helping the victims

In Hungary there is no such service, while the Cordelia Foundation is focusing on mental help, their clients are refugees and asylum-seekers, who were traumatised in their host countries. The Helsinki Committee and TASZ are active in legal aid, and Háttér Association is also helping in various ways, in general the victims are hardly finding help, and the phrase “hate crime” is still quite unknown in the country. Also the authorities are lacking in training or education about such phenomena and they (policemen, judges, prosecutors) cannot handle these issues without proper knowledge. That is why it is so important if civil organisations can involve the authorities in such training projects, and if the authorities themselves create good practices, on how to deal with these cases.

3.2. Germany

3.2.1. Historical development after 1989

Growing right-wing extremism in Germany since 1989/90³

After the changes of 1989/90 and in the new political framework, the right-wing extremist structures could establish themselves on both sides of the former German border. The party structure of the right-wing extremism was dominated by the NPD. The number of the NPD members grew, the party won through its focused strategy new partners especially in the neo-Nazi scene, and has nowadays its representatives in two country parliaments (Saxony, Mecklenburg-Vorpommern). Two other right-wing extremist parties – DVU and Die Republikaner – stayed. When compared to the NPD, politically they are without any important influence.

The DVU could get in 1990s in four different country parliaments, for example 1998 with 13 % in the parliament of Saxony-Anhalt, however the party lost its power immediately through intern conflicts and political passivity. Significant activities of the DVU in the public were very rare.

Die Republikaner were successful in the 1990s especially on the municipal level in Baden-Württemberg and Bavaria. They had its representatives in the parliament of Baden-Württemberg for two legislative periods (1992-2001). Since then, their popularity sinks continuously – with members leaving the party, no public activities and party intern conflicts.

All the parties were aware of the development, which led in 2005 to the so called “Pact for Germany”, an agreement between the DVU and the NPD not to send candidates to the same country parliament elections. The aim was to

use the whole potential of the right-wing extremist voters knowing, that both parties had no chance to get into the parliament in the same election. Die Republikaner decided not to participate on this pact, although many supporters criticised this decision and left the party. Many supporters of right-wing extremism hoped, this pact would strengthen the scene and bring success in the elections, which led them to join the NPD. The pact collapsed after the NPD sent candidates to the elections in Brandenburg, which according to the agreement was supposed to be a "DVU country". The DVU is, apart from the NPD with many financial scandals, financially very strong, which led 2010 to a fusion between these two parties. This fusion is not officially approved yet.

The state reacted in the beginning of the 1990s on the growing right-wing extremism with repression. A number of small parties and organisations were banned, which led to a new way of organizing the scene. The members of the banned organizations created smaller, locally or regionally organized "free comradeships". According to the principle of "organization without organization" they present themselves as small, independent regional units. In fact, there is a strictly organized militant structure hidden behind this mask. Ideologically they recall the ideas of national socialism. Important forms of their activities are marches and demonstrations. There are very close connections between the free comradeships and the NPD going from the membership in the party to an open support of public events and by election campaigns. For the NPD it is a part of its strategy – the so called "fight for the streets". Especially in countryside regions these comradeships succeeded in establishing a right-wing extremist hegemony and to create so called "no go areas". The right-wing extremist activities here are so powerful and influence the everyday life in such a way, that people, who do not fit in their ideological view try to avoid these regions, because they fear the neo-Nazi violence.

The violence is focussed not only against immigrants, but against homosexuals, homeless and disabled people, or against alternative or "non-German" youth.

Big public events are the place for networking and co-operation of different groups in the whole movement. As an example we can mention the annual marches in Wunsiedel to commemorate the death of Rudolf Hess⁴ or the so called mourning marches in Dresden to commemorate the victims of the allied bombing of Dresden in February 1945. These events are useful for networking and strengthening the ideological closeness of the scene. Every year thousands of party members or activists in comradeships and other neo-Nazi organizations participate on such events.

This development of the right-wing extremist structures after 1989/90 was combined with a strong increase of racist and right-wing extremist violence, which was in the early 1990s focussed particularly against immigrants and asylum seekers. These were proved guilty for the bad economical situation in Germany at that time or to be more clear, the changes of 1989/90 caused a fear of the loss of social status of many of Germans, who therefore blamed the asylum seekers. In year 1991, the official statistics counted 383 arson or bomb attacks against houses of foreigners or asylum seekers.⁵ For example in Hoyerswerda, Rostock, Mölln and Solingen, the asylum seekers housings were set in fire in the presence of many hundreds of applauding citizens. There were a few dozens death or injured victims from these attacks. The fore-coming and following public discussion led to strengthening the legislation for asylum seekers making it almost impossible for them to get asylum in Germany.

The official institutions could not manage the situation, which made possible even stronger the aggression of the public against the asylum seekers. This participation of many citizens and the racist defamation of the asylum seekers made it visible, how deep the roots of right-wing extremism and racism are in large parts of the German society.

This violence was targeted against individuals in former West and East Germany as well and ended in death for some of them. On March 31st 1991 in Dresden, Jorge Gomondai from Mosambique was attacked by some neo-Nazis and thrown from a moving tram, a few days later he died in a hospital. He was one of 149 people, who between 1990 and 2009 died as victims of right-wing extremist motivated violence.⁶

4 Since a few years is this event, because of strong counter-demonstrations and municipal activities, not relevant anymore.

5 Bundesamt für Verfassungsschutz: Verfassungsschutzbericht

6 <http://www.mut-gegen-rechte-gewalt.de/news/chronik-der-gewalt/149-todesopfer/>

Specifics of the former East Germany

In East Germany, the developing right-wing extremism could use the already existing infrastructure. The government of the GDR presented itself as antifascist and denied any right-wing extremism in the country. The reality was different. Some publishing houses, music labels and distributional companies were moved from west to east and using the existing infrastructure, they created a financially strong background for future development. This was used by right-wing extremist politicians and networking specialists from the west, who got into contact and strengthened the right-wing extremists in the eastern part of the country. These starting conditions enabled the NPD, DVU and Die Republikaner to get into parliaments in most of the former East German countries. This development shows that right-wing extremism and racism are spread enough in the society to make these parties an accepted alternative in elections.

These deep roots of the right-wing extremism in the eastern countries of Germany could be explained with a different development of democracy in both parts of Germany. In the western part, the 1950s and 1960s were the time of the "economical magic" and social-political discourses, which led to creating a participatory democracy, actively co-created by the citizens. In the eastern part after 1989/90, the development of democratic standards were for many people not followed by an increase of the living standards and economical development. The unemployment, structural changes in the educational system and missing infrastructure in the civil society led to an exclusion from social life for many citizens. As a result, many people still fear to lose their social status and live in uncertainty. Apart from the official ideology, no real critical analysis of national socialism took place in GDR. No real denial of totalitarian ideology was the result. The roots of democratic values are very shallow and a living and participatory tradition of public discourses is missing.

The developing or "testing phase" of democracy run in both parts of the country at different speed and any analysis of the current situation and attitude of the citizens to democracy

3.2.2. Political parties, organized groups and informal groups currently involved in extreme, xenophobic and racist activities in Saxony (Germany)⁷

Organised right-wing extremism

The total number of the members of right-wing parties and organizations is 2.670 as the Office for defending the constitution⁸ in Saxony in its yearbook 2010 published. They gather themselves in right-wing political parties, neo-Nazi and sub-cultural comradeships and in free structures. The number is slightly smaller as in 2009, which is caused by the loss of the members of the DVU (Deutsche Volksunion – German National Union). The number of person with neo-Nazi ideology has grown.

NPD (Nationaldemokratische Partei Deutschlands – National democratic party of Germany)

The NPD is the most important party of the right-wing extremist scene and Saxony is the centre of its activities. The party has 800 members in Saxony (6800 in whole Germany), more than 120 mandates in regional, local and municipal parliaments, 8 members of the Saxony parliament and the headquarters of the party newspaper Deutsche Stimme (German Voice) in the Saxon city of Riesa. In no other of the 16 federal states of Germany the NPD has such a strong position and support of the voters. It can be documented by the local elections in 2008. The party has its branch office in all of the 13 counties of Saxony and won mandates in all of the 13 county parliaments. The results were four-times better than in the previous elections. These results are unique in Germany. The NPD has its own educational institute for local representatives with the main office in Dresden and the half of the board members coming from Saxony. In January 2012, the former leader of the Saxon NPD became the new leader of the whole party as a successor of Udo Voigt, who led the party since 1996.

7 Based on Bringt, F.; Hanneforth, G. (2011): Fortschreibung der Konzeption des Kulturbüro Sachsen e.V. zum Projekt "Regionale Mobile Beratungsteams Sachsen – Demokratische Aktivität gegen rechtsextreme Dominanz und Gewalt (MBT Sachsen). Internes Dokument des Kulturbüro Sachsen e.V. (A grant application of the Kulturbüro Sachsen e.V. for the project of the Mobile Counselling Teams. Internal document.)

8 Landesamt für Verfassungsschutz Sachsen – an intelligence office for internal affairs.

Most of the activities are initiated and supported by the eight Members of the Saxony Parliament (MSP). They have the power and the structural and financial possibilities to lead the party. As the party entered the parliament in 2004, it shows now visible signs of improvement in its work. On the other hand, the democratic parties learned to handle the racist and neo-Nazi propaganda in the parliament and, if necessary, to punish it with appropriate means.

JN (Junge Nationaldemokraten – Young National Democrats) is a youth organization of the NPD and creates a bridge between the party structure and independent neo-Nazi sympathizers. These independent activists use the legal structure of the JN to co-ordinate the racist and violent activities of the neo-Nazi scene in Saxony.

The NPD is the most visible and most important right-wing extremist party in Saxony and tries to present itself as the leader of all racist, anti-immigrant and neo-Nazi groups and individuals. Through JN it shows success in binding the independent so-called “free powers” (violent neo-Nazi activists without formal organization). Two other traditional right-wing extremist parties (DVU and the Republicans – Die Republikaner) are of no importance in Saxony. The NPD and the DVU agreed on fusion of both parties in 2011 and the NPD presents itself on the internet as “the NPD – the National Union” (NPD – die Volksunion). This fusion was declared as invalid by the court.

Other parties and political groups

As the Republicans and the DVU lost its importance in last years, there are other political groups, that try to become successful in the upcoming local elections. In the first place, it is the Union “Work, Family, Fatherland” (Arbeit, Familie, Vaterland) of the former member of German parliament for the CDU Henry Nitzsche. Similarly to the groups “Pro Sachsen” and “Pro Chemnitz” they try to gain popularity through populist and sometimes openly racist and anti-immigrant propaganda. Their development is hard to foresee at the moment.

Right-wing subculture and comradeships

The highest number of right-wing extremists belongs to the so called comradeships and “Free Power” structures. Together they represent about 1350 persons. Organized in small independent groups they build an ideological unity. The aim is to avoid the state and police repressions, therefore these groups follow the principle of “organization without organization”. These are small (max. up to 40-50 persons) groups without any official organizational structure, but with a very effective network based on virtual communication (telephone, e-mail, social media), which is able to mobilize a much greater number of persons fast and unpredictably. The centres are the three big cities in Saxony – Dresden, Leipzig, and Chemnitz. There are other regions in Saxony with strong Free Power structure as well, mostly thanks to one or few very active individuals (e.g. Region Geithain/Borna, Region Erzgebirge – Ore Mountains).

The new development on the scene are the Autonomous Nationalists. Their look, clothes and forms of action are inspired by the leftist-autonomous groups. These changes of visual presentations means that for the majority of the population they can not be and are not identifiable as right-wing extremists or neo-Nazi.

For all these groups can be said, that the level of their political indoctrination is very high and they are more likely to use violence in contact with their political opponents or any other group that does not match their ideology (immigrants, homeless, homosexuals etc.).

NSU

In 2011 a right-wing terrorist group was discovered in Germany calling itself the NSU (National-Socialist Underground – National Sozialistischer Untergrund).⁹ On November 4th 2011 two members (Uwe Böhnhardt and Uwe Mundlos) committed suicide, the third member Beate Zschäpe set their flat in fire to destroy all traces in imprisonment on remand. The three terrorists went underground in 1998 after the police discovered their garage with home-made explosives. In the years 1999 – 2011 the committed numerous bank robberies to finance themselves and their terrorist activities – 8 murders on restaurant owners with Turkish and Greek origin between 2000 – 2006 and murder on a policewoman. Other crimes cannot be proved yet. There are some indications and evidence that the police and especially the intelligence services (Bundes- und Landesamt für Verfassungsschutz) made many mistakes during the investigations.

Every week new information comes out which makes it impossible to make any final evaluation. The fact is that the investigators refused to take the racist background of the activities into account. The whole case may impact the fundamental trust in the law enforcement authorities, the competence of intelligence services is publicly put in question and in several federal states parliament inquiries are held.

3.2.3. Topics of right-wing extremists

Before we speak about current topics and campaigns of neo-Nazis and right-wing extremists in Germany, it is necessary to have a look on some traditional and long-term components of the neo-Nazi ideology. We concentrate on the NPD, however, this ideology is common among the most sympathisers of right-wing extremism in Germany. As the aim of the NPD is to represent the whole scene, the party had to implement new ideological components from the neo-Nazi grass-root movement.

The ideology behind the right-wing extremism¹⁰

The “traditional” revisionist and nationalist ideology was enriched with new topics – social problems (unemployment), anti-Globalisation, environmental issues, immigration etc. But the common basis (the bearer – see Picture 1) for these new topics is the old one – nationalism and racism. The NPD tries to persuade the people, that our society faces great social problems – whether it is true or not – and the solution is to defend the so-called interests of the German nation, which are defined racially. They “know”, who is responsible for the problems – the immigrants, Jews, left-wing and liberal politicians etc.

If we stay by the picture of the right-wing ideology, we can have a look on the first pillar being nationalism. In this ideology every country should consist of one homogeneous nation with one strong person at its head.. Every development, which endangers this homogeneity, should be stopped. These are, according to the NPD: “capitalist, communist, Christian and Islamic universalism.”¹¹

The second pillar – racism and anti-Semitism – shows the modernisation of the ideology. “Traditional” anti-Semitism gets modern clothes and demonstrates itself in strong criticism of the State of Israel. In the same logic, new ways were found to present the old racist views. The NPD and other neo-Nazis does not always speak openly about races, but about about nations, ethnics, or cultures. This ideology of ethnopluralism enables the same process of exclusion of particular social groups on the basis of different and unchangeable “cultural identity”. This ideology of inequality leads in the third pillar to rejection of the plural parliamentary systems, liberal democracy and other similar systems such as socialist ideas or Christianity. All these systems are based on the equality of all people (before the law, in social aspects, before God). The right-wing extremist ideology demands anti-Pluralism and an absolute subordination under the idea of nationalist community.

Since 2000 there is a new strategy of gaining success for the NPD. It is the so-called Strategy of four pillars. These being

- the fight for the streets – with the aim to show the presence in public spaces through demonstrations, marches, concerts etc. It should help to bind new supporters, especially radical neo-Nazis.
- the fight for the heads – the members of the party and other organisations are trained to speak in the public, to use the events of other parties, to always try to be heard in the public and spread the ideology.
- the fight for the parliaments – the NPD hopes to be successful in elections. It is a long-term strategy starting in local municipalities, where the members should get the popularity and trust, which can bring success later in country elections.
- the fight for the organised will – the NPD does not want to stand alone and tries to gather all sympathisers of the ideology inside and outside the party. It should play the role of the only defender of the “German interests”.

10 See Friedemann Bringt, David Begrich (2011): Transformationsprozesse des (ost-)deutschen Neonazismus. In: Gefährliche Liebschaften 2011. „Rechtsextremismus“ im kleinen Grenzverkehr. Kulturbüro Sachsen, Heinrich-Böll-Stiftung, Weiterdenken – Heinrich-Böll-Stiftung Sachsen. p. 72-88. [To download: www.gefaehrliche-liebschaften.info].

11 See Virchow/Dornbusch: Die Weltanschauung der NPD. http://www.bpb.de/themen/BC4UZT,0,Die_Weltanschauung_der_NPD.html

Not only the NPD, but all right-wing extremist and neo-Nazi structures use social demagogy as the strategy of political work. They use current social problems and negative developments and offer their own radical and populist solution. In last years many campaigns were organized, not only by the NPD, but by local Free Power and comradeship structures as well.

Todesstrafe für Kinderschänder – Death penalty for child abusers¹²

The organizers of this campaign tries to use the negative atmosphere in the society, which almost generally despise child abusers. Many people support the campaign and agree with its demand without knowing the neo-Nazi background of it. That is why, this campaign is one of the most successful.

Volkstodkampagne – The death-of-the-nation-campaign

This campaign should stress the low birthrate in Germany and the decreasing German population. As a solution, immigration should be stopped, social welfare should be accessible only for “blood members” of the German nation and foreigners and migrants already living in Germany should be “send back home”. The “German Nation” should be saved this way.

Völker zur Freiheit – Schluß mit der EU-Diktatur (“The Nation for its freedom – the end of the EU-Dictatorship”) nad “Raus aus dem Euro – Wir wollen nicht Zahlmeister Europas sein!” (“Out from the euro – we don’t want to be Europe’s paymaster!”)

These campaign are reactions based on the financial crises in last years and discussion on financial help for some countries - the European currency. In the NPD-view Germany is forced to pay the bills for other countries, because they are unable or unwilling to do it for themselves. Behind it, there is a hidden assumption that in this way, the German nation is punished for its natural superiority.

These are some examples of broader campaigns. However, the strategy is, to be as local as possible and to react to the everyday problems of the citizens with solutions for the problems that are always racist, anti-immigrant or in support of law-and-order politics.



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The German word Kinderschänder is hard to translate. It means the perpetrator of sexual abuse of a child. The word is no technical term and has a negative connotation in regard to the victim. As such the word is rejected by many people.

3.2.4. Biggest events

Since Saxony is the centre of neo-Nazi activities in Germany, the biggest neo-Nazi event takes place here as well. It is the annual "Trauermarsch" (mourning march) on February 13th in Dresden. This march should commemorate the victims of the allied bombings on February 13th 1945, which destroyed large parts of the city and caused death of about 25.000 people. Since the late 1990s the organizer Junge Landsmannschaft Ostdeutschland¹³ – JLO (Young Territorial Association Eastern Germany) succeeded in establishing this event as the greatest and most important gathering of neo-Nazis and other right-wing extremist in Germany. In the last few years several thousands people took part and showed there history revisionism.

The bombing in 1945, its importance in military logic, the number of victims and the military and cultural prominence of Dresden are traditionally narrated issues, which over years developed into a myth of Dresden. The insistence of the city community on this myth of Dresden is commonly seen as a reason of for the success of this march. The local politicians resisted to react actively on this neo-Nazi march knowing that the people of Dresden share some of the views with the organizers and participants of the march. Only in last three years the municipal politicians decided to act more pro-actively and to take part in the activities and demonstrations against this march. Dresden become a centre not only for German but for the international neo-Nazi scene as well, which caused a Germany-wide and Europe-wide "mobilisation" of the counter-demonstrators.

The aim of the "mourning march" is to belittle the German war crimes and holocaust by designing a similarly major crime committed by the allied forces. An example of this strategy is the term "bomb holocaust" (Bombenholocaust) used on banners¹⁴ and in public speeches¹⁵.

Fest der Völker (Für ein Europa der Vaterländer) – Festival of the nations (For a Europe of Fatherlands).

Already four times (2005, 2007, 2008, 2009) this international music festival has taken place in Jena, Altenburg and Pößneck. Because of the counter-demonstrations the organizers were forced to change the place for the festival. In 2010 the festival was cancelled by the organizers at short notice. The Festival of the Nations is a important event for a international networking of the German and European neo-Nazis. Several foreign music bands played there, such as Verszerzödes (Hungary), Brigada 1238 (Spain), PWA (Estonia), Strappo (Italy), and before the War (Slovakia) and Nothung (Sweden). Several international guests had the chance to hold a speech, among themselves Illés Zsolt („Elek“) from Hungary, Stephen „Swiny“ Swinfen from Great Britain, Michal Podolák and Tomáš Vandas from Czech Republic.

This festival is a demonstration of the new ideological developments of the so called New Right. The above mentioned Ethnopluralism can be identified in the title of the event. Ethnopluralism is the basis, which enables the co-operation of neo-Nazis and right-wing extremists from different countries: Europe should consist of strong, homogeneous nations.

Pressefest des "Deutsche-Stimme-Verlages" - Festival of the German Voice publishing house

„Pressefest“ is a similar event to the Festival of Nations, but it is focused only on German activism. It provides the scene with music bands, political speeches, information booths, shops with books and clothing etc. German Voice is the NPD monthly newspaper. The Festival has taken place every year since 2001. The most participants, (about 7.000), visited this festival in 2004 in Mücka, Saxony, and 2006 in Dresden-Pappritz; in 2010 the festival took place in Jänkendorf, Saxony, with about 2.000 participants and last year at the same place with about 1400 participants.

Antikriegstag in Dortmund – Day against war in Dortmund

On September 3rd 2011 the 7. Day against war in Dortmund took place with about 700 neo-Nazis from whole Germany. The event combined a demonstration and a music event – this year with German „rechtsrock“ bands Oidoxie and Word of Anger. Similar to above mentioned events, Day against war has to deal with growing number of counter-demonstrators, who try to stop the event and to organize blockades.

¹³ See also http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Junge_Landsmannschaft_Ostdeutschland.

¹⁴ Czech neo-Nazis from Národní odpor (National resistance) showed in 2008 a banner with the line: Allied bomb holocaust of German and Czech cities.

¹⁵ Jürgen Gansel, MSP during a plenary session of the parliament. See <http://www.zeit.de/2005/04/npdsachsen>.

3.2.5. Extremist views in the current political mainstream parties

Extremism-Discussion

This discussion or discourse is no example of extremism in German but illustrates the way in which these issues are discussed in the society. The theory of extremism created by the German political scientists Backes and Jesse¹⁶ is used by the politicians, media, police and other state institutions. This linear theory postulates that there is a democratic middle of the society with two extremist edges – left-wing extremism and right-wing extremism. The negative side-effect of this theory, which becomes more and more influential is, that many activities against right-wing extremism are criticised as left-wing extremism. This leads to the situation that the counter-demonstrators by the events such as in Dresden or Dortmund are insulted as extremists – not only the possible violent counter-demonstrators, but all demonstrators who refuse to participate on the official demonstrations (organized by state or municipal institutions). Another example is the federal and Saxon grant programme financing activities against right-wing extremism. To receive the money from this programme, the organizations must sign a clause that they act only on democratic field and they must get this signature from every partner organization.¹⁷

In this logic, racism, neo-Nazism, discrimination, anti-Immigration issues etc. are not seen as a problem of the whole society, but only of some extreme individuals on the edge of the society. This makes the activities against all this phenomena more difficult.

“Case Sarazzin”

Thilo Sarrazin is a former member of the Executive Board of the Deutsche Bundesbank and previously served as senator of finance for the State of Berlin (for the social democratic party SPD). In 2010 he published a book called “Germany abolishes itself”. This books presents itself as an analysis of the current situation of the integration of immigrants in Germany and the future of the country. In his book, he criticises the Islamic immigrants and other marginalised groups, such as the unemployed people. “No other religion in Europe makes so many demands. No immigrant group other than Muslims is so strongly connected with claims on the welfare state and crime. No group emphasizes their differences so strongly in public, especially through women’s clothing. In no other religion is the transition to violence, dictatorship and terrorism so fluid.”¹⁸ In newspaper interviews he shows an open anti-Semitism and racism as well: “all Jews share a certain gene like all Basques share a certain gene that distinguishes these from other people.”¹⁹

He received a lot of criticism from media and other politicians, but on the other way great parts of the society applauded, because someone said out loud all these things, that political correctness does not allow. He was invited to many German cities to public readings from his book. In Dresden, 4.000 people visited this event, among them many organized neo-Nazis. Polls suggest that almost half of the German population agree with Sarrazin’s political views and even 18 percent would vote for his party if he started one.²⁰ This case shows that racism, anti-Semitism, anti-Islamic and anti-Immigrant opinions are common in the German society and not only on the extreme edges.

