
Racist Violence in Romania

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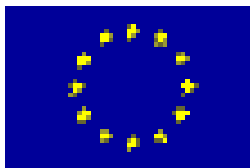
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An assessment of overall trends and patterns

Assessing patterns and trends is a difficult process due to the obvious lack of centralised data on racist violence in Romania¹. Thus, any statement on the increase or decrease of racist violence is not based on data but rather on assumptions and qualitative evaluations of such incidents in national and international reports.

Official data collection on racist violence in Romania

Although Romanian police issues an annual report on violence related cases, no data on the racial identity of the victims is available². The *Quality of official criminal justice data collection mechanisms on racist crime/violence in EU27* analysis puts Romania in Tier 4 – ‘there is a total absence of any publicly available official criminal justice data on racist crime’³. Equally worrying, no data on anti-Semitism is consistently collected by public authorities as to allow an assessment on trends of racist violence⁴.

Some data on racially motivated crimes is provided by The Fundamental Rights Agency via their 2009 report: *European Union Minorities and Discrimination Survey. Main Results Report*. The field work data was collected in Romania between May 17 and June 25, 2008 and the survey is a result of 500 Roma interviews⁵. It reveals that 8% of the Roma respondents in Romania were victims of assaults or threats in the last 12 months while only 5% of them stated they were victimized in the past 2-5 years⁶. Furthermore, serious harassment in the case of the respondents increased from 6% in the past 2-5 years to 10% in the past 12 months⁷. According to EU-MIDIS, violence against Roma in Romania is less than in any of the surveyed European countries. However, the questionnaire was applied before the violent incidents against Roma in 2009– especially the escalation of violence in Sânmartin and Sâncrăieni (see case study below).

Some incidents involving verbal abuse based on racist intentions are addressed by the National Council for Combating Discrimination (NCCD)⁸ as result of complaints submitted to this institution. The 2009 Opinion Survey -*Discrimination phenomenon in Romania – perceptions and attitudes*, commissioned by NCCD, indicates that the second most discriminated group, after sexual minorities, is the Roma ethnic group⁹. Similarly, the 2009 U.S. Department of State Report on Human Rights identifies

¹ In accordance with the FRA 2009 Annual Report, p. 24, only ‘twelve EU Member States are now recognized by the Agency as collecting sufficiently robust criminal justice data on racist violence and crime to allow for a trend analysis of the problem’.

² *FRA Complementary Data Report 2008* also indicates that the Romanian police couldn’t provide any information on the racial profiling of the victims or the racial motivation.

³ FRA Annual Report 2009, p. 28.

⁴ Fundamental Rights Agency of the European Union, *Anti-Semitism. Summary Overview of the situation in the European Union 2001-2009*, Working Paper, April 2010, http://fra.europa.eu/fraWebsite/attachments/Antisemitism_Update_2010.pdf accessed 30 July 2010 - Only three countries developed a methodology that allows assessing trends on racist crime – Germany, France and Sweden.

⁵ An additional sub-survey addressed to the majority living in the same areas was commissioned by FRA in order to compare perceptions.

⁶ European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights, *EU-MIDIS: European Union Minorities and Discrimination Survey. Main Results Report*, December 2009, p. 168.

⁷ *Ibid.*

⁸ <http://www.cncd.org.ro/?language=en> accessed 30 July 2010.

⁹ Opinion Survey, *Fenomenul discriminării în România – percepții și atitudini*, National Council for Combating Discrimination, August 2009, <http://cncd.org.ro/files/file/Fenomenul%20discriminarii%202009.pdf>, accessed 30 July 2010, p. 5.

Roma and Jewish communities as two of the most vulnerable groups with the highest potential of becoming targets of racial violence¹⁰.

The National Council for Combating Discrimination (NCCD), the Romanian equality body, is an independent administrative body with jurisdictional competencies¹¹. It is not able to bring cases to court. Cases are brought before the NCCD through petitions, and the NCCD decides whether discrimination occurred or not. The NCCD can initiate cases ex officio¹².

