

# Memo

on the possible formation of a political group within the PACE named  
the New European Democrats / Europe of Nations and Freedom (NED/ENF)  
and its commitment to the promotion of the values of the Council of Europe

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## 1 Introduction

This memo was prepared in relation to the request of certain members of the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe for a confirmation by the Bureau of their formation of a political group in accordance with Rule 19 of the Rules of Procedure of the Assembly. The memo seeks to cast a light on whether the group fulfills the conditions of Rule 19 for the formation of political groups, namely the commitment to respect the promotion of the values of the Council of Europe.

## 2 The Rules of Procedure

### *Rule 19 - Political groups*

*19.1. Representatives and substitutes may form political groups. To be acknowledged by the Bureau, political groups shall commit themselves to respect the promotion of the values of the Council of Europe, notably political pluralism, human rights and the rule of law.*

[...]

## 2.1 The Values of the Council of Europe

*The Council of Europe advocates freedom of expression and of the media, freedom of assembly, **equality**, and **the protection of minorities**. It has launched campaigns on issues such as child protection, **online hate speech**, and the **rights of the Roma**, Europe's largest minority. The Council of Europe helps member states fight corruption and terrorism and undertake necessary judicial reforms. Its group of constitutional experts, known as the Venice Commission, offers legal advice to countries throughout the world.*

*The Council of Europe promotes human rights through international conventions, such as the Convention on Preventing and Combating Violence against Women and Domestic Violence and the Convention on Cybercrime. It monitors member states' progress in these areas and makes recommendations through independent expert monitoring bodies. Council of Europe member states no longer apply the death penalty.<sup>1</sup>*

In its Recommendation (97) 20, the Committee of Ministers **defines hate-speech** as

*“all forms of expression which spread, incite, promote or justify racial hatred, xenophobia, anti-Semitism or other forms of hatred based on intolerance, including: intolerance expressed by aggressive nationalism and ethnocentrism, discrimination and hostility against minorities, migrants and people of immigrant origin”.*<sup>2</sup>

## 2.2 The European Court of Human Rights on hate-speech

### 2.2.1 *Soulas and Others v. France - 10 July 2008*

“This case concerned criminal proceedings brought against the applicants, following the publication of a book entitled “The colonisation of Europe”, with the subtitle “Truthful remarks about immigration and Islam”. The proceedings resulted in their conviction for inciting hatred and violence against Muslim communities from northern and central Africa. The applicants complained in particular that their freedom of expression had been breached.

The Court held that there had been **no violation of Article 10** (freedom of expression) of the Convention. It noted, in particular, that, when convicting the applicants, the domestic courts had underlined that **the terms used in the book were intended to give rise in readers to a feeling of rejection and antagonism**, exacerbated by the use of military language, **with regard to the communities in question**, which were designated as the main enemy, and to lead the book's readers to share the solution recommended by the author, namely **a war of ethnic re-conquest**. Holding that the grounds put forward in support of the applicants' conviction had been sufficient and relevant, **it considered that the interference in the latter's right to freedom of expression had been necessary in a democratic society**. Finally, the Court observed that the disputed passages in the book were not sufficiently serious to justify the application of Article 17 (prohibition of abuse of rights) of the Convention in the applicants' case.”<sup>3</sup> [emphasis added]

### 2.2.2 *Le Pen v. France - 20 April 2010 (decision on the admissibility)*

“At the time of the facts, the applicant was president of the French “National Front” party. He alleged in particular that his conviction for incitement to discrimination, hatred and violence towards a group

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<sup>1</sup> <https://www.coe.int/en/web/about-us/values>

<sup>2</sup> <https://rm.coe.int/1680505d5b>

<sup>3</sup> [https://www.echr.coe.int/Documents/FS\\_Hate\\_speech\\_ENG.pdf](https://www.echr.coe.int/Documents/FS_Hate_speech_ENG.pdf)

of people because of their origin or their membership or nonmembership of a specific ethnic group, nation, race or religion, on account of statements he had made about Muslims in France in an interview with Le Monde daily newspaper – **he had asserted, among other things, that “the day there are no longer 5 million but 25 million Muslims in France, they will be in charge”** – had breached his right to freedom of expression.

