



human rights *first*

American ideals. Universal values.

We're not Nazis, but...

The Rise of Hate Parties in Hungary and Greece and Why America Should Care

**Executive Summary and
Recommendations**



Graphic from Golden Dawn's International Newsroom website

Updated December 2014



American ideals. Universal values.

On human rights, the United States must be a beacon. Activists fighting for freedom around the globe continue to look to us for inspiration and count on us for support. Upholding human rights is not only a moral obligation; it's a vital national interest. America is strongest when our policies and actions match our values.

Human Rights First is an independent advocacy and action organization that challenges America to live up to its ideals. We believe American leadership is essential in the struggle for human rights so we press the U.S. government and private companies to respect human rights and the rule of law. When they don't, we step in to demand reform, accountability, and justice. Around the world, we work where we can best harness American influence to secure core freedoms.

We know that it is not enough to expose and protest injustice, so we create the political environment and policy solutions necessary to ensure consistent respect for human rights. Whether we are protecting refugees, combating torture, or defending persecuted minorities, we focus not on making a point, but on making a difference. For over 30 years, we've built bipartisan coalitions and teamed up with frontline activists and lawyers to tackle issues that demand American leadership.

Human Rights First is a nonprofit, nonpartisan international human rights organization based in New York and Washington D.C. To maintain our independence, we accept no government funding.

© 2014 Human Rights First All Rights Reserved.

This report is available online at humanrightsfirst.org

WHERE TO FIND US

75 Broad Street, 31st Floor
New York, NY 10004

Tel: 212.845.5200
Fax: 212.845.5299

805 15th Street, N.W., #900
Washington, DC 20005

Tel: 202.547.5692
Fax: 202.543.5999

1303 San Jacinto Street, 9th Floor
at South Texas College of Law, Houston, TX 77002

Tel: 713.955.1360
Fax: 713.955.1359

www.humanrightsfirst.org

Acknowledgements

This report was made possible by the generous support of the David Berg Foundation and Arthur & Toni Rembe Rock.

Human Rights First has for many years worked to combat hate crimes, antisemitism and anti-Roma discrimination in Europe. This report is the result of trips by Sonni Efron and Tad Stahnke to Greece and Hungary in April, 2014, and to Greece in May, 2014, as well as interviews and consultations with a wide range of human rights activists, government officials, national and international NGOs, multinational bodies, scholars, attorneys, journalists, and victims.

We salute their courage and dedication, and give heartfelt thanks for their counsel and assistance.

We are also grateful to the following individuals for their work on this report: Tamas Bodoky, Maria Demertzian, Hanna Kereszturi, Peter Kreko, Paula Garcia-Salazar, Hannah Davies, Erica Lin, Jannat Majeed, Marton Sarkady-Nagy, and Helena Smith.

—Sonni Efron and Tad Stahnke

***“We are not racist or Nazi, but
there is a problem with the Roma
and we need to talk about that.”***

–Zoltan Fuzessy, Jobbik Spokesman, May 2009

Executive Summary

Greece's Golden Dawn and Hungary's Jobbik represent the bloody tip of the far-right spear in Europe. In the May elections for the 751-member European Parliament, voters from at least 14 of the European Union's 28 countries elected representatives from far-right parties that espouse values that undermine human rights. In all, they won 59 seats.

The leaders of these 14 parties express a wide range of political views, from finely nuanced bigotry to misogyny to adoration of fascist heroes of World War II. At least eight of them are pro-Russian. All have expressed either antisemitic, xenophobic, racist, homophobic, anti-Muslim, or anti-Roma sentiments. Golden Dawn is by far the most violent and has directly threatened the Greek state. Jobbik has been the most successful in advancing authoritarian and discriminatory policies, and it has sponsored paramilitary activity. Both have had enormous impacts on their societies.

Golden Dawn is a purely Nazi party, led by a man who was imprisoned for the attempted bombing of a movie theater and has for three decades associated with Nazi collaborators who ruled Greece from 1964-74 during the "Regime of the Colonels." Jobbik officials have described Roma as animals and insects, and told Jews to start looking for a place to hide. Leaders of both parties have used their position in their national parliaments to deny the Holocaust and rehash ancient canards against Jews. The hatred these two parties promote has inspired waves of violence against minorities—including, in the case of Golden Dawn, murders.