Although the NCCD¹³ received fewer complaints in 2009 than in 2008 and 2007¹⁴, racist violence seems to be continuing in an upwards trend¹⁵ as the number of racist violence incidents can not actually be quantified. However, complaints on the basis of ethnicity remain at the same level in 2008 and 2009 amounting to 62 cases¹⁶ while the cases involving nationality and religion decreased from 54 in 2008 to 28 in 2009 and from 15 to 6 respectively¹⁷. This number is far from revealing the degree of racist violence considering that just 7% of all the filed complaints were admitted to trial¹⁸. In the case of self-notifications,¹⁹ 40% of the cases are related to racist motivation – ethnic origin, nationality or language²⁰. As far as racially motivated harassment is concerned, the available data in the NCCD *2009 Annual Report* indicates the following sanctioned cases: verbal abuse against Roma (one denying access to public spaces, ten discriminatory statements²¹), verbal abuse against Jews (two cases of discriminatory statements)²².

Trends and patterns in racist violence

Unfortunately, these pieces of information fail to provide an overall picture of racist violence in Romania and impede efforts to provide an accurate assessment of trends and patterns of racially motivated crime. Most of the conclusions are based on assumptions and reports released by NGOs and other relevant international institutions.

¹⁰ U.S. Department of State 2009 Human Rights Report on Romania.

¹¹ Romanian Constitutional Court Decision 1.096/2008.

¹² Government Ordinance 137/2000 for the prevention and sanctioning of all forms of discrimination, Art 16 and Art 19, (2).

¹³ 'In 2009, the Steering Committee delivered 49 decisions ascertaining discrimination. Subsequent to ascertaining a discriminating deed, the Steering Committee allows for the imposition of a sanction, which may consist of a warning or fine. Furthermore, the Steering Committee issues recommendations to the claimed party aimed at preventing the violation of the non-discrimination principle or removing the consequences of discrimination'. National Council for Combating Discrimination, *2009 Annual Report*, July 2010, pp. 22-23.

¹⁴ 528 complaints in 2009 compared to 837 in 2007 and 836 in 2008. The activity of NCCD was paralyzed by the lack of quorum in the Steering Committee in the second half of 2009 and beginning of 2010 while its prerogatives were limited via a Decision of the Constitutional Court stating that the NCCD cannot decide on the discriminatory nature of a law.

¹⁵ This is revealed both by the documentation of cases of police abuse as indicated below by U.S. Department of State 2009 *Human Rights Report* on Romania, Amnesty International and Apador-CH and by the occurrence of the conflicts in Sânmartin and Sâncrăieni in 2009.

¹⁶ '(...) the complaints regarding ethnical discrimination remained at an estimated number of 62 per year, accounting for a significant percentage of approximately 7,40% (2008) and 11.74% (2009) of all complaints addressed'. - National Council for Combating Discrimination, *2009 Annual Report*, July 2010, p. 19.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 18.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 22 – 32.65% of the decisions involved complaints related to the violation of personal dignity.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 27 – 'The object of the self-notifications referred particularly to the field of labour – employment and profession – 6 cases. 3 cases referred to the access to education, 2 cases referred to the right to personal dignity, 2 cases to the access to services and other fields – 2 cases'.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 27.

²¹ One complaint was filed against the extremist group *Noua Dreapta Association*.

²² *NCCD 2009 Annual Report*, pp. 46-51.

The violence against the Roma community²³ remained stringent during 2009²⁴ while the media continued to present the same prejudice in identifying the perpetrators as Roma and very rarely the victims²⁵ (see Policy Center media monitoring exercise). Reports on ill-treatment of Roma by the police²⁶ are part of a trend which sees an increase in occurrences of racist violence against the Roma. The official position regarding such incidents is that the police officers resort to these methods only as a result of initial hostility from the Roma communities²⁷. Equally worrying, a systematic documentation of Roma forced evictions since 2004²⁸ supports the remark that violence against Roma follows an intensifying trend. Based on field work, Romani Criss identified '(...) an increase in evictions coupled with regular police raids, with cases of police violence, beatings, detention for a short period, and even burning of houses'²⁹.

The Human Rights Report launched in 2009 by the U.S. Department of State shows that NGOs reported cases of violence against the Jewish community³⁰ especially related to vandalism and public anti-Semitic speech. Data collected by the NGO Centre for Monitoring Anti-Semitism in Romania indicates that acts of vandalism against Jews are minimized by public authorities who fail to apply sanctions because the perpetrators are labelled as harmless - children, drunks or persons with mental disorders³¹. The most notorious cases of racist violence against Jews were the desecration of 131 tombstones in October 2008 at the Jewish cemetery in Bucharest and of another 20 in Botoşani in April 2009³². Vandalism remains a problem - anti-Semitic signs (swastikas and graffiti) continue to be painted in public zones in Bucharest (May and June 2009)³³.

