

TABLE OF CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION	14
1.1 Thesis of the Study	14
1.2 Research Subject	14
1.2.1 Extreme Right-Wing Parties, Groups and Movements: Examples and Illustrations	14
1.2.2 ‘Triggering Factors’ Exploited by the Far-Right	19
1.2.2 (i) Immigration and Islamophobia	20
1.2.2 (ii) Ethnic Minorities and the LGBTI Community	28
1.2.2 (iii) Finances and Political Dissatisfaction	34
1.2.2 (iv) Concluding Comments on the Make-up of the Far-right in Europe	36
1.2.3. The Extreme-Right: An Ideology against Human Rights	38
1.3 Genesis of the Research Topic	40
1.4 An Assessment of Two countries: England and Wales and Greece	41
1.5 Originality of Research	43
1.6 Methodology and Structure	45
<u>CHAPTER ONE: DEFINITIONAL AND CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK</u>	50
Introduction	
1. The Extreme-Right and Related Terms	50
1.1 The Extreme-Right: Semantics and Notions	50
1.2 The Extreme-Right: Structural Framework	55
1.3 The Extreme Right: Key Characteristics	56
1.4 Nationalism	58
1.5 Race and Racism	59
1.6 Racial Discrimination	63
1.6.1 Semantics and Notions	63
1.6.2 Victims of Racial Discrimination	65
1.6.3 Differential Treatment: Direct and Indirect Discrimination	65
1.6.4 Intention to Discriminate	67
1.7 Religion as a Ground for Discrimination	68
1.8 Hate Speech	69
1.9 Hate Crime	73
Conclusion	74
<u>CHAPTER TWO: THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK</u>	75
Introduction	75
1. Restricting Rights and Freedoms	76
1.1 A Legitimate Restriction of Rights - A General Framework	76
1.2 Militant Democracy: Legitimately Restricting Rights for Purposes of Protecting Democracy	78
1.2.1 Militant Democracy - A General Overview	78
1.2.2 Militant Democracy: A Balancing Act?	82
1.2.3 Applying the Doctrine of Militant Democracy	84
1.2.4 Militant Democracy: Concluding Observations	86
2. Freedom of Expression: To Restrict or not to Restrict?	86
2.1 Freedom of Expression: Thoughts from Classical Scholarship	86
2.2 Restricting Expression: A Libertarian Approach	88
2.3 Legitimately Legislating against Hate Speech	94
2.4 A Theoretical Approach to Restricting Hate speech Legitimately: Critical Race Theory	100
2.4.1 Speech Act Theory	100

2.4.2 Critical Race Theory	101
3. Effects-Based Approach to Hate Speech Restriction	104
3.1 Effects-Based Approach as a General Concept	104
4. Freedom of Expression: A Legal Assessment of Theoretical Issues	109
5. Freedom of Association	114
Conclusion	115

