

ANTI-SEMITIC HATE CRIMES
AND INCIDENTS IN HUNGARY

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THE PUBLISHER WISHES TO THANK DR. ANDRÁS KOVÁCS,
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INTO THE PREPARATION OF THIS REPORT OVER THE PAST
MONTHS.

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2017. BUDAPEST

DÁNIEL RÓNA
WITH THE ASSISTANCE
OF KRISZTIÁN NÁDASI

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AND INCIDENTS IN HUNGARY

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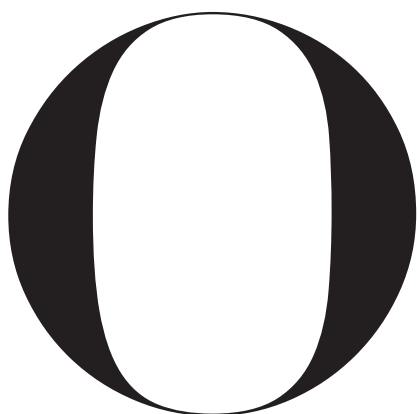
2016

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY



One of the most important parts of the fight against anti-Semitism is precise information about the causes and extensiveness of anti-Semitism. For this reason, the main aim of the Action and Protection Foundation is to provide more information about this issue. Monthly, the Foundation observes public events and the press and records any incidents. Analyzing the information gained by monthly monitoring activity is of great help in protecting the community. We have summed up our 2016 monitoring this annual report.

The report covers two kinds of actions: anti-Semitic hate crimes and incidents motivated by hate, both of which we will now refer to as a “hate crime”. In both cases, anti-Semitic motivation must be proven. The unit Methodology details the categories. The events must be recorded and categorized based on their characteristics. The annual

report summarizes the data from the monthly reports and analyzes the types, victims, offenders and the level of the organization. In 2016, the Foundation identified 48 anti-Semitic hate crimes: the number of cases decreased relative to 2015 (52), but higher than in 2014 (37). The fluctuation of the number of cases is highly arbitrary: it was not higher or lower in the political “layoff” time or any time of the year. More than three-fourth, 77% of the incidents fell into the hate speech category, and we also found vandalism and threat. Chronology of the hate actions is demonstrated in a separated unit.

The Foundation not only draws a map of the public-political anti-Semitic actions but improve our knowledge of the relation of the Hungarian society to the Jewish people and the extensiveness of anti-Semitism. To achieve this, in 2016 Median (as in previous years), conducted a comprehensive national-representative survey on this issue. This survey is available on our website in Hungarian and English. The summary of the results is included in a separate unit of present report. The annual report wishes to contribute to the understanding of the causes of anti-Semitism.

The annual report in the unit “Hate actions and hate-motivated incidents and their social consequences” surveys the classical and modern social, psychological, historical and cultural explanations. It and examines the present validity of each theory, comparing them with the results of the latest Median research.

In addition to monitoring and research work, another important task of the Foundation is education and legal aid. We introduce the laws that give a legal frame to the fight against hate actions in Hungary. We also demonstrate 13 cases where we initiated legal processes, namely, request for dissolution, petition, legal action over labour issues, request of review of legality, motion of prosecution.

As regards education, we created a program for high school students. More than 2100 students in 35 institutes participated in our lectures on “ethics”. The report deals with the most significant case that drew public attention./case study/. By examining the case, we can see the reaction of the different official and semi-official organizations, NGOs.

In 2014 it was the German Invasion Monument and the House of Fates that drew particular attention. In 2015, we led the public discourse that followed the introduction of the mandatory Holocaust-course at Pázmány University. In 2016, we examined whether the turning of “Jobbik” into a “folk-party” has any effect on the manifestations of anti-Semitism. We looked at if the Party makes fewer anti-Semitic statements or not.

Editing was closed in May 2017, but the incidents took place between 1 Jan 2016 and 31 Dec. /The case of Gábor Vona’s Chanukka greetings started in 2016 and passed through 2017. May 26.

THE ACTION AND PROTECTION FOUNDATION



The Foundation will fight against the deteriorating public discourse, which leads to ignorance: the breeding ground of Anti-Semitism. The founders strongly believe that neither isolation nor total assimilation is the right path for the Jewish community. Experience shows that neither approach helps Jews to assimilate fully with the majority of society. Instead it often engenders anti-Semitism, suspicion, and distrust. Public discourse regarding Jews and historic and present offenses and political games over the last 25 years has also made things worse. The aim of the Foundation is to create a Jewish community, which is active, self-organizing and proud of their identity and traditions.