Some incidents involving public personalities were recorded. The mayor of Constanţa showed up dressed in Nazi clothes at a fashion show and is presently being investigated by the prosecutor under OUG 31/2002 for the prohibition of organizations and symbols of a fascist, racist or xenophobic nature and of the promotion of the cult of persons guilty of crimes against peace and humanity. The Romanian Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr. Teodor Baconschi made a public statement linking criminality to the Roma community³⁴ based on a biological explanation: 'we have some natural, physiological problems, of criminality within some of the Romanian communities, especially among the communities of the Romanian citizens of Roma ethnicity'³⁵. The statements stirred serious protests from some of the anti-

²³ Official data from the 2002 census indicate that the Roma population reached 535,250²³ (2.5% of the population). Despite estimations that reach 2.5 million Roma, the 2008 governmental survey state that Roma stand for 5.7% of the Romanian population (1.2 million citizens).

²⁴ According to the conclusions of the U.S. Department of State *Human Rights Report: Romania*, 2009.

²⁵ Except for extreme cases of violence as those in Sânmartin and Sâncrăieni.

²⁶ Mainly these are cases documented by Romani Criss and Apador-CH.

²⁷ U.S. Department of State *Human Rights Report: Romania*, 2009.

²⁸ NIŢĂ, Delia-Luiza, Romania RAXEN National Focal Point, *Thematic Study. Housing Conditions of Roma and Travellers*, Center for Legal Resources, March 2009, http://www.crj.ro/userfiles/editor/files/RAXEN-Roma%20Housing-Romania_en.pdf accessed 30 July 2010. pp. 39-41.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 39-40.

³⁰ According to the 2002 census report, the total Jewish population amounts to 5870 persons.

³¹ U.S. Department of State *Human Rights Report: Romania*, 2009.

³² *Ibid.*

³³ *Ibid.*

³⁴ Nicolae, Valeriu, *On racism and imbeciles*, 11 February 2010, www.policycenter.eu/baconschi.doc, accessed 2 June 2010.

³⁵ Romanian NGOs Letter of protest, 16 February 2010, Bucharest [www.crj.ro/userfiles/editor/files/Letter%20of%20protest\(1\).doc](http://www.crj.ro/userfiles/editor/files/Letter%20of%20protest(1).doc), accessed 30 July 2010.

discrimination NGOs³⁶, while Roma NGOs organized a protest in front of the Government asking for the resignation of Minister Baconschi. No apologies followed let alone a resignation. No request for resignation came from the Prime Minister while some NGOs considered that the President, in his public statements during the same period, supported the Foreign Minister³⁷. This draws a warning signal regarding the increase in high-level discriminatory statements³⁸. This case is pending before the NCCD³⁹.

Comparison among NGO collected data and official records

A lack of a commonly agreed methodology for data collection related to racist violence correlated with the difficulty in finding relevant information in this area does not allow a pertinent comparison between these types of records.

Causes that lead to an intensification of racist violence

The increase of violence against Roma communities⁴⁰ is based on a series of developments such as:

- Hidden racism in mass-media and the public encouragement of biases against the Roma;
- Racist behaviour of politicians and opinion leaders – MPs promoting racist speeches, opinion leaders with a blatant racist approach towards the Roma and Jews;
- Migration of the Roma community and the link made by Western politicians and foreign mass media closely followed by the Romanian media between the Roma and Romanians⁴¹.
- Police authorities' mistreatment of Roma people during police raids⁴².

Police and criminal justice system responsiveness

It is quite difficult to assess the degree of responsiveness of the criminal justice system to racist violence, considering the lack of information in this respect. According to the U.S. Department of State *2009 Human Rights Report Romania*,

³⁶ See public positions at: <http://www.crj.ro/EN/Antidiscrimination-organizations-Quod-erat-demonstrandum-Mr-minister-Baconschi/> accessed 30 July 2010.