CHAPTER THREE: THE UNITED NATIONS	117
Introduction	117
1. The Principle of Non-Discrimination in UN instruments	117
1.1 Introduction: The Importance of International Non-Discrimination Law	117
2. Freedom from Racial Discrimination	121
2.1 General Overview of UN Instruments	121
2.2 Monitoring ICERD Obligations: The Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination	124
2.3 Article 4 ICERD: General Overview	125
2.4 General Prohibition of Incitement to Racial Discrimination	126
2.5 State Obligations Arising from Article 4	128
2.6 Conclusion: Prohibition of Discrimination and Racial Discrimination	130
3. Freedom of Expression	130
3.1 Overview of Freedom of Expression in UN Instruments	130
3.2 Article 19 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights: General Overview	132
3.3 Article 19 of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights: General Overview	134
3.4 Monitoring ICCPR Obligations: The Human Rights Committee	135
3.5 Restrictions to the Freedom of Expression under the ICCPR	135
3.6 Limitation Grounds of Article 19 of the ICCPR	137
3.7 Conclusion: Freedom of Expression	141
4. Article 20 of the ICCPR	141
4.1 Article 20 of the ICCPR: General Obligations on States Parties	141
4.2 Article 20(2) of the ICCPR: Definitions and Notions	144
4.3 Article 20: The Threshold Test	146
4.4 Article 20(2): Jurisprudence of the Human Rights Committee	147
4.5 Conclusion: Article 20(2) ICCPR	150
5. Article 4(a): Regulating Hate Speech through the ICERD	150
5.1 Article 4(a): Introductory Points	150
5.2 Article 4(a): Political Parties and Racist Expression	151
5.3 Article 4(a): Compatibility with the Freedoms of Expression and Association	151
6. Sanctioning Bad Expression: Limitations and Regulations	153
7. Conclusion: Regulating, Prohibiting and Sanctioning Radical Rhetoric	157
8. Freedom of Assembly and Association	158
8.1 Overview of Freedom of Association and Assembly in UN Instruments	158
8.2 Freedom of Assembly and Association under the Universal Declaration of Human Rights	159
8.3 Freedom of Assembly under the ICCPR	160
8.4 Freedom of Association under the ICCPR: General Overview	162
8.5 What is an Association under International Law?	163
8.6 Limiting the Freedom of Association under the ICCPR	164
8.7 Limiting the Freedom of Association and Assembly under Article 4(b) of the ICERD	166
8.8: The Due Regard Clause of Article 4 ICERD	169
9. Another Route? Article 5 of the ICCPR: The Destruction of the Rights of Others	174
10. Conclusion: Regulating, Prohibiting and Punishing Far-Right Association and Assembly	175
11. Chapter Conclusion: Militant Democracy as a Central Tenet of International Human Rights Law	175

CHAPTER FOUR: THE COUNCIL OF EUROPE	176
Introduction	176
1. Council of Europe	177
2. The Principle of Non-Discrimination in Council of Europe Instruments	178
2.1 General Overview of Non-Discrimination in the ECHR	179
2.2 Race as a Ground for Discrimination	182
3. Freedom of Expression	182
3.1 General Overview of Article 10 of the ECHR	182
3.2 What Kind of Speech?	185
3.3 Hate Speech: Semantics and Notions	187
3.4 Freedom of Expression: Reasonableness Review of Restrictions and Limitations	192
3.4.1 Prescribed by Law	193
3.4.2 Necessary in a Democratic Society	194
3.4.3 Legitimate Aim	196
3.4.4 Proportionality	198
3.5 Violence as a Key Element to Prohibiting Expression	199
3.6 Freedom of Expression – Concluding Comments	201
4. Freedom of Assembly and Association	201
4.1 General Overview of Article 11 ECHR	201
4.2 What Constitutes an Association?	202
4.3 Legitimate Interferences to the Freedom of Association	204
4.3.1 Is the Interference Prescribed by Law?	206
4.3.2 Does the Interference Pursue a Legitimate Aim?	207
4.3.3 Is the Interference Necessary in a Democratic Society?	208
4.3.4 Is the Interference Proportionate to the Legitimate Aim Pursued?	208
4.4 Violence as a Key Element in Limiting Association	209
4.5 Limiting Association - Destruction of Democracy	209
4.6 Dissolution of an Association – Establishing a Sufficiently Imminent Risk	212
4.7 The Freedom of Racist Association and its Effects in the Workplace	212
4.8 Freedom of Association: Conclusion	213
4.9 Freedom of Assembly	214
4.9.1 Freedom of Assembly – General Overview	214
4.9.2 Legitimately Limiting Assembly	224
4.9.3 Freedom of Assembly – Concluding Comments	218
4.10 Freedoms of Association and Assembly – Concluding Comments	219
5. Article 17 of the ECHR: Non-Destruction Clause	219
5.1 Article 17 – Theoretical and Jurisprudential Overview	219
5.2 Article 17 and Hate Speech	221
5.3 Article 17 and Free Association and Assembly	224
5.4 Article 17 – Concluding Comments	226
6. The Margin of Appreciation: Its Role in the Interpretation and Application of Article 10 and Article 11 of the ECHR	227
7. The EctHR and Racist Crimes	231
8. The Additional Protocol to the Convention on Cybercrime, Concerning the Criminalisation of Acts of a Racist and Xenophobic Nature Committed through Computer Systems	233
Conclusion	239
CHAPTER FIVE: THE EUROPEAN UNION	241
Introduction	241