The Court declared the application inadmissible (manifestly ill-founded). It observed that the applicant’s statements had been made in the context of a general debate on the problems linked to the settlement and integration of immigrants in their host countries. Moreover, the varying scale of the problems concerned, which could sometimes generate misunderstanding and incomprehension, required considerable latitude to be left to the State in assessing the need for interference with a person’s freedom of expression. In this case, however, **the applicant’s comments had certainly presented the Muslim community as a whole in a disturbing light likely to give rise to feelings of rejection and hostility. He had set the French on the one hand against a community whose religious convictions were explicitly mentioned and whose rapid growth was presented as an already latent threat to the dignity and security of the French people.** The reasons given by the domestic courts for convicting the applicant had thus been relevant and sufficient. Nor had the penalty imposed been disproportionate. **The Court therefore found that the interference with the applicant’s enjoyment of his right to freedom of expression had been necessary in a democratic society.**<sup>4</sup> [emphasis added]

### 3 Jaak Madison

#### 3.1 PACE session 22 January 2019

Mr. MADISON (Estonia) gave the following speech at the Assembly’s first session 2019, in Strasbourg:

*I would like to thank the rapporteur for a very informative and good overview. This topic is very important. In the coming decades I think it will become even more important, **because the number of Muslims in Europe, unfortunately, is growing.** What is particularly worrying is the fact, which was referred to on a number of occasions by the rapporteur, that three members of the Council of Europe – Turkey, Azerbaijan and Albania – have signed up to the Cairo Declaration. In many regards, the Cairo Declaration clashes with fundamental European values, for example on equality and on generally recognised human rights. The Cairo Declaration has also been signed by countries with partner status in the Council of Europe: Jordan, Kyrgyzstan, Morocco and Palestine. The question therefore arises: what values do those countries represent?*

*Sharia Law is incompatible with the values that this Organisation was set up to protect. It is worrying that Sharia-based justice has been established in Europe, where the number of Muslims has increased. It is incompatible with the fundamental human rights that we in Europe take for granted. It is also a security risk that we need to take seriously. **I say security risk, because I think we are seeing the emergence of parallel societies that contradict the values in Europe that have grown over time in what is a Christian cultural area.** The report should call on the countries I have just referred to, to decide what values they wish to uphold: those of the Cairo Declaration based on Sharia Law or human rights as defended by the Council of Europe. It is my*

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<sup>4</sup> [https://www.echr.coe.int/Documents/FS\\_Hate\\_speech\\_ENG.pdf](https://www.echr.coe.int/Documents/FS_Hate_speech_ENG.pdf)

clear view that those countries that wish to remain members of the Council of Europe have to revoke their signature of the Cairo Declaration.<sup>5</sup> [emphasis added]

Mr. Stienen objected to Mr. Madison's speech with these words:

*Nevertheless, I object to the approach taken by Mr Madison, who chose to imply that Muslims are a security threat and a threat to some sort of Christian culture and values. I object to the idea that any kind of religion guides Europe as a whole. I am agnostic myself, but a multitude of religious groups co-exist and believe in the fundamental values or norms of democracy, human rights and the rule of law in Europe. [emphasis added]*

These comments of Mr. Madison would without much doubt be classified as hate-speech considering the case-law of the European Court of Human Rights, as the comment is, to quote directly from the case of Le Pen vs. France from 2010: "[presenting] the Muslim community as a whole in a disturbing light likely to give rise to feelings of rejection and hostility. [...] set the French [in Madison's case, all non-Muslim Europeans] on the one hand against a community whose religious convictions were explicitly mentioned and whose rapid growth was presented as an already latent threat to the dignity and security of the French people [/Europe]. [...]". [emphasis added]

## 4 Martin Graf

The website of the Human Rights group "SOS mitmensch" describes Martin Graf as:

*Abgeordneter: Langjähriger Abgeordneter zum Nationalrat und ehemaliger Nationalratspräsident. Vorstand der FPÖ-Wien. Berüchtigte Burschenschaft: Graf ist Mitglied der berüchtigten schlagenden Burschenschaft Olympia Wien, die Holocaust-Leugner und Neonazisymphisanten zu sich einlud und vom Dokumentationsarchiv des österreichischen Widerstandes als rechtsextrem eingestuft wird. Hofiert die rechtsextreme "Aula": In einem Jubiläumsschreiben bezeichnet Graf das rechtsextreme und neonazinahe Magazin "Aula" als "Säule, die aus der leider zu kleinen national-freiheitlichen Medienlandschaft unseres Landes nicht wegzudenken ist". Hetze und Falschmeldungen: Graf ist Mitgründer einer Internetplattform, die immer wieder Hetze und Falschmeldungen verbreitet.*<sup>6</sup> [emphasis added]

### 4.1 Unzensuriert

Martin Graf is allegedly the **founder of,<sup>7</sup> and an honorary journalist for the online journal Unzensuriert**, as well as being very diligent in reposting articles of the journal on his social media profiles (Twitter and Facebook). There are attempts, however, to discount the link between Graf and the journal.<sup>8</sup>

**The journal has repeatedly been accused of fake news aimed at inciting hatred against immigrants.**<sup>9</sup>

<sup>5</sup> <http://assembly.coe.int/Documents/Records/2019/E/1901221530E.pdf>

<sup>6</sup> <https://www2.sosmitmensch.at/stoppen-sie-die-luegen-und-hetzkampagne-herr-vizekanzler>

<sup>7</sup> <http://www.autriche-matin.at/2018/09/26/facebook-censure-un-magazine-proche-du-fpo/>. See also source in footnote 5, stating that he is the founder of the Unzensuriert.

<sup>8</sup> <https://www.unzensuriert.at/content/0011347-eigener-Sache-Unzensuriert-und-Martin-Graf>

<sup>9</sup> <https://www.oe24.at/oesterreich/politik/Die-Wahrheit-ueber-unzensuriert-at/297203575>

It was **banned from Facebook in September 2018** for violating the site's terms and conditions,<sup>10</sup> but seems to have reemerged.<sup>11</sup>

An investigation into a conference in which the Unzensuriert participated in 2016, under the name "Defenders of Europe", led **the Federal Office for the Protection of the Constitution and the Fight against Terrorism**, to find the content of the medium to be in part **"extremely xenophobic and have anti-Semitic tendencies"**.<sup>12</sup>

#### 4.2 Olympia – fraternity

Martin Graf is allegedly **a member of a secret fraternity name Olympia**, which is said to have **Neo-Nazi tendencies**, welcoming anti-Semites and Holocaust-deniers.<sup>13</sup> Members of the fraternity, along with other **members of the extreme right, gather at an annual Viennese ball**, not open to the media.<sup>14</sup> One such ball was held on 24 February 2019, which Martin Graf attended, as well as Marine Le Pen and other known extreme right-wing politicians.<sup>15</sup>

*"We are decent democrats and we stand by our fatherland, our constitution, and... law and order," Strache exclaimed in his opening speech at the ball, a sky blue fez tilted on his forehead. His words highlighted the fraternities' uneasy marriage of liberalism and nationalism. "The scandalous situation outside on the streets shows clearly... where the true threats to democracy lie: in the out-of-control forces of so-called political correctness, the... prophecies of multi-culturalism, and the violent extreme left."*<sup>16</sup>

An article on Austria's alleged Neo-Nazi fraternities states:

*Most importantly, Austria's right-wing fraternities have gained disproportional political influence via the FPÖ. **Fraternity "old boys" make up 12 of the FPÖ's 34 MPs**, according to the daily Kurier, and hold key positions in the party. Notably, the FPÖ's designated president in the National Assembly, **Martin Graf, is a member of Olympia. He has repeatedly advocated the abolition of Austria's Verbotsgesetz, which punishes the denial or belittling of the Holocaust.** According to Schiedel, "fraternities provide the link between the party-based, right-wing populism of the FPÖ on the one hand, and (often organised) neo-Nazi groups on the other."<sup>17</sup> [emphasis added]*