³⁷ Center for Legal Resources Press release on February 25th 2010, available at: <http://www.crj.ro/EN/The-revival-of-high-level-extremist-discourse-in-European-Romania/>

³⁸ Center for Legal Resources and the Center for Monitoring and Combating Anti-Semitism in Romania, Press Releases on February 25th 2010, available at: <http://www.crj.ro/Revenirea-discursului-extremist-la-nivel-inalt-in-Romania-comunitara/> accessed 30 July 2010.

³⁹ This was not the first time a Romanian Minister made a discriminatory statement regarding Roma. In 2007, Mr. Adrian Cioroianu, also Minister of Foreign Affairs, made racist references implying the necessity to banish the Roma to the Egyptian desert³⁹. However, Mr. Cioroianu was not sanctioned by the NCCD due to procedural reasons, as the NCCD after the Minister made the statements, issued a press release publicly condemning the Minister's statements, which, according to the NCCD, create a 'degrading, humiliating and offensive atmosphere for certain communities'. The NCCD was making an appeal to the political class and opinion leaders 'to promote a non-discriminatory language and behaviour'- As cited by the U.S. Department of State *2009 Human Rights Report on Romania*, Amnesty International 2009 Romania Human Rights Report, Human Rights First *Hate Crime Survey*, FRA 2009 Annual Report, Romani Criss and Apador-CH case studies, reports and public positions. Thus, when the NCCD was petitioned, it considered it could not decide on the case, as it had already pronounced itself in the press release.

⁴¹ This led to a growing rejection of Roma by the majority population in Romania with a particularly aggressive campaign of hate speech and attacks on the Internet (see the cybernetic attack against some British and French online newspapers by an anonymous extremist group entitled Romanian National Security calling for a clear distinction in the media between Roma and Romanians.

⁴² Documented by Romani Criss and specified in the U.S. Department of State *Human Rights Report: Romania*, 2009.

many of the cases involving racist motivation are in a stalemate⁴³. Amnesty International supports this position related to the Hădăreni case⁴⁴. *Amnesty International 2009 Human Rights Report* on Romania underlines cases of violence against civilians involving law enforcement bodies. The report also covers relevant cases involving Roma victims⁴⁵. In situations of extreme conflict, like the one in Sânmartin, the official authorities played a mediation role which was not actually in favour of the victims, but rather against them as Romani CRISS pointed out⁴⁶. The authorities closed the so-called mediation through what the Center for Legal Resources called a racist protocol reminding of Nazi Germany, imposing humiliating clauses to be respected only by the Roma community⁴⁷.

General trends in violence in Romania

An overview of the criminality rate indicates a slight increase in the volume of criminal acts per 100,000 inhabitants which reached 1,395 in 2009 compared to 1,305 in 2007. According to official data on violent crime,⁴⁸ the number of manslaughter cases slightly decreased from 2004 to 2007 from 516 to 416 cases, while in 2008 the curve goes up to 470. An official media statement from the Minister of Interior from September 2009 specified that 'crime rate dynamics have not seen significant changes compared to the past years and announced a 13% increase this year, which fits in the past years' upward trend'⁴⁹.

Typical case study

The events in Sânmartin, Harghita county, started on 31 May, 2009, were among the most violent incidents against Roma in Romania in the past few years. The Roma community, amounting to 10% of the population (approximately 170 persons)⁵⁰ were chased into the woods by the majority population. This forced evacuation lasted for weeks. Romani Criss worked with the Roma in this instance, thoroughly documenting, reporting and advocating on this case⁵¹.

⁴³ *Ibid.*

⁴⁴ Amnesty International *2009 Report on Human Rights* in Romania, p. 4 – 'On 2 October, Istvan Haller, a member of the National Council for Combating Discrimination, began a hunger strike over the persistent failure of the Romanian government to implement measures which had been promised in the wake of serious attacks on Roma communities in Hadăreni, Plăiesii de Sus and Casinul Nou in the early 1990s. At least five people were killed and 45 houses destroyed during mob violence. Hundreds of people were made homeless while local authorities failed to intervene or actively participated in the attacks.'

⁴⁵ The cases of Ioan Boacă whose family was aggressed by the police and Constantin Stoica who was victimized by police in 2001. In 2009, The European Court of Human Rights reached the conclusion in the latter case that the use of extreme violence was racially motivated.