16 Backes, Uwe/Jesse, Eckhard. (1996). Politischer Extremismus in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland. Bonn

17 For more see <http://aktionstaggegenbekenntniszwang.blogspot.de> or Bohdálék, Miroslav/Nattke, Michael. (2011). Die Wirkmächtigkeit der Extremismusformel in Deutschland und Tschechien. In: Gefährliche Liebschaften 2011. „Rechtsextremismus“ im kleinen Grenzverkehr. Kulturbüro Sachsen, Heinrich-Böll-Stiftung, Weiterdenken – Heinrich-Böll-Stiftung Sachsen. p. 28-39. (To download: www.gefaehrliche-liebschaften.info).

18 <http://www.bild.de/politik/2010/politik/spd-politiker-schreibt-in-seinem-neuen-buch-ueber-den-islam-13749562.bild.html>.

English quotation by: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Thilo_Sarrazin.

19 http://voices.washingtonpost.com/political-bookworm/2010/08/german_politicians_new_book_ab.html.

20 http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Thilo_Sarrazin.

3.2.6. State approach in Germany - Good and bad approaches of prevention of extremist, xenophobic and racist activities

It is hard to write about state prevention of extremist, xenophobic and racist activities, because the approach of the German state is a bit different. Ten years ago, a huge discussion in German society started, after some massive anti-Semitic crimes. The political scene was forced into action. This led to the decision to start funding programmes for NGOs or municipal bodies at the local level.

The Federal Government decided to support activities and projects working against right-wing extremism, anti-semitism and xenophobia and supporting democracy and tolerance. The first one, 2001-2006, was the federal programme "Jugend für Toleranz und Demokratie" (Youth for tolerance and democracy) with its pillars CIVITAS, Entimon and Xenos. The CIVITAS - initiative against right-wing extremism in new federal states was meant to support NGOs in the new federal states of Germany (former GDR). Under this programme the mobile counselling teams against right-wing extremism (MBT²¹) and the counselling for the victims of right-wing violence (OBT) started to work. Entimon supported activities to prevent violence and Xenos was focused on prevention and support of tolerance especially in educational institutions and at the work place. Till 2006 4500 projects were supported with the total amount of 192 Mil. Euros.

Since 2007 this programme was replaced by the federal programmes "Vielfalt tut gut. Jugend für Vielfalt, Toleranz und Demokratie" (Diversity is good. Youth for diversity, tolerance and democracy) and "kompetent. für Demokratie – Beratungsnetzwerke gegen Rechtsextremismus" (competent for democracy – counselling networks against right-wing extremism). The innovation of Vielfalt tut gut was the decision to give up a part of the responsibility and decision power. In about 90 regions in Germany so called Local Action Plans (LAP) are implemented which aims at strengthening the democratic development at local level. Every LAP has its advisory board which should decide about the subsequent financing of smaller projects that work on reaching the aims of the LAP. This strategy brings more subsidiarity and local competence. On the other hand, in some regions the representatives of local municipalities can be the part of the problem as well.²² The second pillar of this programme was the funding of about 90 pilot projects in Germany focusing and testing innovative strategies in fighting right-wing extremism and anti-Semitism in Germany. Kompetent für Demokratie was a new programme supporting the mobile counselling teams. Since this programme, not only new federal states could apply to the programme and establish so called Mobile Intervention Teams (MIT). Their role was to react on a "crisis" caused by right-wing extremist case. That was the weakness of the programme. After this so called crisis, MIT should be created consisting of MBTs, OBTs and the representatives of state and municipal institutions. However, the experience shows that the work of mobile counselling is needed not only after violent or arson attacks, but continuously. This led to differentiation in managing the situation in each federal state. These two programmes run till the end of 2010.

Since 2011 they are united in one federal programme called "Tolerant fördern – Kompetenz stärken" (Support tolerance – strengthen competence). Since 2013 24 Mil. Euros a year will be granted. According to the former programmes, this programme is based on three pillars – local action plans, pilot projects, mobile counselling (MBT, OBT). In the first pillar, not only the already existing LAPs can apply for financing, but new regions as well. The great opportunity of this pillar is the already mentioned subsidiarity. Local NGOs and other networks in the local civic society can be part of the process, participating in the creation of the LAP and at the decision-making about the finances. But it brings another threat as well. Instead of several well planned strategies, hundreds of small projects are implemented by small NGOs which receive some money for projects but no money for running the whole organisation. The weakness of the second pillar, the pilot projects, is the necessity of at least 50 % of co-financing. The projects should deal with one of these four issues – historical or current anti-Semitism, work with right-wing oriented youth, cohabitation in a integrating society, dealing with diversity and difference in pre-school and grammar school institutions. The declared aim of the third pillar is not only to finance the existing MITs, but to secure and enhance the professional competences of the counsellors.

21 To make it easier for the reader, who wants to find more about the counselling teams in German literature, I will use the German abbreviation.

22 For more see chapter 4.2.

This whole programme is connected with a great controversy which was caused by the federal ministry of family, seniors, women and youth, who manage this programme. All the grant beneficiaries are forced to sign a so called democracy declaration. With the signature the beneficiaries declare themselves to the free democratic basic order of the German Federal Republic and assure that all their project partners make the same confession. The aim of this declaration is to have a tool that prevents "extremist" organisations or individuals from becoming state financiers. The declaration faces massive resistance from many NGOs, due to several reasons. It shows a clear mistrust to all activists working against racism, anti-Semitism and right-wing extremism for many years. It meaninglessly expands the administrative costs and it brand-marks every potential activist against right-wing extremism as left-wing extremists. All these reasons have already taken effect in the practical work of the projects. The ministry still refuse to get rid of this declaration, more over, other state and municipal bodies adopted this declaration into its financial rules of procedure.

On the federal level, we should mention the programme of the Federal Ministry of Interior called "Zusammenhalt durch Teilhabe" (Cohesion through participation). This programme is again focused only on the new, eastern federal states and should support civic engagement and democracy on a local level. It consists of three pillars as well:- support of people in associations, municipalities and regional administrations who serve as so called multipliers of the civic engagement; support of citizen's initiatives on a local level; support of model project strengthening the participation and engagement.

3.2.7. State approach in Germany - good and bad approaches of state repression against extremist, xenophobic and racist activities

Already several times we mentioned the so called democracy declaration, which is the official title, or the extremism clause, which is the title used within the NGOs. This declaration should be signed by all organisations that receive project money from the German Ministry to combat right-wing extremism and support democracy. Its implementation was the most visible output of the theory of political extremism. This theory was postulated and elaborated mainly by the German political scientists Backes and Jesse.²³ Although already 1974 the word extremism found its way in the vocabulary of the German intelligence agency.²⁴ Step by step the definition of extremism was adopted by other state institutions and media, not only in Germany and nowadays it is the leading state approach to the phenomena of politically motivated crimes in Central Europe.

The problem of this approach is visible not only on the theoretical level. It has very strong practical consequences, unfortunately not only for the right-wing extremists, but their opponents as well. Here we want to describe some examples to show the consequences of the state approach of repression against the so called political extremism.

Example 1 – Am I left-wing extremist, when I am against right-wing extremists?

On February 19th 2011, about 20.000 people stood up against the biggest annual neo-Nazi demonstration in Europe. During the whole day, there were several violent conflicts between the demonstrators and the police. „Correct is, there should be a broad democratic consensus regarding the rejection of any form of violence. Incorrect being that the media often describe the people generally as „the leftists“. Based on the shared rejection of the right-wing extremism, the media hinted at the counter-demonstrators sharing the same political orientation. And out of nothing, thousands of peaceful and courageous citizens are suspected of cooperating with the autonomous stone throwers and sympathising with it in a way.“²⁵ This perspective was confirmed by the police which on this day collected information from mobile phones in wide areas of the city of Dresden trying to find evidence against the "left-wing extremists" blocking out the neo-Nazi demonstration.

23 See especially Backes, Uwe/Jesse, Eckhard. (1996). *Politischer Extremismus in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland*. Bonn.

24 See Bohdalek, Miroslav/Nattke, Michael. (2011). *Die Wirkmächtigkeit der Extremismusformel in Deutschland und Tschechien*. In: *Gefährliche Liebschaften 2011*. Berlin/Dresden.

25 Lamprecht, Harald. (2011). *Die Extremistensekte*. In: *Confessio*. Nr. 2. p. 14.

Example 2 – Ineffectual announcement

If the activities are not specific enough, they are rather counterproductive. The State secretary of the Saxon Ministry of Interior Dr. Wilhelm took part at a conference in Meißen in 2011 and „reported on an event called ‘Swimming against extremism’. With real outrage he noticed that the NPD had the audacity to send athletes to this competition as well. He did not, however, asked the question, what actually went wrong there. In that case, he would have to accept, that the problem could be to choose a too abstract extremism term for the title.”²⁶

Example 3 – To forbid, by all means

The city of Limbach-Oberfrohna for a few years become well known through violent attacks of neo-Nazis from the region against alternative youth. “The media pressure against the municipality grew and so the mayor decided to do something. He and the member of the Saxon Parliament Jan Hippoldt founded an association to show their activity. It is a well-known fact that the NPD as a democratically elected party was invited to the foundation of the association. As well as the fact that in their pointless action to exclude the NPD, the city assembly upon application of the local CDU excluded the Leftist Party as well. Hippoldt said: On the other hand am I happy, that we ‘with democratic means excluded non-democratic and extremist parties’.”²⁷

Example 4 – I don’t feel any problem

The official political strategy, based on the right/left point of view, often lacks the sensitivity to really identify the problem and possible solutions, which was noticeable at a public discussion in a small town in Saxony, where “students, who define themselves as punk or hard-core, ask for their own space, where right-wing oriented youth were not allowed to enter. One school director could not understand it and said, that the young people should be able to overcome these little conflicts and especially in these self-managed spaces they should jump over their own shadows and talk to each other. One young man left the discussion. The school director did not manage to see the world through the eyes of the young people, who in past became victims of right-wing motivated violence.”²⁸

3.2.8. Non-State Actors – successful activities and lessons learned

In December 2011 as a part of this project a study trip took place in Saxony. The project participants from the Czech Republic, Hungary and Germany took part at this study trip and visited several NGOs in Saxony which are active in the field of prevention, counselling, information and education for democratic culture and against right-wing extremism. This chapter takes the opportunity to introduce these organisations for the readers of this publication as well.

Mobile Counselling Teams – Kulturbüro Sachsen e.V.

In Saxony, the mobile counselling teams (MBT) are part of the Kulturbüro Sachsen e.V., an NGO with offices in Dresden, Leipzig and Chemnitz. For many years, the motto of Kulturbüro Sachsen e.V. has been -Working for a democratic culture is a working against right-wing extremism - Apart from some controversies, connected mainly with the term right-wing extremism, the motto is still very good in explaining the work of the mobile counselling teams.

MBT advise and support local NGOs, youth initiatives, church communities, networks as well as local governments and businesses in Saxony. The aim is to strengthen active democratic civil society and provide an alternative against everyday racism and established right-extremist structures. The focus on the victims of right-extremist violence is the starting-point of the counselling practice and together with the concept of pro-active community counselling creates a basis of the MBT’s everyday work. Three counselling teams are active in Saxony consisting of two persons, always man and woman, with offices in Leipzig, Chemnitz and Pirna near Dresden and responsible for the belonging administrative region of Saxony.

The most important aim and method is the empowerment of the local protagonists or the so called help to self-help. The counselling teams cannot promise to solve the problems of the local communities, but they can offer support and

26

ibid

27

Grit Hanneforth as a speaker at a conference of the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung on March 3rd, 2011.

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This Chapter is based on Bringt, Friedemann/Hanneforth, Grit/Nattke, Michael: Hinterm Horizont geht’s weiter. Prozesserfahrungen zur Aktivierung der „Älteren“ in einem Gemeinwesen. In: Projekt Horizont 21 (Ed.): “Demokratie hin oder her...” Erfahrungen mit Demokratieentwicklung im ländlichen Raum. Self-published: Dresden.

empowerment which will enable the local NGOs, municipalities, school directors, church communities to deal with their own problems.

The process of counselling runs in four steps: report of a problem – problem analysis – developing the concept of activities – realisation of the activities on the local level. Inevitable for the success of this process is the continuous networking among the local protagonists. A problem with violent neo-Nazis at a local school can never be solely the problem of the school. Other protagonists, such as the municipality, sport teams, church community, local NGOs, regional educational and other bodies etc. can and should be a part of the analysis and the solution. MBT's role is to arrange and facilitate the meetings, give information on the situation of neo-Nazism in the region, offer further education for all partners and transfer the experience and know-how from other regions.

Counselling for victims – Opferberatung RAA Sachsen e.V.

Counselling for victims of right-wing and racist violence is a logical enhancement of mobile counselling. As the MBT's starting-point is the focus of the victims, for victim counselling is taking a broader look and at the development of the environment, in which the victim has to live, equally inevitable. RAA Sachsen e.V. is the NGO running three counselling teams for victims of right-wing and racist violence in Saxony. They have offices in Dresden, Chemnitz and Leipzig, but are able to meet the client in his living environment. OBT focuses on the support of victims of violence, other forms of discrimination (such as discrimination at the workplace) will be referred to other supporting organisations.

RAA would support its clients during all the difficulties which arise connected to the violence attack. They can supply the client with legal information, organize an interpreter and accompany the client to the police, other authorities and court. Part of the support is the help through an application for compensation for any losses. To make the activities as accessible for every target group as possible, are there some important rules for the counselling – there is no charge for the service, the OBT works exclusively on the victim's side and the clients remain anonymous on request.

Another important part of their work is a monitoring and data collection on the different victim groups. To get this support, it is not necessary for the victim to file a report by the police. This is one of the reasons, why OBT get noticed in many more cases than the state authorities. The presentation of this independent data is a great tool in raising awareness. The counselling of RAA Sachsen is offered to every possible victim group. Still there is a high number of unreported cases, for several reasons. Not everybody is aware of this offer, they do not trust the police nor the independent counselling organisations or they simply do not want to report the attack. For the persons from the LGBT the report is connected with possible secondary victimisation caused by the forced coming out.

“Project days” at schools – Netzwerk für Demokratie und Courage

The Netzwerk für Demokratie und Courage (NDC) was founded in 1999 and creates a network of numerous youth organisations, educational institutes, associations and many committed individuals. It is a non-profit organization which focuses on democracy-empowering educational work at schools and vocational training centres. The main method of their work are the so called “project days”. These consists of six school lessons and are run by trained young volunteers. NDC developed more than 10 different project days. The most popular ones are: **Open the drawer! In the beginning was the prejudice:** A project day on discrimination, racism, migration and courageous action; **Doesn't matter doesn't work!** A project day on courageous action against intolerant attitudes and Neonazis; **What Superman and Barbie tell us:** A project day on gender, discrimination and sexism; **Eurovision – it's your turn!** A project day on the Europe of today and tomorrow.

The idea behind the project is to train young volunteers, mostly students, who can communicate better with pupils at school, because they belong almost to the same peer group. NDC trains every year about 200 volunteers who run more than 1.000 project days. The content of the seminars / project days will be clear after reading the mission of the network NDC: “We support a democratic culture, which invites everyone to actively participate. We encourage people not to turn their backs to acts of discrimination. Instead we emphasize in the principle of respect for every single

person, regardless of his or her nationality, colour of skin, religion or gender. We support an emancipated and anti-racist society by empowering democratic and open-minded attitudes. We believe that each individual's motivation and ability to act in favour of such principles is essential for living democracy to materialize."²⁹

The strengths of the whole project is not only the peer-to-peer work process. The thematic project days are regularly evaluated and updated, a process the volunteers participate at, since they know what does or does not work during the project days.

Engagement for the community – Aktion Zivilcourage Pirna

Aktion Zivilcourage Pirna is an NGO which was founded 1997 in the city of Pirna near Dresden. The impulses were the growing number of violent attacks committed by and against young people in Pirna and high election results of the NPD in the region Sächsische Schweiz. From the beginning on the AZP aims to actively and positively strengthen democracy, open-mindedness, courage, tolerance and plurality and to counter xenophobia, anti-semitism, discrimination, racism and violence. In the last 15 years the AZP developed to a professional organisation with four employees and about 100 members and volunteers.

The work is focused mainly on young people and should show possibilities, deliver know-how and support them by their civic commitment or as the AZP call it: "Our activities intend to open up a prospect for civic commitment to everyone, in order to make democracy experienceable. We supply facilities for self-realization as well as motivate and support people to live up to their responsibilities and act courageously in the face of discrimination and racism. The main emphasis of our work is put upon young people and those actors, groups, or parties with whom they interact."³⁰

The activities focuses on six main areas: education, counselling, work of remembrance, meeting, culture, networking. The organisation and its work is presented among other successful projects in Saxony as a example for good results that can be achieved in every city or small town if the basic conditions are fulfilled – active young people, open-minded municipality, accessible financing, functional transfer of know-how.

Engagement for the community II – AKuBiZ e.V.

AKuBiZ³¹ e.V. from Pirna is a small NGO from the same town and with the same starting conditions as the above mentioned AZP. Their aim is to tackle racism and anti-Semitism which in their view doesn't occur only in the programme of the NPD, but comes from and is nourished by the whole society. The activities can be divided in several areas: education (projects, seminars and workshops to inform and educate about racism and anti-Semitism and to offer young people the alternatives); culture (exhibitions, book readings or small concerts); sport (annual anti-racist amateur football tournament) and work of remembrance (5-6 visits annually to memorials to commemorate the victims of national socialism). Furthermore the organisation participate on the work of bigger networks such as Tolerant Saxony³² or AG Asylsuchende³³.

All the AKuBiZ members work on a honorary basis which makes it even more memorable that the organisation refused 2010 to accept the Saxon Prize for Democracy (Sächsischer Demokratiepreis) connected with 10.000 Euros. The reason for this decision was that the prize money was conditioned by the signature of the above mentioned declaration of democracy: "As nominees for the Saxon Prize for democracy we are obliged to sign a "anti-extremism" declaration. Its content is doubtful and calls for criticism. For example, we are requested to check all our partners for extremism."³⁴

Advocacy activities for refugees and migrants – Der Sächsischer Flüchtlingsrat e.V.

The SFR is an umbrella association of NGOs, initiatives and individuals in Saxony who are committed to the protection of asylum seekers and assuring humane housing conditions for them in Saxony. The SFR works partially for the interests of the refugees and assures the public control of the procedure for granting the right of asylum.

29 The official Website of the NDC: <http://www.netzwerk-courage.de/web/40-1254.html>, as seen on January 30th 2012.

30 The official Website of the AZP: <http://www.aktion-zivilcourage.de/english.440/>, as seen on January 30th 2012.

31 AKuBiZ is an abbreviation for Alternative cultural and educational centre.

32 For Tolerantes Sachsen (Tolerant Saxony) see below.

33 AG Asylsuchende (Working Group Asylum Seekers) is a working group consisting of numerous partners (NGOs, state and municipal institutions) dealing with asylum seekers in the region.

34 Press release of AKuBiZ from November 9th 2010. Quoted by: Bohdálék, M. / Nattke, M. (2011). Die Wirkmächtigkeit der Extremismusformel in Deutschland und Tschechien. In: Gefährliche Liebschaften 2011. Berlin – Dresden. P 28-39.

The SFR runs different projects such as mobile counselling for refugees in their temporary housings. The aims are to ensure equal opportunities for asylum seekers in special need of protection, give information on all aspects of the procedure, collect information on contemporary situation and problems and support of the inter-cultural competences of employees in state institutions or medical centres. Another project – Resque Plus (www.projekt-resque.de) – focuses on supporting those with the right of residence or refugees with access to job market. The projects offers counselling and further education for the target group and awareness raising by the potential employers.

Advocacy activities for refugees and migrants II – Der Ausländerrat Dresden e.V.

Der Ausländerrat Dresden e.V. was founded in the beginning of the 1990s and is a well-known interest groups of migrants in Dresden and Saxony. It is a alliance of 12 migrants associations and about 60 individuals. The main aim is to support the cultural, social and political integration of migrants and to strengthen their self-representation. The international meeting centre (IBZ) in the Heinrich-Zille-Straße 6 is the home for the Counselling service for migrants, Mobile counselling project for refugees and the youth work. The centre offers a small library, a public room, room for sports and other rooms for exhibitions and seminars. The alliance is the organizer of the annual festival Intercultural days and runs several specific projects. One of them is the project “Grenzen überwinden” (To overcome the borders) – an intercultural project about topics such as migration, becoming refugee and racism. This educational project is focused at schools and offers the so called “project days” for pupils and students. The mission is to inspire the current youth, living in the society shaped by migration, to “overcome the borders”, to think and act critically to racism and discrimination and to take an active part at the life of the civic society.

The garden of Eden – Internationale Gärten Dresden e.V.

The association Internationale Gärten Dresden e.V. (The international gardens Dresden) was founded in January 2005 as an initiative of migrants and German, united around the idea to create an oasis, a space for “cultures” in an urban environment. The aim of the organisation is to open a community garden where people from different countries can grow vegetables and fruits, get to know each other and exchange experience. This garden can become a space for self-initiative and self-organisation for all participants. All people are invited, who have any kind of interest in gardening – people who enjoy the plants growing, enjoy eating fruit and vegetables, have fun meeting new people or even want to spare money or they just want to sit quietly and enjoy the view of blooming flowers. Yet the main aim of the project is to invite the migrants regardless of their origin, religion, age, or social status, especially families with children and refugees.

Networking and lobbying – Tolerantes Sachsen

The network Tolerantes Sachsen (Tolerant Saxony) was founded in 2002 and as a Saxony-wide alliance it has about 80 member organisations. The members are initiatives and organisations which deal with democracy development and education in Saxony.

It is a platform for local initiatives and associations which work specifically and practically for the strengthening of the democratic and tolerant everyday culture. It stands up against neo-Nazism, anti-Semitism and racism and against every form of xenophobia. The working methods of the network members are based on the understanding that xenophobic attitudes and discourses are no minority phenomena, but have their roots in the middle of our society. The network supports the development of local, regional, Saxony-wide and Germany-wide strategies against neo-Nazism, racism and xenophobia tries to sensibelize and strengthen regional protagonists, partners, initiatives and local alliances with educational offers.

The network is aware of its position as a strong protagonist in civil society and of the importance of trustful and broad cooperation which allows the members to cooperate with state institutions as well.

3.2.9. Examples of successful projects – a case study of cooperation

In this chapter³⁵ we do not have a look at an individual state or municipal activities. Instead we chose an example, a small city in north-east of Saxony, to describe the complex state, municipal and NGO framework, which can lead to the improvement of the social and political situation in the community.

Studies show that the official local political scene is often the last of the potential players to combat right-wing extremism. Where there are good local networks, the municipality is part of it, however, in many cases, only after strong pressure from the civic society. More than that, there is a inbuilt tendency of local political decision-makers to play down the problems with right-wing extremism in favour of a positive location policy.³⁶

Let us to have a look at the situation in Bernsdorf. 2000 the situation with right-wing extremist attacks in Bernsdorf escalating in a case of manslaughter. As a reaction, the members of the city council and the church community ask the mobile counselling team of Kulturbüro Sachsen e.V. for help. Initiated through this counselling process, the youth work in the town was renewed with the aim to offer new perspectives for the young people and to find a new strategy against openly operating right-wing extremists. Since 2002 the youth centre has its own social education worker who offers counselling and information. The situation of the ethnic German repatriates³⁷ in Bernsdorf was at the same time identified as a possible problem. In the years 2005-2006, a networking worker for community organising was hired with the focus at youth work and the integration of ethnic German repatriates. This job was financed by the federal program CIVITAS.

Coordination groups were built with active political decision-makers and individual citizens who created strategies for both areas. A youth senate and an association of ethnic German repatriates were founded. In the year 2007, the community organising was integrated in the new House of more generations. Since then, many networking meetings and specific projects have been run. There is a regular business round table in Bernsdorf, a community round table for community protagonists and associations make appointments, plans and support each other and a education round table organised by the municipality. An intercultural street festival and an association's festival take place every year.