On the geopolitical level, the rise of neo-fascist parties poses a challenge to the United States, and not only because Americans are horrified by the specter of barbarism within the European

Union. At least eight of the 14 far-right parties have adopted a pro-Russian stance. Given rising tensions with Russia over Ukraine, the Transatlantic Alliance is more important than ever. Greece and Hungary are strategic NATO allies, but Golden Dawn and Jobbik want to pull out of the E.U. and NATO. Both see Russia, not the E.U. or the United States, as their ally.

The situation is not Europe in 1936, but neither are these parties the mere political fringe of the neo-Nazi skinhead movement. The European elections were a wake-up call, or should have been. The United States needs a strategy to defend human rights and the rule of law inside its old friends and democratic allies in Europe.

Key Findings

The rise of extreme far-right parties in Greece and Hungary is not simply the result of economic crisis. It represents a failure of governance.

Other European nations also suffered economic shock and massive unemployment, but even in some countries with histories of right-wing dictatorship, including Spain, Portugal, and Italy, the far right did not do well in the recent elections. (In Bulgaria, the viciously antisemitic Ataka party virtually collapsed.) The governments of Greece and Hungary, for very different reasons, allowed Jobbik and Golden Dawn to put down deep roots, which will be difficult to eradicate. These movements are unlikely to fade away on their own even when the economy improves.

Some supporters are violent, though the parties are trying to sanitize their images.

Both Jobbik and Golden Dawn leaders tried to sanitize their images during the 2014 election

campaigns. But covert antisemitic and xenophobic code words and symbols were there for voters who knew where to look. Supporters of these parties have committed acts of violence, and shadowy sympathizer groups that are even more extreme do some of the dirty work. In Greece, attacks on migrants have continued even while all 18 of the party's lawmakers are under criminal investigation or in jail. Refugees from conflicts in Syria, Afghanistan, the Central African Republic, and other countries are especially threatened, fleeing their homes only to face attacks from Golden Dawn supporters.

Jobbik and Golden Dawn have had demonstrable impact on their national governments and institutions, nurturing the extreme tendencies in each country.

Jobbik and Golden Dawn have made large gains in local, national, and European Parliament elections. Both parties have benefited from the tolerance, if not the tacit support, of the governing parties, which have competed with the extremists for votes. In Hungary, Jobbik has helped Prime Minister Viktor Orban to become more authoritarian, pursue historical revisionism, violate European norms of constitutional democracy and human rights, and most recently, declare that Hungary rejects liberal democracy and will become an "illiberal state." In Greece, Golden Dawn infiltrated the police and weakened the Greek government, which waited far too long to begin prosecuting its leaders for running a criminal organization and to purge police officials who enabled their crimes. Neither government has done enough to combat hate violence and protect vulnerable populations. And in the case of both Greece and Hungary, for very different reasons, the assumption that E.U. democracies are self-correcting over time with respect to

extremism in the political system has been thrown into doubt.

The extreme right parties threaten fundamental European values and E.U. cohesion.

Jobbik and Golden Dawn are not poised to take power soon, but their malevolence and the corrosive effect they have on their societies and the political conversation in Europe should not be underestimated. They are more than Eurosceptic: they want their countries out of the European Union precisely because they do not respect fundamental European values, including human rights, non-discrimination, and democratic checks and balances. They also oppose the limits on national sovereignty and the commitments to respect existing borders to which their countries agreed in order to join the E.U.

The United States needs to know more about the Russian connection.

According to Peter Kreko of Political Capital, almost all of the far-right parties that won seats in the May 2014 European Parliament elections have been courted by Russia. Pro-Russian far-right parties have opposed E.U. sanctions against Russia for its behavior in Ukraine and have attempted to give international legitimacy to its annexation of Crimea. Some analysts assert that Kremlin cultivation of far-right parties is part of President Vladimir Putin's strategy to weaken the E.U. from the inside, to blunt anti-Russian policies in the E.U., and to prevent further expansion of NATO. There are allegations that Jobbik has received financial support from Russia and Iran. These concerns deserve full investigation.