LEGAL PROTECTION, LEGAL AID

The Action and Protection Foundation, as a NGO that wishes to protect Jewish identity in Hungary, has been playing an active role in the legal protection of minorities since their foundation. The Foundation intends to play an essential role in criminal

law, civil law and constitutional law. The Foundation strongly believes in determent. It is important to investigate and report anti-Semitic-motivated and Holocaust-denial crimes to the authorities, to help the police. Last year the Foundation reported dozens of hate crimes to the authorities.

The aim of initiating a legal process for **Holocaust denial** was also that, taking the few opportunities, the Foundation was able to act, or even form the practice of law enforcement. On the ground of the prevailing practice, the police, prosecutors, and courts formed a practice of keeping the laws in accordance with their spirit, applying zero tolerance.

Instigation against a community crimes were reported to the authorities several times. However, local law enforcement practice did not meet the directives of the EU. We believe this is a flaw in the system. The Criminal Code was modified on 28 Oct. 2016. The action of committing instigation against a community was completed by including the instigation for violence, clarifying that instigation for hate or for violence are not equal terms. Previously the judicial practice did not separate the two different behaviours.

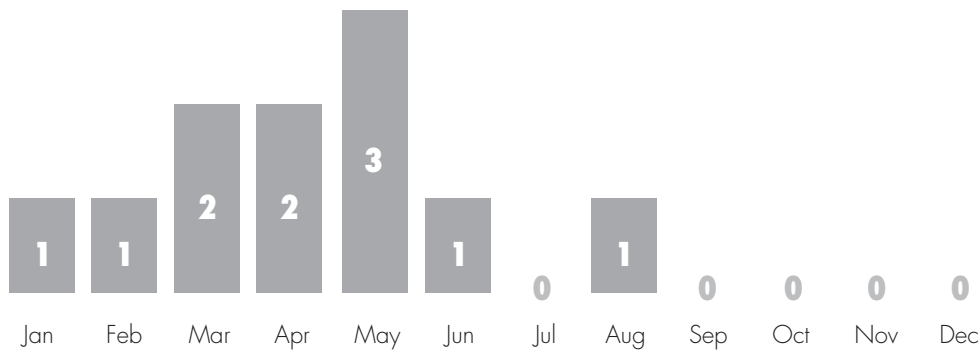
The Foundation made several suggestions at several forums of the Ministry of Justice in connection with the modifications since 2014. We strongly believed that the previous judicial practice had not functioned in the spirit of the law. We were glad to realize that our legal opinion is included in the explanatory memorandum of the Criminal Code.

We initiated making electronic data inaccessible in accordance with the modified Criminal Code and criminal process

LEGAL CASES INITIATED BY THE FOUNDATION IN 2016

Most cases were reports to the authorities (9 out of 11). The Foundation submitted two petitions and one legal action over labor issues to the authorities.

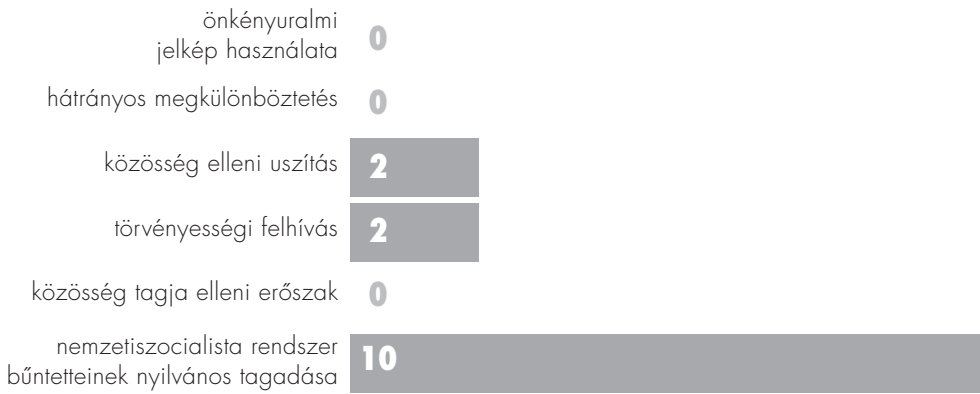
Cases initiated by the foundation in official proceedings (12) (2016)



Unlike in the previous years, the Foundation initiated 11 legal proceedings, 9 fell into criminal law category and 2 requests for review of legality. In two cases out of nine reports, we initiated criminal process in re-

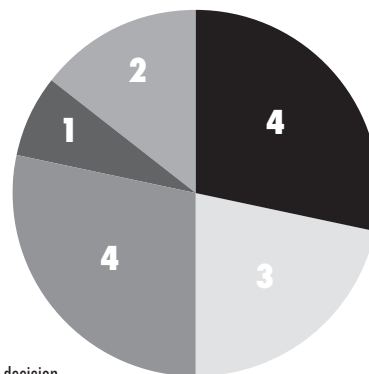
spect of more than one act. In most cases, the main motivation was the public denial of the crimes of the Nazi regime. In two cases, the subject of the report was instigation against a community.