#### 4.3 The FPÖ

Martin Graf is a member of **the Freedom Party of Austria, FPÖ**. The party **has long been connected with anti-Semitism**, the most famous incident perhaps being the removal of Johannes Hübner from

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<sup>10</sup> <https://derstandard.at/2000088123608/Facebook-sperrt-unzensuriertat-Wechsel-auf-russische-Plattform>

<sup>11</sup> <https://www.facebook.com/unzensuriert/>

<sup>12</sup> <https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Unzensuriert.at> and <https://www.land-oberoesterreich.gv.at/Mediendateien/LK/beilage-kongress.pdf>

<sup>13</sup> <https://www.falter.at/the-vienna-review/2012/austrias-nazi-frat-boys>. See also footnote number 6.

<sup>14</sup> See footnote number 13, as well as: <https://fr.myeurop.info/2012/01/28/la-derniere-verse-du-bal-viennois-de-l-extreme-droite-4422>

<sup>15</sup> See footnote number 13, as well as: <http://www.gauchemip.org/spip.php?article18090> and <https://www.facebook.com/FpoWienDonaustadt/posts/2663415790365596>. See also on Martin Graf's own Facebook page: <https://www.facebook.com/graf.martin.wien/posts/10157062940503524>

<sup>16</sup> <https://www.falter.at/the-vienna-review/2012/austrias-nazi-frat-boys>

<sup>17</sup> <https://www.falter.at/the-vienna-review/2012/austrias-nazi-frat-boys>

the party's list of candidates after making anti-Semitic jokes and comments at a right-wing gathering in 2017.<sup>18</sup> According to Wikipedia he still serves as the legal advisor of the party, despite the incident.<sup>19</sup>

**Other members of the party have also been caught for racist and anti-Semitic activities and comments** (see examples in the cited source).<sup>20</sup>

More on the anti-Semitic connections of the party:

*Even after Hübner's withdrawal, a basic problem regarding anti-Semitism within the FPÖ remains unsolved, according to Bernhard Weidinger, a political scientist and expert on fraternities at the Documentation Archive of the Austrian Resistance (DÖW): „Anti-Semitism was the twin brother of German nationalism,” says Weidinger, the hatred for Jews has accompanied the ideology of German nationalist fraternities „from the cradle.“*

*Since Heinz-Christian Strache took over the leadership of the FPÖ, the influence of such German nationalist fraternities has been „as big as never before.“ More than half of the FPÖ's federal party executive are members of such student unions; in the parliamentary club, too, the share of members of student fraternities is larger than during Jörg Haider's time.*

*But outside the fraternities, too, the demarcation of the FPÖ towards anti-Semitism has always been scruffy, according to Weidinger. The party maintains a close relationship with the magazine Aula, which „spreads explicit anti-Semitism in almost every issue,“ Weidinger said.<sup>21</sup> [emphasis added]*

The party has been active in **spreading hate-propaganda and false information about immigrants:**

*Die von der Regierung beschlossene Indexierung der Familienbeihilfe wird von einer beispiellosen Lügen- und Hetzkampagne der FPÖ begleitet, mitgetragen auch von Vizekanzler Heinz-Christian Strache. [emphasis added]*

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<sup>18</sup> <http://www.jewishnews.at/in-the-media/2017/7/28/fpmandatary-johannes-hbner-will-not-run-in-national-elections-after-anti-semitic-allusions>

<sup>19</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Johannes\\_H%C3%BCbner](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Johannes_H%C3%BCbner)

<sup>20</sup> <https://kurier.at/politik/inland/rechtsdraussen-fehltritte-die-fpoe-karrieren-beendeten/400120544>

<sup>21</sup> <http://www.jewishnews.at/in-the-media/2017/7/28/fpmandatary-johannes-hbner-will-not-run-in-national-elections-after-anti-semitic-allusions>



Bilder von dunkelhäutigen und kopftuchtragenden Frauen, die von den Freiheitlichen Arbeitnehmern und Strache auf Facebook gestreut werden, erwecken den irreführenden Eindruck, dass ein erheblicher Teil der indexierten Familienbeihilfe an Kinder in afrikanischen Ländern bzw. muslimische Kinder gehen würde.