⁴⁶ Romani Criss, *Conflict interetnic în localitatea Sânmartin, jud. Harghita*, Working paper presented at the Târgu Mureș Workshop *Ne asumăm responsabilități și riscuri comune? O analiză a cazurilor de violență împotriva romilor: perspective din România și Ungaria*, 16-18 August 2009

⁴⁷ Center for Legal Resources Press Release on 27.07.2009, available at: http://www.crj.ro/userfiles/editor/files/CLR_press_release_racial_regulations_in_Romania%2027_07.pdf accessed 30 July 2010.

⁴⁸ http://politiaromana.ro/infractiuni_cu_violenta_2004_2008.htm accessed 30 July 2010.

⁴⁹ Mediafax, *Romania Sees Crime Rate Up 13% In '09 – Interior Ministry*, Bucharest, 30 September 2009, <http://www.mediafax.ro/english/romania-sees-crime-rate-up-13-in-09-interior-ministry-4947459/>, accessed 17 June 2010

⁵⁰ *Romani Criss Report on the Sâncrăieni conflict*.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*

The event which triggered the violence against the whole Roma community took place on May 31, 2009, when two ethnic-Hungarians found six Roma grazing their horses on their private property. In the clash, one ethnic-Hungarian was hurt and the Roma ran into the woods while their horses were confiscated by the ethnic-Hungarians. This initial conflict led to an escalation of violence against the whole of the Roma community. Approximately 400 non-Roma inhabitants destroyed 40 houses and several cars belonging to the Roma⁵². The Roma were forced to run for their lives and to hide in the woods. Destruction of the Roma houses was a premeditated act. The victims were forced to live in the woods and their return was prevented by threats coming from the majority population.

In spite of mediation efforts, the police failed to stop a second wave of property destruction perpetrated by a group of non-Roma on June 1st. The authorities made efforts to mediate the conflict via a compromise convention highly criticized by human rights NGOs⁵³. The police initiated a legal investigation in the case of 38 aggressors accused of property destruction and violation of private property⁵⁴. Seven weeks after the incident, half of the Roma were still living in the woods or outdoors⁵⁵. Sources state that authorities provided no help to the Roma who lived with their children in the woods for several weeks⁵⁶. As of October 2009, the situation of the Roma was still critical due to lack of income and in the absence of a coherent effort of the authorities to ensure a smooth reintegration back into the community⁵⁷.

Recommendations

The main difficulty encountered while doing research for this material was the lack of resources/information/data which could indicate the degree of racist violence in Romania. Both public authorities and non-governmental bodies fail to provide data in this respect. The following recommendations address the need to collect data on racially motivated crime and to prevent such occurrences:

- Better monitoring of cases where racist motivation is an aggravating circumstance⁵⁸ so as to allow an official centralisation of publicly accessible data on the number of incidents of racist violence in terms of frequency, trends and correlating factors;
- Improved coordination between the authorities when collecting and analyzing the relevant data and the NGOs who monitor incidents of racist violence;

⁵² *Ibid.*

⁵³ A group of NGOs dealing with human rights issues, anti-discrimination and anti-racism signed a letter condemning the content of the Balotești protocol. The protest letter against The Balotești Protocol also signals the illegal content of the conventions in Sânmartin and Sâncrăieni that inspired such protocol - http://www.crj.ro/userfiles/editor/files/Scrisoare_de_protest_Balotesti_16_dec.pdf accessed 30 July 2010. Another perspective on the Protocol - *Presentation of the Sânmartin report*, 7 October 2009 - http://www.osce.org/documents/odhr/2009/10/40508_en.pdf.

⁵⁴ *Romani Criss Report on the Sâncrăieni conflict.*

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*

⁵⁶ *U.S. Department of State 2009 Human Rights Report: Romania.*

⁵⁷ *Presentation of the Sânmartin report*, 7 October 2009 - http://www.osce.org/documents/odhr/2009/10/40508_en.pdf

⁵⁸ Provision specified in Article 75 c1) in the Romanian Criminal Code - http://www.dscllex.ro/coduri/cod_penal_2006.htm accessed 30 July 2010.