Facts of the legal proceedings in 2016 (number of cases)



Four cases are still in progress. In three cases the proceeding was closed. In four cases the proceedings were suspended. In one case, the investigator sent the accusation to the court. In the cases of public areas' names change, the involved were obliged to change the name.

State of cases initiated in 2016 (number of cases)



THE HÓMAN CASE

In 2015, the Bálint Hóman Foundation wanted to put up a statue in Székesfehérvár commemorating Bálint Hóman, which received widespread public attention. The protests drew international attention, therefore the plan of putting up the statue failed.

At the same time, it turned out that even the existence of the Bálint Hóman Foundation itself is against the law. The letter, which was sent to the mayor of Székesfehérvár 17.12.2015, shows the spirit of the Foundation. In this letter, they officially gave up putting up the statue, but the letter started with this sentence: “It is not a coincidence that the name of our Foundation is Bálint Hóman. The remains of our pride after the first world war were destroyed by a small group of Zionist murderers ...” They also wrote the following in their letter showing serious ignorance of history: “Now we are in a similar situation to Bálint Hóman’s who voted for, accepted and signed the anti-Jewish laws, but acted against the enforcement of them and saved thousands of innocent Jewish people.”

The lawyers of our Foundation stated that the name of that Foundation is against the law. In accordance with the 36. §. (4a) of CLXXXI. 2011 Act about the registration and rules of process, NGOs shall not be named after a person who played a leading role in the establishment or maintenance of an autocratic political regime in the 20th century.

In our legal opinion, an NGO cannot contain the name Bálint Hóman. This was a man who prepared, voted for, and remained a Member of Parliament until March of 1944, even after the Nazi takeover. Bálint Hóman actively participated in a fascist government that assisted in the mass slaughter of Jews and others².

Our opinion was partly based on the statement of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences in connection with József Nyírő. Public areas in Hungary must not be named

after him. On the bases of the above mentioned, our Foundation turned to the competent authorities also in the cases of Bálint Hóman street in Vác and three public areas named after József Nyírő. By the autumn of 2016, no streets or squares were allowed to use József Nyírő’s name. In the Hóman case, the procedure took longer, as the Academy had not made a similar statement before. The court of Székesfehérvár turned to the Hungarian Academy of Sciences for their opinion. The answer was, among others, the following: “He was responsible for taking part in the establishing and deepening the relationship with Nazi Germany and extreme racial discrimination”.

The court requested a more precise answer. In his letter on 20 June, László Lovász made clear that the name of the Bálint Hóman Foundation violates the law. Therefore the court called upon the Foundation to put an end to the violation. The Foundation failed to comply with the obligation until the September deadline, and the situation is still the same, therefore at present it is working illegally.

During these proceedings the local government in Vác changed the name of Bálint Hóman Street to Rabtemető Street.

EDUCATION, TRAINING

Ignorance is the breeding grounds of prejudice. Therefore we give priority to teaching, training, and dispelling misconceptions. Starting at an early age is essential: the target group 14–24 year-old students.

HIGH SCHOOL PROGRAM

The Foundation paid particular attention to provide information and knowledge for preventive aims. We started a High School program and gave lectures on six different issues to High School students. The programs used educational methods, which were appropriate for the interest and capacity of each age group.

1. http://www.szekesfehervar.hu/_user/0/File/Hirek%20letotheto%20dokumentumai/2015/P_K_zgy_L_si_iroda_private_2015_el_terjeszt_sok_1218ny.pdf_449.pdf
2. http://mta.hu/data/dokumentumok/hatteranyagok/akademiai_szabalyozasok/osszefoglalo_XX_szazadi_onkenyuralmi_rendszerek_b.pdf

In 2016, we gave 48 lectures in 35 schools for 25-100 students each time. We met more than 2100 students. The lectures lasted for 90 minutes or, on request, 45 minutes.

The title of our most popular program was *“Everyday Jewish Life”*. The program was provided by Slomó Köves, the chief rabbi of EMIH. Slomó Köves spoke about common topics: studying, work, partnerships, meals, and clothing. He introduced the teachings of the Jewish religion and observing the religion in everyday life.