Doch die Fakten sehen anders aus: 90 Prozent der Zahlungen für im Ausland lebende Kinder betreffen die Länder Ungarn, Slowakei, Polen, Rumänien, Slowenien und Tschechien. Für Kinder, die in Drittstaaten, also außerhalb des EU/EWR-Raums, leben, wird überhaupt keine Familienbeihilfe gezahlt.<sup>22</sup> [emphasis added]

Attempts of the party leader to wash it of its anti-Semite policies keep being thwarted by slips of party members (see examples in the cited source, if necessary).<sup>23</sup>

## 5 Paolo Grimoldi

Paolo Grimoldi is also engaged in fear-mongering against immigrants, depicting them as likely criminals and a threat to Italian/European societies. His post on Twitter (and Facebook) just a few days ago talks about 19 year old “Nigerian” asylum seekers dealing drugs outside schools and public gardens. The posts do not refer to any sources.<sup>24</sup>

<sup>22</sup> <https://www2.sosmitmensch.at/stoppen-sie-die-luegen-und-hetzkampagne-herr-vizekanzler>

<sup>23</sup> <https://derstandard.at/2000079346105/Antisemitismus-Die-FPOe-und-ihr-Versuch-einer-Laeuterung>

<sup>24</sup> <https://twitter.com/GrimoldiPaolo/status/1098892324300644354>



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Two more **recent posts (February 2019)** are **directed against Roma people, depicting them as criminals**. In one of the posts Grimoldi criticizes the authorities for releasing a Roma theft suspect because she was pregnant, and calls for a demolition of camps of Roma people.<sup>26</sup> In the other he complains about Roma people escaping punishment for pick-pocketing because of pregnancy, as well as claiming that people with various and serious sentences are walking free and staying in Roma camps in the city suburbs.<sup>27</sup>

### 5.1 La Lega

Paolo Grimoldi is a member of the political party La Lega. The party is known for its **radical anti-immigration policy**, which **promotes hatred and discrimination against immigrants**, especially from Africa, both Northern and Sub-Saharan.

## 6 Ulrich Oehme

Just a few days ago, Ulrich Öhme posted on his Facebook page **promoting prejudice and hatred towards immigrant children**, asking if Germans were becoming a minority in their own country. In the post he describes the proportion of “immigrant children” in German schools as a serious problem and the **immigrant children as a violent threat to “their German classmates”**.

<sup>25</sup> <https://twitter.com/GrimoldiPaolo/status/1098892324300644354> and on Facebook <https://www.facebook.com/grimoldi.paolo/photos/a.453524178057185/2086600378082882/>

<sup>26</sup> <https://www.facebook.com/grimoldi.paolo/posts/2071788179564102>

<sup>27</sup> <https://www.facebook.com/grimoldi.paolo/posts/2062228893853364>



Deutsche als Minderheit im eigenen Land?

Migrantenkinder überbelegen zunehmend unsere Schulen

Wie bei TAG 24 und „Morgenpost“ dieser Tage zu lesen, bilden Migrantenkinder an der 117. Grundschule "Ludwig Reichenbach" in Dresden 80 Prozent in den Schulklassen. Vater Jörg Meißner schickt seinen Sohn (Erstklässler) vorsorglich auf eine andere Schule. Die negativen Berliner Erfahrungen, wo Migrantenkinder ihre deutschen Mitschüler quälen, schlagen und erniedrigen, haben sich herumgesprochen.

Während unsere Bildungseinrichtungen ansonsten knapp bei Kasse sind, fehlt es der „Migrantenschule“ namens "Ludwig Reichenbach" scheinbar an nichts: Am 24. Januar 2019 wurden über drei Millionen Euro bewilligt, damit diese Schule auf Vordermann gebracht wird (auch ein Aufzug gehört dazu).