There are two working groups in the town to the topics History of the town and Tourism, which were initiated by the pilot project "Active in old age" in the years 2008-2009. Bernsdorf was picked by the Amadeu-Antonio Foundation as one of the sites of the project "Children Rights in the community" aiming at disseminating the children rights at grammar schools. Since March 2009 until March 2012 is Bernsdorf one of four sites of the community organising project "Horizon 21 – To live and learn the democracy. The aim is to test how a democratic living, learning and working culture can be strengthen and improve, starting from a educational institution. In practice the project has been run in three phases. After the analysis and presentation of the portrait of the town there were strategies developed in Bernsdorf and people were searched and found who realized these strategies.

Two working groups were founded which created several ideas how to support the process of democratisation of the community and how to more effectively integrate young people in this process. These more or less specific ideas were shifted in the hands of people with responsibilities while using of existing exchange and participation structures (community and educational round table, city council). The project co-ordinator could secure the continuity of the activities.

The strength or weakness of local NGO networks is closely connected with the free spaces for organised neo-Nazis. The experience from the counselling work in last ten years show that the strength of neo-Nazi structure result form the weakness of the roots of the democrats in the region. Studies show the importance of participation possibilities and improvement towards more democracy. To reach this aim, a good network in the community is inevitable.

35 This chapter is based on the portrait of the city of Bernsdorf, which was written as a part of the project Horizon 21 (www.horizont-21.de) and can be downloaded here: <http://www.horizont-21.de/de/sites/bernsdorf/aktuelles/gemeinwesenportrait-der-stadt-bernsdorf.html>.

36 Roth, Roland (2006). Abschied von der Zivilgesellschaft. In: Forschungsjournal NSB, Issue 4, Year 2006, p. 13.

37 See http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Russians_in_Germany

In last several years there can be seen a slight change in the public social life – a better communication structure and a development from coexistence towards cooperation. Furthermore, many institutions and associations understood the importance of taking up a stance on democratic values and against right-wing extremism. Many of these efforts are only at the beginning. Though, the protagonists see that only cooperation, transparency and more possibilities for political participation can help to push back racism and xenophobia. Not all cities have the possibility to raise so much funding and to implement so many community organising projects. However, the message of this chapter is not to describe the way, but to emphasize the importance of an open and innovative mayor and city council.



3.2.10. Lessons learned/mistakes coming out of implemented projects in the field of extremism, racism, and xenophobia

In last chapters we gather and presented some programmes. Projects and organisations mainly in the field of prevention of phenomena such as racism, xenophobia and right-wing extremism. In this chapter we want to make some general remarks³⁸ about the way the whole society deals with this problem, or not, and have a critical look³⁹ at the programmes that still build the frame-work of this work, although there are of course activities in Germany as well, which are not financed or co-ordinated by these programmes.

The perception of democracy deficiency in our society by media are raised especially after unique incidents. This perception focuses on phenomena of the anchoring and spreading of impacts of right-wing extremism in the democratic institutions and groups of our society. This can be: electoral results – when right-wing extremist parties get to the parliaments; attacks on people who are seen as foreigners, different-minded or different-looking; a discovery that neo-Nazis succeeded by gaining ground in civil society such as by private lessons for pupils, as chairperson of a local

38 This part is based on Bringt, Friedemann/Hanneforth, Grit/Nattke, Michael (2012). Hinterm Horizont geht's weiter. Prozessverfahren zur Aktivierung der „Älteren“ in einem Gemeinwesen. In: Projekt Horizont 21 (Ed.): "Demokratie hin oder her..." Erfahrungen mit Demokratieentwicklung im ländlichen Raum. Self-published: Dresden.

39 This part is based on Roth, Roland: Abschied von der Zivilgesellschaft. In: Forschungsjournal NSB, Issue 4, 2006, p. 6-15.

historical society or as organiser of local festivals. Special attention was paid the discovery of the right-wing terror cell “National socialist Underground” (NSU), which committed 10 murders in last 10 years. What follows? Media coverage, shock, panic, helplessness and the question: What can we do?

Every single incident of this kind – before media get to it – has its own long history. This long history is the disregard of human rights and the questioning of our democratic consensus. It is the history of looking the other way, keeping silent, pushing aside and ignoring of anti-democratic potentials, the history of denial of racist motivated discrimination and violence. It is the history of fear and separation of the democrats in our country.

There is again and again this call for civil courage repeated by the politicians of all democratic parties., but it describes only the purpose – not to look the other way, not to keep still, not to ignore and not to push aside – and says nothing about the way how to achieve it.

Knowing that right-wing extremism is not a problem of youth only and being aware of the demographic trends, it is necessary to have a look at one specific group of people – “the adults”. “The adults” seldom get attention during media coverage of right-wing extremist incidents. Mostly young people become perpetrators or victims of violent attacks. “Adults” are those who are older than 35 years, do not belong to any youth culture any more and are commonly seen as the “bearer of our society”. However, as the attitude researches show, they create the sounding board for aggressive behaviour, in our case for right-wing motivated violence.

The studies show in particular that acceptance of violence of legitimate tool for conflict solution increases with growing age.⁴⁰ When we read the newspapers carefully, two things become clear. At first, “the adults” are present through their non-attendance, their keeping still, their not-doing-anything in the particular situation. Solely politicians and other decision-makers express themselves to the specific incident and even in that case they do it often not clear enough.

Only in exceptions do politicians or mayors show media empathy and solidarity with victims of right-wing violence. Here is an example we already used in chapter 4. During a community round table students, who define themselves as punk or hard-core, asked for an own space, where right-wing oriented youth would not be allowed to enter. One school director could not understand it and said, that the young people should be able to overcome these little conflicts and especially in these self-managed spaces they should jump over their own shadows and talk to each other. One young man left the discussion. The school director did not manage to see the world through the eyes of the young people, who in past became victims of right-wing motivated violence. Since “the adults” become in rural regions much less victims of violent attacks, they do not realize the problems of the youth. Yet this reluctance to raise awareness of this problem is a role that should be broken through and changed. Secondly even based on electoral results the media focus the group of people described as young, male and not educated. Though a deeper analysis shows different results.

It makes sense to have a look at the group that creates the majority of our society and stays rather in background in situations regarding the perception of democracy deficits.

School educational methods are not suitable any more for this target group. We need to find new methods and new ways to activate this group to participate and co-create their social environment and to gather themselves and stand up against xenophobic ideas. One new way to achieve these aims could be community organizing.

In the chapter four we described the federal programmes supporting the development of democracy and strengthening the civic participation. German social and political scientist Roland Roth focused at the analysis of these programmes and their outcomes. We want to summarise some of his suggestions. The programmes show some conceptional problems.

“The starting point of the programmes was the belief that there is a strong democratic society in the eastern part of Germany which only needs some impulses. This assumption was false, at least in several country regions and urban districts not only in the east of Germany.

40 See Deutsche Zustände. Das entscherte Jahrzehnt. http://www.uni-bielefeld.de/ikg/Handout_Fassung_Montag_1212.pdf (as seen on 28.01.2012), p.10.

Right-wing radical milieus could already be seen as part of the majority, when we have a look at xenophobia as one of the components.”⁴¹ In this case we have to create new methods of supporting the civil society and not only to apply the already existing methods. For Roth, there is a parallel to intercultural education as well. The way intercultural education can be implemented in the western part of Germany is completely different, when we have a look at the eastern part with about 2 % of foreigners. Therefore Kulturbüro Sachsen e.V. has good experience with know-how transfer and experience-exchange with the countries of Central and Eastern Europe (Czech Republic, Hungary, Poland, Slovakia).

Same as we criticise Roth on the emphasise of political education of young people, even if they create only a small part of the civil society. The integration of the group that we call “the adults” in the context of life-long education is missing in the programmes.

There is another weak point of the political education. For Roth political education has clear limits of its impact. If we had a look at the origins and developments of the political carriers of some neo-Nazi cadres, we would see, that political education cannot change anything. “Those who are not aware of these limits, they back up helplessness and frustration - feelings that get more common in the political education and social pedagogic work against right-wing extremism.”⁴² At the end of his text, Roland Roth sums up several recommendations for a sustainable work against right-wing extremism.

- 1) The involvement of state and public institutions: State and public institutions play their role not only in repression of right-wing extremism, but can “(unintended) support the creation of right-wing extremist scenes. ... in schools, where there is a distinctive democratic school culture, there are much less right-wing extremists”⁴³
- 2) Corporate citizenship
- 3) The involvement of the family policy: The role of the family by the education of tolerance or democratic values is still underestimated. Much more projects should be supported which offer counselling for parents of children in the right-wing extremist scene.
- 4) Targeted impulses in the state granting policy: The state financing of civil society should be connected with impulses supporting democratic values and civil courage not only in these mentioned programmes, but in other granting programmes as well – i.e. for sport, voluntary fire brigades etc.
- 5) To search the political discussion: The so called “fight against right-wing extremism” should not stay in this heroic, but marginalised niche. It should become a integral part of all public discussions.

3.2.11. Anti-immigrant activities of extremists and preventive/repressive measures against it

In this chapter we want to have a look at the situation of immigrants in Germany. In the beginning we will describe the general situation with some numbers and have a closer look at Saxony and the conditions for asylum seekers and refugees there. Later we will focus on the public attitudes towards migrants and violent attacks against them.

Germany and its migrants

After a rapid increase of the total number of foreigners in Germany between 1989 and 1993 from about 5 millions to 7 millions his number more or less remains constant. In 2010 there were 7,18 mil. foreigners living in Germany, which is about 8,8 % of the whole population.⁴⁴ There is another, broader group of people, that is being counted in statistics, the so called people with migration background. This group consists not only of foreigners, but from Germans as well who got German citizenship later or may have been born in Germany, but their parents are or have been foreigners. In 2010, 15,7 mil. people⁴⁵ with migration background lived in Germany. This number has been in last years slightly growing.

41 Roth: p. 9.

42 Roth: p. 12.

43 Roth: p. 14.

44 Source: Das Bundesamt in Zahlen 2010. Online: <http://www.bamf.de/SharedDocs/Anlagen/DE/Publikationen/Broschueren/bundesamt-in-zahlen-2010.html>.

45 Source: Federal Statistical Office. Online: <http://www.destatis.de/jetspeed/portal/cms/Sites/destatis/Internet/DE/Navigation/Statistiken/Bevoelkerung/MigrationIntegration/Migrationshintergrund/Migrationshintergrund.psml>.

The biggest number of foreigners come from Turkey (24 % of all foreigners), Italy (7,7 %), Poland (6,2 %), Greece (4,1 %) and Croatia (3,3 %). About 36 % of all foreigners come from the EU-States. The biggest foreign communities have another common characteristic. About 30 % of the foreigners from Turkey, Italy and Greece was born in Germany and their average duration of stay is more than 25 years.⁴⁶ This specific characteristic corresponds with the reason for migration, which we present later.

The situation in the eastern part of Germany, former GDR, is very different. The total number of foreigners in Saxony was 114.000 in 2009, which is 2,7 % of the whole population. Saxony has the biggest number of foreigners among all eastern states. The highest number of foreigners in whole Germany is in the city states Berlin (13,7 %), Hamburg (13,5 %) and Bremen (12,6 %).⁴⁷

There is a clear difference in the origin of the foreigners in the eastern and western part of Germany. The biggest foreigner groups in Saxony are from Vietnam (10,5 %), Russia (8,7 %), Ukraine (7,4 %), Poland (7 %) and Turkey (4,5 %).⁴⁸ There are only 4,7 % people with migration backgrounds living in the new, eastern federal states of Germany.⁴⁹

The differences in the ethnic origin of the people with migration background in eastern and western part of Germany is connected with the reason for their migration. In the former West Germany, the biggest group consists of the so called *gastarbeiter* ("guest worker"), their relatives and descendants. During the 1950s and 1960s, West Germany signed bilateral recruitment agreements with Italy, Greece, Turkey and four other countries. These agreements allowed the recruitment of *Gastarbeiter* to work in the industrial sector for jobs that required few qualifications. The guest workers in East Germany (*Vertragsarbeiter*) came mainly from the Eastern Bloc, Vietnam, North Korea, Angola, Mozambique and Cuba.⁵⁰

The Situation of the asylum seekers in Germany

Corresponding with the development of the number of foreigners in Germany, the number of applications for asylum reached its zenith at the beginning of the 1990s (1990 – 256.000 applications, 1991 – 438.000 applications and 1992 – 322.000 applications).⁵¹ Since then the number has been continuously decreasing to reach its bottom in 2007 with only 19.164 applications in whole Germany. Since then there is a slight increase in the applications again with 53.347 applications in 2011.⁵²

The development of the application numbers got attention from media and politics. „The asylum seekers come first of all from Islamic countries such as Afghanistan, Iraq and Syria.

... Furthermore, thousands of Serbs try to gain ground in Germany through applying for asylum, 90 % of them are supposedly Roma.“⁵³ According the Minister of the Interior Friedrich, the asylum seekers from Serbia apply for asylum for no reason and their applications should be rejected as soon as possible: „to minimise the duration of their illegitimate stay in Germany and not to burden the public budgets“⁵⁴. The number of positive decisions on applications has remained constant in the last ten years and is slightly above 1 %. In 2011, 55 % of application were totally rejected and the rest got a different status (refugee protection, toleration of stay).⁵⁵

46 Source: Das Bundesamt in Zahlen 2010. Online:

<http://www.bamf.de/SharedDocs/Anlagen/DE/Publikationen/Broschueren/bundesamt-in-zahlen-2010.html>.

47 Source: Federal Statistical Office. Online: http://www.statistik-portal.de/Statistik-Portal/en/en_jb01_jahrtab2.asp.

48 Source: Das Amt des sächsischen Ausländerbeauftragten.

Online: http://www.landtag.sachsen.de/dokumente/sab/20110114-Statistik-Staaten_nach_hoehstem_Auslaenderanteil_in_Sachsen.pdf.

49 Number from year 2008. Source: Federal Statistical Office. Online:

<http://www.destatis.de/jetspeed/portal/cms/Sites/destatis/Internet/DE/Content/Publikationen/Fachveroeffentlichungen/Bevoelkerung/MigrationIntegration/BevoelkerungMigrationsstatus5125203087004,property=file.pdf>.

50 <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Gastarbeiter>

51 Source: Das Bundesamt in Zahlen 2010. Online:

<http://www.bamf.de/SharedDocs/Anlagen/DE/Publikationen/Broschueren/bundesamt-in-zahlen-2010.html>.

52 Source: Bundesamt für Migration und Flüchtlinge. Online:

<http://www.bamf.de/SharedDocs/Anlagen/DE/Downloads/Infothek/Statistik/statistik-anlage-teil-4-aktuelle-zahlen-zu-asyl.html>.

53 Spiegel Online, 24.01.2012, <http://www.spiegel.de/politik/deutschland/0,1518,810988,00.html>.

54 Spiegel Online, 24.01.2012, <http://www.spiegel.de/politik/deutschland/0,1518,810988,00.html>.

55 Source: Bundesamt für Migration und Flüchtlinge. Online:

<http://www.bamf.de/SharedDocs/Anlagen/DE/Downloads/Infothek/Statistik/statistik-anlage-teil-4-aktuelle-zahlen-zu-asyl.html>.

Asylum seekers in Saxony⁵⁶

The number of asylum seekers in Saxony was 1.940 in 2010. The asylum seekers have no right to choose, they are allocated to the federal states according to the number of inhabitants. There are to incoming camps for asylum seekers in Saxony with about 500 spaces. After 1,5-3 months the asylum seekers are sent to the common housing places. Due to the decreasing number of asylum seekers several housing places were closed down. In 2011, there were 29 of them in whole Saxony. Under specific circumstances the asylum seekers are allowed to live „decentralised“, which means in private flats. The decision is in the hands of the local authorities. About 60 % asylum seekers in Leipzig live in private flats. However, in Sächsische Schweiz county the number is under 1 %.⁵⁷ 11 from 13 counties. There is no common catering in the common housing places and they pay monthly 40 euros cash to the asylum seekers.

Violence against migrants in Saxony

RAA Sachsen (www.raa-sachsen.de) offers counselling for victims of racist violence and violence motivated by right-wing extremism. The following are the official numbers of the RAA Sachsen for the year 2011 and have been published in March 2012.⁵⁸ In 2011, 186 attacks have been collected (239 in 2010; 263 in 2009) with 269 direct victims. Most of the attacks are committed in the two biggest cities of Saxony – Dresden (40) and Leipzig (36). These results stay unchanged even if we measure the number of attacks in proportion to the number of inhabitants – Dresden (7,7/100.000 inh.) and Leipzig (6,9/100.000 inh.). RAA Sachsen differentiates the motivation of the perpetrators in following items: racism, homophobia, anti-Semitism, against politically active, against not-right-wing or “alternative” people, against disabled people and against socially disadvantaged people. Not only in 2011, three biggest target groups or motivations could be identified. The biggest target group are mostly young, alternative, non-right-wing people (63 cases), followed by victims of racist attacks (53 cases) and politically active people (23 cases). Other target groups (homeless people, LGBT, Jews) became victims only in few cases. In 39 cases⁵⁹ the motivation could not be identified.

The independent monitoring institutions record the number of twelve death victims of racist and right-wing violence in Saxony since 1991. Great public attention was paid to the case of the young Egyptian woman, Marwa al-Sherbini, who was stabbed to death during a court process on July, 1st 2009 in Dresden. „The first news agency reports on the murder of Marwa al-Sherbini informed the German public that a the accused had murdered a witness in the district court of Dresden. The reason was a quarrel in a children’s playground. No mention that the witness was a Muslim woman. No mention that the playground quarrel had culminated in the defendant shouting at the woman “Islamist”, “Muslim bitch” and “terrorist”. The German press reported on the case on the back page, then fell asleep. A few days later it was awakened by thousands of Egyptians who protested vociferously against the “Islamophobia” of the Germans. Islamophobic? Us? ... I don’t think Marwa’s murder proves German “Islamophobia” but it proves a lack of interest in the reality of today’s German society that is disturbing.”⁶⁰ „A young man had to die, because some people did not like the colour of his skin.”⁶¹ This is an obituary notice of the 19 year old Kamal Kilade from Leipzig, who was stabbed to death by two neo-Nazis on October 24th 2010 in Leipzig. There was also one death victim in Saxony in 2011. Andre K. was homeless and was living in Oschatz, Saxony. On May 27th 2011 he was beaten up by three men at the train station in Oschatz, three days later he died in a hospital. So far the information of RAA Sachsen shows that he was a victim of a crime motivated by right-wing extremism. With the murder of Marwa El-Sherbini in Dresden 2009 and Kamal Kilade 2010 in Leipzig it is a third murder in a third year.

Racism in Germany – sociological studies

There are several long-term sociological studies in Germany which try to identify and describe racist, xenophobic and right-wing attitudes in German society. One of them is the long-term annual research of the Institut für interdisziplinäre Konflikt- und Gewaltforschung at the University of Bielefeld. Its result have been published every year in the book called Deutsche Zustände (The state of Germany). This research is based on the theory of group-focused enmity (gruppenbezogene Menschenfeindlichkeit). Last year the results of similar research in nine European countries was published.⁶² The analysis was conducted on negative attitudes and prejudices against groups defined as “other”,

56 Source: <http://www.nds-fluerat.org/wp-content/uploads/2011/03/webversion21.pdf>.

57 In 2009, 36 % of asylum seekers lived in common housing places in Germany. <http://www.nds-fluerat.org/wp-content/uploads/2011/03/webversion21.pdf>.

58 Rechtsmotivierte und rassistische Angriffe in Sachsen 2011. http://www.raa-sachsen.de/images/Statistiken/statistik_2011.pdf (Right-wing motivated and racist attacks in Saxony 2011).

59 The source of these cases are the monthly minor interpellations of the party Die Linke in Saxon parliament. The answers consist of a list with crimes and dates, but without clear explanation of the motive.

60 The Guardian. Online: <http://www.guardian.co.uk/commentisfree/2009/jul/10/germany-murder-marwa-sherbini?INTCMP=SRCH>.

61 Tödliche Realitäten. Der rassistische Mord an Marwa el-Sherbini. Self-published, Dresden 2011.

62 See Intolerance, prejudice and discrimination. A European Report. Online: <http://www.fes.de/cgi-bin/gbv.cgi?id=07908&ty=pdf>.

“foreign” or “abnormal” and assigned an inferior social status. The prejudices selected for investigation were: anti-immigrant attitudes, racism, anti-Semitism, anti-Muslim attitudes, sexism and homophobia.

Here are some examples of questions in the inquiry Deutsche Zustände with number of positive answers in the year 2007:

- White people are for some reasons position leaders in the world - 12,7 %
- There are too many foreigners living in Germany - 60 %
- The immigration of Muslims should be banned - 29 %
- New incoming immigrants should be satisfied with less rights - 52,8 %

These quantitative data connected with the qualitative data (see Case Sarazzin in the German country summary) show, that despite the relatively low electoral success of right-wing extremist or populist parties in Germany, there is a great potential of racist attitudes in the society which shows itself in the so called everyday racism and acceptance of violence against people who “look different”.

3.2.12. Situation of victims of hate crimes

There are several non-state organisations in Saxony dealing with actual or potential victims of hate violence. In this chapter I would like to put aside the organisations of different minorities, although their members or clients are or could become victims of hate violence. However, I will focus on the work and outcomes of Opferberatung RAA Sachsen, the counselling centre for victims of right-wing motivated or racist violence in Saxony.⁶³

The definition of right-wing motivated and racist violence of the counselling centre of RAA Sachsen is similar to the official definition of politically motivated crimes of the Federal Criminal Police Office. According to this definition, politically motivated crime – right-wing is “such an incident, especially when the circumstances of the incident or the attitude of the perpetrator allow the conclusion that the incident targeted the victim because of its political attitude, nationality, ethnicity, race, skin colour, religion, origin, sexuality, disability or its appearance and social status.”⁶⁴ Looking at “the circumstances of the incident” and “the attitude of the perpetrator” for the RAA Sachsen the view of the victim is important. The criteria to measure the attitude of the perpetrator are: the statements before, during and after the incident; the clothes and symbols he or she wears and participation of the perpetrator at the activities of right-wing oriented groups. The circumstances of the incident that would support the right-wing motivation could be: time and place (e.g. April 20th, May 1st,

demonstrations); repeated attacks; the form of the attack (e.g. brutality, humiliation, torture); the selection of the victim (the attack is not aimed against particular person, but the group, which he or she represent in the eyes of the perpetrator). Although the terminology is different, there are many similarities with the definition of hate crimes and hate violence as used especially by international organisations such as ODIHR.⁶⁵

Not every violent incident or crime finds its way to the statistics of the RAA Sachsen. Crucial is that the attack is aimed against the victim’s body. Material damage would be taken in account only in specific cases such as arson attacks or massive damages aiming directly to hurt the victim.

These were the important background information to understand the statistical data of the counselling centres of the RAA Sachsen. Data collection is for the RAA Sachsen, besides the counselling for the victims of these attacks, an important part of their work and can be used especially for awareness-raising and advocacy for the interests of the victims.

The following are the official numbers of the RAA Sachsen for the year 2011 and have been published in March 2012 (See Footnote 1).

63 The following text is based on RAA Sachsen: Rechtsmotivierte und rassistische Angriffe in Sachsen 2011. http://www.raa-sachsen.de/images/Statistiken/Statistik_2011.pdf (Right-wing motivated and racist attacks in Saxony 2011).

64 Bundesministerium des Inneren/Bundesministerium der Justiz (Eds): 2. Periodischer Sicherheitsbericht. Berlin 2006. p. 135.

65 For more information on the terminology see Foundation “Remembrance, Responsibility and Future”, In Iustitia o.s., Kulturbüro Sachsen e.V.: Forgotten victims. A summary. p. 9-11. http://kulturbuero-sachsen.de/dokumente/Forgotten_Victims.pdf.

In 2011, 186 attacks have been collected (239 in 2010; 263 in 2009) with 269 direct victims. Most of the attacks are committed in the two biggest cities of Saxony – Dresden (40) and Leipzig (36). These results stay unchanged even if we measure the number of attacks in proportion to the number of inhabitants – Dresden (7,7/100.000 inh.) and Leipzig (6,9/100.000 inh.)