The lecturer himself was perhaps more interesting than the topics. Many young people have never met a rabbi. Every time the audience had the chance to ask questions, and every time the rabbi’s answers were open and honest. The lectures were interactive and they indicated that young people today are not only interested in the materialistic world, but also spirituality.



Another popular lecture was about *“Hate Crimes in Hungary”*. After introducing and comparing the concepts of *“stereotype”* and *“prejudice”*, the students gain information about the most representative actions in Hungary: the hate crime. In the frame of the lecture, we introduced the insidious threat of the hate-motivated crimes. We showed comparisons with the ordinary crimes on the level of the individuals, groups and so-

ciety. The lecture showed how to recognise them and what to do. We also introduced the legal protection activity of the Foundation, particularly the internet and phone anti-Semitism hotline.

In the lecture on *“One-way Street Messages of the Far-right”*, Dániel Róna Dr., senior assistant professor at Corvinus University and Director of the Foundation’s Research Program and Csanád Szegedi ex-MP and ex-Vice President of *“Jobbik”* talked about the dangers of political recruiting and the techniques of propaganda and manipulation used by the far-right, including their lies and the risks. The lecture was highly beneficial for its open discourse and objectivity. Dániel Róna, one of the most well-known experts of the *“Jobbik phenomenon”* in Hungary talked about his own results in research, while Csanád Szegedi shared his first-hand experience with the audience.

The Foundation, in cooperation with the Political Capital, showed how to recognize propaganda and lies and how to fight against them.

We examined the research work of Political Capital on earlier media representations of extreme right-wing politicians. We also examined results of the *“The Renewal of the Methods of (Democratic, Tolerant) Reasoning in Connection with the Human Rights and Enhance Attractiveness for Young People by the Means of Humour, Irony and Facts.”* This research was performed with Political Capital and was published in the summer of 2016.

Our educational program included taking young people to visit the Óbuda Synagogue. They also learned about the life of the community and admired the site of the architectural and sacral heritage in this old, recently restored synagogue in Budapest.

We also organized a several-day trip and *“nature”* school to the restored *“Rabbi’s house in Mád”*. During these trips the young people could learn about the life, the objects and cultural heritage of this once prosperous traditional community at Tokaj Hegyalja, in Olaszliszka and Mád. Visit some of



the videos on our YouTube channel³ or visit our homepage.

UNIVERSITY PROGRAM

Together with the National University of Public Services, we compiled the curriculum “Hate Crimes – Prevention and Combat Crime in the European Union” lectured by Andrea Kozári Prof. The curriculum shows the nature and effects of hate crimes. The material is still available for students.



The success of our educational program has required additional resources as demand for our courses is strong.

MONITORING, RESEARCH

Dr. András Kovács Sociologist, Professor of CEU and Scientific Consultant of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences Centre for Social Sciences Institute for Minority Studies, provides the professional background and supervision of the research work of the Foundation. Dániel Róna dr. Political scientist and Professor at Corvinus University, and Andrew Srulevitch, the Eastern Europe expert of the Anti-Defamation League (ADL) provide the project management.

PROJECT – THE RENEWAL OF THE METHOD OF HUMAN RIGHTS REASONING

In April 2016, the “The Renewal of the Methods of (Democratic, Tolerant) Reasoning in Connection with the Human Rights and Enhance Attractiveness for Young People by the Means of Humour, Irony and Facts” project was completed due to the cooperation of the Action



POLITICAL CAPITAL
POLICY RESEARCH & CONSULTING INSTITUTE

and Protection Foundation, Gábor Bernáth Media researcher, and Political Capital.

In the project we examined the possibility of the enhancement of a public discourse, which is free from violence and exclusion. We did not think that all social issues could be solved by communication and reasoning, but we strongly believe that communication could help or delay the solution.

During more than 30 focus group meetings, we had discussions with hundreds of young people, members of NGO's, researchers, journalists, creative professionals, conservative thinkers and groups who are the main targets of exclusion. We discussed the following issues:

- What is the reason of the increasing acceptance of exclusive reasoning?
- What are the ways and limits of using legal-rational counter arguments?
- Is it possible to enhance acceptance (inclusion), if yes, how to communicate it?
- How to communicate positive, emotional arguments, how to tell the stories, traditions of acceptance, solidarity?
- Is it useful to make fun of exclusion, challenge prejudices, point at the anomalies?
- How to enhance attractiveness of communication free from exclusion for young people and for the public?

On the basis of the experience gained at the meetings we developed different profiles for reasoning and counter argument strategies. We identified four kinds of profiles: rational/offensive affirmative, rational/question returning sarcastic, emotional/offensive affirmative and emotional/question returning sarcastic.