+++ brutale Ausländergewalt an Schulen +++

Zum Vergleich: Das meldete am 05.04. 2006 (!) der RBB (Rundfunk Brandenburg): „Die Waldenburg-Schule, eine Hauptschule mit 280 Schülern, 61 Prozent sind nichtdeutscher Herkunft, im Berlin Vergleich nicht einmal viel. Probleme mit Gewalt und mit Integration kennt man aber auch hier. Hanna, 8 Jahre, berichtet: „Ich war auf dem Remisenhof und hab Fangen gespielt und dann kamen Abdul, Emre Can und Amre glaube ich und dann haben die mir in den Bauch getreten.“<sup>28</sup> [emphasis added]

Ulrich Öhme **promotes prejudice against Muslims** in particular, generalizing about Islam, stating that it isn't in line with European human rights.<sup>29</sup>

## 6.1 AfD - Alternative für Deutschland

Far-right street violence broke out in Chemnitz in Germany in September 2018, leaving several people injured.

*The far-right demonstrators chanted: "We are the people", as well as the Nazi-era term "lügenpresse" (lying press). They displayed placards that read "stop the refugee flood" and "defend Europe", the latter adorned with an image of an automatic rifle.*

*Some carried banners or insignia of the far-right Alternative für Deutschland party (AfD) and neo-Nazi NPD parties and other extremist groups, while a handful delivered the illegal right-handed Hitler salute, said police.<sup>30</sup> [emphasis added]*

Ulrich Öhme is a member of the far-right political party **Alternative für Deutschland, AfD**. The party is described with the following words in another article in the Guardian on the racist riots in Chemnitz:

*Germany's far-right Alternative für Deutschland (AfD) party has done little to distance itself from these events. It excuses and trivialises extremism on the right while*

<sup>28</sup> <https://www.facebook.com/ulrich.oehme.official/photos/a.199981350358141/780010422355228/>

<sup>29</sup> <https://afdkompakt.de/2019/02/12/schleichende-einfuehrung-der-scharia-in-deutschland-unterbinden/>

<sup>30</sup> <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2018/aug/27/germany-xenophobic-riots-chemnitz-far-right-pegida>

exaggerating it on the left, seizing on criminal offences committed by migrants to confirm xenophobic prejudice.<sup>31</sup> [emphasis added]

**A campaign poster released in September 2018** depicts a group of happy teenagers, celebrating Islam-free schools.<sup>32</sup>



The AfD's policy for the upcoming European parliamentary elections (d. Europeawahlprogramm) reveals generalizations and prejudice towards Muslims and an outspoken rejection of the multicultural society:

*8.5 Islam – Gefahr für Europa*

*Europa ist wesentlich geprägt von der griechisch-römischen Antike, dem Judentum und Christentum, der Aufklärung und den Menschenrechten. Im Geiste von Freiheit, Rechtsstaat und Demokratie wollen wir dieses Europa für uns und unsere Nachkommen dauerhaft erhalten. Wir werden Europa gegen einen Islam verteidigen, der auf der Basis von Koran und Sunna mit den europäischen Grundprinzipien von Recht, Freiheit und Demokratie nicht vereinbar ist, einen Herrschaftsanspruch als alleingültige Religion erhebt und die Scharia durchsetzen will.*

*Der Islam trennt nicht zwischen Staat und Religion und ist damit auch eine politische Ideologie. Die Scharia regelt totalitär das gesamte Leben der Muslime und alle Bereiche der islamischen Gesellschaft. Religionsfreiheit ist dem Islam fremd.*

<sup>31</sup> <https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2018/sep/19/racist-rioting-chemnitz-germany-east-west-afd>

<sup>32</sup> The poster is available from various sources, e.g. [https://www.huffingtonpost.de/entry/afd-so-blamiert-sich-die-partei-mit-islamfreie-schulen-plakat\\_de\\_5b94bb5fe4b0511db3e316c3](https://www.huffingtonpost.de/entry/afd-so-blamiert-sich-die-partei-mit-islamfreie-schulen-plakat_de_5b94bb5fe4b0511db3e316c3)

Zahlreiche Koranverse fordern den Kampf gegen Nichtmuslime bis hin zur Tötung von Andersgläubigen. Freundschaft mit „Ungläubigen“ ist Muslimen laut Koran verboten. Die Geschlechter sind nicht gleichberechtigt, Frauen werden unterdrückt, und Homosexualität ist ein Verbrechen. Täuschung ist als Taqiyya erlaubt, wenn sie dem Islam nützt.