The motivation of the perpetrators

RAA Sachsen differentiates the motivation of the perpetrators in following items: racism, homophobie, anti-Semitism, against politically active, against not-right-wing or “alternative” people, against disabled people and against socially disadvantaged people. Not only in 2011, three biggest target groups or motivations could be identified. The biggest target group are mostly young, alternative, non-right-wing people (63 cases), followed by victims of racist attacks (53 cases) and politically active people (23 cases). Other target groups (homeless people, LGBT, Jews) become victims only in few cases. In 39 cases⁶⁶ the motivation could not be identified.

The form of the attacks

When we take a look at the most serious elements of the crimes, it is clear that the most typical right-wing or racist motivated crime is bodily harm/attempted killing (105 cases), followed by coercion/threat/attempted bodily harm (60 cases). In 5 cases it was a massive material damage and in 3 cases an arson attack.

There was also one death victim in Saxony in 2011. Andre K. was homeless and was living in Oschatz, Saxony. On May 27th 2011 he was beaten up by three men at the train station in Oschatz, three days later he died in a hospital. So far the information of RAA Sachsen shows that he was a victim of crime motivated by right-wing extremism. With the murder of Marwa El-Sherbini in Dresden 2009 and Kamal Kilade 2010 in Leipzig it is a third murder in a third year.

The year 2010 was exceptional, because of 17 cases of arson. In September 2011, a perpetrator of one arson attack was sentenced to 7 years and 10 months for committing an arson attack against a house. His motivation was, that this house presented itself as alternative housing project – or as the perpetrator saw it – left-wing and antifascist.

Although the terminology of the counselling centres of the RAA Sachsen and the police or state institutions in general is very similar, the methodology is quite different. In cases, where the political motivation is possible, but cannot be doubtlessly proved, the state institutions refuse to accept the motivation. The counselling centres turn this principle around in case of killings and murders. These cases would be accepted in the statistics if the political motivation cannot be ruled out. If the following investigation or the decision of the court can rule out the motivation, the official statistics of the RAA Sachsen can be changed.

The evaluation of the data

Although the statistical data offers a very important foundation for the analysis of the situation of specific victim groups in different regions of Saxony, they should be dealt with very carefully. The way of collecting the data does not allow any generalisation or definitive conclusions. RAA Sachsen gets information about the cases from following sources: the victims; cooperating partners and networks; police; media; monthly minor interpellations in Saxon parliament about politically motivated crimes – right-wing. In last ten years the counselling centres of the RAA Sachsen could create good contacts and networks with non-right-wing and alternative youth, politically active people and victims of racist violence. On the other hand it is complicated to create a trustful relation to socially disadvantaged or disabled people and the victims of homophobia. The way of data collection makes it impossible to compare the number of cases between different regions of Saxony.

There is a tendency by the victims, especially by non-right-wing and alternative youth and by victims of racism, to accept their situation. They do not see any reason to go to police or even to the counselling centres and report the attacks. The victims of racism speak about physical attacks against themselves as about one incident among many other experienced discriminations and exclusions.

66 The source of these cases are the monthly minor interpellations of the party Die Linke in Saxon parliament. The answers consist of a list with crimes and dates, but without clear explanation of the motive.

The counselling of the victims⁶⁷

The three counselling centres (in Chemnitz, Dresden and Leipzig) supported in 2011 196 people. In 162 cases these were the direct victims, in the remaining cases they supported the relatives, witnesses etc. The majority of them (81) young people between 18 and 26 years, three of the clients were children under 13 years. By the counselling cases we can identify the same target groups as in the statistics of all reported cases. The majority of the clients were the non-right-wing youth (69), followed by the victims of racist attacks (51) and politically active people (32). About 50 % (78) of all clients were victims of bodily harm.



3.3. Czech Republic

3.3.1. Historical development after 1989

Since certain traditions were interrupted, so to say, by the Communist era, the right-wing extremists did not have much to build on in the early post-revolution years and sought inspiration mainly from abroad. And it was from abroad that the Skinheads movement came along, even before the revolution. The increase of its influence as well as number of sympathisers of this movement's racist branch flourished very much thanks to the music scene, especially its most famous group called Orlík. Its fans, however, did not have much in common with political extremism of today and considered themselves rather a subculture. Nevertheless, the music group did contribute to the expansion of racist thoughts and its legitimization through public concerts and sales of music merchandise. This part of right-wing scene was formed mainly of young people whose common denominator at that time was pure racism (or rather "anti-gypsyism" and "anti-vietnamism") and aggressiveness.

The Skinheads movement (or rather its racist branch) is not, however, the only one to represent far-right thinking, nor was it after the revolution. Mareš states that the rebirth of right-wing extremism after 1989 sprang up from four pillars: groups inspired by far-right radicals in western Europe, individuals attempting to revive the Czech far-right tradition before the Communist era, extreme-right thinking persons coming back from exile, and the above-mentioned Skinhead subculture. (Mareš, 2003: 180)

Beginnings of far right after 1989

Almost immediately after the regime changed, far right groups took the chance to influence politics and attempted to take advantage of the reinstalled freedom of speech till the last drop. To some extent, the overall atmosphere in society was not opposed to far-right ideas due to its primary distaste for Communism and leftist thoughts in general; toleration of racist thinking was partly allowed. The development of extreme right in those years took place on three levels, and this structure is to a certain extent maintained until today. Firstly, there were political movements, the second were informal, independent groups and finally the racist branch of the Skinheads movement. These levels, however, have always mingled together, and continue to do so until today.

One of the most significant entities of this period was unquestionably Miroslav Sládek's Association for Republic – the Republican party of Czechoslovakia (SPR-RSČ). The party was established right at the beginning of 1990 and was active until 2010, albeit with various modifications and steadily decreasing popularity. "The party called itself far-right since the beginning and focused, among all, on the Skinheads movement. It cooperated with its members on a long-term basis" (Charvát, 2007: 144). Sládek's party was gradually gaining sympathisers and obtained more than 6% of votes in the 1992 general election; Miroslav Sládek later stood as a presidential candidate.

The most significant informal group active in the beginnings of extreme right was circle of people around Politika, a weekly that elaborated on topics such as anti-communism, anti-Semitism and legitimacy of the post-1989 regime. According to Michal Mazel, Politika was the most essential magazine for far right groups, an important source many referred to even long time after its distribution, was cancelled due to its editors' criminal prosecution. (Mazel, 1998: 226)

Sympathizers of the Skinhead movement carried out their activities on two levels: registered associations or independent, informal groups. Part of racist skinheads refused to acknowledge rules of the system as a whole, and thus did not intend to institutionalize their activities in formal manners. A few informal groups of various sizes and orientations were created, out of which the Bohemia Hammer Skins were the most significant. *"In the Czech environment, the local branch of Bohemia Hammer Skins became the first successful attempt to build nation-wide neo-Nazi structures, and despite its public demise in the second half of 1990's, a number of its activities did not renounce neo-Nazism and have kept in contact with neo-Nazis since then, often within premises of tattoo studios, military souvenirs collectors, security guards and even within organized crime."*⁶⁸

Period of dilemma between subculture and politics

The next period (1994 – 1998) was marked by enormous rise in popularity of far-right's most important political subject, the extreme right-wing party SPR-RSČ. Its representatives spoke out publicly against the Roma minority but also against leftists and the Czech Republic's accession into international structures. The party's activities were often very scandalous and attracted plenty of media attention. Voters must have been impressed since the next general election brought the party to the Parliament with more than 8% of all votes. No other extreme right-wing organization has ever challenged this success. Nevertheless, popularity of the party and its leader, Miroslav Sládek, has plummeted ever since. Clashes inside the party, Sládek's discourse which grew to sound rather ridiculous over the years⁶⁹ as well as his criminal prosecution cost him the majority of his voters, and in the next parliamentary election in 1998, the party obtained hardly half of its 1996 votes and thus had to leave the parliament. (Mareš, 2003: 198)

The boom of the politically active extreme right and its most significant party, SPR-RSČ, resulted in a general decline of activities of registered associations. All other registered subjects faced public disinterest and the number of its sympathisers lowered significantly. Informal organizations, on the other hand, were on the rise. Throughout the entire republic the so-called "fanzines" began to spread with the intention of providing information about activities of neo-Nazi movements and calling for participation in neo-Nazi events. Due to the reluctant attitude of police forces, a great number of the so-called white power music concerts were organized, featuring many foreign groups. Neo-Nazis bluffed the police by organizing these concerts as private parties, e.g. birthday celebrations, so the police were not entitled to enter the premises where the events took place. But suspicions of having committed a crime were so often obvious that it remains unbelievable that the police did not take any measures whatsoever. It was these concerts that played a vital part in the forming and tightening of the militant extreme right-wing groups.

Apart from the above-mentioned Bohemia Hammer Skins, another organization inspired by examples from abroad was formed: Blood and Honour – Division Bohemia. They later succeeded Bohemia Hammer Skins.

This period marks the beginning of another subject which has exerted influence on the Czech neo-Nazi scene ever since. One of the most notorious Czech neo-Nazis, Filip Vávra, who recently drew attention by inviting the well-known Holocaust-denying, Ku-Klux-Klan activist David Duke to give a lecture in Prague, founded The National Resistance, one of the most stable neo-Nazi organizations in the Czech Republic. The National Resistance was always very ambitious in its political activities and attempted to register as a legitimate political party a few times, a point that also marks the beginning of Czech neo-Nazis attempting to transform their public image. In the attempt to get closer to voters and acquire a friendlier image. The neo-Nazis intended to drop their black bomber-jackets and combat boots or let their hair grow. At that time, Filip Vávra was dreaming about how he would go to the parliament meetings dressed in suit, in order to become more acceptable to the people. On the other side of political scene, another event well worth mentioning is that in 1996, the Czech branch of Anti-fascist Action was established as a successor of anti-fascist activities of various anarchist movements and perhaps the principal enemy of Czech rightwing extremists.

In the new millennium

In relation to decline of Sládek's Republicans, newly established factions with remarkable political ambitions appeared on the scene, such as The National Alliance, Patriotic Front, together with the Patriotic Republican Party and the The National-Social Block. Yet, all these organizations were related to previously established subjects both personally and ideologically, and were thus merely re-named or unified. The National-Social Block, bringing together sympathisers or members of the Patriotic Republican Party, The National Resistance and Patriotic Front had probably most political ambitions, nevertheless, it did not last for a long time and fell apart in 2001. (Charvát, 2007: 151 –153)

After repeated failures on the political scene, the majority of extreme right political activities ceased to function. Its members withdrew back to the subculture environment and distanced themselves from political life. The National Resistance played an essential part within the subculture. A new trend, however, was created, which later successfully took roots in the Czech environment: - autonomous nationalism. Borrowed from abroad and partially also from left-wing radicals, autonomous nationalism is characterized by individually functioning cells scattered throughout the entire

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E.g. the 25/7/1996 Parliament of the Czech Republic address, where he expressed the opinion that Roma children should be punished straight from their birth as that is their utmost crime.

territory without unanimous leadership. Quite remarkably, it was during this “peaceful” period that two political subjects which would later become the strongest players in extreme right were established. These subjects were called Workers’ Party, created as a faction of former SPR-RSČ members, and the National Party.

Czech right-wing takes a second breath

After a general decline in Czech far-right political activities in the first years of the new millennium, new political factions attempted to re-enter the political scene. In the wake of the 2006 general elections campaign, the extreme right attempted to unite forces and a coalition of five political parties was formed:- National Party, National Reunification, Workers’ Party, Miroslav Sládek’s Republicans and the Czech Movement for National Unity. This coalition called The National Five (and later renamed National Force) did not even last until the 2006 election for which it was created. However, the Workers’ Party managed to survive despite its official dissolution by the Highest administrative court in 2010, albeit with slightly different name and scanty election results.

An important step within the subculture movement was the creation of National Corporativism. It managed to reunite, at least partially, informal and officially registered groups of the far right, and to organize a number of events altogether. This extreme right movement did not however surpass its predecessors and ceased its activities in 2008, recommending its members to join the Workers’ Party or the Autonomous Nationalists. National Resistance was very important at that time. The organization’s activities have proven to be amongst the most radical in the entire neo-Nazi scene since its foundation and it has never strived for political acknowledgement, only, because its practices and ideas are considered far from tolerable within the official political scene.

Great changes

“In 2008, the process of overall qualitative change has come to an end ... education level of activists has been increasing ... exercise its activities in accordance to effective laws ... obvious professionalism and conceptuality ... opinions presented in a cultivated manner ... by selection of current and poignant social topics that do not evoke its relation to the right-wing extreme scene on the first sight.” (The Ministry, 2009: 1-2). These fragments could well characterize the part of extreme right that strives for political activity, and far beyond. Right wing extremists are no longer recognizable by their image, symbols or fiery speeches full of racism and xenophobia, although every rule has an exception.

In the “super-election” year 2008, the increased amount of activities could be registered both from the political spectre and the subculture movements. In its populist efforts, the Workers’ Party began to “intervene” in the name of ordinary citizens in places where social exclusion is an imminent problem, and the social topics it embraced led the party to a housing estate in Janov. On 4th October 2008, twelve members of the Workers’ Party, labelled as “safety corps”, arrived in Janov and their presence sparked a very emotional reaction of the local Roma minority. The presence of Workers’ Party members culminated on 17th November 2008 when a crowd of its sympathizers marched in direction of the housing estate after an official assembly had finished. Having arrived in the housing estate, the crowd got out of control and the entire event resulted in the biggest clash with police in the history of right-wing extremism after 1989. These two events, together with an incendiary attack in Vítkov, where a foursome of right-wing extremists threw Molotov cocktails into a Roma family house, draw enormous interest of both the media and politicians. Repressive state forces finally began to intervene against far right extremists with appropriate decisiveness and vigour, and together with non-governmental organizations and general condemnation, right-wing extremists were partially forced out of the public sphere. The proposal of the Interior Ministry on dissolution of the Workers’ Party was accepted for the second time, so at least a symbolic disapproval of extreme right-wing ideologies and actions was expressed.

Generally, the entire right-wing scene has eventually dropped the skinhead image and begun to mock a wide range of elements used by left-wing groups, such as the Black Block clothing style, autonomous organization management or a completely identical, copied symbols presented on flyers, flags, stickers or websites.

At the beginning of the 2010’s, acts and the spirit of previous years were still present in the society. Right-wing extremism does attract the media but it is obvious that priorities of both the government and ministries have again changed. The so-called government of budget responsibility proceeds to cut the state budget at every level, and expenses on the fight against right-wing extremism have unfortunately not been spared. For instance, the task group

of the Ministry of Education and Sport, formed in order to revise the current methodical directive related to right-wing extremism, has been dissolved; activities of Task Force groups, a platform organized by the Ministry of the Interior, where experts from various sectors discussed current topics related to right-wing extremism, were also terminated.

The latest media coverage (February 2012) was caused by the analysis of militant neo-Nazi scene, elaborated by a team of experts led by Miroslav Mareš. It describes both the current number of militant activists as well as medium-term development of the situation: "It is supposed there are approximately 4000 militant activists in the Czech Republic... The hard core of determined and systematically active persons may be formed by approximately 400 persons..., while the main ideological and strategic impulses are given by approximately 10 – 15 activists..." (Mareš, 2011: 4). In this study, Mareš further predicts the number of individual attacks against Roma will increase; part of the neo-Nazi structure might resort to terrorist practices and obtain legally held arms. Furthermore, it will seek inspiration from abroad, especially in Germany, Russia, Hungary or Italy. The study also suggests decline in support for official political subjects while demonstrations as well as participation on demonstrations organized by people outside of neo-Nazi structures as a result of social and ethnic tensions will become more common. (Mareš, 2011: 40 – 41)

The current and very sad trend is the "stealing" of extreme right topics and rhetoric by well-established members of the political scene. I would not like to compare politically active persons to National Resistance militants but recent topics, discourse as well as election campaigns, suggest that political discourse is heading towards cheap populism and radically to the right and such practice is exercised not only by those who have already been on that side for a long time. Public opinion surveys confirm that the Czech society is exceptionally anti-Roma, xenophobic and intolerant, and the reason why most of people do not vote the Workers' Party is not because their election programme had nothing in common with voters' values but because its members are generally considered extremists.⁷⁰ Controversial discourse coming from established political parties or even from the president's closest circle does not provoke so much fear but in the end, it is even more dangerous.

3.3.2. Political parties, organized groups and informal groups currently involved in extreme, xenophobic and racist activities

A number of extreme right-related factions currently operate in the Czech Republic. However, only a few of them are considered important. The only political party in this respect is the Workers' Party of Social Justice (DSSS), successor of the dissolved Workers' Party, which was itself established by former members of the Association for Republic – the Republican party of Czechoslovakia (SPR-RSČ). The birth of Workers' Party dates as early as 2002; the party strived to cooperate and form election unions with similar subjects since its beginning, despite no greater success. Gradually, it managed to gain leading status among far right political subjects and its popularity boost reached the peak even before the party was formally dissolved by the Highest Administrative Court. Although it never achieved such a result comparable to those of the SPR-RSČ (which obtained a staggering 8% in the 1998 general election), its success was rather remarkable, in comparison to other similar parties. It gained the highest result in the 2010 general election (nearly 60 000 votes, i.e. 1,14%). Yet the only election success bound to be considered remarkable was 1,07% during the European Parliament elections in 2009 which earned the party state contributions.

Another group which still retains certain significance on the far right scene is the National Resistance. This unofficial, non-institutionalised association was established around 1999 by separating itself from the then chief international organization, Blood and Honour and its Czech branch Blood and Honour Division Bohemia. Despite the fact that the influence of National Resistance is continuously decreasing, its activities can still be easily tracked down. Since its beginnings, National Resistance has positioned itself as militant neo-Nazi organization with ambitious political plans and one of his founders, Filip Vávra, fantasized how he would go to Parliament meetings dressed in a suit. Among the group's past activities was planning demonstrations, protest marches and white power concerts as well as physical

confrontation of its real or supposed adversaries. Currently, its activities are limited to its websites or participations of demonstrations announced by other subjects.

The Autonomous Nationalists are the second yet the most significant subject on the unofficial far right movement scene. It was them who brought a completely new image and strategy into the entire extreme right. Through its free and informal structure, they intend to secure better organization ability and mobilization of individual cells that currently operate in most major cities in the Czech Republic, and also to weaken the work of repressive state forces. At the same time, they refuse to identify with the past, publicly reject Skinhead image and prefer mainly Black Bloc demonstration styles, trying to appeal to a larger public. This is closely related to the span of its activities and how to approach the public through them. We can therefore witness activities which seem useful and praiseworthy such as forest clearing or animal shelter aid. Interestingly enough, picking up symbolics, music styles or street art culture which was until recently associated exclusively with the leftwing thinking youth, is often regarded controversial even within far right circles. Changing the image and discourse style does not mean that the ideology has changed too.

Other far right groups have also attracted the media but those usually have no significant influence on the neo-Nazi environment. The first one is White Justice, labelled by the police and the media as a terrorist organization able to conduct bomb attacks on strategic targets or kidnappings of high-profile politicians or Jews⁷¹. During the prosecution, however, the supposed terrorists turned out to be amateurs boasting inappropriately on the Internet and the media, and the police turned out to be zealously obsessed by moral panic during the peaking public concerns in neo-Nazism. The court sentenced these "terrorists" to conditional, legally non-effective punishment and community work⁷².

Another group is called Resistance Women Unity (RWU). Its female members were recently accused of support and promotion of movements suppressing human rights and freedoms for organization various events and flyer campaigns. This exclusively female group was created as a support group to the male movements and was inspired by such groups as the international Women for Aryan Unity or the historic Finnish group Lotta Svärd whose members took care for wounded German soldiers during the World War II. (Bastl, Mareš, Smolík, Vejvodová, 2011). Its general activity is any kind of support to the male groups by promotion or support of imprisoned fellow members.

Other groups are only marginal and often do not last for long. Various websites promoting movements, related events or serving as online libraries of ideological texts are certain exceptions as it is impossible for the Czech authorities to intervene due to their registration in the USA. Social networks are also widely used to mobilize, support, share and ideologically educate any potential public.

3.3.3. Topics of right wing extremists

Topics related to extreme right groups have been consistent for a long time and they undergo a very slight development, shown only through communicating these topics on the surface. Representatives of the extreme right have moderated their discourse as to its form (they pretend to keep the law in the public), however, its content remains the same.

In the long term, the essential topic is minority issues, mainly the Roma issue. Workers' Party activities and activities of its successor, OŠSS, have especially focused on ethnics tensions between the majority and the Roma minority. It seemed rather ridiculous that the Workers' Youth (OŠSS youth organization) banner during the 1st May demonstrations in Prague read "0% racism, 100% identity". Nevertheless, the topic of racism has changed to a certain extent when it comes to radical discourse. "Modern racism of a part of the neo-Nazi movement has transformed from biological racism based on superiority and inferiority of races towards cultural racism which abandons, at least with its rhetoric, the superiority concept and focuses on emphasising the incompatibility of cultures and religious traditions." (Bastl, Mareš, Smolík, Vejvodová, 2011: 174)

Immigration and multiculturalism is another big issue. According to rightwing extremists, both of these phenomena are destroying European culture and identity and are posing a real threat to European nations becoming persecuted minorities in their own countries. To the contrary, the radicals' objective is the so-called Europe of nations where only

71 Kroupa, Janek. 2009. „Čeští neonacisté chystali teror“. MF Dnes 5. 11. 2009: A/1.

72 http://www.tyden.cz/rubriky/domaci/teroriste-nebo-diletanti-white-justice-miri-pred-soud_228386.html

the original nations would have their place – ethnically clean or, with respect to today's reality, ethnically cleansed nations. According to most of them, Europe can be "cleaned" only through a war called RAHOWA, Racial Holy War. Minorities, be it ethnical, national or even sexual and religious (traditionally, neo-Nazis have been against Jews which they consider the secret rulers of the world), are blamed for most of social problems, such as unemployment, crime and state debt or even disintegration of traditional families.

Right behind these main topics, we have populist critiques of the current government, capitalist system, the United States of America or globalization in general.

3.3.4. Biggest events

Rightwing extremists organize protest marches and demonstrations to various occasions all year long. Some are a reaction on current events and are announced spontaneously (e.g. after "friends" have been arrested), others take place annually on the occasions of various anniversaries. Traditionally, the biggest demonstrations tend to be those of 1st May, commemorated by various political groups for various reasons and the two adversaries often clash violently. Another traditional day is the 17th November which in the extremists' opinion is not a celebration of the fall of Communism but a critique of the post-communist evolution.

Clearly the largest event organized by far-right extremists was the protest march to Janov on 17th November 2008. This event was preceded by another one during which, a couple of days before the march, the Workers' Party sent out its "watch" that clashed with local Roma inhabitants. This conflict was filmed and broadcast by all nationwide TV channels which have greatly contributed to mobilising extreme right scene so the next demonstration saw an unexpected number of participants. The announced demonstration itself proceeded in a peaceful manner but after the main event finished, the crowd followed from Litvínov towards the Janov housing estate in order to confront local inhabitants which resulted in the heaviest clash with police throughout the entire modern history of extreme right movements.

A milestone in the approach against neo-Nazis was the arson attack conducted by four radicals on a house inhabited by a Roma family in Vítkov. During the nights of 18th and 19th April 2009, neo-Nazis attacked the Roma family and injured their members including a two-year old Natálka to whom they caused widespread burns. This act again drew huge attention from the media and public condemnation. Altogether with the Janov protest march, it contributed to increased concerns of extremism, tougher state repressions and a general condemnation of neo-Nazi ideas and acts.

In recent years, far-right extremists have participated in spontaneous demonstrations organized mainly in socially excluded areas and directed against the Roma. This is how they try to benefit from problems these areas are facing. At the same time, they attempt to appear at demonstrations against the current government organized by other institutions such as trade unions. The effort of Workers' Party to grab opportunities, profit from society's disaffection with the current situation and exploit it as much as possible can be well proven as in the case of "stealing" the Holešov Appeal. This initiative aims to mobilize citizens against the government policy and has attracted plenty of media attention, but the association of the same name was registered by people linked to DSSS. According to representatives of the original Holešov Appeal, the whole case will be resolved at the court.

