

ULTRA-RIGHT CONFRONTATION AND VIOLENCE IN UKRAINE

monitoring results
14.10.2018 — 14.10.2019



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INTRODUCTION

The activities of the Ukrainian far-rights are hard to miss. In recent years, among the targets of their violence were various groups of people: journalists, participants of peaceful gatherings on specific topics, such as anti-fascist, feminist & LGBT+ gatherings, participants of social protest-, opposition- and election-themed meetings. They also targeted some citizens with “wrong”, as to right-wing radicals, views. Police, meanwhile, has not been acting upon these cases, and is sometimes even benevolent to violators.

Nevertheless, the Minister of the Interior Arsen Avakov was able to stay in his chair during the change of government in Ukraine. Moreover, during his term, a partial integration of some radical right-wing groups into the country’s security agencies has been happening, as well as active cooperation between these groups and the Ministry of Interior. In particular, Avakov is associated with the activities of the National Retinues (Natsional’ni druzhyny). The minister himself accused the Security Service of Ukraine (SSU) of allying with C14, another far-right group.

On the one hand, it appears that the new Ukrainian authorities are trying to come to an agreement with the radicals — the president Zelensky’s meeting with veterans, which was also attended by the C14 and Azov leaders, is quite illustrative of that. On the other hand, it seems that the authorities do not understand very well the ‘features’ of the community they are trying to negotiate with. One may recall the incident with Prime Minister Oleksiy Honcharuk paying a visit to a veteran get-together, where the neo-Nazi band Sokyra Peruna performed music.

It is important to keep in mind that the street activities of far-right groups and organizations, which often take on forms of violence or confrontation, form the background of these events, as was the case during the previous government.

With the support of Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung in Ukraine, since October 14, 2018 the Institut Respublika NGO has been collecting and structuring data on street violence and confrontation committed by far-right oriented groups, parties, organizations and citizens. The database is created on the basis of daily monitoring of news published on national, regional and activist websites and social networks. This data allowed to assess the magnitude of the problem, track current trends, point out the most prominent far-right actors, and figure out which groups of people most often appear to be victims of ultra-right street violence.

The collected data also underlines the fact that the civil society does not form, with few exceptions, any demands to the Ministry of Internal Affairs to investigate far-right violence. For example, on September 27, 2019, an activist action *Who is the following Handziuk?* was held. The participants demanded to find and punish the perpetrators of the attacks on the activists. Gazeta.ua’s article of September 28, 2019 states that during the similar action last year activists made a list of cases that they demanded to be investigated. However, there were no cases featuring attacks by far-rights on LGBT+, left or feminist activists listed.

DESCRIPTION OF THE METHODOLOGY

The purpose of this monitoring project is to study in detail the activities of far-right groups in Ukraine and to investigate the causes and possible consequences of these activities. The project aims to collect and structure data on street violence and confrontation by far-right groups, parties, organizations, citizens with right-wing views, as well as on hate crimes.

The final outcome of the project is to create a database of cases of far-right violence and confrontation in Ukraine.

The main method of collecting data is daily monitoring of news on national, macro-regional, local and activist websites and social networks.

The results obtained through the monitoring reflect only the part of the far-right street violence that is covered in the monitoring sources. However, the data is collected systematically and therefore allows to:

- evaluate the extent of the problem;
- figure out the trends in far-right groups' activities;
- track the dynamics of confrontations and street violence committed by right-wing radicals;
- identify the most prominent actors among organized far-rights;
- figure out which groups of people appear most often to be among victims of right-wing street violence.

BASIC CONCEPTS:

Confrontation is a protest activity that puts direct pressure on subjects of disagreement but does not aim directly at harming people or property. Confrontation acts include: blockage, jostling, seizing one's premises, interrupting an event (without resort to physical violence).

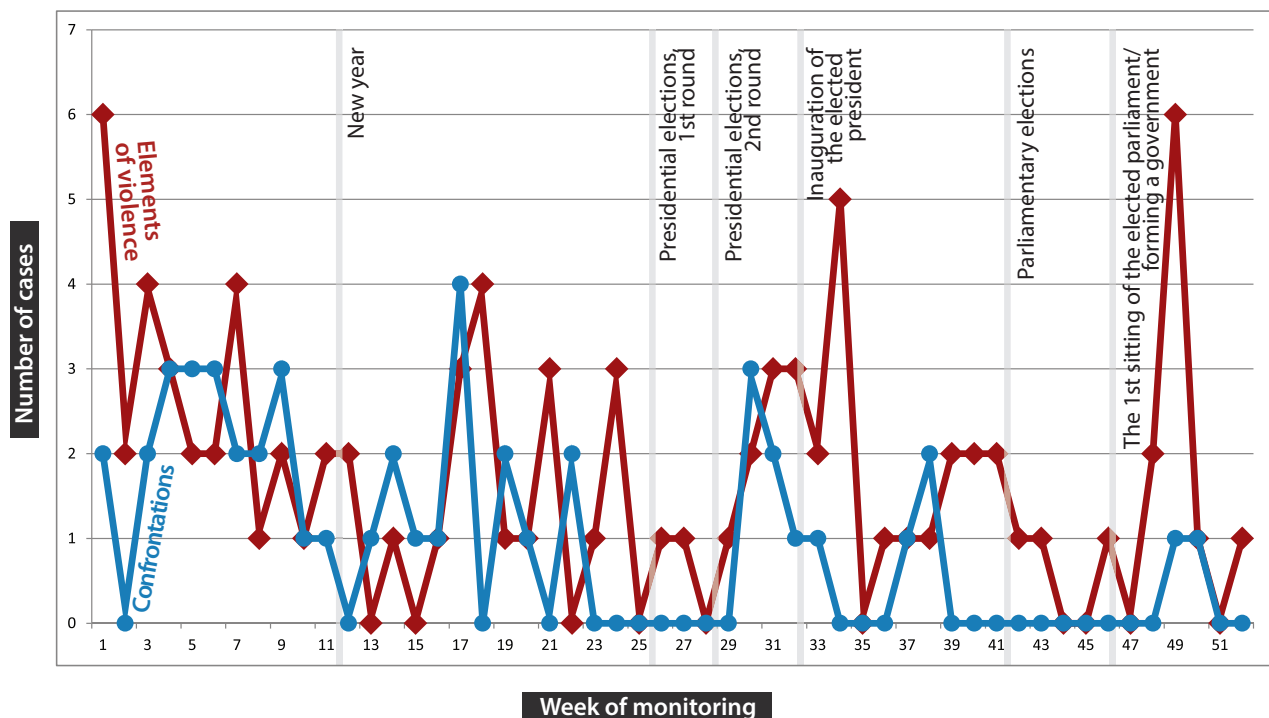
Violence is a protest activity during which actions are taken to cause direct harm to people or property. Violent acts include: attacks, battery, destroying or causing damage to property, fighting, shooting, murdering, vandalism.

Ultra-right/far-right — political organisations, groups or personalities carrying views that imply possibility of using violence in order to keep or deepen the discrimination by gender, race, ethnicity, religious beliefs, citizenship or sexual orientation.