We tested the profile and methods go live, online and at mini campaigns. A real testing makes the research unique. We wanted to learn how efficient the methods are against the arguments and effects of the far-right. We summed up the results of the project⁴ in a study which is available on our homepage.

³ <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=BxVTj4k4-dI>, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=D6ELHmgRBV>, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=V6wu4vfuU-8>, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=DE0t6GrtmopA>

⁴ <http://teu.hu/wp-content/uploads/2016/06/PossibilitiesToCounteractExtremistDiscourse.pdf>

HATE CRIMES AND HATE-MOTIVATED INCIDENTS AND THEIR SOCIAL CONSEQUENCES

We dealt with two kinds of actions in our report: hate crimes and hate-motivated incidents. The Organisation for Security and Cooperation in Europe has the following definitions for these actions (OSCE/ODIHR 2009b, 15-16): Hate crime: a criminal offense motivated by bias or prejudice towards particular groups of people. Hate-motivated incident: an offense motivated by bias or prejudice towards particular groups of people which may not reach the threshold of a criminal offense.⁵ Hate crimes are considered as crimes by the authorities therefore they must be recorded. As hate crimes usually follow hate motivated incidents, they are accompanied by them; documentation is essential. Therefore the two types of actions are called hate actions. Distinguishing the two types is very important as OSCE does not consider hate speech as hate crime. As hate speech, which is the most frequent hate action in Hungary, without being based on prejudice would not be a crime. (OSCE/ODIHR 2009a, 24) According to Gábor Halmai definition of hate speech is: the speech [...], “when the speaker tells an offensive opinion about racial, ethnical, religious or sexual group or about its members – usually motivated by prejudice or hate – and might trigger hate in the society against the group.” (Halmai 2002, 114) Hate speech is actually a social and not legal category. “[A] The legal definition of the action, which is the starting point of culpability, is different in each country.” (Bieber 2009, 30)

Culpability regarding hate speech frequently appears in the context of freedom of speech. A more detailed definition of hate actions is available in the unit methodology.

SOCIAL BACKGROUND OF ANTI-SEMITISM

Hate crimes are unique for several reasons. By definition they are directed not

only towards individuals but also groups, therefore they are more complex. Not only do they threaten the physical safety of the victims, but their identity and self-image as well. They are attacked for things that they cannot change. Hate crimes threaten not just the person involved, but the whole group. It is particularly true for groups that are targets of prejudice. Unfortunately Jewish people belong to this group. Peace and the cohesion of the whole society are also at a risk. The attacked group shows distrust in the outside world and the society. That feeling this becomes more hostile. Therefore each hate crime triggers an escalation spiral which is easy to trigger, but hard to stop. Building up mutual trust can greatly help stop it. This situation jeopardises national security. These incidents violate several democratic norms: they violate not only the physical safety and freedom of the individuals, but the equality of the members of the society. (Átöl et al 2013).

THE CAUSES OF ANTI-SEMITISM AND HATE INCIDENTS

Alport (1977), in his classic work, divided the hostile attitude towards other social groups into three categories: verbal biased attitude, discrimination, violence. Since then there has been no consensus on the psychological mechanism that increases the likelihood of the manifestation of the different categories, but the increase itself is unavoidable: a biased person is more like to discriminate and be aggressive. We will examine the starting point of xenophobia: prejudice.

Being anti-Semitic is not only immoral, but irrational as well: “people’s arguments against the Jews more depend on their own psychology than the characteristics of the Jews” stated in an early and most well known research. (Adorno 1950, 57.0). Jonathan Sacks, the chief rabbi of Great Britain’s statement, was perhaps more precise when he said that people might condemn Jews for controversial characteristics: “Jews were

5 Definitions of Hate crime and hate motivated incidents have not changed over the years so this paragraphs come from the last year material. For similar reason the unit of Social Background of Hate Crime has hardly changed.

hated because they were rich, and because they were poor, because they were reserved and because they were sociable, because they believed in traditions and because they were cosmopolitans ...”⁶ Nevertheless, learning the causes of anti-Semitism is necessary to fight against anti-Jewish attitudes. Moreover, research must be unbiased, unemotional. When looking at each anti-Semitic stereotype, we should examine the background, the historical, social, psychological processes that lead to the spreading of anti-Jewish attitudes. The starting point cannot be that the explanation of anti-Semitism is irrationalism.