As part of the manual for municipalities, the Interior Ministry produced a calendar of high-risk days when the danger of right-wing extremist demonstrations is imminent. The calendar was launched with the objective to help municipalities to recognize the true aim of announced events. It contains a total of 38 days which are somehow important to rightwing extremists, such as the first transport of Pilsen Jews to concentration camps, Adolf Hitler's appointment as a Reich Chancellor, anniversaries of his birth and death, Jewish holidays or anniversaries of the birth and death of Ian Stuart – frontman of neo-Nazi music group Screwdriver.

Traditionally, Czech extremists also attend important events abroad such as the anniversary of the Dresden bombardment on 13rd February or similar events in Hungary.

3.3.5. State's approach in the Czech Republic - good and bad practices of prevention of extremist, xenophobic and racist activities

One of the latest extensive extremism-related documents issued by the Ministry of the Interior is the annual Report on Extremism in the Territory of the Czech Republic and the Strategy for Combatting Extremism. These documents present the government's plans and tasks in the fight against extremism and evaluation of its performance. The strategy is divided into five pillars: 1. Using Communication against Demagogy, 2. Using Knowledge to fight against Totalitarians, 3. Single Anti-extremist Platform, 4. Expertise and Immunity, and 5. To Proceed Effectively and Fairly against Violence. It gives tasks to the Ministry of the Interior, Ministry of Education, Youth and Sports, Ministry of Justice, Ministry of Finance, Ministry of Industry and Trade and to the Commissioner of the Government for Human Rights.

The strategy's main objective is to fight efficiently against the extremist propaganda, providing reliable information to the public (including students and pupils), elaboration of a comprehensive research called "Monitoring public opinion in the Czech society on right-wing extremist, racist and xenophobic ideas and its promoters with respect to integration of minorities and foreign nationals", prevention of dissemination of extremist ideas on the Internet, provide tutoring to teachers, creating education materials, efficient prevention of manifestations of extremism, interconnected cooperation among police forces and municipalities, provide training to commanding police officers, police specialists, legislative employees, prevention of infiltration of extremists into the police forces, the army or prison guards, diligent monitoring of displays of extremism or trouble-free extremist events management. (Strategie, 2009)

As seen from the document, the Security Policy Department of the Interior Ministry which is responsible for its elaboration included a wide range of various activities, resorts and other subjects from the non-state sector. The 2010 first task evaluation (as part of Strategy for Combatting Extremism in 2009) brings a very positive conclusion for all parties. Nearly all objectives have been achieved or are being fulfilled gradually. Quite frankly, the evaluation does admit its failure in the ratification of the Convention on Computer Crime and a particular task to be conducted by the Ministry of Education, Youth and Sports due to the financial crisis. (Strategie, 2010) During a personal interview, however, the Interior Ministry representatives admitted more problems than the official report actually mentioned.

The latest Evaluation of the Concept for Combatting Extremism, published in mid-2011, does not bring any radical changes. In the first chapter of the Strategy dedicated to communication with the public, the Security Information Service (BIS) began to publish brief quarterly reports: BIS informs on the development in the extremist scene, police teams were provided with professional training. Updates on the topic on the Interior Ministry's website are not particularly frequent, and neither are updates of other state institutions involved.

As for Internet-related crimes, no further development has been achieved and chances to prevent extremist content from being disseminated via Internet are still terribly poor due to the powerful freedom of speech institute in the USA. The Czech Republic is, however, not the only state who faces this problem as other European states seem to achieve similarly poor results.

In the Strategy's second pillar, called Using Knowledge against Totalitarians, the largest space is logically dedicated to Education Ministry which has committed itself to provide further training to teachers, organising seminars and conferences, appointing a school expert whose responsibility will be extremism prevention, make amendments to the methodical directives against violence, xenophobia and racism, or to publish good practice examples. Despite all this, it is not clear what the deadline for achieving these goals is, since all Strategy's tasks should be fulfilled continuously. Therefore, the much-awaited methodical directive against violence, xenophobia and racism is still not prepared.

Prevention cannot be narrowed down to school activities only. The Ministry itself realizes that prevention must be directed at two crucial areas: raising awareness about ideas and displays of extremism and raising awareness on social tolerance. (The Ministry: 2011) Both students and general public should be able to consider extremist discourse and recognize stereotypes, generalisations and lies that are often employed in extremist campaigns. This is, however, still not enough. The public should also respect and observe positive democratic values towards which all educational programmes and campaigns should generally aspire to.

Experience from abroad suggests that programmes with a positive objective are far more efficient than those with negative goals. They are not against something, quite the opposite: they strive to achieve something. Encouraging young people to make positive choice proves to have more influence than restrictions and raised middle-fingers.

The Interior Ministry evidently takes into account a number of extremism-related problems such as utter incompetence of conceptual strategy, lack of valid data, impossibility to measure results of some projects, doubled projects with same objective, and the competition between individual subjects when it comes to resources / grants. In its material Prevention against Right-wing Extremism, the Ministry openly criticises the situation and offers good practice examples from abroad. Apart from interesting approaches of German state institutions and authorities of individual bundestags, the material introduces projects of German non-governmental organizations that have never been introduced in the Czech Republic. For instance, it is EXIT – a project assisting neo-Nazis to abandon the extremist scene or the widely practised mobile counselling. Possible achievements of this project were introduced by Miroslav Mareš to the Czech environment who slightly adjusted its content and named it MOPOPSEX.

After evaluation of other European countries' experience, authors conclude that local problem solutions and perfect knowledge of individual communities are more efficient than single national strategies. They also argue the ratio between forming and informing should be reconsidered and instead of receiving information, young people should develop actively. Another important point made by the authors is a great emphasis on cooperation between individual ministries and non-governmental organizations. Such intentions are highly appreciated, however, the evaluation remains nothing but a sheet of paper with general announcements and in times of budget cuts, economising and other priorities, the path towards its implementation seems rather complicated.

Another pillar of the Strategy deals with enhancing communication between individual ministries and municipalities by organising consultation days, courses or seminars, dealing with coordination agreements between the police and municipalities or methodical assistance with interpretation and application of assembly law.

The two last pillars of the Strategy deal with the education of the police force and legislative employees, preventing infiltration of extremists into armed forces, implementation of new police intervention methods and communication with experts. The latest overall evaluation of Conception of Combat against Extremism, which inherited a big part of tasks from the previous period as well as assigning new tasks (e.g. the Government's project on information campaigns or the catalogue of preventive measure of the Interior Ministry), is yet to be published in mid-2012.

Task force

A special nationwide cooperation, establishing the so-called Task Force expert group, seek conceptual solutions in order to tackle weak spots of fight against extremism. A total of three groups were created. Task Force A is related to work of the Interior Ministry, Czech Police and security services. Task Force B deals with legal issues in extremism, while Task Force C engages in cooperation between the Interior Ministry, Czech Police, Ministry of Education, Youth and Sports, Government Office and the NGO sector. Unfortunately, the groups did not last for a long time and were disbanded after fundamental disputes between individual representatives of the Ministry and the NGOs occurred. Another form of contact and cooperation of state sector and non-governmental organizations is requested and until then, seminars on irregular basis are held by the Interior Ministry, dealing with current problems.



3.3.6. State approach in the Czech Republic – good and bad practices of state repression against extremist, xenophobic and racist activities

A great number of actors intervene in the fight against extremism. The state and its authorities maintain its exclusive and irreplaceable position (given by, for instance, its monopoly on using violence as a tool in combatting right-wing extremism), individual non-governmental organizations dealing with extremism issues, independent civic groups, immensely active individuals and academicians or the media that play important part in forming public opinion on right-wing extremism and its displays.

All of these actors embrace different approaches on how extremism should be fought. Generally speaking, they only agree on the fact that right-wing extremism should be fought, the questions of how and what means should be applied are yet more disputable. For instance, non-governmental organizations strictly refuse violence as opposed to independent civic groups. NGOs also emphasise prevention rather than repression which is a measure put forward by the state authorities. On the other hand, state authorities (and especially its repressive forces) criticise the non-profit sector for taking the entire problem too seriously, while NGOs accuse state authorities of simplifying serious problems and lack of activity. Independent civic groups, often stemming from leftist groups (but not always), are mainly in opposition to state authorities and the current political and economic system and the state considers them, vaguely speaking, of being extremist as well. At the same time, it uses their information sources when possible. The media try to publish information about all this in a responsible manner.

Without doubt, the state is the main and irreplaceable actor in a number of areas of fights against right-wing extremism. No other organization, group or individual has the legal right to use violence against another person. No other institution is entitled to implement laws and no other but independent judicial power has the right to sentence to a punishment or dissolve a political party. In this respect, the state's role is absolutely fundamental. The question is, however, whether these exclusive mechanisms are applied often enough and whether alternative organizations (NGOs or other) are provided with enough space for expressing their ideas and contributing to the solution. In the last three years, we have witnessed how state authorities could take action against far right representatives and to have proven they are able to use their power in case the political will and the public and / or media pressure is sufficient.

The most common manner how the state becomes concerned in a particular topic (or sometimes, it even has to deal with it) is to sign international agreements and commit to their implementation or to participate in international groups dealing with a particular topic. The Czech Republic's representation at the UN World Conference against Racism or activities of the European Commission against Racism and Intolerance (ECRI) are among the most significant acts in this perspective.

"Other documents ratified by the Czech Republic or documents the Czech Republic identified itself with... are for instance the Charter of Fundamental Rights and Basic Freedoms (part of our constitution), Universal Declaration of Human Rights, European Convention on Human Rights, Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination, International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, Declaration on the Rights of Persons Belonging to National or Ethnic, Religious and Linguistic Minorities, materials of the United Nation Commission on Human Rights, recommendations of the UN High Commissioner for Human Rights (UNHCR), and many other documents related to racism, xenophobia and intolerance." (Horák, 2006: 18)

The problem of these declarations, conventions and directives is their high level of generalization on one hand and non-binding status on the other. Many documents do not bind states to fulfilment, they merely recommend. Some documents were ratified by the majority of European states despite the fact that extreme right-wing ideas are gradually becoming more and more acceptable. Another international document that must be ratified and that could, to some extent, resolve the problem of spreading neo-Nazi ideas through the Internet, is the Convention on Computer Crime, signed by the Czech Republic in 2005. Unfortunately, conditions for its ratification have not been fulfilled to this day.

A number of detailed legal actions against extremism is also embodied in our legal order in the form of modifications treating individual criminal offences related to extremism. The most common criminal offences committed by extremists (and persons related to extremism) are establishing, support and promotion of movements inciting suppression of human rights and freedoms as well as displays of sympathies towards such movements and denial, challenge, approval and excuses for genocide (a total of 111 criminal offences in 2010). Others are the defamation of ethnicity, nation, race and conviction (43 criminal offences in 2010), wilful assault (11 criminal offences), and instigation of hatred towards a group of persons or restriction of their rights and freedoms (15 criminal offences). One case dealt with a criminal offence of homicide in a state of attempt. Compared to the three past years, 2009 and 2010 turn out to be the worst in respect to extremism-related criminal offences (The Interior Ministry, 2011). The statistics of the Interior Ministry have been heavily criticised since they monitor extremist criminal offences regardless of right or left wing extremism. Moreover, they state neither perpetrators' motivations nor the structure of victims of these criminal offences. In most cases, however, the readers will probably form their own opinion on which part of the political spectrum these crimes come.

Contrasted to that, most experts (Kalibová, Čákl, Mareš) agree that the legal treatment of these issues is sufficient and undergoes cosmetic surgery from time to time (see e.g. increase in number of days necessary for announcing an assembly in advance, from 3 to 5 days). It is only necessary to use it properly.

With respect to strategies chosen by far right extremists, the legal definition of assembly is an extremely important point. It is stipulated by the Act n. 84/1990 Coll., To the benefit of the assembly and thanks to right-wing extremists' activities and tricks, it has been altered significantly in the recent years. The most fundamental being the extension of the announcement period. According to the old definition, this period was 3 days and it was not uncommon for demonstrations and marches to be announced on Friday. Officials thus lost the opportunity to examine the announcement. The recent amendment has therefore altered the number from three calendar days to five. At the same time (due to activities of both the state and NGO sector), methodical assistance has been given to municipality officials, in order to help them recognize the real objective of the demonstration as opposed to what was announced or decide whether to forbid or dissolve such an assembly. More problems, however, were caused by the events of 9/4/2011 which took place in Krupka. In the reaction to this protest march of the Workers' Party of Social Justice (successor of the dissolved Workers' Party), a group of its adversaries organised a religious assembly, one that does not have to be announced. This assembly was, however, dissolved by the police and the entire event will be decided at the court. The court's decision will therefore determine how similar clashes between announced marches and non-announced religious assemblies should be treated in the future.

Good practice examples

Among experts, the most positive feedback is often given to repressive actions against right-wing extremists which were part of a few police interventions called Power and Lotta and which continue to this day.

Another albeit less unequivocal step was the dissolution of the Workers' Party based on the government's proposal and the subsequent decision of the Highest administrative court. By saying less unequivocal, I mean that the step was not successful in the first attempt and that its consequences are not very clear. Even before the court made a decision, the Workers' Party had already announced that in case of its lawful dissolution, its members will simply establish a new organization, and so it happened. Currently, there is the Workers' Party of Social Justice which is largely identical to the Workers' Party; its voter structure is more or less the same, too. At least, the government sent a message to its citizens know that it does not agree with ideas and attitudes represented by the Workers' Party. The Interior Ministry representatives themselves consider the party's successful dissolution the greatest achievement of the state in the fight against extremism in recent years. According to their opinion, the next great achievement is to push extremists out of public spaces. It is necessary to say the state has definitely reconsidered its anti-extremist policy in the last two years and it does not approach it as reluctantly as before, for which it was often criticised by the NGO sector. But although representatives of the Interior Ministry maintain that cooperation with non-governmental sectors is one of their priorities, NGOs cannot rely on easy money being distributed for financing their projects.

3.3.7. Non-State Actors – successful activities and lessons learned

Non-governmental organizations are the sign of organized and institutionalized activity of civic society. They are separated both from the state and private sector, they deal with a wide range of activities and its objective is not profit but, let us say, general benefit. The NGO system has established itself very well in society after forty years of the communist regime during which such associations could not exist. Now, they are part of our everyday lives. They play an important role in the fight against extremism since 1993 when the first NGO, Movement for Civic Solidarity and Tolerance (HOST) was established as a reaction to violence committed by neo-Nazi groups. As obvious from the following lines, they are rather scarce, still in search of their real objective and cooperation among them and/or the state sector is rather complicated.

When assessing recent activities of NGOs in the fight against far-right extremism, I myself encountered the problem of actually struggling to find one. As the first form of contact, I approached 26 organizations that I either knew directly or believed might have something in common with the subject of this work, and asked them to fill out the questionnaire. In the next round, I contacted a further 9 organizations, based on recommendations of those previously approached. Two other organizations that confirmed involvement in the topic were actually undergoing formal change from uninstitutionalized associations into civic organizations at the time of elaboration of this work. Three questionnaires returned at the first attempt, and after encouraging the rest, I assembled a total of 10 questionnaires. Despite that there are relatively few organizations involved with far-right extremism, some incredibly intriguing results could be concluded from both questionnaires and interviews. A detailed description of what I learned from the friendlier NGO representatives and read about the less friendly ones from public resources is to be found in the following chapters.

Areas of NGO activities

Non-governmental organizations have several possibilities how to direct their activities in the fight against extremism. Basically, it is prevention, information and education activities, monitoring, training, direct events, subsequent assistance or mutual aid.

Prevention

As for the definition of preventive action, I consider it to be all forms of influencing the youth, seminars or school events, e-learning material production or other targeted actions that discourage the youth from participating in right-wing extremist structures or displays of sympathies for it. It is prevention of far-right extremism that most of NGOs apply and the vast majority of institutions approached actually ticked this option in the questionnaire. In spite of this, the NGOs believe that it is simply not enough. It is true that even if every one of these associations organized the same number of seminars as Tolerance and Civic Society, its activity could still not reach more than half of the 4200 primary schools in the Czech Republic.

It is often discussed how preventive actions should be put into practice. The usual strategy, i.e. organizing a lecture, has lost its glance and students seem to be reacting much better when approached with interactive incentives and multimedia technologies. The content of preventive actions is also widely discussed. According to the forbidden fruit syndrome, it is vital to approach students in an informal manner and be aware that preventive action does not finish by reading out a list of extremist organizations or groups and their activities and saying how bad they are. From my own experience I know, it is often better to avoid naming organizations or showing website links as it has completely the opposite effect than intended. It is also essential to prepare strong arguments and expect that there is always someone in a class who will be eager to challenge the issue and drag the others to their side.

Direct action is not the only way how representatives of NGOs carry out their activities. Another form of prevention may be creating supporting materials for those who will be put on the first line. A number of methodical tools are intended for teachers and have been elaborated by experts from NGOs, academics and teachers (e.g. Threats of neo-Nazism – opportunities of democracy published by the non-governmental organization ASI-milovaní [ASI-millated], or Education and Extremism by Nikolaj Demyantchuk and Lucie Drotárová) and the topic of extremism is included in e-learning projects such as CzechKid – project supporting multicultural education created in cooperation with the Faculty of Human Studies of the Charles University in Prague, non-governmental sector and experts from the academic sphere.

Most NGO workers are not teachers (especially those who deal with extremism as a topic), and it is therefore crucial not to rely solely on one's knowledge and awareness but also on recommendations and advice from education workers. We might cause more damage than prevention by using careless definitions, inappropriate choice of multimedia samples or the inability to explain the real dangers

Information and educating activity

In the past few years, we could witness a number of media campaigns focused at the issue of right-wing extremism. A wide range of campaigns were presented: "Be kind to your local Nazi" or "Neo-Nazi, do you want him?" by Člověk v tísni, "Don't watch in black and white" by Czech Helsinki Committee or campaigns targeted at particular area of right-wing extremism. It was, for instance, again the Czech Helsinki Committee and its campaign called "Do you know what you are wearing?" launched last year that focused on current "fashion" trends of right-wing extremists and pointed at particular brands preferred by neo-Nazis or such that are directly related to neo-Nazi scene.

These media campaigns regularly spark big emotions both from wide public and NGO experts or the media. The most criticised one was "Neo-Nazi, do you want him?" as the media and NGOs both contested its form and content. "The campaign – in contrast to Czech reality – stigmatised all skinheads in a xenophobic manner, as if they all were neo-Nazis and legally insane." (Vedral, 2009).

As for educating activities, I am convinced that we are desperately lacking a platform where all lies and fallacies promoted by right-wing extremists during their events, in magazines and websites could be disclaimed in a regular, expert manner based on verified sources. To this day, only a few non-governmental organizations (e.g. Romea, Člověk v tísni) publish regular updates, commentaries and analyses on particular cases. Certain hopes could be brought by a project inspired by Netz gegen Nazis⁷⁷ in neighbouring Germany. It is our ambition is to bring together experts, the public and its websites, although the Interior Ministry representatives who are in charge of the project choose not to comment on this for the moment.

Monitoring

Monitoring of right-wing extremism and its displays is partly stipulated by international documents assessing development of racism and xenophobia in the territories of participating states. Two main strategies are employed as for the Czech reality. Firstly, it is the EUMC monitoring (European Union Monitoring Centre on Racism and Xenophobia), within which the Racism and Xenophobia European Network (RAXEN) was established. In the Czech Republic, RAXEN is managed by Člověk v tísni in cooperation with other NGOs. Another activity of this sort is the international monitoring platform called European Network Against Racism (ENAR). Czech Republic is represented by six NGOs in the network who altogether assess the annual "shadow" reports on the situation of racism in the Czech Republic. (Horák, 2006: 40-44)

Only one non-governmental organization engages in the area of special monitoring of neo-Nazi events, speeches as well as individual representatives. It is particularly difficult to raise money for this area so Tolerance and Civic Freedom remains, despite conducting activities absolutely free of charge, the only organization (apart from the non-official Antifascist Action) that maintains the fills up its large audiovisual archive including acts, groups and individual actor of far right in the Czech Republic.

Education

Education in order to suppress the surge of right-wing extremism is conducted mainly in cooperation with state sector employees such as the police, members of anti-conflict teams, officials of state authorities and municipalities or teachers. Here, the state and the non-governmental sector cooperate very well and tutors from NGOs often participate in trainings and educational events intended for the above-mentioned public sector employees.

In my opinion, we are lacking a systematic education platform within the NGO sector itself. The well-established and respectful non-governmental organizations point at the lack of experts and sometimes despise activities of other non-

governmental organizations. However, I still believe that the space for expert discussions among NGOs, courses and trainings are not sufficient. The truth is I participated in a one one-day course called “Extremism, what it is and what are its symptoms” but its content was definitely not sufficient and a few participants even agreed they knew more than the course tutor.

Direct action

Direct action such as marches or demonstrations is mostly organized by independent groups or civic and non-governmental organizations expressing support or spontaneous participation or they organize events to support their target groups. The number of events organized by particular non-governmental organizations is therefore much lower than those organized by informal subjects. Such events are often not formally announced or they do not spontaneously interrupt events organized by neo-Nazis. Various petitions could also be regarded as a form of direct action and the latest one, dealing with connections between radical right-wing ideas and politics, is calling for the demission of the new PM’s advisor, Roman Joch or Ladislav Bátorá.

Subsequent assistance

The only non-governmental organization specialized in subsequent care for victims of neo-Nazi crimes in the Czech Republic is called IN-lustitia. Other institutions provide legal and social assistance to victims of all criminal offences but IN-lustitia is focused especially on hate crimes. The area surely covers more issues since hate crimes are not committed by right-wing extremists only, but but plays an important part of IN-lustitia’s scope of activities.

Another project launched by a German non-governmental organization, EXIT, could serve as a different example of subsequent care. This organization helps right-wing extremists who decide to abandon the scene with their transition to “normal” society. Therefore, not only does it work with extremists themselves, it also communicates with their families or friends and it seeks to encourage radicals to take decisions and leave extremist structures through social and psychological work.⁷⁴ Similar projects do not exist here in the Czech Republic, and according to Kalibová, they should not even begin until assistance to victims of extremist crimes is secured first.

Mutual support

I consider mutual support to be simply networking. There are three communities in the Czech Republic that reach into the framework of the fight against right-wing extremism. The first, EUMC (European Union Monitoring Centre on Racism and Xenophobia), is managed by the EU and monitors development of racism and xenophobia in EU member countries. The second one is ENAR, European Network Against Racism). Finally there is UNITED for Intercultural Action which differs from the first two both in its scope, not limited by EU borders, as well as its predominantly left-wing orientation. It groups together various non-governmental organization and informal groups⁷⁵.



74 <http://www.exit-deutschland.de>

75 http://www.fra.europa.eu/fraWebsite/networks/research/raxen/raxen_en.htm,
<http://www.unitedagainstracism.org/>, www.enar-eu.org,

3.3.8. Cooperation between NGOs and state authorities

Endless discussions could be lead on cooperation between the non-profit sector and state authorities. Despite some areas are changing for the better, some for the worse, there are a few areas reappearing in all discussions.

The main question still is funding. As for activities directed against right-wing extremism, discussions tend to be very passionate as there is no official grant programme in which NGOs could compete for financial support. The only programme organized by the Government Office, Campaign against Racism, was not announced for the year 2010. Put into practice, non-governmental organizations are not able or willing to proceed continuously against right-wing extremism and their activities are scattered according to whether they happen to find money or not.

Some organizations even seem reluctant to cooperate with the Interior Ministry since the entire extremism policy is in the Ministry's coordination. There are various reasons for this. In some cases it is because NGOs oppose the Ministry's interpretation of anti-extremist policy as a whole, in other cases it is the fear of their target group's opinion.

Despite all arguments and problems that remain unresolved, cooperation between the state authorities and the NGO sector is flourishing especially in the area of educative programme for state officials as the cooperation between state and non-governmental organization is vital.