OVERALL MONITORING RESULTS

For the time period October 14, 2018 — October 14, 2019, the monitoring identified **137 cases of confrontation or violence** by far-right groups, 48 of which were confrontational, 89 included elements of violence against property or people.

Dynamics of ultra-right confrontation and violence

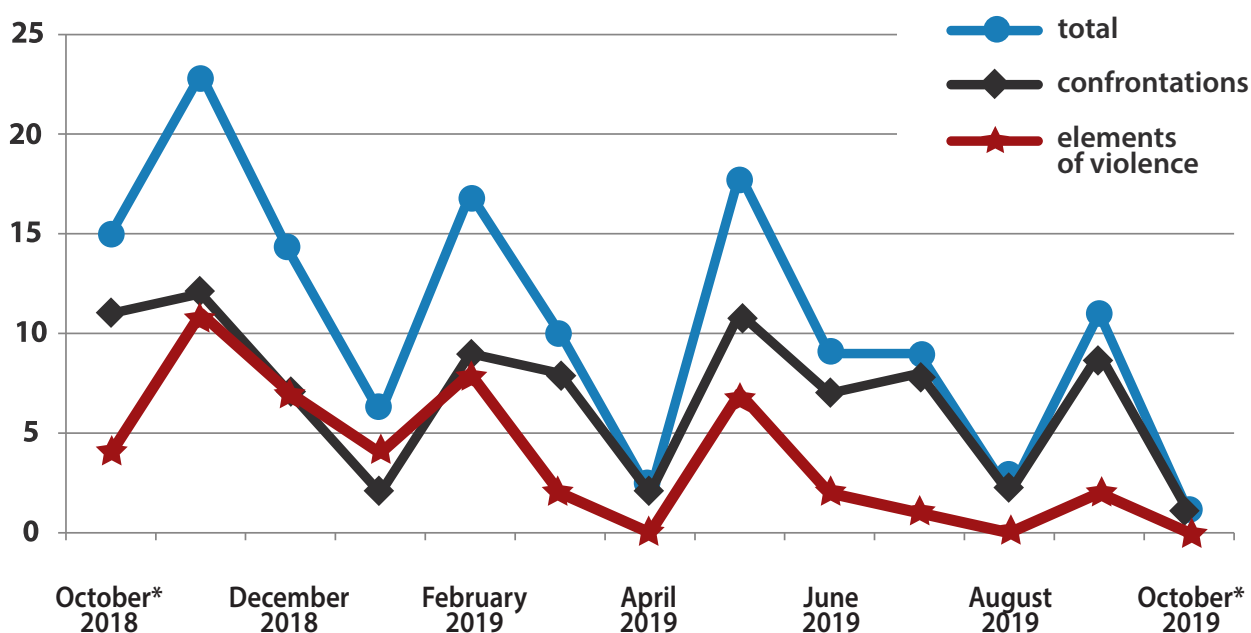


Most cases of violence and confrontation — 23 — date back to **November 2018**, of which 11 were confrontational and 12 were violent. November was the peak month of the C14 group's activity, which was involved in 15 out of 23 cases. Among these are: attacks on opposition politicians and LGBT+ community members, violent protests over Kateryna Gandziuk's death, violence and confrontation against businesses accused by the group of sparing funds to separatism or lack of patriotism, and the like. Since November, C14's activity has somewhat declined, probably as a result of the attempts to change the image of the organization to a more "respectable" one. By the number of cases, on the second and third places are **February and May 2019**, during which almost the same number of cases of violence and confrontation occurred, with 17 in February (8 confrontational and 9 with elements of violence) and 18 in May (7 confrontational and 11 with elements of violence).

In February, confrontation and violence of far-rights mainly revolved around election campaigns, religion and contemporary art (they attempted to censor it). In May, right-wingers attacked the parades on celebration of May 1st and 9th, as well as several events on LGBT+ rights (in Zaporizhia, Chernivtsi and Kryvyi Rih).

The 'calmest' months of the monitoring were April and August 2019, during which only two cases were recorded - both with elements of violence. Obviously, the decline in far-right street activism was due to the end of elections and the change of government. Probably the radicals were trying to reorient themselves in the new political reality.

Dynamics of the number of cases of violence



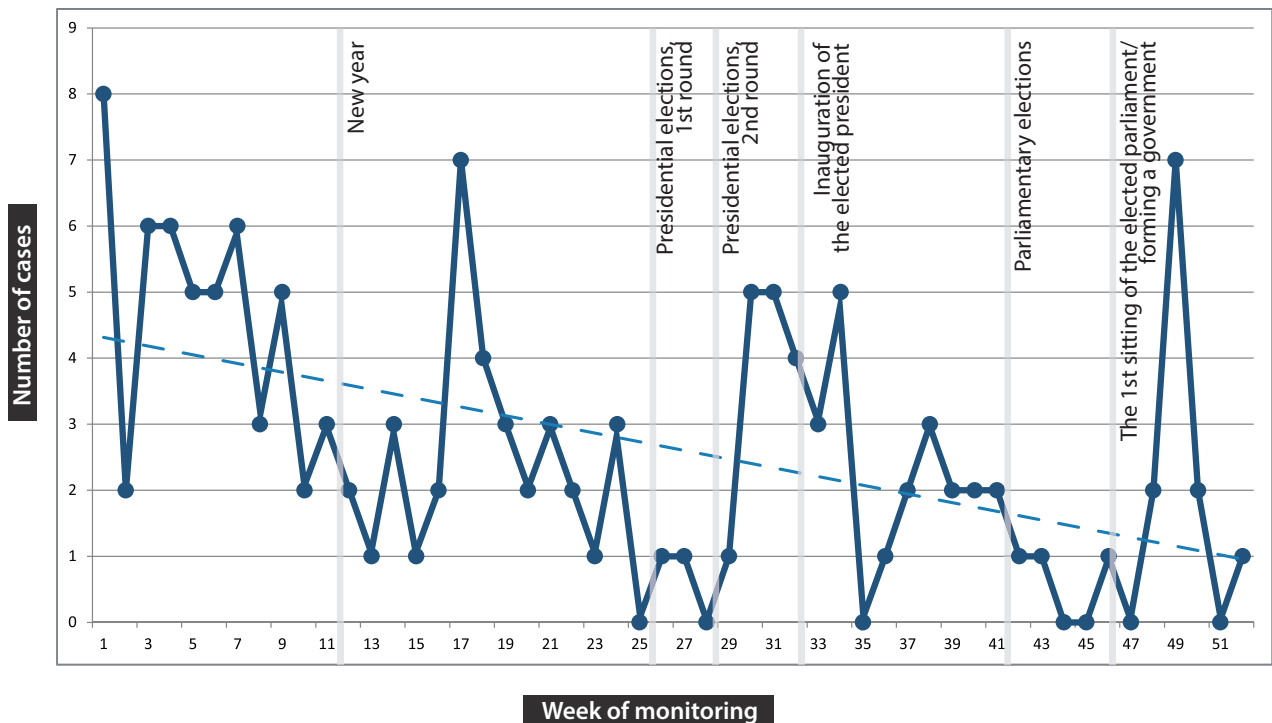
*observation for half a month

There has been no monitoring month in the monitoring year with no cases being reported, and there were only ten weeks free of such cases. On average, one episode of confrontation and two violent attacks by far-rights were recorded each week.