The U.S. government needs a strategy to help Greece, and counter democratic backsliding in Hungary.

The United States must engage directly to address the human rights and rule of law challenges in Greece and Hungary as part of its overall strategy to strengthen the Transatlantic Alliance. It will need different strategies to deal with its two old friends: Hungary, a democratic backslider, and Greece, with a government that has been weakened by severe recession and soaring unemployment but has belatedly begun to prosecute Golden Dawn leaders and their accomplices in the police for violent crimes. The United States needs to recognize that these successful neo-fascist movements in Europe are no longer just an E.U. problem. To the extent that they undermine the E.U., NATO, or our allies, they are an American problem, too.

President Obama and other senior U.S. officials have become more outspoken about concerns with democratic backsliding in Hungary since Viktor Orban's "illiberal democracy" speech in the summer of 2014. President Obama, in a September speech at the Clinton Global Initiative, warned that "From Hungary to Egypt, endless regulations and overt intimidation increasingly target civil society. U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations Samantha Power also raised concerns about Hungary in her keynote remarks at a high-level OSCE event on antisemitism in Berlin in November: "In Hungary – where the extreme ethnic nationalist Jobbik party finished second in May elections, and where public opinion polling has shown a high level of anti-Semitic attitudes, the government has cracked down as well on the independent press and civil society groups."

Ten Things President Obama Can Do Now

The primary responsibility for protecting the human rights of all persons in their territory lies with the governments of Greece and Hungary, and with their societies. However, U.S. leadership on human rights means doing more to address these pressing challenges to democracy and the rule of law inside European Union nations. Here are steps the Obama administration can take now to combat the rise of hate parties in Greece and Hungary and the erosion of democratic norms and standards:

1. Strengthen U.S. policies aimed at reversing Hungary's backsliding on democracy, protecting NGOs, independent media and vulnerable minorities, and advancing the rule of law, independent democratic institutions, human rights protections, and greater transparency. These policies should be an integral part of the U.S. strategy to reinforce the Transatlantic Alliance in the face of Russian action in Ukraine, the growing electoral strength of antisemitic, racist, pro-Russian parties in E.U. states, and a "democracy recession" in parts of Europe and elsewhere.
2. Articulate how the rise of extremist, antisemitic, hate movements in Europe can threaten U.S. and European security and common prosperity. Urge all European Union nations to take immediate steps to protect vulnerable minorities and step up enforcement of laws against violence and related acts motivated by hatred or political extremism.
3. Instruct the Director of National Intelligence to investigate allegations that Russian President Vladimir Putin's government is providing logistical or financial support to antisemitic, racist or white supremacist groups in Europe, Ukraine, or other nations. Specifically investigate reports of loans made by Russian-connected banks to far-right European parties. This investigation should include the loan of 9 million Euros to France's Front National by the First Czech Russian Bank and any related transactions, and reports of Russian-backed loans to the Golden Dawn Party in Greece, Jobbik in Hungary, Vlaams Belang in Belgium, the Northern League in Italy, or the Freedom Party of Austria. Present a classified assessment of whether the Kremlin is attempting to use such parties to undermine the European Union or thwart NATO expansion. Release an unclassified version to Congress and the public.
4. Convey support to senior European leaders for an E.U. effort to hold Hungary accountable for violations of E.U. law and to confront systemic threats to the rule of law, including a Rule of Law Opinion for Hungary and infringement or Article 7 proceedings, as appropriate.
5. Continue to publicly raise concerns about democratic backsliding in Hungary and encourage European allies to do the same. Publicly call for a vote to remove Hungary from the Governing

Council of the Communities of Democracy.