1. Rule of Law	243
1.1 Rule of Law: General Overview	244
1.2 Rule of Law Origins	248
1.3 Rule of Law: Final Comments on the Rule of Law as a Doctrine	248
1.4 Rule of Law: General Overview of the Rule of Law in EU Law	250
1.4.1 Article 7 of the TEU: Safeguarding the Rule of Law in EU Member States?	250
1.4.1 (i) Article 7: General Overview	250
1.4.1 (ii) Article 7 – Foundations for the Combatting of Right-Wing Extremism	254
1.4.1 (iii) Article 7 – Concluding Comments	257
1.5 Threats to the Rule of Law Case-Study: Hungary	259
1.5.1 The Deterioration of the Rule of Law: The case of Hungary	259
1.5.2 Response of the European Union to the Hungarian Constitutional Crisis	261
1.5.3 European Court of Justice: Its Role in the Hungarian Situation	263
1.5.4 Hungary: Concluding Points	265
1.6 A New EU Framework to Strengthen the Rule of Law	266
1.7 Council of the European Union – Annual Rule of Law Dialogue	268
1.8 Rule of Law: Concluding Comments	269
2. Charter of Fundamental Rights of the European Union	270
3. 1996 Joint Action adopted by the Council Concerning Means to Combat Racism and Xenophobia	273
4. Council Framework Decision 2009/913/JHA of 28 November 2008 on Combatting Certain Forms and Expressions of Racism and Xenophobia by Means of Criminal Law	275
5. European Parliament Resolutions	280
6. Other Measures	282
7. European Union Framework – Concluding Comments	284

CHAPTER SIX: ENGLAND AND WALES	286
Introduction	286
1. Contextual and Definitional Framework	288
1.1 Jurisdiction	288
1.2 The EU Referendum: Legal, political and social ramifications	291
1.3 The Face of the Far-Right in the United Kingdom: A General Overview	295
1.3.1 Political Parties	301
1.3.1 (i) The National Front	302
1.3.1 (ii) The British National Party	303
1.3.1 (iii) The United Kingdom Independence Party	306
1.3.1 (iv) Britain First	309
1.3.1 (v) Non-Party Groups: The English Defence League (and others)	311
1.3.1 (vi) The Subculture Milieu - Combat 18	314
1.3.1 (vii) Other Far-Right Groups and Movements	315
1.3.2 The Far-Right in the United Kingdom: Concluding Comments	315
1.4 Definitional Framework	315
1.4.1 Racial and Religious groups	316
1.4.2 Stirring up Racial and Religious Hatred – A Substitute for Hate Speech?	322
1.4.3 Racial and Religious Aggravation	324
1.4.4 Hate Crime	325
1.4.5 Racial and Religious Discrimination or Harassment	326
1.4.6 Terrorism	328
1.4.7 Extremism	329
2. International Framework	330