Die AfD erkennt die Glaubens-, Gewissens- und Bekenntnisfreiheit uneingeschränkt an. Sie fordert jedoch, konsequent die Menschenrechte gemäß der allgemeinen Menschenrechtserklärung der UN zu verteidigen. Insbesondere sind der Ausübung der Religionsfreiheit Grenzen zu setzen, sofern dadurch die Grundrechte anderer verletzt werden. Staatliches Recht muss in der säkularen Ordnung Europas über religiösen Geboten und Traditionen stehen. Eine Kritik am Islam muss vom Grundrecht auf freie Meinungsäußerung gedeckt sein.

Der imperialistische Islam, der seit dem frühen Mittelalter Teile Europas jahrhundertlang beherrscht hatte, expandiert seit über fünfzig Jahren in europäischen Staaten durch die Einwanderung von Muslimen und ihre höhere Geburtenrate.

**Nur eine Minderheit der Muslime ist säkular eingestellt und gesellschaftlich voll integriert. Die Integration der meisten Muslime in Europa scheidet derzeit und wird umso mehr fehlschlagen, je stärker ihre Zahl wächst.** In europäischen Großstädten haben sich muslimische Ghettos entwickelt, in denen Friedensrichter die Scharia praktizieren. **Das Konzept des Multikulturalismus hat sich als Illusion erwiesen.** Mit der Gefährdung des Friedens, unserer Rechts- und Werteordnung sowie unserer Kultur durch die Ausbreitung des Islams werden wir uns nicht abfinden. Wir wollen nicht in wenigen Jahrzehnten selbst zur Minderheit werden und unser freies und vielfältiges Europa an den Islam verlieren.<sup>33</sup> [emphasis added]

**Other members of the AfD** have also been caught for **anti-Semitic** remarks.

Party leader Alexander Gauland has said “Hitler and the Nazis were but a birdsh\*t in over a thousand years of Germany’s prolific history”, while in 2017 he remarked Germans “have the right to be proud of the contributions German soldiers made in both world wars.”<sup>34</sup> [emphasis added]

The youth section of the party, **JA (Young Alternative)**, has also faced serious allegations and an investigation from the authorities:

“the states of Lower Saxony and Bremen on Monday placed the youth wing of the AfD, the Junge Alternative – JA (Young Alternative) **under surveillance for its suspected unconstitutional activity.**

Boris Pistorius, Lower Saxony’s interior minister, who had pushed for the ban, said: “The Young Alternative **represents a world view in which minorities such as immigrants, asylum seekers and Muslims, political opponents and homosexuals are**

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<sup>33</sup> [https://www.afd.de/wp-content/uploads/sites/111/2019/02/AfD\\_Europawahlprogramm\\_A5-hoch\\_web.pdf?fbclid=IwAR1MaKhDEhY79OvgIzvQA712T2SdfbyR6IDfMxW0Aj6PYP\\_PJNDLjtcekc](https://www.afd.de/wp-content/uploads/sites/111/2019/02/AfD_Europawahlprogramm_A5-hoch_web.pdf?fbclid=IwAR1MaKhDEhY79OvgIzvQA712T2SdfbyR6IDfMxW0Aj6PYP_PJNDLjtcekc)

<sup>34</sup> <https://www.thejc.com/news/world/germany-s-far-right-afd-condemned-as-racist-and-antisemitic-as-it-launches-group-for-jewish-member-1.470621>

*flatly devalued and defamed,” he said, adding that the group was “repressive, authoritarian and anti-pluralist in its ambitions”.<sup>35</sup> [emphasis added]*