Peak weeks for far-right violence were the following: 2018, October, 14–20 (6 cases of violence), 2019, September, 15–21 (6 cases) and 2019, June 2–8 (5 cases). In October 2018, the peak was mainly featuring attacks on opposition politicians, in June 2019 – revolved around the events around the Zhukov Monument in Kharkiv (also there were attacks on businesses, medical and cultural institutions). During the peak week in September 2019, far-rights turned up at the events held by the

LGBT+ community in Kharkiv and the events by Holocaust memorials. A certain (perhaps temporary) tendency of decrease in the amount of far-right street violence in Ukraine is explained by both political changes, to which right-wingers did not know how to react, and a gradual decrease in C14 street activity, whose members were most prominent perpetrators of street violence.

Dynamics of ultra-right confrontation and violence



Cases of far-right violence and confrontation were most numerous in **Kyiv** (53 cases), followed by **Kharkiv** (18), **Lviv** (11), **Odesa** (8), **Dnipro** (7), **Kherson** (4), **Kryvyi Rih** (4), **Kremenchuk** (3), **Zhytomyr** (3), **Zaporizhia** (3). Two episodes of violence/confrontation were recorded in each, Cherkasy, Ivano-Frankivs'k and Rivne. One such case occurred in each of the following places: Berdyans'k, Chernihiv, Chernivtsi, Kramators'k, Kreminna, Luts'k, Mykolayiv, Pereyaslav-Khmelnyts'kyi, Poltava, Uzhgorod, Vinnytsia, Yagotyn, the village of Bohdanivka (Mykolayiv region), Golovanivs'k (Kirovohrad region), the village of Novi Borovychi (Chernihiv region), Shyroke (Dnipropetrovsk region).

Geography of the ultra-right confrontation and violence



The most prominent of far-right actors of confrontation and violence in 2018-2019 were C14 and the National Corps (Natsional'nyy korpus).






C14: 40 cases reported, including 25 violent attacks, 10 of which featured violence against people.

National Corps: 30 cases reported, 21 – violent, of which 15 – violence against people.

Those, in descending order, are followed by Tradition and Order (Tradytiya i poryadok), Unknown Patriot (Nevidomyy patriot), Freikor, National Retinues, Brotherhood (Bratstvo), Azov, Katehon, Sokil, Svitanok, The Autonomous National Socialist Society and Carpathian Sich (Karpats'ka sich).



Most prominent far-right actors

	 C14	 National Corps	 Tradition and Order	 Unknown Patriot	 Freikorps
cases recorded	40	30	11	6	6
among them violent	25	21	8	3	5
violence against people	10	15	8	2	4

Also among identified are National Retinues, Brotherhood (5 each), Azov, Katehon, Sokil, Svitanok (4 each), The Autonomous National Socialist Society (3 each), and Carpathian Sich (2)

Only in about a third of cases, violence was directed against property (32 cases), while in most cases (57) **violence was directed against people**, and has led to **injuries** in at least 46 cases.



During the monitoring period, violent actions of the far-rights were directed, in particular, against: feminist / LGBT+ activists (14 cases), representatives and supporters of politicians and political parties (13), representatives of state institutions / power structures (12), journalists (4), businesses (4), artists (3), ethnic minorities / migrants (2).

Victims of violence

feminist or
LGBT+ activists

14



politics or
political parties

13



state
institutions

12



journalists
or mass media

4



business

4



artists

3



ethnic
minorities

2



Objects of violence

9



companies
and small
businesses

7



Soviet
monuments

5



offices of
politics
and parties

2



Russian
embassies

2



churches

2



state
institutions

2



Holocaust
memorials

2



Romany property

1



lawyer's
property

1



art exhibitions

Far-right violence against property (not accompanied by violence against people) included attacks on: companies and small businesses (9 cases), Soviet monuments (7), offices of politicians and political parties (5), Holocaust memorials (2), Russian embassies (2), churches (2), state institutions (2), Roma property (2), art exhibitions (1) and lawyer property (1).



During the monitoring period, some of **the confrontational street actions of the far-rights** (without the elements of violence) were directed against political parties or politicians (11 cases), business (5), state institutions / law enforcement agencies (7), feminist or LGBT+ activists (6), journalists or media (3), artists / art exhibitions (3), religious institutions (2), medical institutions (2), ethnic minorities / migrants (1).

Objects of confrontations

politics or
political parties

11



state
institutions

7



feminist or
LGBT+ activists

6



business

5



art
exhibitions

3



journalists
or mass media

3



religious
institutions

2



healthcare
institutions

2



ethnic
minorities

1



THE MAIN GROUPS OF VICTIMS OF FAR-RIGHT VIOLENCE IN UKRAINE

LGBT+ AND FEMINISTS

Most often, LGBT+ people and the feminist movement members turned out to be victims of far-right violence.

August 29, 2019 in Kyiv during events commemorating the tragedy in Ilovaysk back in 2014, a combatant attacked Viktor Pylypenko who is a veteran of the Donbas battalion and also is openly gay and an LGBT+ activist (he participated in the March for Equality). The victim filed a case against the attacker and, to the best of our knowledge, a court case (hate crime through sexual orientation) was started. The situation was of interest to the UN Monitoring Mission, which called such an act of violence unacceptable.

A similar case occurred a month later when a veteran Vasyl Davydenko was attacked on **September 28, 2019 in Kyiv**. On Saturday evening, on the way home, he was tracked and trapped by five men, who committed a group beating, while shouting: "Did you think we will fail to find where you live, faggot?". The victim subsequently filed a police report, after which a criminal case was issued about assault on the ground of hatred through sexual orientation. It is worth underlining that court cases which qualify as such are extremely rare in Ukraine - because of the unwillingness of law enforcement officers to use this legal article. Also the victims of such crimes are often afraid to use legal aid. Both of the aforementioned cases were widely publicized, and that is, perhaps, why these were officially qualified as homophobic hate crimes.



Most of the other attacks on LGBT+ activists revolved around the events dedicated to claiming the rights of such communities. **On November 18, 2018 in Kyiv** C14, Tradition and Order, Right Sector, Brotherhood, National Corps, Carpathian Sich and Katehon attacked the march attended by about fifty demonstrators during the Transgender day of Remembrance. Right-wingers arrived at the venue of the march and began shouting homophobic and transphobic slogans and throwing smoke bombs at the participants. At the same time, the police did not hold back the attackers, but instead forced the participants to change the venue of the march, and later they pushed the participants into the subway altogether. During the clashes at least five people were injured, including journalists.