- Mapping out the areas with a high probability of racist violence for a proper analysis of factors and the development of a prevention mechanism based on dialogue between public authorities, NGOs and communities;
- Capacity building and awareness training of law enforcement representatives related to the efficient and transparent implementation of the provisions of the Criminal Code regarding the racial motivation of crime⁵⁹;
- 'Build a better relationship between criminal-justice agencies and victims groups, with a view to encouraging victims to report hate crimes and witnesses to contribute to solving and prosecuting hate crimes'⁶⁰. Furthermore, the need to have positive examples of effective investigation and effective remedies must be considered in this process of confidence building between authorities and communities;
- Improved efforts to make people aware of the occurrence of such incidents and to make the police more sensitive and open to collaboration with NGOs who support the victims;
- Recommendation regarding the NCCD – better reaction to all forms of verbal violence and hate-speech which may trigger direct racial violence and the improvement of the self-referral mechanism in this sense; better explanation of its area of expertise to possible victims as many of the complaints are directed to them and cannot be considered, because of the lack of jurisdiction.

⁵⁹ Though the Criminal Code specifies that racially motivated crimes imply an aggravating circumstance and a tougher sanction, the enforcement of this provision is precarious.

⁶⁰ OSCE Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights, Annual Report for 2008 *Hate Crimes in the OSCE Region – Incidents and Responses*, Warsaw, 2009, p. 61.

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⁶¹ EMERGENCY ORDINANCE no. 31 from 13 March 2002 regarding the prohibition of fascist, racist or xenophobe organizations and symbols and of the promotion of persons guilty for crimes against peace and humanity available at http://www.cdep.ro/pls/legis/legis_pck.htm_act_text?id=34086, amended by LAW no. 278 from 4 July 2006 for the supplementing and amending of the Criminal Code, as well as for supplementing and amending other laws, http://www.cdep.ro/pls/legis/legis_pck.htm_act?ida=65789 accessed 30 July 2010.

⁶² ORDINANCE no. 137 from 31 August 2000 (republished) regarding the prevention and sanction of all forms of discrimination, <http://cncd.org.ro/legislatie/Legislatie-nationala/ORDONANTA-nr-137-din-31-august-2000-15/> accessed 30 July 2010.

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[www.crj.ro/userfiles/editor/files/Letter%20of%20protest\(1\).doc](http://www.crj.ro/userfiles/editor/files/Letter%20of%20protest(1).doc), accessed 30 July
2010.

Annex 1

Recording incidents of racist violence

Data collection of racially motivated violence in Romania proved to be a rather difficult process mainly because this issue is not in the mandate or among the priorities of most of ENAR's Romanian members⁶³.

Out of the 23 members of ENAR Romania, only nine⁶⁴ filled in (partially) the questionnaire from Appendix 3. We identified two main causes. Firstly, many organizations stated that recording incidents of racist violence is not one of their priorities, but some claim to take positions in the public arena when it comes to blatant racist statements or situations (e.g. Centre for Legal Resources⁶⁵, "Împreună" Agency for Community Development⁶⁶, Institute for Public Policies⁶⁷). Secondly, it seems that the lack of expertise or dedicated human resources with which to collect such data leads to the rather small number of NGOs recording incidents of racist violence.

A brief overview of the relevant questionnaires reveals that few NGOs register data on racist violence. Romani Criss records information regarding the description and type of the incidents, domain and region. However, no data is available on the number of cases. Also, the profiles of the victims⁶⁸ and the perpetrators⁶⁹ are included in the data Romani CRISS collects. Such data is also protected by privacy concerns. Although the Center for Legal Resources does not generally receive racist violence complaints and does not therefore record incidents of racist violence per se, the NGO has been collecting secondary data and analysing the legal and policy framework in the field of racial violence and crime as a National Focal Point for the EU Agency for Fundamental Rights since 2006⁷⁰. The Institute for Social Policies registers the description for individual cases of violence based on the religious and professional profile of the victims. The Policy Center for Roma and Minorities conducts media monitoring on Roma in the Romanian media. Since June 2010, the media monitoring component has also focused on articles framed in a biased way

⁶³ NGOs who keep records of racially motivated violence did not reply during the first phase of the data collection process. Thus, the open appeal launched on the ENAR Romania online group requesting the members to fill in the questionnaire from Appendix 3 failed to bring about any relevant data. Due to a low degree of responses, Policy Center contacted each member by telephone. This approach led to better responses but also proved that most of the targeted NGOs do not collect information on these types of incidents.

⁶⁴ Agency "Împreună", AGGR (Association of Female/Male Guides in Romania), Center Education 2000+, Center for Legal Resources, Civitas 2005, Institute for Social Policies, Policy Center for Roma and Minorities, Public Policies Institute, Romani Criss.