**Outspoken racism** and rejection of the multicultural society is also prevalent in the party’s official policy (d. **Grundsatzprogramm**):<sup>36</sup>

### 6.2 Mehr Kinder statt Masseneinwanderung

Den demografischen Fehlentwicklungen in Deutschland muss entgegengewirkt werden. Die volkswirtschaftlich nicht tragfähige und konflikträchtige Masseneinwanderung ist dafür kein geeignetes Mittel. Vielmehr muss mittels einer aktivierenden Familienpolitik eine höhere Geburtenrate der einheimischen Bevölkerung als mittel- und langfristig einzig tragfähige Lösung erreicht werden. [...]

### 7.2 Deutsche Leitkultur statt Multikulturalismus

Die Alternative für Deutschland bekennt sich zur deutschen Leitkultur, die sich im Wesentlichen aus drei Quellen speist: erstens der religiösen Überlieferung des Christentums, zweitens der wissenschaftlich-humanistischen Tradition, deren antike Wurzeln in Renaissance und Aufklärung erneuert wurden, und drittens dem römischen Recht, auf dem unser Rechtsstaat fußt. Gemeinsam liegen diese Traditionen nicht nur unserer freiheitlich-demokratischen Grundordnung zugrunde, sondern prägen auch den alltäglichen Umgang der Menschen miteinander, das Verhältnis der Geschlechter und das Verhalten der Eltern gegenüber ihren Kindern. Die Ideologie des Multikulturalismus, die importierte kulturelle Strömungen auf geschichtsblinde Weise der einheimischen Kultur gleichstellt und deren Werte damit zutiefst relativiert, betrachtet die AfD als ernste Bedrohung für den sozialen Frieden und für den Fortbestand der Nation als kulturelle Einheit. Ihr gegenüber müssen der Staat und die Zivilgesellschaft die deutsche kulturelle Identität als Leitkultur selbstbewusst verteidigen. [...]

### 9.3 Gesteuerte Einwanderung aus Drittstaaten

Wir setzen uns für eine maßvolle legale Einwanderung nach qualitativen Kriterien ein, soweit ein unabweisbarer Bedarf weder durch einheimische Potentiale noch durch Zuwanderung aus der EU gedeckt werden kann. Im Vordergrund stehen die Interessen Deutschlands als Sozialstaat, Wirtschafts- und Kulturnation. Für den Arbeitsmarkt qualifizierte Einwanderer mit hoher Integrationsbereitschaft sind uns willkommen. Die langjährigen Erfahrungen anderer westlicher Einwanderungsländer müssen wir uns zu Nutze machen. Davon strikt zu trennen ist die unregelte Asylzuwanderung, die dem Wirtschaftsstandort Deutschland nicht nutzt und der Gesellschaft schadet.<sup>37</sup> [emphasis added]

“While Anti-Semitism remains prevalent inside the AfD,<sup>38</sup> it is camouflaged by a pretended pro-Israel policy that aligns the neo-fascist AfD with Bibi Netanyahu’s arch conservatism.”<sup>39</sup>

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<sup>35</sup> <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2018/sep/04/chemnitz-riots-spark-calls-for-afd-to-be-put-under-surveillance-neo-nazi>

<sup>36</sup> [https://www.afd.de/wp-content/uploads/sites/111/2018/01/Programm\\_AfD\\_Online-PDF\\_150616.pdf](https://www.afd.de/wp-content/uploads/sites/111/2018/01/Programm_AfD_Online-PDF_150616.pdf)

<sup>37</sup> [https://www.afd.de/wp-content/uploads/sites/111/2018/01/Programm\\_AfD\\_Online-PDF\\_150616.pdf](https://www.afd.de/wp-content/uploads/sites/111/2018/01/Programm_AfD_Online-PDF_150616.pdf)

<sup>38</sup> <https://www.tikkun.org/newsite/inside-germanys-new-crypto-nazi-party-an-afd-dissidents-report>

<sup>39</sup> <https://countercurrents.org/2018/11/03/germanys-fascism-for-the-21st-century/>