On March 8, 2019 in Kyiv Tradition and Order, Sokil, Brotherhood and Katehon organized a protest against the feminist march by the monument to Saint Olha of Kyiv. Right-wingers started pushing participants to the side, whilst breaking their banners and throwing at them pyrotechnic products. Reacting to this, police arrested three assailants who instigated this, and took them to the police station for explanations. Three more right-wingers were blocked from action by the police.

On April 11, 2019 in Kyiv Brotherhood, Katehon, St. Olga's Sisterhood and Tradition and Order sought to disrupt the European Lesbian Conference. The far-rights used tear gas, filling the entrance to the room with it. Some of the attackers were beaten. During the attack 10 people were injured.

On May 15, 2019 in Zaporizhia C14 and National Corps attacked the participants of the action One Hundred Steps of Pride held by the LGBT+ community and poured on them *zelenka* (brilliant green Soviet antiseptic, which is difficult to wash away). The action was dedicated to the anniversary of the exclusion of homosexuality from the International Classification of Diseases in 1990. After initial threats to the organizers of the action came in, nearly fifty security guards were allocated to protect the action. However, at the last moment the organizers had to relocate the event to another venue. Nevertheless, neither this, nor the presence of diplomats or representatives of international organizations did not prove to guarantee full security — *zelenka* was poured on several participants of the action.

On May 17, 2019 in Chernivtsi Katehon vigilantes poured tear gas onto action in support LGBT+ rights participants. Police have detained two far-rights for misdemeanor.

On June 19, 2019 in Kyiv four men attacked a visitor of a movie screening during the KyivPride week at the cultural initiatives platform Izolyatsia. Several visitors, including minors, were poured tear gas upon and kicked.

There were also clashes at the very KyivPride (took place **in Kyiv on June 23, 2019**). The people unhappy with it made a throng. After the march, someone attacked Serhiy Morzhov, a student from Mariupol and a volunteer of Platforma TU. He and several others were tracked by a group of rights after the march and attacked by them near the Chernihivs'ka subway station. Four men, right-wingers, sprayed tear gas around. When Serhiy fell, they kicked him, tore his T-shirt and took it as a trophy.

KharkivPride, which took place **in Kharkiv on September 15, 2019**, was also accompanied by the outbreak of violence against the LGBT+ community. **On September 12**, Freikor, Tradition and Order and the Right Sector attacked a lecture on tolerance held at the Kharkiv Literary Museum. They poured *zelenka* on the participants, two people were injured. On the march on September 15, among the opponents of the event, Freikor, Tradition and Order and Brotherhood were present. On that day, at least seven participants, including minors, and two police officers were injured by the far-rights. 17 assailants were arrested, three of them were detained.



ETHNIC MINORITIES, MIGRANTS, ANTI-SEMITISM

In addition to the 'traditional' confrontation and violence against LGBT+ people, far-rights did not do without other 'traditional victims'. During the year, monitoring recorded a series of attacks grounded in racial and ethnic hatred and anti-Semitism.

On October 23, 2018 in Kyiv C14 together with the police and the Kyiv Municipal Guards (Munitsypal'na varta) conducted evictions of Roma people from their temporary residence near the central railway station.

On March 25, 2019 in Ivano-Frankivs'k "more than a dozen unidentified young people dressed in dark clothing", allegedly far-right, attacked a Roma temporary residence, threw bottles with flammable mixture into their housing and immediately fled. According to Andriy Filippsky, a journalist for the local magazine Reporter, the attack on the camp probably occurred as a consequence of a report on the lives of Roma in the camp in the newspaper. The victims refused to file a report.

On May 27, 2019 in Kyiv members of the Unknown Patriot group disrupted an event dedicated to discussion of the cases of hostility against Roma people, organized by the Chiricli foundation at the Ukrainian Crisis Mediacenter. A right-winger named Maksym Yarosh laid out knives, an ax, an awl and two bottles of whiskey on the floor of the press center - these things he allegedly took from the Roma at the event. Later police arrived at the press center, but the hall administrator had already announced the cessation of the event.

In September 2019 in Zaporizhia residents of an apartment building set on fire the door of the hairdresser shop that belonged to a single mother of Roma origin. The conflict with the neighbors started some time before, they would swear that "This is not the place for Gypsies", "Gypsies are filthy", they would dump garbage under the hairdresser shop's door.

On October 30, 2018 in Uzhhorod Carpathian Sich and United by War (Ob'yednani viynoyu) have attacked a small business held by a migrant due to they had a conflict with him in the past. On their social media, when justifying the attack, the vigilantes used xenophobic anti-immigrant rhetoric, proclaiming their dedication to "combating crimes committed by migrant Muslims" and by "foreigners with hostile sentiments" who "come to our lands, conduct illegal businesses, sell drugs, open brothels, attack and kill Ukrainians".

In September, in the village of Bohdanivka, Mykolaiv region far-rights desecrated the Holocaust memorial. The incident happened at a place where before was a concentration camp, where 54.000 Jews were killed. Swastikas were drawn on the monument. They also attached a 'message' from them to President Volodymyr Zelensky, politician Yevhen Chervonenko and director of the Ukrainian Jewish Committee Eduard Dolyns'ky. "Come to your senses, zhydy (derogatory for jews), stop this, if you keep on selling out Ukrainian land, this will quickly bring you back to the Holocaust," the message said. Police have opened a case for defacing the monument to victims of Nazi persecution and for inciting ethnic hatred.

In September in Holovanivs'k, Kirovohrad region, a memorial complex to the victims of the Holocaust was also desecrated. Swastikas and anti-Semitic slogans were depicted on the memorial erected on the site of the execution by the Nazis of more than nine hundred Jews during

World War II. Security Service of Ukraine, together with the National Police, have identified the vandal, who appeared to be a resident of Kyiv. The perpetrator was reported to be suspected of committing the crimes under part 1 of art. 161 (intentional acts aimed at inciting national, racial or religious enmity and hatred, humiliation of national honor and dignity) and part 3 of art. 297 (grave or other burial place abuse) of the Criminal Code of Ukraine.



Memorial in Holovanivs'k. Credit: facebook.com/graty.me

POLITICAL CONFRONTATION

Much of the street confrontation and violence has been directed against politicians or political parties, in particular in the context of election campaigns.

For example, **on October 20, 2018 in Dnipro** National Corps disrupted the meeting of the political party Rozumna syla.

In November 2018, in Zhytomyr, the billboard of the party Nashi led by Yevheniy Murayev was ruined, probably, by C14.

In November 2018, in Odesa, the car of the deputy of the regional council from the Opposition Bloc, Viktor Baransky, was painted upon by, probably, the same group.

On December 12, 2018 in Kyiv unknown people, possibly far-rights, ruined the office of the party Rozumna syla. About 15 people in masks and camouflage broke into the office, destroyed furniture, have beaten people in the room. At least two people were seriously injured during the attack.

Probably **on December 30, 2018, in Kremenchuk**, C14 attacked the reception room of the Opposition Bloc. They broke the signboard and painted on the walls.