6. Prioritize efforts to support embattled Hungarian civil society groups and independent media. Specifically:
 - Fund locally-developed programs to combat antisemitism as well as anti-Roma and anti-LGBT violence and discrimination.
 - Ensure that implementation of the Sept. 23, 2014 Presidential Memorandum on civil society specifically addresses the rise of extremist, antisemitic and racist ideologies as well as the narrowing space for human rights defenders and civil society groups to operate in some European countries.
 - Fund programs to support independent media outlets, which are on the verge of disappearing. Provide digital security training to independent Hungarian media and NGOs.
7. Work with European on joint efforts to alleviate poverty and stimulate grass-roots economic development in Greece and Hungary to undercut support for political extremism. Specifically:
 - Formulate a coordinated strategy to improve standards of living and blunt public resentment against “western”-imposed austerity programs.
 - Direct the Departments of Commerce, Treasury, and State as well as USAID to identify ways to promote broad-based economic recovery and entrepreneurship in Greece and Hungary, including by targeting youth.
8. Consider public-private partnerships, alternative lending practices, increased exchanges and other public diplomacy programs to defuse drivers of political radicalization.
8. In the context of the G-8/G-20 anti-corruption agenda, seek commitments from Hungary and Greece to set in place policies and practices to impede high-level corruption and improve transparency and equal enforcement of the law. Task relevant U.S. agencies with compiling information on corruption by Hungarian and Greek political and business leaders as well as government officials suspected of funding violent extremists.
9. Support the Greek Government’s initiative to prosecute Golden Dawn leaders not for their ideologies but for their criminal acts. At the same time, express concern that the upcoming trial be conducted according to the strictest European legal standards and with full protections for the right of the accused.
10. Increase U.S. support for efforts by the Organization for Cooperation and Security in Europe (OSCE) to combat hate crimes, antisemitism, racism and other forms of intolerance and discrimination.

Additional Recommendations on Hungary

To the State Department and USAID:

- Support multilateral diplomatic efforts to ensure that Hungary does not become the 2015 Chair of the International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance.
- Hold the Hungarian government to its promises of “zero tolerance” for antisemitism. Express concern about failures to:
 - Fully investigate and prosecute violent hate crimes;
 - Rebuke antisemitic, racist or homophobic rhetoric, or inaccurate statements about the Holocaust, including by government officials and members of the ruling party;
 - Heed concerns about museums, monuments or other publicly-funded commemorations of World War II history that promote historical revisionism, particularly regarding the role of Hungarians in the Holocaust.
- Monitor whether the government revises textbooks and makes visits by students to the Holocaust Memorial Center in Budapest and the Shoes on the Bank of the Danube a standard part of the curriculum.
- Encourage exchanges between Greek-Americans and Greek citizens on the subject of economic redevelopment, improving the climate for foreign investment, reducing corruption, and eradicating violent extremism in both nations.

- With the Department of Justice, offer bilateral assistance to the government in hate-crime data collection, police investigations and prosecutions. Support NGOs working in this area.

Additional Recommendations on Greece

To the State Department and USAID:

- Develop an action plan for the Departments of State, Justice and Homeland Security to assist Greece in investigating and prosecuting police abuse and corruption as well as countering violent extremism.
- With the Department of Justice, offer bilateral aid in hate-crime data collection, police investigations, and prosecutions. Support NGOs working in this area.
- Encourage Greece to implement fully its National Plan to fight corruption as a means to speed economic recovery and restore public trust in government. Engage with Greece’s Anti-Corruption Coordinator and explore ways to support his work through the Open Government Partnership.
- Encourage exchanges between Greek-Americans and Greek citizens focused on economic redevelopment, improving the climate for foreign investment, reducing corruption, and eradicating violent extremism in both nations.

To the Department of Commerce:

- Lead an interagency review of barriers to U.S. investment in Greece, including corruption, burdensome bureaucracy, and weakness in the judicial system.

To the U.S. Congress

- Request a briefing from intelligence agencies on allegations of Russian and/or Iranian financial or other support of European far-right parties and whether the Kremlin is attempting to use such parties to undermine the European Union or thwart NATO expansion.
- Hold hearings on the threat posed to U.S. interests by the rise of Golden Dawn, Jobbik, and other extremist parties in Europe. Request that senior administration officials: a) outline U.S. policies designed to undercut support for antisemitic, homophobic, racist, and violent far-right parties in Europe and b) assess the threat to U.S. interests (if any) posed by Putin's efforts to court European political parties.

On Greece

Lawmakers should request that administration officials testify about:

- Status of U.S. efforts to assist Greece in mounting a credible prosecution of Golden Dawn suspects and other perpetrators of violent hate crime; purging law enforcement of Golden Dawn accomplices; and strengthening the Greek law enforcement and judicial systems to fight hate violence, organized crime, and corruption, while guaranteeing the rights of the accused.
- U.S. views on how to promote broad-based, sustainable economic recovery for Greece and actions that could reduce youth unemployment and other factors encouraging radicalization.