Therefore in the next part – in an indicative list – we will examine the classical and modern theories about this issue, in Hungary and abroad. We will examine their positions in contemporary Hungarian Society. We are going to compare them – when possible – with the data of the research conducted by Median: “*Anti-Semitic prejudice in the contemporary Hungarian Society*”⁷

The “*contact theory*” is obvious: personal contact and relationships with Jewish people influence the degree of anti-Semitism in a positive or negative way depending on the interaction. Personal relationships increase the likelihood of sympathy. Rivalry is likely to engender antipathy: among students (Glock 1975), or among business people (Bibó 1948). According to Median Research, having a Jewish friend significantly reduces the likelihood of anti-Semitism. The respondents usually learned about the origin of the friend from themselves, therefore they often already have a close relationship.

According to István Bibó, the mutual alienation started in the middle ages with the restriction of Jewish people, restriction of their homes and occupations. Therefore generations of Jews felt comfortable in their familiar neighbourhood and occupations in the financial sphere – much before the spreading of capitalism, which frequently triggered the antipathy of the others (“wrangler”, “pushy”) and it started an an-

tipathy spiral. Capitalism and emancipation enhanced the opportunities, success and influence. People belonging to the majority experienced that traditional values were put into the shade by the market and financial affairs. Many times they identified this phenomenon with the Jewish people.

Rightful self-confidence of the Jews in the “New World” was considered as self-conceit by the outsiders. People thought that Jewish people ignored the traditional values and society. The antipathy spiral began to accelerate quickly in the late 19th century and early 20th century when political anti-Semitism gained momentum. See, for example, the Dreyfus affair, and the Tiszaeszlár affair. Since that time “the mutual search for justice” turned into search for “compensation”. It led to a “besieged” state of mind among the Jews and the antipathy of a significant part of non-Jews turned into action.

According to Bibó, the other main cause of anti-Semitism is prejudice. On the basis of stereotypes, many people exaggerated the significance of any bad experience in connection with the Jews and belittled the favourable ones. Another problem is that neither the Jews nor those unfavorable towards Jews are aware of their one-sided experience. Krisztián Ungváry (2016) gives an example of a situation from the years of the world crisis (1929-1933) concerning the position of Jewish attorneys and non-Jewish farmers. The impoverished agricultural workers had to sell even their work equipment, their possession were in liquidation. The legal process was mainly carried out by Jewish professionals – no wonder the poor people had hostile attitude towards them.

Another issue is the lack of empathy: several social psychological theories examine the psychological state of the society. According to the “Frankfurt School”, the so-called authoritarian personality tends to be anti-Semitic (Adorno, 1950). Authoritarianism is measured on the classical (fascism) scale: idealised and uncritical attachment to moral authority, condemning those who do

6 Ilan Mor the ambassador of Israel in Budaest quoted it reacting on Zsolt Bayer's article <http://www.szombat.org/politika/ilan-mor-izraeli-nagykovet-titakozo-levele-bayer-zsolt-cikk-sorozatata-ugyeben>
7 The full text of the research can be downloaded from TEV's homepage: http://tev.hu/wp-content/uploads/2017/05/TEV_Antisemitism-research_2016.pdf

not respect the traditional values, admiring strength and toughness and thinking in cliché are the main characteristics. According to Adorno, frustration, anxiety, fear, envy and jealousy engender bias and anti-Semitism. Finding a scapegoat helps to clear the air and “explains” the failures.

Erich Fromm approaches the issue similarly in his book “Escape from Freedom”. A person with low self-respect and poor self-image is likely to search for submission (masochistic personality). The disturbed person escapes into illusion where he or she is suddenly powerful within a group. Personal failure is no longer important. The identify of the community serves as a replacement for their own.

The suffering individual needs not only a scapegoat but a group that is under his power (sadistic personality), which will help restore self-respect. Both types of personality appeared in Germany before the World War II due to crisis and national humiliation.

According to Hannah Arendt’s work “Roots of Totalitarianism”, people in isolated societies with few contacts and relationships became the followers of dictatorships (and often anti-Semitism). These systems expect unconditional loyalty, total devotion and only people who have nothing to lose are able to accomplish it.

According to new ideas, authoritarian attitude is not always the result of emotional problems, but the subculture, where these people belong to. Traditions ferment authoritarian attitudes, and authoritarianism can become ingrained in their personality. According to Selznick and Steinberg (1969) cultural values and particular ideological attitude engenders anti-Semitism: authoritarian, nationalist, intolerant views enhance the likelihood of anti-Jewish attitude. This correlation is also prevailing in the contemporary Hungary. In the 2016 research work of Meddian the proportion of those who had anti-Jewish attitudes was significantly higher among the respondents who agreed with conservative moral and social norms, who were nationalist, euro-sceptic and refused “otherness” (xenophobia) than the other respondents. According to the data of Meddian, non-acceptance of other minorities makes anti-Semitism more likely. Looking at Hungarian cultural values, discrimination against the Roma and shared by Jews.