On January 4, 2019, in Zhytomyr C14 destroyed the office of the Communist Party of Ukraine.

On February 1, 2019 in Berdyans'k representatives of the National Corps tried to disrupt the meeting with voters of the presidential candidate Oleksandr Vilkul (Opposition Bloc) and poured *zelenka* on him, while accusing him of pro-Russian views. As a result of the attack, the politician got scorch on his eyes. On the same day, members of the Azov civil corps blocked the premises where the meeting with Vilkul was to take place in the town of Mangush in Donetsk region.

On February 7, 2019 in Cherkasy most likely, the members of the National Corps have cut down a billboard with the election advertisement of Vilkul. The footage of the action was published on social media accounts of the National Corps.

On February 21, 2019 in Dnipro members of C14 disrupted the election commission meeting. They protested against the appointment of the commission chairman, whom they accused of separatism.

On June 30, 2019 in Kramators'k near the building of the district administrative court wheat flour was thrown by far-rights at Anastasia Petrenko, an election candidate.

On July 6, 2019 in Lviv the National Corps dispersed an action in support of Anatoly Shariy. Several supporters of the scandalous blogger and candidate to MPs tried to hold a rally near the Opera House. Immediately after the launch of the rally, supporters of the candidate were approached by representatives of the National Corps. They took away the red balloons from the participants of the action and destroyed them. After that, a verbal altercation and small fights took place. Law enforcement officers, who were also present at the square in front of the Opera House, settled the quarrel.

In July 2019, in Odesa the Right Sector allegedly attacked Gennady Chekita, the election candidate, and poured *zelenka* at him and at several other people. They also painted on the walls of the candidate's office space.

On July 10, 2019 in Kharkiv, allegedly, Freikor attacked Dmitro Svyatash, the candidate to MPs from the Opposition Platform. Several dozen attackers used tear gas and have beaten up the



candidate. This resulted in burns on his hands, and other injuries.

Not only members of political parties, who were accused by the rights of 'pro-Russian' views, were affected by the actions of the far-rights.

On February 9, 2019 in Kyiv far-rights from C14, Tradition and Order and Unknown Patriot, together with public activists, picketed the conference of the presidential candidate Yulia Tymoshenko, demanding to punish those responsible for the murder of Kateryna Handziuk. Due to the use of masks by the far-rights and possession of gas sprays, found during the inspection of protesters' belongings, police detained them and brought more than a dozen of them to the police station. A detailed search at the police station also revealed that they had knives and traumatic guns. According to the police, a group of far-rights, armed with gas sprays, knuckles, knives and handguns, later came to the office and tried to seize it. As a result, several dozen far-rights were detained. At least seven people were injured during the fight, including three police officers. Three court cases were opened for assaulting a police station, and one case for a police officer for exceeding his authority. To the best of our knowledge, all the far-right attackers were later released, and some time later four of them were declared wanted by the police.

Violence and confrontation by far-rights during the electoral campaign were directed not only against opposition candidates.

For example, **on March 9, 2019, in Kyiv and Cherkasy**, the National Corps and National Retinues ignited fights with the police, trying to disrupt the meetings organized by the presidential candidate Petro Poroshenko. In Cherkasy, members of the National Corps came to the President's speech near the Palace of Friendship of Peoples and tried to get up on stage, but were prevented by police. The right-wingers tried to break through the police line, they lit road flares and one of the protesters climbed up a police

car. During the fight, 22 law enforcement officers were injured, and police detained two of the most active far-rights, who were suspected of organizing the clashes.

In Kyiv National Corps and National Retinues held a protest near the Presidential Administration building and tried to break the police line. As a result, three policemen were injured.

On March 16, 2019, the National Corps tried to disrupt the meeting with voters held by Poroshenko in Poltava. Right-wingers ignited a fight with police before the rally, which left one person dead. 10 far-rights were arrested.

On March 19, 2019, National Corps and National Retinues tried to interfere with Poroshenko's meetings with voters in Ivano-Frankivs'k. As a result, a fight with police broke out, during which one person was injured.

On May 14, 2019, after the presidential election, clashes took place in Kyiv by the Constitutional Court. Svoboda and National Corps who accused Poroshenko of corruption, fought on the one side, and on the other side fought Poroshenko's supporters. The confrontation was promptly stopped by law enforcement officers, separating one camp from another with the line of the National Guards and the National Police.

Right after the parliamentary elections took place **in Kyiv on July 25, 2019** a group of people blocked Petro Poroshenko's car under the building of the State Bureau of Investigation. One of the attackers climbed onto the hood, and a fight broke out with the guards of the former president. As a result of the attack, court cases were opened under the article Hooliganism. One of the attackers, Mykyta Makeyev, was a veteran of the Azov battalion. He mentioned that in a video message posted on his Facebook page.

CENSORSHIP AND PRESSURE ON THE FREEDOM OF SPEECH

During the year, the monitoring also identified cases, including, inter alia, confrontation and violence, where far-rights tried to censor art.

On January 23, 2019 in Kyiv, C14 lads came to the National Academy of Arts in Kyiv, demanding to expel Spartak Khachanov from the university, and accused him of desecration of the Ukrainian army and separatism. The reason for the confrontation was the graduation exhibition of the student, themed as anti-militarist. The student chose to stay locked up so as not to become a victim of violence. Due to pressure and threats, Spartak Khachanov left the country.

On February 17, 2019 in Kyiv, portraits of Taras Shevchenko by Alexander Grekhov, placed at the Taras Shevchenko metro station within the Quantum Leap Shevchenko exhibition, were cut with a knife by Yuriy Pavlenko aka Hort of the Social-Nationalist Assembly. He explained his act by saying that the artist's works allegedly "offended his national feelings". Later, reports stated that the same exhibition in Lviv and Zhytomyr was canceled due to pressure and threats from far-rights.

In particular, **in Lviv**, the exhibition was to be hosted by the Book Lion bookstore, however the bookstore owner Kateryna Ivanova started receiving threats through social networks, and later far-rights visited the shop. Kateryna Ivanova noted that her bookstore was in such a situation where "it does nothing illegal and has no tools to protect itself". **In Vinnytsia**, the exhibition was to be shown in the Museum of Local History. The museum employees decided to postpone the exhibition indefinitely to avoid potential danger to the exposition and visitors.

In Zhytomyr, the regional council canceled a street exhibition, in which portraits of Shevchenko were to appear on city lights by bus stops all over the city. A group of people came to the chair of the regional department of culture and tourism Tetiana Parfentieva, as well as to the chair of the regional council, and demanded to cancel the exhibition. According to Tetiana Parfentieva, she often sees these people in the city, and, in particular, coming to the regional council. "They often solve their problems simply by knocking down doors," she says. 'The visitors' ripped off the posters advertising the exhibition, which were plastered in the building of local administration and department of culture.