⁶⁵ See website of the Center for Legal Resources at: www.crj.ro

⁶⁶ See website of Împreună Agency at: www.agentiaimpreuna.ro

⁶⁷ See Institute for Public Policies website at: www.ipp.ro

⁶⁸ Age, sex, ethnic identity, language and depending on the context religion and nationality.

⁶⁹ Age, sex, ethnic identity, language, affiliation to an extremist group and contextually religion and nationality.

⁷⁰ IORDACHE, Romanița, IONESCU, Iustina, DAN, Adrian, PASCU, Georgiana, and KOVACS, Maria, *FRA Complementary Data Report 2008*, Centre for Legal Resources, 30 September 2008, http://www.crj.ro/userfiles/editor/files/RAXEN_2008.pdf

detailing racist violence incidents involving Roma. Apador-CH⁷¹, although an NGO which did not fill in the form which was distributed, is one of the NGOs referred to in the 2009 U.S. Department of State reports on human rights when reporting on racist violence incidents.

Reviewing incidents of racist violence

Based on the information in the forms, we reached the conclusion that an overall monitoring of incidents of racist violence is not consistently or methodologically carried out and that the availability of some data at NGO level is either accidentally or strictly related to ongoing projects or campaigns.

Apador-CH's reviews⁷² are carried out following complaints filed by victims. The latest U.S. Department of State Human Rights Report on Romania quotes both Apador-CH and Romani Criss on such issues. The Centre for Legal Resources occasionally investigates incidents of racist violence and provides support in carrying out reviews by NGOs partners of the Anti-discrimination Coalition⁷³. It also takes public stands when racist incidents occur. It regularly drafts reports on the topic for the EU Agency for Fundamental Rights. The Institute for Public Policies occasionally takes a stand when blatant racist speeches occur, and files complaints to relevant institutions, such as the National Council for Combating Discrimination. The Policy Center for Roma and Minorities is currently working on a report on the perception of Roma in Romania and Italy based on the reviews of media monitoring on racism targeting this ethnic group in both countries. Reviews are carried out in order to file complaints to official institutions such as the National Council for Combating Discrimination. An analysis of the 1993 Hădăreni case is available on the website of the League Pro Europe⁷⁴. It describes the most important developments of one of the most serious incidents of racial violence against Roma in the last 20 years, also sanctioned by the European Court for Human Rights in 2005 in the case *Moldovan and others vs. Romania*⁷⁵. This NGO publishes annual reports on the violation of human rights in Romania and regular study cases focused on racial discrimination. Romani Criss receives complaints from victims of racial violence and published a number of reports on human rights issues⁷⁶. Romani CRISS is the only NGO which systematically monitors racial violence and racist incidents against the Roma through a wide network of monitors, and takes cases to court on a regular basis. A recent, very relevant report on incidents of racist violence analyses the inter-ethnic conflicts in Sânmartin and Sâncraieni, where Romani CRISS assisted the victims. In addition, Romani CRISS publishes annual reviews on racist violence.

⁷¹ <http://www.apador.org> – One of the objective of the NGO is to *To provide assistance to victims of abuses perpetrated by police and by the penitentiary system, assessing objectively the cases and providing legal counselling and/or legal assistance in court.*

⁷² The official website of APADOR-CH - <http://www.apador.org/>

⁷³ The NGOs part of the Anti-discrimination Coalition are: Accept Association, APADOR-CH, Center for Legal Resources, Center Partnership for Equality, Pro Europe League, Romani CRISS, Romanian Roma Civic Alliance, Euroregional Center for Public Initiatives, Institute for Public Policies, Media Monitoring Agency, Filia Center for Curricula Development and Gender Studies.

⁷⁴ http://www.proeuropa.ro/comunicat14_en.html

⁷⁵ Council of Europe, Execution of Judgments of the European Court of Human Rights, [41138/98](http://www.coe.int/t/DGHL/MONITORING/EXECUTION/Reports/Default_EN.asp?dv=1&StateCode=ROM) 12/07/2005, *Moldovan and others v. Romania*, see also http://www.coe.int/t/DGHL/MONITORING/EXECUTION/Reports/Default_EN.asp?dv=1&StateCode=ROM accessed 29 July 2010.

⁷⁶ <http://www.romanicriss.org/>