On Hungary

Lawmakers should request that administration officials testify about:

- U.S. strategy for combatting anti-democratic political trends, including Prime Minister Viktor Orbán's embrace of "illiberal democracy," and the intimidation of independent media and NGOs.
- Status of prosecutions for violent hate crimes targeting Jews and Jewish community property, Roma, or LGBT individuals.
- Responses by Hungarian government officials and Fidesz party leaders to antisemitic, racist, homophobic or other hateful rhetoric by lawmakers in the national or European parliaments, or other Hungarian government or political officials.
- Status of the revision of Hungarian textbooks as well as making visits by Hungarian students to the Holocaust Memorial Center in Budapest and the Shoes on the Bank of the Danube a standard part of the curriculum.
- Whether existing U.S. economic policies toward Hungary should be retooled to promote youth employment, sustainable, broad-based development and to lessen opportunities for corruption and Hungarian dependence on Russian financing.

To the European Commission

On Hungary

- Continue to initiate infringement proceedings against Hungary for violations of E.U. law.
- Consider bundling a group of related infringement actions together under the banner of a violation of Article 2 of the Treaty of the European Union.
- Begin implementing the new framework for addressing systemic threats to the rule of law in E.U. member states by sending to Hungary a Rule of Law opinion, which should include the concerns about democratic governance and human rights already expressed by the Commission, the European Parliament, the Council of Europe, the OSCE, and the U.N.
- Through the Directorate General for Employment and Social Affairs, the Directorate General for Justice and other mechanisms, provide core support for Hungarian NGOs to monitor and advocate policy change on rule of law, human rights, responses to violent hate crime, and corruption.

On Greece

- Review economic policies to find ways to blunt their effect on Greece's poor and lower-middle-class citizens, and take measures to improve employment prospects, particularly among youth, to undercut the appeal of extremist ideologies.
- Offer assistance from EUROPOL to Greece in investigating the financial affairs and international transactions of Golden Dawn and its leadership in connection with their alleged criminal activities.
- Through the Directorate General for Justice, direct additional funding to support Greek efforts to train police and prosecutors to combat violent hate crime and to increase judicial capacity.
- Consider funding programs designed to help hate-crime victims and promote better relations between police and communities targeted for hate violence, as well as to protect the rights of migrants and refugees in Greece.

To the Government of Hungary

The government of Hungary can advance human rights and democracy, and improve relations with the U.S. and Europe, by bringing its 2011 Constitution and Fundamental Laws into compliance with international obligations. This includes reinstating checks and balances on executive power.

Amid growing concerns by minorities about intolerance, the government should also step up efforts to combat hate crimes and discrimination so that all citizens may exercise their universal rights. The government also faces the challenge of dealing with a democratically elected neo-fascist opposition party that promotes violations of human rights. Addressing these challenges will require simultaneous efforts to restore constitutional checks and balances and combat hatred and discrimination by rights-respecting means, in accordance with Hungary's obligations to the E.U., Council of Europe, and OSCE.

General Recommendations

- Reform the Fourth Amendment and other articles of the Fundamental Law to meet European and international standards, as expressed by the European Court of Justice, the European Court of Human Rights, the Venice Commission, and other international bodies.
- Cease harassment of NGOs and stop characterizing them as the agents of foreign powers.
- Reform the campaign financing laws to require political parties to declare their sources of funding.
- Reform the laws to ensure that financing disclosure requirements for both NGOs and political parties are more transparent, and enforce the regulations equally across all NGOs and all political parties.
- Make the Government Control Office (KEHI) an independent body charged with monitoring NGO spending of Hungarian state funds, not other sources of funding.
- Freeze plans for museums, monuments or other publicly-funded commemorations of World War II history until the concerns of the Hungarian Jewish and Roma communities have been fully taken into account with respect to the historical accuracy of the exhibits in relation to Hungarians' role in the Holocaust.
- Revise textbooks and make visits by schoolchildren to the Holocaust Memorial Center and the Shoes on the Bank of the Danube a standard part of the curriculum.