Frustration cannot be always explained by financial deprivation. In the 2016 survey – and in previous Hungarian research works – there was not always correlation between the social status, income and anti-Semitism (qualifications were not significant either.)

METHODOLOGY⁸

T

The report deals with two types of offence: hate crimes and hate motivated incidents. These are defined by EBESZ as follows⁹ (OSCE/ODIHR 2009b, 15–16):

- hate crime: a crime as defined by the criminal code, which has been motivated by prejudice against a certain group of people¹⁰
- hate-motivated incident: an offence, also based on prejudice against a certain group of people, but not reaching the level of criminal conduct.

The heightened importance of individual hate crimes is indicated by the fact that the criminal code of numerous countries deals with these cases separately. Hungarian criminal legislation identifies two forms of hate crime: violent offences committed against the member of a group, and incitement to hatred of a community. The recently adopted Criminal Code (Act C of 2012) deals with these in Chapter XXI, Paragraph 216, on crimes against human dignity and certain basic rights, as well as Chapter XXXII, Paragraph 332, on crimes against public peace. The crime of violence against a member of a group may be established if the perpetrator assaults or otherwise co-

erces the victim, because they belong to a protected group. Additionally, this is also the case if the perpetrator demonstrates provocative behavior against a community that is apt to cause alarm. The crime is only affected if there is a concrete victim. Incitement against a community most often means hate speech, and it can only be defined as such on the condition that it is committed in public. Incitement to hate crimes does not target concrete individuals but a group of people. It is important to add that other crimes may also be categorized as having been committed on racist motives. In such cases the courts must pass a heavier sentence¹¹ (TASZ 2012, 3–4). Apart from these, Paragraph 333 of the Criminal Code also describes the crime of denial of the crimes of the National Socialist regime. Furthermore, Paragraph 335 bans the distribution and use in wide public, or public display of the symbols of various autocratic regimes (among them the swastika, the SS insignia, arrow-cross).

Detailed descriptions of approaches to, and recent tendencies in the definition of hate incidents can be found in our May Report. The report also cites the findings of literature in this field internationally. The present report presents hate crimes and hate incidents motivated by anti-Semitism, wherever perpetrator, target, means or message of a case suggest it. The target may be a person, a group, an event, a building, a monument or other property. It is important however, that anti-Semitic motivation can only be spoken of if the perpetrator chose the given target expressly because it was assumed to belong to Jewry. In this context it is not finally relevant whether the assumption is correct: the belief of the target's connection to Jewry is sufficient. In the

⁸ Our methodology remains the same since we started our monitoring in May 2013. The methodology was elaborated by Ildikó Barina, her text was integrated in this chapter. Small modifications are marked separately.

⁹ The scientific definition of hate crimes is extremely contradictory and divergent (for more on this, see Chakraborti and Garland 2009, 4–7). These definitions can serve as important agenda to an understanding of these crimes, however they are difficult to apply in practice. This is what made the creation of simpler, more practical definitions necessary.

¹⁰ For example, on these grounds the OSCE does not consider hate speech a hate crime, since the given behavior would not count as criminal without the motive of prejudice (OSCE/ODIHR 2009a, 24).

For our approach in dealing with this, see below.

¹¹ The Criminal Code does not include racist motives verbatim, but for example the case of "contemptible motive" is fulfilled, if someone commits a crime out of such a motivation.

course of monitoring, on one hand, all incidents that fall in the category of hate crime are considered hate incidents. These may be crimes identified as such by the Criminal Code (violent assault of a member of a community, incitement to hatred of a community, denial of the crimes of the national socialist regime, use of symbols of autocratic regimes), but can also include other acts mentioned in the Criminal Code, if prejudice can be proven as a motivating factor. When identifying hate incidents, various indicators recorded during the monitoring period¹² are used as the basis for examining whether the given action could have been motivated by anti-Semitism.

For the widest possible scope in monitoring anti-Semitic hate incidents the simultaneous use of a variety of sources is required. The victims' filed reports are of especially great importance to this study. If the victim cannot, or does not want to file a report with the Brussels Institute, the involvement of an intermediary may be facilitated to gain information. Such an intermediary may be a family member, acquaintance of the victim, a witness of the incident or another civil organization. The earlier mentioned 24-hours-a-day Hotline operated by the Foundation serves to ease the passage of reports. Additionally there are options for online filing of reports, which allow even greater anonymity for the person placing the report.