On May 18, 2019 in Kyiv, approximately 60 far-right fans of the Dynamo football club attacked the contemporary culture Strichka Festival 2019, which took place in the Closer club. They have beaten people up, pushed them, threw chairs and stones at them, "shouted out loud something about Dynamo and Rudolf Hess" (one of the leaders of the Third Reich). The same day, another group of 30 vigilantes attacked the visitors of the No-Wave Dementia performance at the Coschey Local DIY bar in Kyiv. Most of them managed to get locked inside the club, but one visitor was sprayed upon with tear gas, beaten up, and his personal belongings were stolen.

On June 7, 2019 in Kyiv, the far-rights of C14, who are also members of the Municipal Guards, participated in the hostile takeover of the Kyiv cinema hall. Clashes took place, one participant of the action against the takeover of the cinema was beaten up.

Far-rights also resorted to putting pressure on media and journalists, trying to restrict freedom of speech.

So, **on November 21, 2018, in Kharkiv**, Freikor lads jabbed journalists of the NewsOne channel, accusing them of "promoting separatism".

On December 3, 2018 in Kyiv, members of UNA-UNSO blocked the work of the TV channel Nash and hindered the work of its journalists. Police unlocked the entrance to the premises and took five far-rights to the police department for investigation.

On December 21, 2018 in Lviv, resentful about the journalist investigation on fraud by ATO participants with the allocation of land, National Corps, Community Development and Ukrainian Union of ATO Participants broke into the premises of the Zaxid.net media and hindered its work.

On December 24, 2018 in Kyiv, most likely, far-rights (C14 mentioned this event on its social media pages) burned the car of a lawyer Valentyn Rybin. Earlier, the lawyer had already been pressured by C14, because he worked with sensitive clients such as: Vyacheslav Pyvovarenko, suspected of assassination of journalist Arkady Babchenko, Volodymyr Ruban, who was accused of preparation of terrorist acts and treason, and a number of other high profile defendants.

On July 2, 2019 in Kyiv, during an action in support of Petro Poroshenko, a journalist of Strana.ua Vladislav Bovtoruk was attacked. The attacker, Oleksiy Tsymbalyuk, played the role of a killer of Arkady Babchenko, and a member of the Right Sector, who was later told he was suspected.

On July 8, 2019 in Kyiv, C14, National Corps and Gonor threw firecrackers at the NewsOne channel headquarters, because the TV channel was about to hold a video link with the Russian channel Russia-24. It was later canceled due to threats to the journalists. During the action, right-wingers also tried to attack the journalist of Strana.ua, Kirill Malyshev, but police intervened.

On July 30, 2019 in Kyiv, roughnecks from Tradition and Order burst into the premises of Ukrinform agency where a press conference of two candidates to national deputies, self-nominated Andriy Aksenov, and Serhiy Koshukov, of European Solidarity, was held. The far-rights have beaten the agency staff, broke the door to the press center, threw eggs at the attendees, and thwarted the event. Three employees of the agency were injured during the attack, police detained two attackers.

'INVISIBLE' ATTACKS

Some cases of far-right violence in which people were harmed were hardly covered by the media.

For example, **on November 6, 2018 in Kyiv**, members of C14 'detained' a citizen accusing him of theft.

Around **December 21, 2018 in Odesa**, C14 lads have beaten up two teenagers who 'mocked' the country's anthem in a video. C14 justified their actions by pointing out that teens "shouted out loud slogans, related to the 'Russian World' on video".

Approximately, **on December 27, 2018, in Kryvyi Rih**, members of C14 have beaten up a man who was on trial for 'insulting' the national flag. When justifying the attack, C14 called the victim a *vatnik* ('quilted jacket', derogatory for a pro-Russian person).

Around **February 10, 2019, in Kyiv**, representatives of the Autonomous National Socialist Society have beaten up a man, accusing him of "bad behavior", and calling him an Untermensch.

On July 2019 in Odesa, five people of the National Corps attacked a guy who criticized their organization on social networks. The attack was recorded on video, which depicts the right-wingers escorting the beaten up boy "to have a talk". He is later shown how he is being kicked and threatened to be killed.



CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The events described above point out the systemic problem with far-right violence that arises in the face of inactivity and, at times, connivance on the side of law enforcement. As a result, far-right groups, organizations, parties and individuals feel the prevailing impunity and continue to threaten minorities, journalists, political opponents, freedom of speech, freedom of belief, peaceful assemblies; to put pressure on representatives of political parties and businessmen who hold opposing views, carry out extrajudicial trials, etc.

In order to at least begin to solve the outlined problem, it is recommended:

For central and local governments:

- to discontinue the state funding by ministries and from local budgets of far-rights and paramilitary groups.

For the law enforcement system:

- to consistently enforce the law and guarantee overall compliance with it, including necessary punishment for acts classified as *"intentional acts aimed at inciting national, racial or religious enmity or hatred, at degrading national honor and dignity, at insulting the feelings of citizens due to degrading their religious beliefs, at direct or indirect limiting of the rights of citizens or establishing direct or indirect privileges of citizens on the basis of race, color, political, religious and other beliefs, gender, ethnic and social background, property status, place of residence, linguistic or other characteristics"* in the Criminal Code of Ukraine;
- to fulfill the obligation of protecting civil rights, in particular, to guarantee to lawful citizens the possibility to safely exercise the right to organize peaceful assemblies; to guarantee freedom of expression;
- to properly investigate incidents of hate crime and punish the perpetrators, investigate violations of the right to peaceful assemblies and freedom of expression, and to hold those who interfere with such investigations or sentences responsible;
- to investigate cases of attacks against opposition activists and journalists.

For the international community:

- to put pressure on the Ukrainian authorities and the law enforcement system, so that they ensure free exercise of the right to peaceful assembly and freedom of expression, properly investigate hate crimes, punish those guilty for committing such crimes, and prevent such crimes in the future;
- to apply consistent pressure to depoliticize law enforcement agencies, to de-integrate far-right formations from the law enforcement system and from branches of government.

For civil society:

- not to cooperate with people who share far-right ideologies and commit hate crimes, impede the exercise of the right to peaceful assembly and freedom of expression;
- consolidate efforts to support the vulnerable groups most affected by far-right violence.



OVERVIEW OF THE MOST PROMINENT FAR-RIGHT ORGANIZATIONS IN UKRAINE

AZOV MOVEMENT

Azovs'kyi rukh is the strongest far-right group in Ukraine. They have 3 main units: National Guards of Ukraine Azov (military wing), the party National Corps (Natsional'nyy korpus, politician wing) and National retinues (Natsional'ni druzhyny, street fighters). This movement amounts to 20.000 members (with 1,5 thousand war-trained and well-armed members of the regiment Azov, with a tank company among them).

The regiment Azov is a united radically politicized division, which is officially a part of security agencies of Ukraine. Its core is formed by the Kharkiv-based far-right groups from the organization Social-National Assembly (Sotsial-natsional'na asambleya, SNA), which was standing on the principles of "racial socialist nationalism" ideology. The other part of its core is comprised of radicalized football ultras Dynamo Kyiv, Metalist Kharkiv, Shakhtar Donetsk etc.