2.1 International Framework – The United Nations	331
2.1.1 The International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights and the United Kingdom	331
2.1.2 International Convention on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination and the United Kingdom	332
3. European Framework	335
3.1 The Council of Europe: The Human Rights Act 1998: Incorporating the European Convention on Human Rights into Domestic Law	335
3.2 The European Union: The Council Framework Decision 2008/913/JHA on Combating Certain Forms and Expressions of Racism and Xenophobia by Means of Criminal Law	338
4. National Legal Framework	341
4.1 Human Rights: Conceptual Backdrop	341
4.1.1 Freedom of Expression	344
4.1.2 Freedoms of Assembly and Association	344
4.1.2(i) Freedom of Association: General Overview	346
4.1.2(ii) Freedom of Association and Employment: Issues of Non-Discrimination	347
4.1.2 (iii) Freedom of Assembly	352
5. The Far-Right Movement and Criminal Law	355
5.1 Maintaining Public Order as a Sphere through which to Challenge the Far-Right	355
5.1.2 Acts Intending to Stir up Racial/Religious Hatred and Possession of Inflammatory Material	356
5.1.3 Prohibiting Religious Hatred within the Public Order Framework: The Racial and Religious Hatred Act 2006	362
5.2 Aggravation and Sentencing	368
5.3 Jurisprudential Analysis	371
5.3.1 Utilising the Public Order Act and/or the Crime and Disorder Act to Deal with the Activities of the Far-Right	371
5.3.1 (i) Norwood v Director of Public Prosecutions	373
5.3.1 (ii) Kendall v Director of Public Prosecutions	375
5.4 Using Part 3A of the Public Order Act 1986 to Challenge Religious Hatred	380
6. The Far-Right Movement and Anti-Terror Legislation	383
7. Constitutional Law: Treatment of Political Parties by National Law	387
7.1 Registration of Political Parties	387
7.1 (i) Case 1: BNP’s Membership Policy Amounting to Unlawful Discrimination	391
7.1 (ii) Case 2: Non-Adherence by the BNP to the Court Order?	393
7.2 Post-Registration Phase	396
7.2.1 The Electoral Process	396
Conclusion	397

<u>CHAPTER SEVEN: GREECE</u>	401
Introduction	401
1. Contextual and Definitional Framework	404
1.1 Overview of Greek Political and Legal System	404
1.2 Dictatorship – Regime of the Colonels	406
1.3 The Face of the Far-Right in Greece: General Overview	407
1.3.1 Golden Dawn	410
1.3.1 (i) Golden Dawn – Historical Development and Ideological Profile	410
1.3.1 (ii) Golden Dawn and Violence	417
1.3.1 (iii) Golden Dawn’s Electoral Development	420
1.3.1 (iv) Reasons for Golden Dawn’s Rise	422
1.3.1 (v) Golden Dawn’s Impunity: A Facilitating Factor of its Rise	425
1.3.1 (vi) The Murder of Pavlos Fyssas – The Turning Point	430
1.3.1 (vii) Golden Dawn’s Trial	432
1.3.2 The Far-Right in Greece: Concluding Comments	434

1.4 Definitional Framework	435
1.4.1 Racial and Religious Groups	435
1.4.2 Public Incitement of Violence and Hatred and Prohibition of Revisionism– A Substitute for Hate Speech?	436
1.4.3 Racial and Religious Aggravation and Hate Crime: Two in one	438
1.4.4 Discrimination and Harassment	438
1.4.5 Public Order	439
3. International and European Framework	440
4. National Legal Framework	444
4.1 Human Rights: Conceptual Backdrop	444
4.1.1 Freedom of Expression	445
4.1.2 Freedom of Association and Assembly	447
4.1.2 (i) Freedom of Association	447
4.1.2 (ii) Freedom of Assembly	452
4.1.3 Non-Discrimination	454
5. The Far-Right Movement and Criminal Law	457
5.1 Law 927/1979 – Anti-Racist Legislation	457
5.2 Aggravating, Sentencing and Hate Crimes	466
5.3 Advances, Amendments and Alterations in the Sphere of Criminal Law	469
5.4. Criminal Organisation – Prohibition of Establishment, Leadership and Participation	471
5.5. Terrorist Organisations: Core Difference	475
6. Constitutional Law: Treatment of Political Parties by National Law	476
6.1.1 Registration of Political Parties	476
6.1.2 The Post-Registration Phase	479
6.1.3 Political Parties – Concluding Comments	480
Conclusion	480
Conclusion	483
Bibliography	494