Hate Crime Recommendations

Condemn Hate Speech

- In keeping with Prime Minister Orbán's policy of "zero-tolerance" against antisemitism, direct all government officials to improve the tenor and accuracy of their language to convey respect for all citizens when discussing ethnic or religious diversity.
- Rebuke antisemitic, racist, or homophobic statements, including by government or Fidesz Party officials.
- Explain publicly why remarks that distinguish between "Jews" or "Roma"

on the one hand, and “Hungarians” on the other, are offensive because of the implication that citizens of Jewish or Roma origin are not Hungarian.

Investigate and Prosecute Hate Crimes

- Fully investigate and prosecute hate crimes; increase funding for personnel accordingly.
- Instruct police to give higher priority than is currently given to investigating and prosecuting hate crimes targeting property. Make such acts an explicit offense. Explain to the public why “victimless crimes,” such as defacing property with anti-Roma or anti-LGBT slurs or desecrating Jewish cemeteries, have a disproportionately negative effect on Hungarian society as a whole.
- Implement special trainings on identification and application of bias-motivated crimes for law enforcement, including prosecutors and judges. Implement new procedures to ensure these best practices will be institutionalized. Fund these efforts appropriately.
- Invite the E.U., Council of Europe, and OSCE to share expertise on improving the prevention, investigation, and prosecution of hate crimes. Invite the OSCE to review hate-crime laws and conduct hate-crime training for police, prosecutors, and judges. Reach out to other E.U. members, such as Germany and the U.K., which have experience combatting racist violence and retraining police.

Collect better statistics

- Cooperate with civil society in a public-private partnership on a data

compilation system to track the actual number of hate crimes, prosecutions, convictions, and punishments and report them to the OSCE. Request assistance on data collection from the OSCE Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights (ODHIR).

Support Victims

- Improve access for hate-crime victims to justice, counseling, and other legal and social assistance, as part of the implementation of E.U. Directive 2012/29/E.U. on support and protection for victims of crime.

Legislative Recommendations

- Amend the Fundamental Law and Act CCVI of 2011 on the Legal Status of Churches to establish clear criteria for the official recognition of a religious organization that are fully in line with international norms and the recommendations of the Venice Commission. Transfer the authority to register religious organizations from Parliament to an independent court, as contemplated in the April 8, 2014 judgment of the European Court of Human Rights.
- Revise the 2013 Media Law, which restricts freedom of expression and information. Abolish the Media Council. Curtail the powers of the Media Authority and stipulate that its decisions may be appealed to a court of law. Abolish registration requirements for print and online media. Revise the Freedom of Information Act so that denial of requests for information may be appealed before a court of law.

To the Government of Greece

Golden Dawn's continued popularity, even after revelations about its Nazi ideology and its alleged role in two murders and dozens of assaults, underscores the need for a rigorous and credible prosecution that meets the highest European judicial standards and is not tainted by accusations of political motivation. It is also imperative that the trial of Golden Dawn suspects be conducted with full protection for the rights of the accused.

Regardless of the outcome of the prosecutions, the government should continue efforts to identify, dismiss, or where appropriate prosecute police and other officials who have aided, abetted, or participated in hate violence or criminal activity associated with Golden Dawn. Uprooting attitudes about racial superiority from public life will require a joint governmental-civil society action plan to combat hatred and violence, in accordance with Greece's E.U., Council of Europe, and OSCE commitments.

Recommendations to the Government

Strengthen Efforts to Prosecute Golden Dawn and Reform Police

- Request international assistance in gathering evidence on the financial activities of Golden Dawn and its leadership in connection with their alleged criminal activities and any foreign funding. Specifically, request assistance from EUROPOL and other international law enforcement agencies, including INTERPOL, the FBI, and the Society for Worldwide Interbank Financial Telecommunication (SWIFT) in investigating loans, grants or other

transnational financial dealings by Golden Dawn leaders.