Former SNA leader, Andriy Bilets'kyi, is at the head of Azov. In 2014 he was elected to be a Member of Parliament of the 8th convocation. Minister Avakov played an important role in the formation of the Azov unit: he started its integration into the Ministry of Internal Affairs and its further transformation into the National Guards unit. The soldiers went through an impressive training by Ukrainian and foreign specialists. They are in possession of good equipment and modern armament.

Azov was listed as a terrorist organization by Terracism Research & Analysis Consortium (TRAC).

National Corps (Natsional'nyy korpus) is an highly-ideologized political party with more than 6,5 thousand members. It has 14 regional offices. In the 2019 parliamentary elections, the party joined a united "nationalist alliance" together with Svoboda and Right Sector. The block gained 2,15%. The party tactics is to build an extensive network of party- and umbrella- structures comprised of highly ideologized, motivated, and armed members. The party has a significant impact on the football hooligans community. Its members give lectures at schools, universities, organize military camps for children, work with ATO veterans, bringing them to their ranks. Among its youth projects are: Youth Corps (Yunats'kyi korpus), The Memory of the Nation (Pam'yat' natsiy), and the Fire (Plomin') Literary Club.



National Retinues (Natsional'ni druzhyny), founded 2017, are street paramilitary units of the National Corps party, who are supposed to help police to maintain public order. In practice, they are engaged in attacks on opposition rallies, Roma pogroms, etc., and openly stand against police officers during huge public gatherings.

ALL-UKRAINIAN UNION SVOBODA (FREEDOM)

was Ukraine's largest far-right party in 2011-2014, having won 37 seats in parliament in 2012. During the Euromaidan, the party lost its influence, which was taken over by more radical, far-right parties. Svoboda had five Members of Parliament of the 8th convocation, elected at the majority electoral district level, and 15 MP's on the level of regional councils. On August 31, 2015, during the protests under the Verkhovna Rada against granting special status to certain areas of the Donbas, one of the members of Svoboda threw a grenade at the police, killing three people.



In the 2019 elections, Svoboda, together with other far-right parties, gained 2,15% of the vote and did not enter the Parliament (with only one party member, Oksana Savchenko, elected in one single-member district). Nevertheless, the party may be entitled to state funding.

SOKIL (FALCON)

is a military-sports youth organization affiliated with Svoboda. It has offices all over the country, and is involved in street violence, military training, etc. Sokil is focused on recruiting new youth who have not been involved in politics before. It holds lectures in high schools and universities. Ruslan Andriyko, one of its leaders, was in 2014-2019 a deputy in the Kyiv City Council from the Svoboda party.



C14

is a radical far-right organization with up to 350 members, based in Kyiv. It has many regional units. It is mostly active in street violence domain, and regularly carries out attacks (inter alia, armed attacks) on left activists, opposition leaders, Roma people, journalists who criticize government, etc. C14 was the first to launch a series of Roma pogroms in 2018. In June 2018 in Lviv, a group of young people attacked the place of temporary residence of Roma people and killed David Pap, a 24-year-old lad.

Two C14 members are accused of killing the publicist Oles Buzyna in 2015.

In 2016, on the day of Hitler's birthday, there was an attempt to assassinate Stas Serhienko, a leftist activist. "A year or so ago in Kyiv, we... well, some unknown patriots stoke him with a knife," said Yevhen Karas', the leader of C14, who commented later on the attack.

The organization is funded by state grants and, according to its leader, cooperates with the Security Service of Ukraine. Karas' himself asserts that this is limited to "fighting separatists." C14 was supported by several MPs of the previous convocation, such as Ihor Lutsenko (Batkivshchyna), Yehor Sobolev (Samopomich), Oleh Petrenko (Petro Poroshenko Bloc). Yevhen Karas' was present at the ceremony of granting tomos, along with Petro Poroshenko, Yuriy Lutsenko and other politicians close to the former president.

On September 28, 2019, representatives of C14 announced the transformation of the organization into a party Society of the Future (Suspil'stvo maybutnioho).

In 2017, C14 was added to the list of terrorist organizations by Terracism Research & Analysis Consortium (TRAC). C14 has several inter-related projects, among them are: the Union of Veterans of the War with Russia and the so called Education Assembly.



MUNICIPAL GUARDS

Munitsypal'na varta is a public formation founded in 2017 by members of the C14 group under the aegis of the Kyiv City State Administration (KCSA), allegedly to ensure the rule of law in the city. Thanks to this status, members of the Municipal Guards have the right to patrol the streets, to legally use physical force against 'offenders', and to receive funding from the city budget. According to the representatives of the organization, in 2018 the unit had up to 250 members. The structure originated from the Holosiivskyi district of Kyiv, where C14 competed for the right to "keep the rule of law" with another right-wing group, Varta Holosiyeva, due to which they had a clash.

Some of the members of the Municipal Guards joined Municipal'na ohorona, a municipal enterprise created by the KCSA in the spring of 2019 also for the preservation of the rule of law (it is also funded from the city budget). On June 7, 2019, Municipal'na ohorona was employed to capture the Kyiv cinema premises. Members of the organization openly say that one of the main areas of their activity "is the fight against Roma and the homeless."

According to Yevgen Karas', Municipal Guards and Municipal'na ohorona "complement each other".



МУНІЦИПАЛЬНА
ВАРТА КИЄВА



RIGHT SECTOR

Pravyi sektor is a Euromaidan-based organization which later got a status of a political party. It has several thousand members in different regions of Ukraine, and has its own paramilitary unit Volunteer Ukrainian Corps (Dobrovol'chiy ukrainskiy korpus), which participated in the original armed conflict, but was not included in the official state Armed Forces. Right Sector seized a large number of weapons exported from the front and regularly threatened the authorities, which it used to call the "internal occupation regime." After the armed conflict between members of the organization and the police in Transcarpathia in 2015 broke out, and several armed terrorists connected to the organisation were killed, and its leader Dmitro Yarosh withdrew, the organization is in deep crisis.

The organisation is listed as a terrorist organization by Terracism Research & Analysis Consortium (TRAC).



STATE INITIATIVE OF YAROSH

Derzhavnytska initsyatyva Yarosha, DIYA (ukr. *action*) is a nationalist organization formed from the activists of the Right Sector and is based in Dnipro. Some of its members who are veterans originate from the Volunteer Ukrainian Army — a paramilitary unit formed from a military unit that was withdrawn from the ATO in 2018. Since 2018, DIYA is engaged in the creation of a network of territorial defense paramilitary units and conducts military training in a number of regions of Ukraine. One of the members of the Volunteer Ukrainian Army is a key suspect in the murder of a child during an attempt of a murder-for-hire of a member of the Kyiv Regional Council, Vyacheslav Sobolev.



CARPATHIAN SICH

Karpats'ka sich is a regional far-right organization operating in Uzhgorod. It stands against 'cultural Marxism', by which they mostly mean gender politics, multiculturalism, etc. The organisation collaborates with a number of far-right organizations in Europe. Its members have repeatedly participated in attacks on political opponents, members of the LGBT+ community, anti-fascists. They hold lectures at city schools on a regular basis. They also spread the manifesto authored by the New Zealand terrorist and racist Brenton Tarrant, translated and published in Ukrainian.