3.3.9. Good practice examples

It is not easy to highlight some of my colleagues' project and not to mention others. Evaluation is always subject to personal opinion and the fact that we mention only a few projects does not mean others don't do well. Firstly, we would like to mention the rather unconventional example of the well-functioning initiative called "We don't want Nazis in Ústí" which was established after a collective e-mail reaction and determination of local citizens not to tolerate the annual promenade of neo-Nazis through their town. This initiative connects a wide range of various non-governmental organizations, private companies, religious institutions as well as individuals whose common objective is to fight against the extreme right in Ústí nad Labem and its surroundings.

This unique movement of individuals and organizations regardless of the section in which they operate, political opinions as well as religious views or social status organize a few campaigns every year which are always related to extreme right in their town. "And we did our own alternative to the commemoration of bombardment of Ústí called 'Get on with it, stop the Nazi' based on organization of various cultural, sports, religious events. And to the decent people of Ústí, we gave the opportunity to commemorate this anniversary." (Interview 4) The initiative managed to get a positive reaction both from local authorities and the media. This cooperation works very well. In the endless roller-coaster of fundraising, grants, selection procedures and patching holes in budgets of non-governmental organizations, this initiative has shown that there is no need for a cutting-edge organization or financial aid to expression of an opinion and a particular effective reaction.

Due to financial uneasiness that restricts non-governmental organizations to plan their activities at least a few years in advance, we should appreciate the unrelenting efforts of some projects that operate despite lack of finances (most projects are funded only during the "harvest" period so no further cooperation is ensured). Initiative Romea is dedicated to monitoring of right-wing extremism as well as raising awareness in public and disproving blatantly lying and false acts and discourses of rightwing extremists. Probably the largest archive regarding rightwing extremism (except from the informal Antifascist Action) can be encountered with Tolerance and Civic Society that operates regardless it has money or not.

As for education projects, we would like to highlight those working with target groups on a long-term basis, offering methodical support to teachers, using interactive forms of education and are able to "live" even after it funding has finished. Such projects are, for example, the two above-mentioned: Czechkid and We are people of one Earth (n.b. the Czech word is same both for "Earth" and land). Part of this project is e-learning application available on the internet free-of-charge, which teaches students how to respond to certain types of situations of everyday life, fosters their opinions and strengthens their pro-democratic attitudes. Part of this project also teaches support, methodical brochures and worksheets, provided that teachers will be able to use the product in future as well.

In-Iustitia's work can also be mentioned as good practice example. It is the only organization in the Czech Republic

providing systematic assistance to hate crime victims (including predominantly criminal offences with extremist connotations), works methodically with state authorities employees, police representatives as well as journalists and operates in school as part of prevention. It also fights quite persistently for new vocabulary in regards to rightwing extremism, its clearer definition and getting rid of vague and unclear terms. In-lustitia also promotes the concept of hate crimes which extends the issue beyond extremist acts and make things much more precise.

3.3.10. Assistance to victims of hate crimes

Mgr. Klára Kalibová

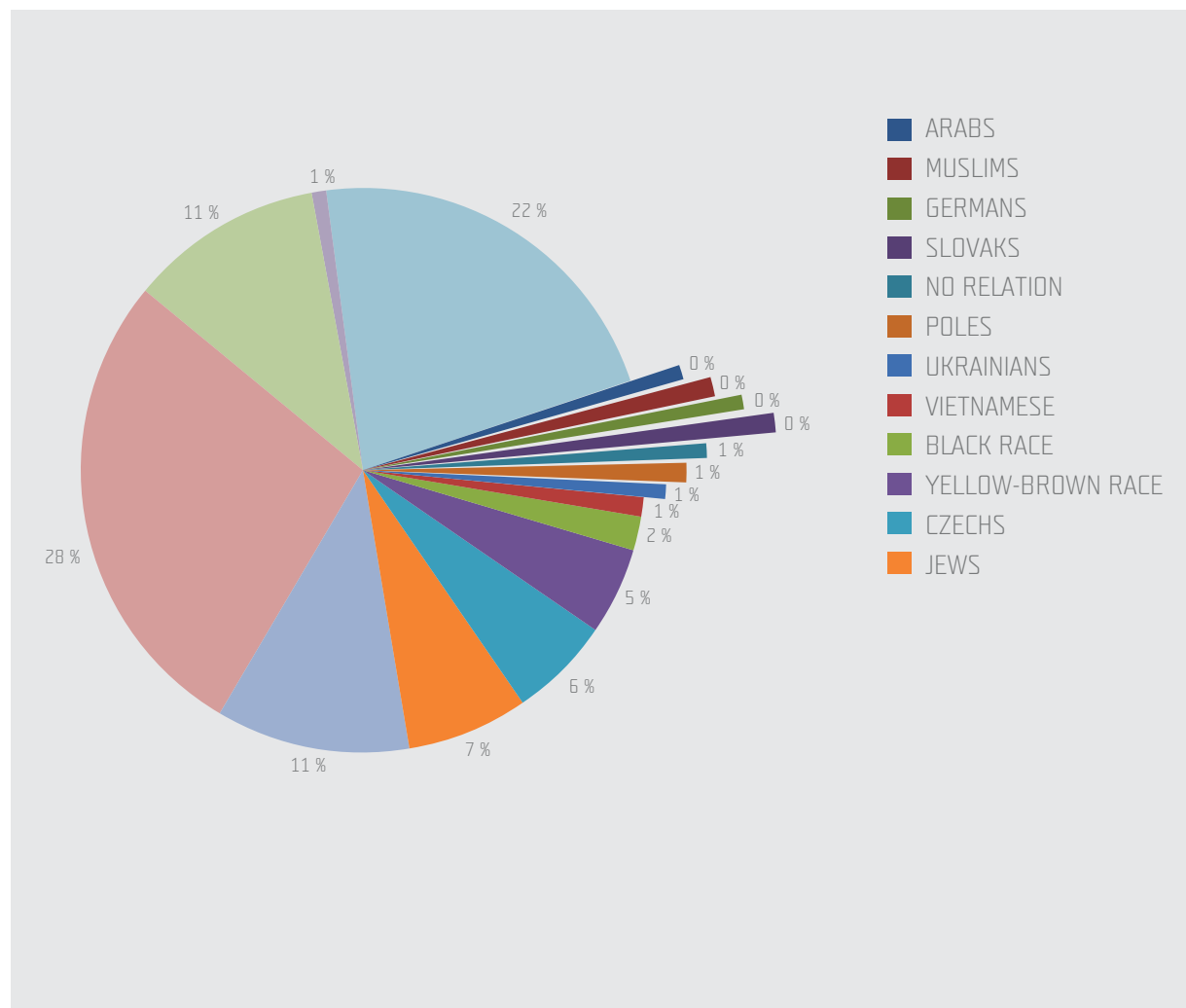
„I haven't been out for a year and half since the attack. Just to work and back home. I am scared, I don't sleep at night. The entire situation got even worse when one of the attackers was employed in the same factory. I don't know if I will manage to get over it.“ - A.D., March 2012

Victims of hate crimes are people who were attacked because of the colour of their skin, nationality, ethnicity, religion, sexual orientation, health condition, age, subculture affiliation, or other social groups. As for a relationship between perpetrators and their victims it is typical that they don't know each other in the vast majority of cases. Seen through the perpetrator's logic, the attacked person symbolises the entire group towards which perpetrator has prejudice, the main motivation of attack being non-individual and vague hatred due to unchangeable characteristics of victim.

Hate crimes may take various form, be it verbal attacks and incidents, harassing, threats and intimidation, attacks on property as well as physical attacks, bodily harm, homicides and terrorist attacks. The real number and character of hatred-motivated incidents may not be given exactly. Hate crimes are latent which is not in any way typical only of the Czech Republic. It is caused by the general fear of the victim that perpetrators will seek revenge, distrust towards law enforcement authorities, bad personal experience with police, victims' fears of secondary victimization during the criminal process as well as reluctance and inability of law enforcement authorities to prove the motive as hatred.⁷⁶

Motivation for the hate crime

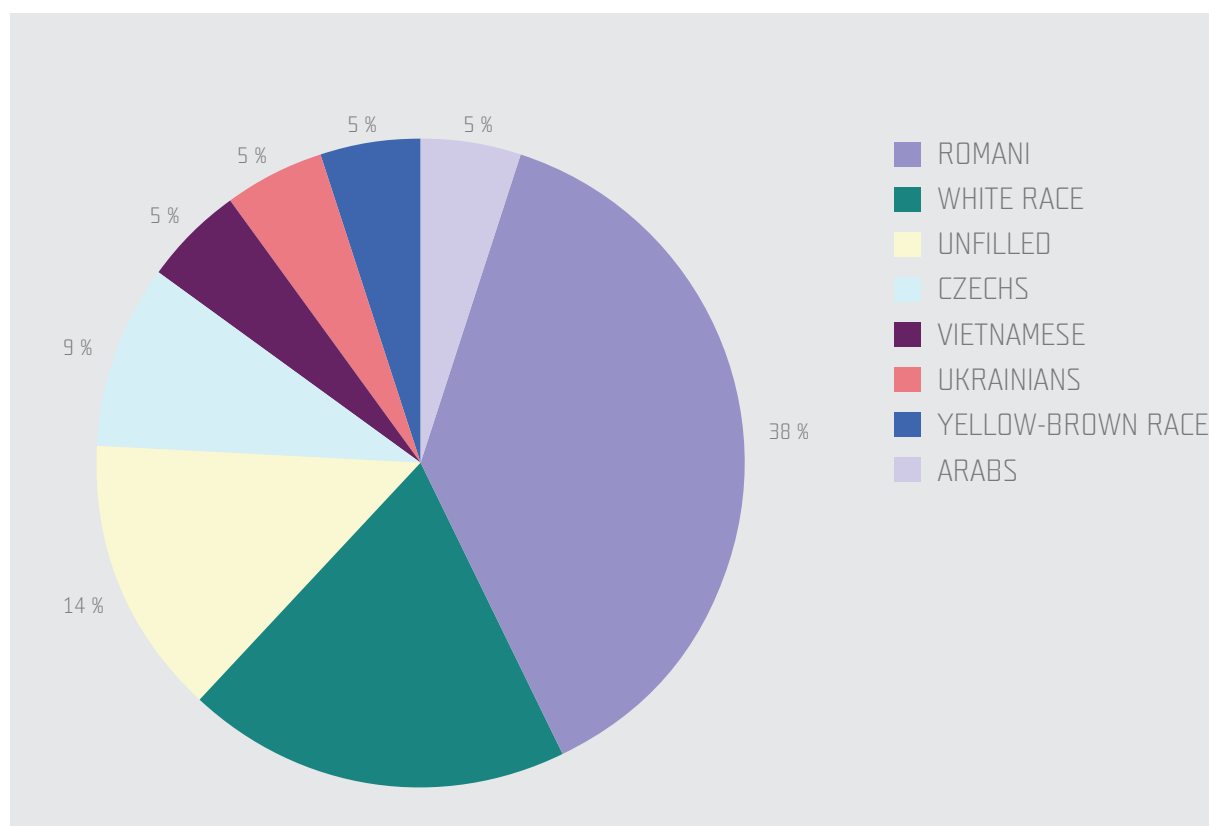
Statistical crime recording system 2011



A total of 238⁷⁷ hate crimes were committed and investigated in the Czech Republic during 2011. It is estimated the real number of incidents is ten times higher.⁷⁸ Criminal offences were most frequently perpetrated against Roma (28%), white people (11%) a Jews (7%). A thorough analysis of individual crimes then suggests Roma being the most frequent victims of physical violence (40% out of 21 bodily harm criminal offences were targeted against them), the Jewish community had to face attacks on property and verbal attacks of indirect character i.e. attacks committed within the scope of Support and dissemination of movements suppressing human rights and liberties (13 out of 18 crimes directed at Jews were committed in this form).

In many cases, hate crimes are a mere culmination of a long-term ethnic tensions or discriminations. Service providers, law enforcement authorities, the media and other social actors should take this context into account and elaborate on it.

Motivation of the perpetrator for the crime of bodily harm (§145,146). Statistical crime recording system 2011



Consequences of victimization⁷⁹ due to hate crimes

Victimization due to hate crimes causes a number of specific consequences in a victim's personal life. Some of them are typical exclusively for victims of hate crimes.

■ Injury and pain caused

Physical hate attacks may take various forms. Pain is related directly to the injuries, treatment and in some cases victims are caused permanent damage. Physical attacks may be executed in a symbolic manner, accompanied by images of symbols related to a certain ideology (neo-Nazi, racist symbolic) either on victim's body or its surroundings or by using tools with specific connotations (noose – lynch). In some cases hate crimes may be extremely brutal, especially when perpetrated by so-called mission attackers, i.e. those who realize a certain mission in favour of "their" social group.

76 Probably the most notorious hate crime murder which was not investigated as such, was the murder of Stephen Lawrence.....
77 Statistic outcomes of crimes with nationalist, racist, religion or simile motivation for years of 2011 and 2011. Police headquarters of the Czech Republic, sent by e-mail on 29th February 2012, n.b. Evidence and statistics system of criminality uses rather incorrect and unclear terminology (white, black, yellow-brown race) which was taken onto the graphics in its form.
78
79 Victimization is process during which a person becomes victim of a criminal offence (add quotation).

■ **Psychological consequences, acute traumatic stress and posttraumatic stress**

Psychological consequences of victims are one of regular consequences of hate crimes. They may be expressed as acute stress reaction and / or in form of post-traumatic stress disorder. Usually they are feelings of guilt, blaming oneself, helplessness, fear, insomnia, loss of appetite, loss of feelings of security, creepy recollections of the incident, distrust in social surrounding, assisting law enforcement authorities and institutions, feelings of isolation and loneliness. Post-traumatic stress disorder develops after exposure to a traumatic incident (crime, natural disaster, war) and symptoms include recollections of experiences, traumatic dreams, avoiding a place or situation reminding the victim of the attack as well as somatic symptoms.

Development of psychological disorders of various intensity with victims of hate crimes is significantly influenced by the fact they are attacked for no obvious reason and for facts they are not able to affect in any way (colour of skin, nationality, health condition) or it is not possible to justify such change (religious belief, political opinion). As opposed to victims of usual crimes, they cannot take significant security measures and they may be victimized once again and technically any time in the future.

■ **Sexual attacks and forced coming out**

One of the forms of hate crimes are sexual attacks directed usually (however not exclusively)⁸⁰ at gays, lesbians, bisexuals and transgender persons (LGBT). Victimization in form of sexual attacks has profoundly traumatising consequences for private, family and sexual life of victims, which in some cases result in permanent damage of victim's sexuality. Studies confirm relative frequent homophobic attacks being caused by acquaintances or family members,⁸¹ making homophobic violence somewhat particular in comparison of other forms of hate crime violence. Hate crimes against LGBT persons are in many cases accompanied by forced coming out – involuntary process of going public with one's minority sexual orientation. Apart from primary victimization caused by the attack itself, secondary victimization is caused by announcing victim's real sexual orientation. Forced coming out is experienced in a number of cases.

■ **Economic consequences and loss of employment**

Negative impact of hate crimes has its economic features as well. Usual consequences are loss of accommodation, material property, documents and other certificates (see the 2009 Vítkov arson attack), renovation costs, high medical costs related to treatment, permanent consequence or long-term recovery, loss of employment or income decrease caused by inability to work or ensures return to household until state before the attack, transport costs in case victim moved to another place as a result of the attack, costs related to legal and other representation in case of legal procedure.

■ **Impact on victims' usual activities and secondary victimization**

Directly after hate crime has been perpetrated, victims' usual behaviour, attitudes and habits begin to change. The main motive of such a change is the effort to prevent further victimization by hate crimes violence which is extremely difficult as mentioned above. If attack has been committed in public space, victimization may lead to limited movement within the place of work or stay, limited public transport usage, limited amount of leisure time spent in sports centres or cultural institutions. In many cases victims change their address, job or school in order to avoid further contact with perpetrator. Victimization has a strong impact on victim's social behaviour, perception of his/her role in the society, relationships with friends, family and partners.

Secondary victimization is defined⁸² as damage caused as a result of reactions of formal institutions of social control or informal social environment, e.g. secondary physical harm by reaction of victim's closest circles or traumatising court hearing procedures. In cases of hate crimes, particular groups of victims (Roma, irregular immigrants) must face incorrect approach of law enforcement authorities or the media doubting the actual assault, credibility of victims or their motivation to report the attack to the police. Distrust, challenging their version or publishing detail information on victimization leads to secondary harm and makes the process of coming to terms with the actual assault even more difficult. Some institutions' incorrect attitude may also lead to the strengthened opinions of being it unworthy to

80 During the war in Yugoslavia, resp. War in Bosnia, a systematic massive rape of Bosnian Muslim female took place (sometimes Croats) perpetrated by Serbian soldiers. A systematic rape as a display of genocide was confirmed by the International Court Tribunal for Yugoslavia (ICTY) as well as the International Court Tribunal for Rwanda (ICTR). E.g.: Prosecutor v Krstić (Judgement), ICTY-98-33-T, 2 August 2001; Prosecutor v Pauline Nyiramasuhuko (Amended Indictment), ICTR-97-21-I, 10 August 1999.

81 According to a research conducted in the USA, up to 41% victims were attacked verbally, and up to 8% physically for their sexual orientation within the premises of their home. Herek, G.M., Berill, K.T. (eds.). Hate Crimes. Confronting Violence Against Lesbians and Gay Men. Newbury Park: SAFE,

82 Čírtková, L. Policejní psychologie. 2. extended edition. Praha: Portál, 2004. s.189.

report such crimes to the police or call for justice whatsoever, since the consequences of procedures accompanying the solution of crime are often much more traumatising for the victim than the actual attack itself.

■ **Threats to the community**

Individual victimization by hate crimes has an intensive impact on the behaviour and attitudes of the community to which the victim belongs. Information on hate crime assault has a strong influence on feelings of security of threatened communities, may lead to massive inner or outer migration⁸³ withdrawal of a community from public life, taking inner security measures including self-arming and further strengthening of fears and worries. Similar to this, fast and clear proceedings connected with the criminal offence does act efficiently on loosening the tensions, insecurity and threats from outside.

Justified interests of victims of hate crimes and the right to clarify hateful motives

Victims of hate crimes have a number of interests. The following part deals with the interests of victims of hate crimes which could be summarized as

- Interest to respect rights and justified interests of victims
- Interest to resolve criminal offence in a relevant amount of time
- Interest to clarify important circumstances of criminal offence including perpetrators' motives (in case of hate crimes this is one of the key interests of the victims)
- Interest to be entitled to such means that enable them to realize the above-mentioned interests
- Interest to be able to actively participate in resolving the criminal offence
- Interest to be entitled to compensation for damage and non-material harm

A victim is defined as a person who was physically injured, caused material or non-material damage as a result of the crime or a person on whose behalf the perpetrator gained profit. A victim is one of the legal procedure parties, however, victim's rights are interpreted by the Czech legal practice as rights relating to compensation of damage. I am convinced that victims' rights should be approached through a much wider definition and that in cases of victims of hate crimes, we might refer to the right of the victim to be provided with an identification of motivation of the hate crime.

The victims' interest to protect their dignity, rights and justified interest is realized through their right to information (instruction of victim and the right to consult their file) on the criminal procedure (Art. 46, Art. 65 of the Penal Code) and on release / escape of the perpetrator from custody or jail (Art. 44 of the Penal Code), the right to be protected against publishing information about the victim (Art. 8a and the following of the Penal Code), the right (of a witness) for their identity and image to be kept in secret (Art. 55, Section 2), the right to testimony in absence of accused (Art. 209 of the Penal Code), the right to entitlement of compensation of material and non-material damage (Art. 43), the right to participate in proving.

Realization of victims' interests to resolve the criminal behaviour to which they were exposed, is ensured in the penal order definitions stipulating the commencement of criminal procedure based on victims' own impulse as well as on the police original activity (Art. 158 of the Penal Code) and the law enforcement authorities' duty proceed actively in obtaining proofs and resolving criminal offence (Art. 2, Section 5). Victims do not remain a mere subject of the criminal procedure but they are entitled to actively participate in it, especially suggest, conduct personal search and (with the court's permission) search for any proofs. Participation in resolving a criminal offence is not a mere victims' right, it is their obligation as resulting from Art. 1 of Section 2 of the Penal Code.

The interest of victims to clarify motives of behaviour that caused them damage is related to the interest of victim to qualify such behaviour as a criminal offence. It is subjectively perceived interest of a victim who was historically stripped off the chance to actively participate in prosecution and punishment of the perpetrator.

The victim's interest to qualify behaviour as a criminal offence may be understood, however not exclusively, in relation of damage compensation which can be enjoyed only if perpetrator is convicted. If that is not the case, victims are forced to apply for entitlement in a civic court hearing during which a secondary victimization may occur. The current

status of victim is interpreted as extremely weak since it does not entitle the victim to influence directly the court's decision on conviction and sentence. However, if in fact it turns out that the moment when perpetrator is sentenced to a punishment they consider just, is one of the crucial moments of overcoming victimization. Therefore I am convinced that the current definition making the victim's participation rather passive (a witness entitled to damage compensation) is insufficient and unsustainable in comparison to victim's real needs resulting from the perpetrator's behaviour.

A victim's interest to qualify the perpetrator's behaviour as criminal offence is not sufficiently guaranteed as victims do not enjoy sufficient means. They may appeal by a process complaint only in cases when the police dismiss the subject (Art. 159a, Sec. 6 and 7 of the Penal Code), i.e. no other instance deals with the case. If the case is submitted to the offence / disciplinary procedure (Art. 159a Sec.1 of the Penal Code), no remedy against such submission exists. During disciplinary procedure, the status of those who suffered no material harm deteriorates. (Art. 72, Letter b) of the Offence Act). They cease to be participants of the hearing, and may not actively participate in it or be informed of the result despite it is directly related to them.

The interest of victims to resolve the matter within appropriate amount of time corresponds to interests with parties in the criminal procedure. Only such criminal procedure that enables to decide on guilt, sentence and damage compensation may directly bring appropriate healing of victim's damage. It has been demonstrated that the process of overcoming criminal offence may truly be started only after the criminal procedure has finished. Victims may influence the length of criminal procedure by filing a complaint against procedure delays (Art. 157a of the Penal Code), only during the preparation procedure. A constitutional complaint may be filed against delays in criminal procedures before the court.

In the field of hate crimes, the opportunity of the victim to influence proving motives of perpetrator's criminal behaviour is crucial. A number of victims argue that the hateful motive of attack is a part of their victimization, in other words, they deem it necessary that the verdict explicitly states they were attacked because of the colour of their skin, nationality, religion, sexual orientation or other similar reason. Victims need to hear it is not their fault that they were assaulted and that they were attacked for being who they are.

In the current definition, victims may influence proving the motives only through their general entitlement to proof suggestions and their testimony. As opposed to the defendant, a victim may not participate (not even indirectly) in all preparation hearing acts (interrogation of the accused, other witness hearings). Such limitations significantly weaken the victim's opportunity to influence the verdict of criminal procedure including verdicts related to compensation of damage. In practice, interests of the victim are once again limited by the police authorities when the majority of questions are directed towards proving guilty, not proving damage. However, if the origin and causal link between behaviour and damage are not examined from the beginning of the process, it may result in irretrievable loss of testimony and other proofs.

Regarding clarification of criminal offences due to hate crimes, a significant decision has been made by the European Court for Human Rights (ECHR) in case of *Angelova and Iliev vs. Bulgaria*.⁸⁴ The plaintiffs objected to two crucial failures. Failure to resolve the act itself but more importantly, failure to convict for racist motivation and failure of the Bulgarian legislature, they found a lack of qualified factual bases applicable to criminal offences with racist motives and in absence of the generally burdening circumstances justifying a higher sentence due to the same cause.

The ECHR ruled rather clearly that effective investigation may only be such investigation that is lead without discrimination, as usually required by the Art.14 of the Convention. Investigation of racist motive is a crucial part of state's commitment towards persons who are threatened by racism-motivated violence. Failure to investigate racially motivate violence would signify a blinded approach to a specific type of incident that pose a fundamental threat to basic human rights. Such an attitude may signify a breach of prohibition of discrimination itself, as stipulated by the Art. 14.⁸⁵

84 Application No. 55523/00; *Angelova and Iliev vs. Bulgaria*; Plaintiffs are survivors (mother and son) of Angelo Iliev who was attacked by a gang of seven in 1996. Attackers beat him up and stabbed him. Iliev passed away after being taken to a hospital. Perpetrators were arrested and interrogated the following day. During the investigation it turned out that the crime was racially motivated since the victim was attacked due to its Roma ethnicity. A month later, four attackers were convicted of public disorder, one of them of homicide. Later on, his conviction was also re-qualified to a criminal offence of public disorder. Plaintiffs were repeatedly refused to examine the file. Their lawyers could examine the file in 1999 for the first time.