- Increase security for prosecutors, magistrates, investigators, and witnesses in the criminal case against Golden Dawn leaders. In particular, provide security to undocumented migrants who may testify in the case and are most vulnerable to reprisals. Allow them to enter the Greek witness protection program, now only available to Greek citizens.
- Avoid actions that could feed the perception that the case against Golden Dawn may be politically motivated by scrupulously protecting all rights of the accused.
- Expedite trials for the police officers who have been charged with aiding, abetting, or joining in Golden Dawn crimes.
- Step up efforts to arrest perpetrators of ongoing racist attacks and determine whether they are the work of Golden Dawn supporters, other extremist groups, or lone actors.
- Continue to monitor police behavior toward migrants, LGBT persons, and other vulnerable minorities.

Make Racial Superiority Politically Unacceptable

- Adopt a zero-tolerance policy toward and strongly condemn racist, antisemitic, or homophobic statements by public officials and members of the New Democracy Party. Encourage other political parties to follow suit.
- Denounce intimidation and threats, and prosecute attacks against medical clinics, teachers, artists, and bloggers, in response to Golden Dawn's self-

appointed role as defender of “Greek values” across society.

- Conduct anti-racism training programs for the State Security Services, the Armed Forces, and Coast Guard officers tasked with intercepting boats of migrants trying to enter Greece.
- Overhaul Greek textbooks and educational curricula to:
 - reduce ethnocentric or highly nationalistic descriptions of world events;
 - cover the rise of European fascism, the ideology of the Nazi Party, and the Holocaust;
 - discuss the role of Greek units that collaborated with the Nazi occupation as well as the role of citizens in sheltering Greek Jews and otherwise resisting Nazi deportations of Jews; and
 - include a unit on modern antisemitism, racism, and religious intolerance.
- Establish specific training modules in the school for judges on international agreements and jurisprudence on human rights, combating hate-crime violence and human trafficking, and the protection of refugees. Invite the Human Rights Commission and civil society groups with expertise to conduct parts of this training.

Improve the Response to Violent Hate Crimes

- Invite international and European organizations, such as the Council of Europe, the E.U., and the OSCE, to assist in training law enforcement bodies and judicial authorities on investigating, prosecuting, and adjudicating violent hate crimes.
- Instruct the Ministry of Public Order to issue a new directive to the police to mandate the investigation of hate motivation for crimes, and to institute procedures (e.g. a specific form or guidelines) to make it easier for the police to do so, superseding Circular 7100/4/3 of May 25, 2006. This form should be easily used by all police officers, not only by those officers and units specially trained to address hate crimes.
- Direct the Ministry of Justice to create an official and uniform system to monitor and record hate crimes in cooperation with the Greek police, the Greek Ombudsman, the Racist Violence Recording Network, and other NGOs. Cross-reference this data with incidents reported through the Racist Violence hotline. Request assistance from ODIHR on creating a standardized data compilation system to track hate crimes, prosecutions, convictions, and sentences. Also report incidents to the OSCE via its monitoring website <http://hatecrime.osce.org/>.
- Improve access for hate-crime victims to justice, counseling, and other legal and social assistance as part of the implementation of the E.U. Directive on support and protection for victims of

crime. Support civil society groups that provide legal and other services to victims. Ensure that all criminal justice officials are trained to cooperate with NGOs as well as victim communities.

Recommendations to the Parliament

- Amend the Criminal Code to establish a specific criminal offense of bias-motivated *violence*, in order to ensure that the bias motivation is investigated and addressed at every stage of the proceedings involving violent crime.
- Amend the current legislative framework to establish an independent mechanism in the Ministry of Public Order to receive and investigate complaints of police abuse and other arbitrary actions.
- Adopt a Parliamentary code of conduct to deter politicians from making antisemitic, xenophobic, racist, homophobic, or other hateful remarks from the floor or in public appearances. Use the code as grounds for disciplinary measures that could be imposed on MPs under Article 77 of the Greek Parliament's Standing Orders.



human rights *first*

American ideals. Universal values.

WHERE TO FIND US

75 Broad Street, 31st Floor,
New York, NY 10004

Tel: 212.845.5200
Fax: 212.845.5299

[human rights first.org](http://humanrightsfirst.org)

805 15th Street, N.W., #900
Washington, DC 20005

Tel: 202.547.5692
Fax: 202.543.5999

1303 San Jacinto Street, 9th Floor
at South Texas College of Law, Houston, TX 77002

Tel: 713.955.1360
Fax: 713.955.1359