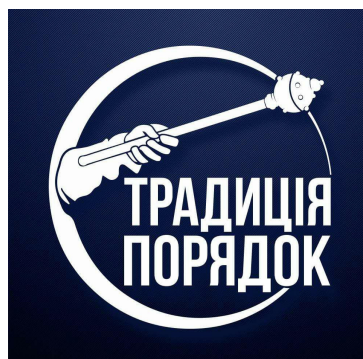
BROTHERHOOD

Bratstvo is a small but active Kyiv-based organization that mainly organizes provocations against opposition politicians and journalists. At the beginning of the military action in eastern Ukraine, its members joined the Azov battalion, then moved to the Shakhtars'k battalion (later called Tornado), and after its dissolution formed its own unit, St. Mary company, within the Ministry of Interior. It stopped existing in 2016. These days the activists hold a popular Internet channel which contains incitement of hatred propaganda. Largely its audience is members of radical-minded ATO veterans and the rest of the far-right. Oksana Korchyns'ka, the wife of the organization's leader Dmytro Korchyns'ky, was a member of the Parliament of the 8th convocation from the Radical Party and politically supported the far-rights accused of criminal acts.



TRADITION AND ORDER

Tradytsiya i poryadok is an organization based in Kyiv. It was formed by the members of the neo-fascist group called Revanche after its closure by law enforcement agencies in 2015. Since then it changed its position from radically opposing the ruling party to loyalty to it. So they received funding, as well as an office in the center of Kyiv, and the support of pro-government media. Members of the organization are taking part in attacks on leftist and opposition activists, members of the LGBT+ community. After the change of the ruling party, they joined protests against peaceful settlement of the conflict in the East.



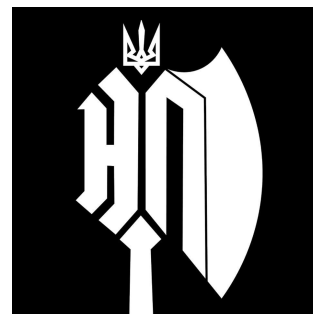
KATEHON

is an umbrella organization created to mobilize the far right to forcefully oppose feminist and LGBT+ movements. One of its founders, Yuriy Noyevyy, is the deputy head of Svoboda party Kyiv branch. The organization stands on the positions of Christian fundamentalism. Under the auspices of Katehon operates the Sisterhood of St. Olha, a women-only anti-feminist organization which attracts women to the same kind of activity as in Katehon. It operates mainly in Kyiv and does predominantly disrupt art exhibitions and cultural events, and attacks feminist activities and initiatives.



UNKNOWN PATRIOT

Nevidomyy patriot is a right-wing organization founded by Vita Zaverukha and Yevhen Strokan, registered in Kyiv. In May 2015, Vita Zaverukha was arrested for attempting to rob a gas station and firing at patrol police, killing two police officers. The case was brought to court. In January 2017, she was released on bail of UAH 1.6 million. Yevhen Strokan, nicknamed Surgeon, allegedly owns a newspaper agency Lystopad, which supplies far-rights with press cards. Unknown Patriot is known for attacking journalists and disrupting public events. The organization is in close ties with Brotherhood and C14. Like in Brotherhood, members of the organization position themselves as radical Christians and urge to fight for conservative values.



FREIKOR

is a regional far-right organization based in Kharkiv. Some of its activists were fighting in the East. Locally, it is engaged in vandalism against World War II monuments, attacks on LGBT+ community members and political opponents. In particular, this year members of Freikor made a number of attacks on KharkivPride and had several clashes with police.



COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

Rozvytok Hromady is an NGO and charitable foundation based in Lviv, which has close connections with local businesses. One of its important endeavors is the Lenion sports club, which, in fact, is a 'factory' for 'production' of well-trained vigilantes, who later get involved in attacks. Despite positioning itself as a charity and veteran organization, Community Development advocates for the interests of local businessmen in real estate and for redistribution of land which initially was distributed among ATO veterans. In 2016, members of the organization also became actively involved in business disputes circa airport management, and lobbied for the appointment of a traffic police head in the Lviv region. The organization is headed by Oleh Dolyns'kyi, a former deputy assistant from Svoboda. It was founded by Oleksandr Veremeyenko, a businessman from Lviv, who is a business partner of Ihor Kryvets'ky, a former Svoboda's deputy and a key sponsor of this party.



UKRAINIAN UNION OF ATO PARTICIPANTS

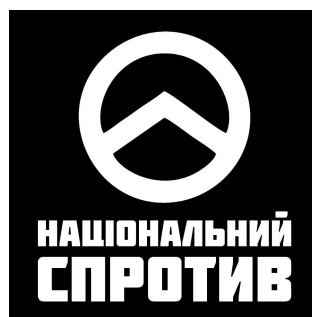
Ukrains'ka spilka uchasnykiv ATO is a non-governmental organization partnering with Community Development. The addresses and most of the co-founders of both organizations are the same. The key founder is Andriy Antonyshchak, the MP from the Petro Poroshenko Bloc. The organization is engaged in hostile takeovers in the sphere of real estate and landholding, in particular, concerning plots of land distributed among ATO participants. One of the founders is the former head of a construction company. The members of the organization also exerted coercive pressure on local authorities and the media that were critical of them.

NATIONAL RESISTANCE

Natsional'nyy sprotyv is primarily an Odesa-based organization with an active activist core in Kyiv. Together with other far-right groups, it is involved in disrupting feminist activities, criticizing 'cultural Marxism' and calling for the fight against anti-fascists. At the rallies, they count up to 10–15 people.

The head of the organization is Serhiy Khodiak, who is the only 'pro-Ukrainian' one who was found guilty in crime after the tragedy on May 2 in Odesa. According to the investigation, he shot a 'pro-Russian' participant of the march, wounded a police officer and several passers-by. He is currently being released from jail and free to move around. The judges are refusing to issue a sentence in his case. After he was released, Khodiak managed to commit another offense, which resulted in a police officer being injured.

Oleksiy Svyntarenko aka Friend Stalker is the most active member of the Kyiv branch. He fought in the St. Mary's company and in the infamous Shakhtarsk volunteer battalion, which subsequently formed the basis of the Tornado battalion. On his social media page, he stated that he was involved in the murder of at least two Berkut members, however, after the investigation began, he gave up his words. Oleksiy Svyntarenko is the chief administrator of the right-wing Telegram channel, which publishes photos and personal information of left-wing activists, anti-fascists, members of the LGBT+ community and critical of far-right civic activists, so they can easily target them.



SVITANOK

Dawn is a Kharkiv-based right-wing organization, counting up to 4–6 people. The activity of the group is mostly related to the fight against Soviet symbols, monuments and plaques in Kharkiv and surroundings. Members of the organization take part in an important confrontation for the city around Marshal Zhukov's bust, as well as in activities common to Kharkiv right-wingers.



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