It is therefore evident that in cases where victims are convinced of the hatred-motivated nature of attack, they are entitled to call for investigation of such motive conducted by the law enforcement authorities during the entire criminal procedure.

Rights of victims during criminal procedure and the Act on Victims of Criminal Offence

The above-mentioned rights of victims should be enlarged by the Act on Victims of Criminal Offence since 2012. The act should define the right of some victims to free direct legal assistance, financial aid and guarantee of quality services provided to victims by third persons.

The Act implements a category of so-called particularly vulnerable persons whose victimization is, due to their age, status or manner of execution of criminal offence, particularly serious, and it is necessary to provide them with special care. According to the law proposal, particularly vulnerable victims will also be victims of crimes that included violence or violent threats, in case there is a particular risk of secondary damage due to victims' age, gender, race, nationality, sexual orientation, religious belief, health condition, mental condition, the ability to communicate, the life situation they find themselves in, or with respect to the relationship between victims and the accused or victims' addiction upon the accused.

Particularly vulnerable victims will, according to the law proposal, be entitled to free direct assistance provided immediately after the attack has been perpetrated, including psychological and social works. In case such a victim will justify lack of financial resources, he / she will be entitled to free legal assistance during the criminal procedure.

The law defines secondary victimization as damage not caused to victim by criminal offence but as a result of approach applied by the Police of the Czech Republic, law enforcement authorities and other public institutions, health centres, subjects registered as providers of assistance to victims of criminal offences, experts, interpreters, defendants and the media towards the victim and defines the protection against it. A particularly vulnerable victim is entitled to be prevented from contact with a perpetrator, if such contact is not necessary for investigation activities.

Furthermore, they are entitled to be provided explanation of such investigations and interrogation respecting the victim's human dignity and preventing the victim from secondary damage. An explanation of investigation activities and interrogation, is to be conducted by a specially trained person in the future. The victim has right to choose whether interrogation is to be conducted by a same sex or a different sex person. Interrogation may not be repeated and any contact with the perpetrator (including visual) must be avoided.

The law defines the system of providing service to victims of criminal activities including hate crimes. It suggests three types of people/organisations that will be entitled to provide services to victims – accredited subjects that will prove their expertise (non-governmental organization), probation and mediation service and barristers. While the first two subjects are able to provide victims with the whole range of services, including social, psychological or legal intervention, the latter (barristers) are competent only to provide legal assistance. Victims will be entitled to choose service providers from a list divided according to specialization and type of services. The accreditation system will guarantee a high quality of services provided.

The law will also define financial aid provided to victims. Applicants entitled are citizens of the Czech Republic, European Union, third country nationals with residence longer than 90 days, asylum seekers and international and supplementary protection seekers. Those who will not qualify for the entitlement are for example foreigners who become victims of a criminal offence during their temporary residence (less than 90 days), e.g. tourists, or even victims of criminal offences that require intended de-regularization of residence (especially victims of human trafficking). Financial aid is provided in instalments for up to 200,000 CZK for bodily harm, or up to 500,000 CZK for non-material damage. Such non-material damage is, however, provided only to victims of criminal offences against human dignity in sexual fields and child offences – victims of criminal offences of torture by the person in custody.

Despite all the above-mentioned drawbacks, the law will present a significant improvement of victims' status including victims of hate crimes.



3.4. Slovakia

3.4.1. Development after 1989

Nationalism feelings began to increase shortly after the regime change. Its common denominator was predominantly efforts for the Slovak nation to become independent. In the wake of democracy and freedom movements, first attempts to glorify some controversial historical personalities and events may have been noticed, especially those somehow related to the Slovak Republic during Second World War. This trend continued until the separation of Czechoslovakia in 1993 which is also the time when the local extremist scene was established. Displays of anti-Semitism or anti-Hungarian attitudes also occurred.

Rightwing extremism came to Slovakia from the west, mainly from the Czech Republic and Germany, through the Skinheads movement. Its first manifestations appeared as early as the end of 1980's and the local music scene had a staggering influence on it, especially Orlík as well as some other Czech groups. More music groups emerged in the end of 1990's and their lyrics seemed to have had radicalized. For example, the song Gypsy problem by a famous Slovak punk group Zóna A gained almost a cult status.

Forming fundamental ideological links of the Slovak extremism began to differ gradually from the Czech scene. There are three main streams on the Slovak scene in general:

- ultranationalist-cleric fascist – referring to the legacy of the Hlinka's separatist party during the WW II and the war republic;
- neo-Nazi – characterized by praising the Third Reich and national socialism;
- White Power wing – typically proclaiming race superiority.

Among the first organizations that began to operate in Slovakia were the National-socialist Movement of Europe, the Clan of Slovak Knights, Slovak National Front, Slovak Dawn, Slovak National League, Slovak Partisan Organization – Garda. Many of them consequently ceased to exist. Establishment of international organization and its branches in Slovakia, such as Blood and Honour or Hammer Skins also took place in the first years.

The first period of extremist movements was particularly influenced by the music production. More and more local groups were emerging, openly calling for violence and spreading racist ideas. The group called "Krátky process" or its successor, "Juden Mord" gained special status. It was the latter who released the album called Arbeit macht frei with a cover consisting of a photograph from the Auschwitz concentration camp.

In the nineties, extremists held regular meetings during various concerts and organized public events related especially to some historic circumstances. Changes were being marked only after 2000 when the state authorities finally began to engage in prevention and extremism repressions. Since then, it is obvious that certain public manifestations of extremism have also been on the decline.

Among some typical displays of rightwing extremist organizations are: organizations of violent or non-violent marches, presentation of the neo-Nazi ideology on the Internet, chat discussions related to extremism (with their domain set up mainly in the USA), concerts or internet merchandising of objects with extremist connotations.

The current government "Strategy on Fight against Extremism" characterizes the actual situation as following:

„ At the moment, right extremist groups are organized at a completely different level when compared to that of 90's. During the previous period, groupings were mostly random and without a long-term focus and structure. The public also perceived such persons as troublemakers or thugs. However, qualitative change in the groups' activities has occurred in the last years, heading towards radicalization, efforts to increase the number of its members and conducting activities that are now much more sophisticated. During demonstrations and protest marches, they incline to the so-called "black block" style (anonymous crowd, everyone wears black) and have become better organized. The leaderless resistance strategy, which has been on its rise both in the Czech Republic and Slovakia since approximately 2 years ago, is being applied. This strategy's first promoter was National resistance Nitra. Otherwise, initiatives to support such strategies within the extreme right did not go unnoticed, such as the Autonomous Nationalists of Považie and the National Resistance Čadca."

So far, the extremists have been meeting regularly at celebrations of various historical events of national importance; their annual commemoration of creation of the Slovak State on the 14th March. Representatives of these groups relentlessly adopt events and symbols of national heritage and declare themselves to be the true protectors of national values.

A new chapter in the development of extremist movements is the increasing anti-Gypsyism. It has been present at the scene since its beginning, however, it has become prevalent in the last few years. It is manifested usually during protest marches taking place with the significant support of local inhabitants. Anti-Roma racism on the Internet is even more evident, something we get into contact with every single day on a mass scale. Some anti-Roma groups on social networks have tens of thousands members.

Currently, the following is considered being the most typical displays of extremism:

Demonstrations and protest marches

In the last few years, public manifestations of showing sympathies with extremist ideologies have become very frequent. They reached a peak around 2009 / 2010, trying to gain popularity in the wake of worsened Roma vs. non-Roma relations. The first anti-Roma march took place on 8th August 2009 in Šarišské Michaľany; a perfect example was provided by the Czech extremists in Janov earlier that year. Organizers were representatives of Slovak Pospolitost (Solidarity), attempting to use this way to promote their political ideas. These demonstrations were typically marked by a huge support from the local community for the first time. Protest marches and demonstrations are also frequented by foreign partners of Slovakian "Nationalists", especially persons from the extreme right environment from the Czech Republic, Poland, Hungary and Serbia.

These activities ceased to be so common after 2010 and even though they still do take place, the media do not cover them so vigorously.

Extremist music production

Music production within the extremist scene fulfils the objective of support and promotion of individual extremist ideologist streams. It is part of a wider, international phenomenon, focused mainly on a music genre called white power (WP). Due to the development in suppressing extremism in the last years, the number of local concerts has declined significantly. Extremism fans seem to participate in concerts held outside Slovakia.

Internet

Today, the Internet is probably the most important tool of spreading of extremist ideas and ideologies. There are a few websites in Slovakia that focus on the spreading of rightwing extremist ideologies. Usually they include information related to denial of the Holocaust, political fascism, neo-Nazi ideology, racism, xenophobia, the racial holy war or the supremacy of the white race. The majority of the hosting domains are registered abroad so the change to dissolve them or to impose sanctions is very limited.

Social networks are increasingly popular with extremists. Various anti-Roma groups and discussions are a chapter on their own.

Supporter violence

The government strategy argues that current development and the situation of criminal offences committed by rightwing extremist groups, including supporter violence, is on its increase. It is the prepared illegal activities of radical fans (hooligans), operating directly within the football divisions and groups themselves that have no leaders but present themselves as individual groups within the public. The issue of supporter violence is intertwined with rightwing extremism as a whole, since members of the most radical football divisions and groups take part regularly in demonstrations and protest marches held by extremist organizations.

The most notorious groups of radical football supporters are: Ultras Slovan Presburg, Ultras Spartak Trnava, Ultras Košice, Wallace Army a Felvidéky Harcosok.

3.4.2. Political parties, organized and non-formal groups conducting extremist, xenophobic and racist activities

Defining rightwing extremists in Slovakia

As mentioned above, there are three main streams in which the Slovak rightwing extremist scene can be divided:

1. Ultranationalist - cleric fascist stream

Typical for its nationalism and claiming allegiance to Christian traditions. Manifested usually in form of verbal attacks against minorities – Jewish, Hungarian, and more increasingly against the Roma. Characteristic glorification of the war Slovak Republic and its representatives.

This trend is currently represented mostly by the Slovak Pospolitosť (Slovak Solidarity), also registered since 1995 as civic institution. The Interior Ministry dissolved it in 2008. Slovak Pospolitosť has long been trying to success in the political scene too. Previous numerous contacts with Matica slovenská (Slovak Mother) are known.

Other subjects operating within this wing are for example the New Free Slovakia, the Slovak National Unity, the Unity of Slovak Youth, the Slovak Resurgence Movement, the National Guard, Society of Dr Jozef Tiso or the Slovak Society for Preservation of Traditions.

2. Neo-Nazi stream

Its main character is praising Nazi Germany and its leading representatives as well as denying and making light of the Holocaust. These movements' objective is to set a totalitarian regime of a Nazi type. It is characterized by strong anti-Semitism. This stream is represented by the Skinheads movement in Slovakia and is notorious for its violent physical attacks. Neo-Nazis have their background in many bigger or smaller towns across Slovakia.

One of the most important representatives of this stream is for example the National Resistance, Blood and Honour, Slovakia Hammer Skins and various others. Some youth political organizations are also connected to neo-Nazi groups, such as the Slovak National Youth.

3. stream White Power

This stream proclaims a general supremacy of the white race which separates them from the neo-Nazi Aryan approach of racism. The White Power group is represented by the Clan of Slovak Knights, Celtic Cross Fighters or the White Slovak Unity, among others.

Political groups

Extremist groups have been trying to enter politics lately. The first apparent attempt to establish a political subject was the registration of the Slovak Pospolitost – national Party in January 2005. The Supreme Court of Slovakia, however, dissolved the party in March 2006 as it broke the Act on Political Parties and Movements through its programme. The party was de facto dissolved due to its extremist nature despite the fact the court never issued a public explanation.

After the party was dissolved, its representatives intensified their cooperation with the Slovak People's Party, considered as the successor of the pre-war and war Hlinka's Slovak People's Party. Various Pospolitost members ran for the Parliament elections as well as the local elections on behalf of the Slovak People's Party but in the general election, the party obtained merely 0,16% of the total vote.

Another effort of the Slovak Pospolitost went towards establishing a new political party called the People's Party Our Slovakia (ĽS NS) with the objective to run for the 2010 parliamentary elections. The party obtained 1,33% of votes but did not get to the Parliament again. In the mid-term elections of 2012, the party obtained 1,58%. It could be argued its popularity has slightly increased but changes for its successful entrance to the Parliament are, due to the 5% minimum quota, still very low.

The main figure of the Slovak Pospolitost is Marián Kotleba, a teacher well-known for participating in various public manifestations, including the above-mentioned commemorations of the Slovak State creation or the anti-Roma protest marches. He has been a number of times in conflict with the law. During a public rally in 2009, he shouted "To guard!", an expression considered to be promotion of fascism. Later that year, he was prosecuted for another criminal offence – this time it was defamation of a nation, race and belief due to his pre-election flyer in which he claimed he would "eliminate the unjust advantages of not only Gypsy parasites". Both the first and second instance court, however, ruled he was innocent.

Extremism on the Internet

Internet plays a significant role within spreading extremism and the ideologies of racism and xenophobia. A number of the above-mentioned organizations have their own websites. Slovenská Pospolitost is probably the most active on Internet - www.pospolitost.org.

Another very famous website called "Against the stream" (Proti prúdu) was cancelled a few months ago. Today, the crucial part on the extremist Internet media is played by www.beo.sk, claiming about itself: "During its existence beo.sk has gained a reputation of a politically incorrect website, immensely influenced by the nationalist paradigm and race realism."

A very dangerous, especially with respect to ideology is Metapédia (<http://sk.metapedia.org>) which may seem as a serious source of information to its users.

Other websites worth mentioning are:

<http://poznanie.wordpress.com/>

<http://neprisposobivi.sk/>

<http://hlavuhore.wordpress.com/>

3.4.3. Topics of extremists

Topics on which the rightwing extremist focuses in Slovakia depend on a particular stream. The following ideological foundations of individual rightwing extremist movements are cited in academic sources:

1. Ultra-nationalist stream

- shift towards separatism, ideas and ideology of the war Slovak State as the Slovak version of fascism, effort to rehabilitate its representatives;
- strong antipathies against Hungarians who are blamed for trying to strip Slovakia off its southern regions;
- anti-Semitism is absent or not as imminent as with other streams;
- emphasises morality and Christian values, which according to them are threatened and destroyed by the modern culture;
- rejection of violence as problem solution;
- rejection of Hitler and Nazism;
- efforts to enter the politics.

2. Neo-Nazi stream

- national socialism as an ideal of social establishment;
- admiration towards the Third Reich, its ideology, army and representatives (Adolf Hitler, Rudolf Hess);
- radical anti-Semitism – Jews are behind all world institutions, they are the reason of most of the world problems from economics, wars, polluted environment or drugs;
- defence of Adolf Hitler and his policy against Jews during the 2nd World War;
- denial of the Holocaust or making light of its scope and implications;
- in order to resolve the Roma issue, they suggest placing them in work or concentration camps or deporting them to India;
- the Aryan race is the most supreme and it is predestined to reign the others;
- strong influence of Scandinavian mythology and symbolic – runes, Northern Gods, Odinism.

3. White Power

- the white race is the most developed of all races;
- the national socialism establishment is a perfect social regime;
- Europe should be ethnically clean area;
- Europe and North America should be cleansed off other races and cultures;
- the means how to achieve this is the RaHoWa – the racial holy war, which will cleanse the areas inhabited by white race off members of other races;
- rejection of cultures originating in other places than in white race and the European civilization;
- strong disaffection against homosexuals;
- all world governments are governed by the Jews – so-called Zionist Occupational Government;
- apart from other races, their enemy is also so-called white trash – anarchists, drug abusers, homeless persons, criminals;
- denial of the Holocaust.

3.4.4. The most important events

Except the above-mentioned manifestations, the Slovak extremist scene has also come into public eye due to some exceptionally dangerous deeds in the last 20 years. Probably the most horrific were three murders motivated by race that shook the public and contributed to intensification of fights against extremism in Slovakia.

1. Mário Goral (+ 31. 7. 1995)

One of the most brutal extremist crimes took place 17 years ago in Žiar nad Hronom where a group of approx. 30 neo-Nazis attacked a bar frequented by Roma citizens. Mário Goral did not manage to outrun them - they followed him until his house where they attacked him with a metal bar, a dagger and beat and kicked him. Then, one of the perpetrators

poured inflammables onto him and set him on fire. Mr Goral suffered serious burns and died a few days after in the local hospital.

After various delays, one of the neo-Nazis was sentenced (for murder and public disturbance) to 7,5 years, other accomplices were sentenced to 27 and 8 months of imprisonment.

The deed was not qualified as racially motivated since the Slovak penal code did not include such motivation at the time.

2. Anastázia Balážová (+ 22. 8. 2000)

The Roma family was attacked by three men in August 2000. They broke into their house and attacked Anastázia and her two children with baseball bats. During the attack, they were screaming anti-Roma slogans. The mother of two died a couple of days afterwards.

Only one of the perpetrators was sentenced (for racially motivated murder) to 7 years of imprisonment. The other two were sentenced for breaking household liberties.

3. Daniel Tupý (+ 4. 11. 2005)

A young student Daniel was attacked by extremists on the Danube river bank in Bratislava. They must have been neo-Nazis who attacked this Faculty of Arts student with a knife and other arms. They also kicked and beat him. He died in the ambulance on the way to hospital. The incident sparked a strong wave of public outrage, the demonstrations in Bratislava were one of the biggest since November 1989.

Despite numerous suspects, the case hasn't been resolved until this day and its perpetrators still haven't been punished.

Apart from the gravest cases which resulted in death, many other physical attacks were perpetrated in Slovakia. A particularly traumatizing case was the attack against Helga Malinová, with the motive of her being of Hungarian nationality. The case occurred shortly after the 2006 general election where the government consisting of the social democrats from SMER, Movement for Democratic Slovakia and the Slovak National Party was formed. The case was highly politicised and the Interior Minister accused Ms Malinová of having made it all up in order to damage Slovak interests. Hedviga is still being prosecuted for false testimony and the case has still not been resolved even though it is 6 years since it happened.

3.4.5. Extremism displays in standard political parties

Despite numerous attempts, extremist movements have never succeeded to enter the official political scene as opposed to Hungary or some other EU member states. Popularity of political extremist groups is largely negligible. On the other hand, radical political views seem to have become more frequent in a standard political discourse which may well be a result as well as a cause of the above-mentioned low popularity of extremist politicians.

Somewhat particular status amongst standard political parties is assigned to the Slovak National Party which calls itself the oldest political party in Slovakia. Ever since the 1989 regime change, SNS has always presented the right wing of Slovak politics. As for its programme, it focused on all topics typical of nationalist parties, including negative attitudes to immigration or registered partnership. However, the main agenda of SNS has always been anti-Hungarian and currently anti-Roma issues. During 1994 – 1998 and 2006 – 2010, the Slovak National Party was in the government which could be considered a great failure of democracy in Slovakia. Especially in the latter government when it was in coalition with the social democratic party SMER. Nevertheless, the influence of SNS has long been declining and in the latest election in March 2012, the party did not even manage to get into the parliament, the National Council of Slovakia.

Programme orientation of SNS could be demonstrated in a few examples from its latest election campaign. According to its own words, the party is determined to protect Christian values on the continent by applying tough measure against policies of multiculturalism, islamization of Europe and the liberal migration policy favouring socially disadvantaged groups. The authors of the programme claim that Islam intends to transform Europe's cultural image, therefore the party says a unanimous "no" to islamization of the EU. As a defence against some forms of multiculturalism, SNS aims to initiate creation of European cultural wall.

Even more terrifying, however, is the general trend of radicalization of other political parties' agendas in Slovakia, still considered standard democratic factions especially with respect to solutions of the Roma issue. More and more, individual politicians openly suggest various repressive proposals which could be divided into a few main topics: stopping social system exploitation, conditioning social benefits by having to fulfil requirements, liquidation of illegal settlements, tougher prosecution of crime in Roma settlements, obligatory preschool education and so on. Attention is also paid to the topic of special boarding schools which should be voluntary, on the hand the activities have repeatedly maintained that such concepts of integration ethnic minorities have always failed in other countries.

Apart from the Roma issue, migration issue is also a problem. For example, the ex-Minister of the Interior, Daniel Lipšic (Christian-Democratic Movement) intended to convince the public that Slovakia should accept only those migrants who have similar culture and thus feel somewhat close ties to Slovakia.

A speciality of Slovakia is also the fact that extremist opinions could be found in the social democratic party to a certain extent as well, provided that SMER party is currently the only government party. Except the above-mentioned boarding schools, the current Slovak PM recently added: "Slovakia cannot manage to solve the Roma issue without making concessions from human rights at the European level. "

The common feature of such extremist displays among standard political parties is that they are generally not the party's official statement but an individual opinion of its representatives. The parties, however, do not tend to correct or denounce such addresses so these politicians contribute significantly to forming of a negative public opinion about the mentioned topics.

3.4.6. State approach - Good and bad practices in prevention and repression of extremism, xenophobia and racism

Strategy for fight against extremism

Slovak executive power began to show serious concern about the extremism issue some time around 2000. Individual initiatives and measure had been previously part of other, more general public policies, such as prevention of all forms of discrimination and xenophobia, prevention of racially motivated criminal offences etc. In 2006, the Slovak government adopted a complete material for the first time, called Strategy for Fight against Extremism for 2006 – 2010, in which it justifies itself in the following sentences:

"Creation of the Strategy for Fight against Extremism has resulted from the Schedule of preparation of new strategic, conceptual, planning, legislative and other documents for the area of security and protection of the Slovak republic between 2005 – 2006, adopted by the Slovakian government resolution No. 354/2005 but which had been de facto requested as a development in the society."

In 2011 another strategy was adopted, this time for the period of 2011 – 2014, which presents an essential strategic political tool for prevention and suppression of extremism in Slovakia. Generally, the document's high quality can be praised as well as its progress compared to the previous strategies. Adopting the second strategy was preceded by evaluation of the previous one, revealing the so far positives and contributions of the government policies during the past period. The evaluation report stated, among others, the following:

"Priorities of the strategy of fight against extremism for 2007 – 2010 were fulfilled by recodification of legislature, cultural events or academic lectures and seminar.

...

Strategy for fight against extremist has unified subjects participating on resolving the issue of extremism and racially motivated crimes and its concise fulfilment has pointed out on the need to transform the entire understanding and attitude towards this issue.

However, it is inevitable that the updated version of the strategy for fight against extremism take over realization of tasks such as education, which seems to be the crucial part of activities encompassing the entire strategy for fight against extremism. Not to mention the fact that extremism develops as well and becomes much more dynamic. It

is therefore necessary to develop legislative measures at the same pace as extremism changes. Extremism takes advantage of unawareness and lack of information. Therefore, it is vital that the updated strategy for fight against extremism cover the area of education."

Unfortunately, the government cancelled the annual evaluation reports analysing whether the strategy was being fulfilled, which had a negative impact on the opportunity of evaluate achieved objectives. Despite that, one of the greatest contributions of this strategy could be the legislative changes resulting from it. In 2009, the Penal Code amendment was adopted, implementing the new criminal offence of holding extremist materials and terms such as extremist group, extremist material or particular extremist motive were incorporated in the legislative definitions. Another change which could be assessed as positive was the establishment of multidisciplinary integrated expert group focused on elimination of racially motivated crimes and extremism, initiated by the Police Headquarters in 2007. These institutional changes influenced preparations of the current strategy adopted in 2011. One of its greatest contributions is the effort to grasp the dynamics of development in extremism and a more precise definition of approach towards the issue. The strategy states:

"Currently, OECD and the Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights (ODIHR) have a new approach towards extremism as hate crimes defined as any criminal offence against a person, property, relation, support or membership in certain group, characterized as race, nationality or ethnic origin, language, religion, sexual orientation and so on. The crucial factor to be considered is demonstration of the motive which must prove certain subjective features. Such definition of criminal offences may substitute the previously used term "racially motivated crime" which is somewhat narrower. At the same time, the definition of hate crime directly shows essence of such crime and is less vague than the term "extremism". Therefore it would be worth including the term "hate crime" into the future amendments of the Penal Code.

Definition of "extremism" should include a list or a description of threats related to illegal activities. In case illegality of such threat is missing, such activities should not be deemed to consider as extremism (there will be conflict with the basic and constitutionally guaranteed principle that every person may do anything that is not lawfully illegal). Opinions or attitudes may be ascribed to extremism once the law is breached."

Slovakian executive bodies have long distinguished three main extremist groups (as seen above): rightwing, leftwing and religious. Number of supporters of rightwing and leftwing extremism is estimated by the Slovak government at around 2000 persons, while the rightwing extremists are more active. They communicate in subcultures, movements, unregistered organizations, civic movements as well as political parties. Since the mid-nineties, Slovak rightwing extremists try to enter the official political scene. After a few unsuccessful attempts to register own political party, infiltration of extremists or their sympathizers into already existing subjects proved to be much more effective.

Problems that were identified as a result of evaluation of the previous strategy for the fight against extremism for 2006 – 2010 adopted by the government resolution No 368/2006 (subject to individual material) could be divided into three groups:

- Education
- Legal definition
- Organization and personal security.

As for the education part, the evaluation report claims that public is not sufficiently informed and is unaware of subjects that deal with solving the problem of extremism and racially motivated crime. Low awareness of the public may contribute to the wider displays of sympathies towards rightwing extremists. At the same time, Slovakia lacks a systematic approach towards life education of professional groups in this area, resulting e.g. in the use of rigid and old-fashioned terms and working methods.

As for legal definitions, the report points to the fact that the current legislative is not sufficient. Even though the Penal Code includes a number of articles dealing with extremism, the above-mentioned approach based on all-embracing approaches towards hate crimes is still lacking. The report therefore suggests tightening up measures against perpetrators of hate crimes. Another problem seems to be proving evidence of criminal offences; one of its causes might be lack of expert knowledge of professionals working in the field.

As for organization and personal security, the lack of technical equipment for specialised workplaces remains the biggest problem since it makes it harder to document displays of extremism in public or on the Internet.

The new government strategy formulated detailed policy proposals, based on the evaluation report and description of the current situation. The strategy's general objective is to eliminate causes, manifestations and consequences of extremism and racially motivated crime. This objective is assessed and divided into five parts, 17 activities and 34 tools.

Penal legislation related to extremism

As previously mentioned, the Slovak penal code has been recently updated a few times, implementing the term of extremism into the legal order. Illegal activities of rightwing extremists and their sympathizers may be qualified especially for the following criminal offences (Act No. 300/2005):

Art 140 section d) – criminal offence committed due to personal motive (deliberate public instigation of violence or hatred against a group of persons or an individual for their race, national, nationality, complexion, ethnic group, origin of their religious views if these are an excuse to be excluded from the previous reasons),

Art 140 section f) - criminal offence committed due to personal motive (national, ethnic or race hatred or hatred due to complexion colour),

Art 144 – first degree murder,

Art 145 – second degree murder,

Art 147 and 148 – killing,

Art 155 to 158 – health damage,

Art 245 and 246 – damage of property,

Art 359 – violence against a group of citizens and an individual,

Art 364 – public disorder,

Art 418 – genocide,

Art 421 and 422 – support and promotion of movements suppressing citizens' rights and freedoms,

Art 422a – production and manufacturing of extremist materials,

Art 422b – spreading extremist materials

Art 422c – keeping extremist materials,

§ 423 – defaming nation, race or conviction,

§ 424 a 424a – instigation to national, racial or ethnic hatred.

As obvious, the scope of extremist activities is quite large. Although even the government strategy admits it will be necessary to carry out modifications in the future and implement hate crimes into the penal law on a full scale.

Good practices examples – state authorities and autonomy

It was mentioned in the previous part that a multidisciplinary integrated expert group focused on elimination of racially motivated crimes and extremism was established by the Police headquarters in 2007. This step must surely be assessed positively and the group's performance has been very good. The group included representatives of the Ministries of Interior, Education, Justice, Culture, Labour, Social Affairs and Family, Health, Defence, Transportation, Post and Telecommunications and Finances; as well as the General Public Prosecutor, Slovak Information Service, Government Office, Slovak National Centre for Human Rights and numerous non-governmental organizations.

The aim of the groups is to:

- Propose system measures intended to protect citizens and the society as a whole against anti-social activities of extremist individuals, groups and movements,
- Propose and realize appropriate effective ways of mutual information exchange about extremist manifestations under valid legal definitions,
- Coordinate activities related to adopting measures in order to eliminate extremism displays,
- Mutual information exchange about new forms, methods and ways of committing racially motivated crime and extremism,

- Mutual exchange of information and data from information systems in accordance to valid legal norms and generally binding legal definitions,
- Establishment of prosecution teams in case of specific serious cases
- Cooperation on the preparation and realization of prevention projects,
- Cooperation on education programmes and training sessions provided to employees of institutions involved in the fight against extremism,
- Cooperation on publishing and distribution of methodic materials focused on the issues of racism, discrimination, xenophobia, non-tolerance and fight against extremism.

Another positive example on the level of public administration is the Conference on Fight against Extremism, organized by the Slovak government during their presidency in the Decade of Integration of Roma Population 2005 – 2015 in March 2010. Despite the conference did not deal with anti-Roma displays as a separate topic, it did bring many useful impulses both from Slovakia and abroad, mainly on extremism as a whole. The conference formulated conclusions and recommendations that were later incorporated into the government strategy for fight against extremism. The most significant recommendations are, amongst others:

- The need of closer cooperation and engagement of the media in the prevention of extremism, including providing more space for minorities and their opinions.
- The need to approach creation and implementation of public policies with more vigour and comprehension, for example through own initiatives of individual ministries, in accordance to other government strategic documents, or a precise formulation of individual measure, including sources and indicators.
- The need to approach the definition of extremism with much more comprehension.



3.4.7. Non-governmental initiatives in the area of extremism

Similarly in other areas, the civic society plays a crucial role both in prevention and fight against extremism. It was the non-governmental sector that had been pointing to extremism displays long ago as well as the need to have effective tools for its elimination. Many projects and activities in the area have taken place in Slovakia in the last ten years so let's mention at least some of the most important organizations and initiatives.

People against Racism

Organization People against Racism is probably the most active organization in the fight against extremism in Slovakia. Since its establishment in 2003, it has been dealing mainly with the following activities:

- Expertise and monitoring of racist discourse in Slovakia.
- Free assistance to victims of racism, racially motivated attacks or any form of discrimination.
- Cultural and sports events focused on promotion of anti-racist ideas or presentation of different cultures and nationalities.
- Education focused on issues of racism, totalitarian political systems or discrimination
- Elimination of racist discourse in sports.

The mission of this organization is to “create a tolerant, open and multicultural society that respects human rights and individuality of each person regardless their sex, race, nationality, religion, sexual orientation, age or education.”

In the beginnings of its existence, People against Racism focused on creating strong campaigns against racism and xenophobia. Some of them were so controversial they even sparked public discussions. The organization followed up on this tradition with its latest campaign called *Syndróm Róm*, launched in April 2012.

This non-governmental organization also launched some essential publication such as *Myths and prejudices* (2005); *Racist extremism in Slovak Republic* (2005) or *Report on displays of racism, anti-Semitism, nationalism, neo-Nazism and other types of intolerant behaviour on football stadiums* (2010). The institution is also exceptionally active in organizing public events and protests, such as the mass demonstration after Daniel Tupý's murder in 2005.

Open Society Foundation - Nadácia otvorenej spoločnosti

Soros's foundation has been dealing with the issue of extremism for more than five years in Slovakia. During this time, it has become one of the crucial actors in the area and initiated a number of important projects and activities. It operates the programme *Hate crimes – Extremism*, within which it organizes activities with the objective of suppressing manifestations of intolerance and hatred in society. It participates in the creation and implementation of policies, creating space for expert and public discussions. At the same time, it cooperates and gives grants to other organizations.

In 2010, Open Society Fund launched a methodological brochure called *Don't be afraid of the extreme* providing fundamental information on extremism, its types and activities of extremist group in Slovakia. It is intended as an education tool for teachers.

The foundation has repeatedly assisted with the creation of reports on fulfilment of the security policy on extremism. In 2011, it conducted a large research of public opinion on rightwing extremism in Slovakia (in cooperation with the Centre for Ethnic and Cultural Research). Currently, the project called *Er@se hatred* (*Vym@ž nenávisť*) is being launched, intended to fight cyber extremism.

In the last two years, the Open Society Fund has embarked on a tradition called *projekt.nežná* which is the answer to various public events organized by rightwing extremists as a commemoration of establishment of the war Slovak republic (14th March).

Enough of Silence

Enough of Silence probably the strongest regular campaign against neo-Nazism and rightwing extremism. Since 2012, the campaign is launched annually on 14th March, the anniversary of establishment of the war Slovak Republic. According to organizers, the campaign is “a reaction and a cultural opposition to nationalist and Nazi celebrations, during which our streets are poured with neo-Nazis and children of the Slovak state who praised the disgraceful regime which took basic human rights and lives of its own citizens. Part of the free and apolitical civic erraction are events where, as opposed to cheap slogans, we let the culture to say **NO to fascism of Slovakia.**”

3.4.8. Extremist displays against migrants

Almost no special attention is paid to the issue of extremism and racially motivated crimes against migrants in Slovakia. Migrants and foreigners are not particularly mentioned in any strategies, reports or analyses. It is impossible to obtain relevant information about racially motivated crimes against foreigners. However, organizations working with migrants and refugees do state that majority of their clients have experienced various displays of xenophobia, some of them repeatedly.

Studies dealing with the public's attitude towards minority groups including foreigners are particularly interesting since they are showing how latent racism and xenophobia is in Slovakia. For instance, the 2009 representative research conducted by FOCUS agency for the International Organization for Migration (IOM) revealed the following:

- Nearly 45% respondents are convinced that “Slovakia is a country of Slovaks and that is how it should remain” and “People who are culturally different shouldn't live in our town/village. This would only cause trouble.”
- More than 50% respondents even think that “If foreigners living in Slovakia do not succumb to Slovaks, their rights should be limited.”
- 40% respondents also stated having bad experience with foreigners.

This research illustrates the most notorious myths about foreigners and migrants in Slovakia, some of which are:

- The number of foreigners living in Slovakia is very high.
- A foreigner in Slovakia is a refugee.
- Foreigners are an economic burden for the state budget. The state budget may be under strong pressure should it pay social benefits to foreigners.
- Foreigners steal working positions from Slovaks.
- Foreigners spread dangerous diseases.
- Slovakia as a poor country is still only an uninteresting and transit country for foreigners, not being their final destination.
- Foreigners' crime rate may gradually increase.

In spite of insufficient information about extremism displays against foreigners and migrants, the situation could soon be much better. The International Organization for Migration (IOM) is currently launching a brand new large-scale research, intended to cover migrants' experience with different forms of discrimination. The research should collect the personal experience of a few hundreds of foreigners living in Slovakia, providing thus a very concise and structured information about hatred manifestations against foreigners.

3.4.9. Situation of hate crimes victims in Slovakia

Generally speaking the situation of hate crimes victims is immensely complex. There are only a few assistance services for these people. One of the specialised organizations is the institution called Assistance to Victims of Violence with several branches all across Slovakia. Although the organization deals with more than 1000 cases every year, it does not mention hate crimes victims in its reports so it is assumed they do not constitute majority of its clients. As mentioned above, it is primarily People against Racism that deals with racism and xenophobia in Slovakia, providing free legal assistance among other services.

The Council for Civic and Human Rights operate in the east of Slovakia, focusing on cases of discrimination and racially motivated crime against the Roma minority.

4. EVALUATION OF THE SEMINARS AND ATTITUDES OF STUDENTS – WHAT WORKED AND WHAT DOES NOT

4.1. Evaluation of the seminars in Germany

The important part of this project were the seminars at schools with pupils with 14-16 years. In each country, 20 seminars should be done. Till the deadline of the publication we managed to run about the half of the seminars in Saxony. This chapter should bring you some results of our internal evaluation.

In Saxony we developed two main forms of seminars. The shorter one which lasts 2 school lessons (1,5 hours) or 6 school lessons (4,5 hours). In last year the KBS developed several educational modules to different issues, which we are able to combine according to the wishes and needs of the particular target group. The main issues are prejudices, discrimination, migration, racism and experience with racism or right-wing extremism in Saxony (organisations, symbols, music). All the issues can be dealt with using different methods (lecture, small working groups, discussion, audio, video etc.). All the partners agreed at the beginning of the project on two ways of evaluation or getting information from the participants. The first was a questionnaire with 10 multiple-choice questions which should allow us to get some information about the already existing knowledge of the pupils and about their prejudices before the seminar. In the seminars in Saxony we did not have enough time to let the pupils to fill in these forms in several cases. This allows us no generalized comments.

Following remarks are just to give the reader a small insight in the opinions of the pupils⁸⁶:

- the pupils connect right-wing extremism clearly with racism, violence against foreigners and with symbols of (neo-)Nazism (Hitler salute, skinheads)
- the majority of the pupils do not know any right-wing extremist organisation except from the NPD
- surprisingly for us, the majority of the pupils say, they have not been confronted with right-wing extremism
- pupils who are foreigners themselves report about their experience with right-wing extremist or racist motivated violence
- the vast majority of the pupils condemn right-wing extremism
- the majority of the pupils describe Vietnamese as not sympathetic and on the other hand coloured people as sympathetic.
- the opinions are often very contradictory. The pupils do not see any connection between right-wing extremist ideas and their own opinions
- the vast majority of the pupils is aware of the tougher position of foreigners in Germany and would support them more
- there are still many prejudices about foreigners among the pupils. The foreigners are often seen as criminal. Several pupils would open the German borders only for qualified foreigners.

The second form of evaluation was conducted after the seminar in form of a questionnaire with seven suggestions which should be evaluated from one (the best) to six (the worst). We got the answers from all pupils so that we can have a closer look at them.

The best results were by questions concerning the interactivity of the seminars. The pupils felt that their questions were answered (1,84) and that they had enough space for discussions (2,22). The pupils also appreciated the use of different methods (lecture, video, audio etc.) with a good note (2,29). Other questions should show us, whether the seminar was useful for the pupils. They do not see that they learned something helpful for the educational process at school (2,95), but the seminar still matched their interests (2,52) and their expectations (2,67). The note for the question whether the seminar was worthwhile got a rather lower note (2,76) compared to other answers. With the last, open question the pupils should let us know, what they liked the most. The answers confirmed the above mentioned conclusion – they appreciated the possibility to ask question, to discuss, to say freely their opinions and learn about interesting issues.

The number of seminars and different settings of them do not allow us to give some general suggestions or recommendations. However, the seminars gave us the opportunity to test some new approaches and methods. To make them usable for other lecturers at schools, we decided to present our internal qualitative analysis of one of the seminars.

The seminar took place at the school in Borna with 25 pupils aged 14-16 years. The seminar was led by 2 lecturers (male and female, both about 30 years old). The topics of the seminar were neo-Nazism, racism, migration.

Planned programme:

- 1st school lesson (45 minutes) – get to know each other, 1st questionnaire
- 2nd school lesson – silent discussion (what is neo-Nazism, where can I or did I get in contact with it)
- 3rd school lesson – interactive discussion (ideology of neo-Nazis with practical examples)
- 4th school lesson – interactive process of defining racism
- 5th school lesson – informative game about the consequences of racism in the society
- 6th school lesson – possibilities of civil courage, evaluation, 2nd questionnaire

The programme had to be changed after the 3rd lesson, because of some difficulties, we were to explain later. The topic of racism was cancelled. Instead of racism, we spent more time with the ideology elements of neo-Nazism and with the possibilities of civil courage. Here we used a method of a short film with a following discussion. Here are some general remarks:

- the group was too large and the room in the school class too small for our methods. The framework should have been better prepared with the social worker at school.
- The pupils were not used to work in interactive and “free” seminar form. Too much freedom and self-initiative was overwhelming for them. However, the school social worker, who took part the first three lessons, was surprised that the pupils were so active.
- The planned programme was too ambitious and compact. Although we tried to take into account that the pupils cannot understand the complexity of the issues, we were surprised by the missing knowledge and competencies of the pupils regarding our topics and methods.
- It was clear after the 3rd lesson that the topic of racism and especially the game were too ambitious for this group and the framework (big group, small room). This led us to changing the plan which although it led to some difficulties allowed us to finish the seminar successfully.

These short insights in the internal evaluation of one of the seminars should present some obstacles we had to face. They were a good lessons for the following seminars and taught us to prepare the seminars more carefully regarding the target group and the place. Nevertheless, the most important outcome of the seminars for us was finding that no matter whether we make the shorter or longer version of the seminar, a one-day seminar cannot bring any change if the topics anti-racism and anti-discrimination are not an integral part of the everyday life at school.



4.2. Evaluation of the seminars in the Czech Republic

Before each debate started, participants filled in a questionnaire monitoring their attitudes and knowledge of extremism. Short post-discussion questionnaires were filled in to, in order to evaluate and guide us towards what students are interested in, whether they enjoyed the debate or how they liked tutors' performance. A total of 21 classes participated in the debates, mostly comprising of 9th grade primary school students.

As for knowledge of participating students regarding extremist symbolic or groups, it is a positive outcome they are not familiar neither with symbolic (except the most notorious ones, such as the Swastika) nor particular extremist groups. Provided that extremists target their propaganda towards young people, it is a positive fact that the vast majority does remain immune against such efforts. It cannot be said, however, that students are immune against racist and xenophobic opinions which they do not hear from extremist groups but from their families and the media as they admit. There were some displays of racism or xenophobia, or rather anti-Roma opinions, in every single debate and every single class. Despite we deliberately intended to avoid the Roma issue, it was always brought up. Students do not consider Roma people as citizens of the Czech Republic, they regards them as foreigners instead. Although they have Roma students inside their own class, they do generalize the entire issue and use patronizing and populist expressions. The Roma are seen as criminals and persons who do not want to work and abuse social benefits. According to our opinion, school prevention programmes and education towards tolerance are not sufficient enough, so the current mainstream trend of blaming Roma as scapegoats pushes these programmes away.

As for xenophobic thinking, students again hold attitudes picked up from the family environment and the media. During the debates, we tried to explain and deny myths related to foreigners, so at first we wanted to know what students actually think about them. Interestingly enough, students have no real image about how many foreigners reside in the Czech Republic, guessing usually it is around 20%. Posing a direct question asking students whether they are afraid of foreigners or they do not like them, no one usually raised their hand. So we changed the question and asked what they thought were the reasons for other people not liking foreigners or being afraid of them. Responses saying that foreigners take over Czech's work clearly outnumbered the rest (all classes mentioned it and usually as the first reasons), further reasons were terrorism, different tradition and religions and crime. Attempts to prove these fears false were however much easier than trying to change students' attitudes towards the Roma. Students have no general knowledge about political extremism. Despite few exceptions, they do not differ between right-wing and left-wing extremism, they don't know any subjects except the Workers' Party (of Social Justice) and do not even know what their objectives are. They relate this expression to violence, racism and danger. They consider it clearly negative and to be manifested usually during demonstrations and clashes with the police.

The form and content of debates were evaluated as positive by students. Most often, students thought it was positive to openly discuss about various issues, and that they got a clear response to their questions. As stated in pedagogical handbooks, too, students appreciate multi-media presentations, games or videos. Impressive statements are not enough to draw attention to the topic and it must be accompanied by incorporating interactive tools. We felt extremely content by such evaluation, however, our internal evaluation showed certain topics were useless and others needed to be emphasised. It turns out from our experience that the primary problem is not political extremism but the generally racist and xenophobic attitudes of a great part of public. Preventive programmes should not focus on extremism as such but rather on topics extremists abuse for their own benefit.

Thanks to experience from pilot debates, we will elaborate a long-term preventive programme intended to primary school students. However, it will not be focused primarily on political extremism. It will aim to motivate students towards active citizenship, emphasise advantages of the democratic system against various totalitarian regimes, and will strive to change their views on a wide range of minorities in an interactive, fun and self-experience manner. We will also focus to critical perception of information from the media and its evaluation, verification and classification.

4.3. Evaluation of the seminars in Hungary

In 2011-12 we hold twenty-one seminars in eleven schools for more than three hundred students between the ages of fourteen and eighteen. We visited mainly secondary schools in the countryside where the right-wing extremist movements are more active and have a bigger support from the locals. The north-east regions of Hungary are the poorest parts of the country, unemployment is relatively high and the average level of education is slower than anywhere else in Hungary.

We decided to develop an interactive curriculum, which is based on drama games and active discussions between the participants. Each seminar was 90 minutes long and was dealing with the topics of stereotypes, prejudices in general and immigration and xenophobia were in focus too.

First of all we had a very positive experience with the teachers and schools, it's true we visited those ones, which responded to our call. In earlier projects or trainings we experienced some schools, where the teachers themselves were ignorant or even racist and that made our work pretty hard to do. But this time we've met only supportive and helpful people.

The students were interested and active in the seminars in general, but to be honest ninety minutes is not enough to change their views or deepen new information. It was enough for us to hear their opinions, and see how they are aware of such issues and topics.

Most of the students are much less informed about these topics than the same age student in Budapest. Such social topics are completely missing from the national curriculum, so they can follow these stories by themselves, but only a tiny minority of them are reading news portals or newspapers and even less of them are following serious or professional information channels.

While in the role plays they were acting very tolerantly, in discussions we've met many intolerant arguments. Usually they overestimated the number of immigrants in the country, they don't know the difference between refugees and migrants, they think the foreigners are dangerously overusing the welfare system of Hungary etc.

On other hand on personal level they have no negative attitudes towards immigrant persons, they see the global trends as an opportunity even for themselves to study and work abroad. They were not informed about the daily political issues, and had just a very basic knowledge about extremist movements, groups or activities.

To raise the efficiency of these trainings we recommend to go more often, visit these groups again and continue the work. At least eight-ten trainings would be useful in every year, working on different sub-topics. The other part of our suggestion is to be neutral in conversations, students are much more honest when we are not forcing any opinion but let them to discuss the questions we brought for them. Of course with the games or activities we react on those issues, but it is still better if we can manage the group to find out the fair answers by their own.



5. CONCLUSION

Our findings from the implementation of the project Combating Racism, Xenophobia and Extremism in Central Europe include both positive and negative messages.

First of all, immigrants in the Czech Republic, Hungary and Slovakia are not in the main focus of right wing extremists in our countries. There are different reasons for this conclusion, certainly one important of them is that immigrants represent only small percentage in the Czech, Hungarian and Slovak population. They are not very visible, they are rarely an object of larger public debate and therefore they stay to a large extent aside of the main focus of extremists. We also observed that students of immigrant background are well accepted in their school classes and the longer they live in the host society, the smaller are differences between them and the native population.

On the other hand Roma are very negatively perceived by the societies as well as students in all three Central European countries. We could clearly experience openly racist attitude of young people in school classes against Roma, little or no understanding for roots of Roma exclusion and discrimination, many school pupils even believe that Roma are foreigners. We also came to the conclusion that one-off lecture for students on danger of the right wing extremism is useful but not sufficient. Needed would be more, at least 3 lectures including parts on democracy, human rights, cultural diversity, lessons learned from history and this would be necessary background for better understanding of the danger of racism, extremism and xenophobia.

Last but not least, the project brought us an excellent opportunity to compare good and bad practices in prevention and repression of the right wing extremism, racism and xenophobia in Germany, the Czech Republic, Hungary and Slovakia. The preventive programs with support of variety institutions in Germany are worth to establish in the Central European Countries and on the other hand the successful approach of the Czech state in repression against right wing extremists is also remarkable. We hope that this book will become an useful tool for practitioners and policy makers Europe-wide.



Co-funded by the European Union's Fundamental Rights and Citizenship Programme