It is a declared objective of the Foundation to keep in touch with the authorities, since they are the most likely to be first approached by victims or witnesses.

A variety of media channels also represent important sources: television, radio, as well as the printed and online versions of the press. An essential segment of the report is composed of monitoring the expressions of, so called, online hatred, which seems currently to have become an ever-increasing threat.

Monitoring of these media channels is covered in part by a paid team of experts within a professional framework, while volunteers are involved additionally in the me-

dia watch, sending information gained on to the Brussels Institute for processing. It is an aim to cover an increasingly large segment of the media with continuous monitoring. Monitoring extends to roughly all receivable TV and radio stations, all the printed press with high print-runs, as well as online material not only on news portals, but the social networking pages and extreme, hate inciting websites. The monitoring process is carried through systematically, according to precisely prepared standards.

Among the monitored hate incidents there are some that are considered a part of the statistics, but there are also some that are recorded, though not counted as part of the statistics.¹³

The criteria for hate incidents that are included in the statistics follow:

- Only hate incidents that occurred in Hungary; no matter whether the victim is a Hungarian citizen or not
- Any action, incident, atrocity that is aimed at Jewish individuals, organizations or property where an anti-Semitic intent or content can be proven, or if the victim was attacked for being Jewish or due to an assumed Jewish identity
- Deliberate and wanton impairment of any Jewish institution or building (even if no further, explicit anti-Semitic message was paired with the vandalism [for example, a Jewish synagogue's window is broken with a stone])
- Anti-Semitic comments that have been reported to Action and Protection Foundation appearing on blogs, fora, community pages
- Anti-Semitic and neo-Nazi material delivered to particular Jewish individuals, Jewish organizations, institutions
- Anti-Semitic and neo-Nazi material deposited at Jewish-owned property, Jewish organizations, institutions
- Criticism related to Israel and Zionism, if they go beyond a political statement and serve to recall traditional anti-Jewish stereotypes
- Events apt to raise fear among Jews.

¹² These are described in the Methods section.

¹³ The following were used to develop these criteria: ADL 2012, CST 2013

HATE CRIMES OUT OF STATISTICS¹⁴

- Anti-Semitic hate incidents that are related to Hungary and Hungarian Jewry, but for some reason do not belong to the scope of the statistics (e.g., they did not occur in Hungary)

- Expressions of hate that appear regularly on homepages, in comments and online fora, and have not been personally reported to Action and Protection Foundation.

A number of the aspects of the registered incidents are recorded. The indicators that help decide whether a given incident was motivated by prejudice have been mentioned earlier. These indicators pertain to various characteristics of the perpetrator, data concerning the victim, the time and location of the incident. These are recorded in the course of collection of data. Tabs are kept on whether incidents had any, and if so, what sort of possibly legal consequences.

Apart from registering incidents, it is also important to capture the qualitative differentials between them. The typification of cases is carried out in two ways. According to one of the systems of categorization the following types are differentiated: incitement against members of a community, violence against members of a community, use of symbols of autocratic regimes, and Holocaust denial.

Based on the Facing Facts! Guidelines, seven types of incidents are differentiated as follows (CEJI 2012, 10–12):

- Homicide: any attack on a person that causes loss of life
- Extreme physical violence
 - Any attack on a person that potentially causes serious bodily harm
 - Any attack involving weapons, or other tools that can cause bodily harm
 - Any attack on property, where there is a potential for the people occupying the property to be killed
 - Bombs and letter bombs
 - Kidnapping

- Assault

Any physical attack against a person or people, which does not pose a threat to their life and is not serious

Attempted assault, which fails due to self-defense, or if the victim runs away

Throwing objects at a person or people, including where the object misses its target

- Damage to property

Any physical attack directed against property, which is not life-threatening

Desecration of property

Arson attacks on property where there is not threat to life, failed attempts at arson

- Threats

Any clear and specific threat, whether verbal or written

Any “bomb” which is assessed to be a hoax

Stalking

Defamation

- Hate speech

Public hate speech

Hate speech channeled via the internet and social media

Abusive behavior

Abusive literature sent to more than one person

In literature and music

- Discriminatory incidents

Placing hate incidents in context is also a priority. These actions do not exist in empty space and are by no means independent of the social and cultural environs in which they occur. The dynamics of these incidents is also of importance: often processes, rather than separately occurring events can be spoken of (Perry 2001, 8). Apart from the static data, short descriptions of each event are also published, which aid understanding of the environment surrounding the incident.¹⁵ In presenting time lines, attention will always be given to showing the dynamics of the events.

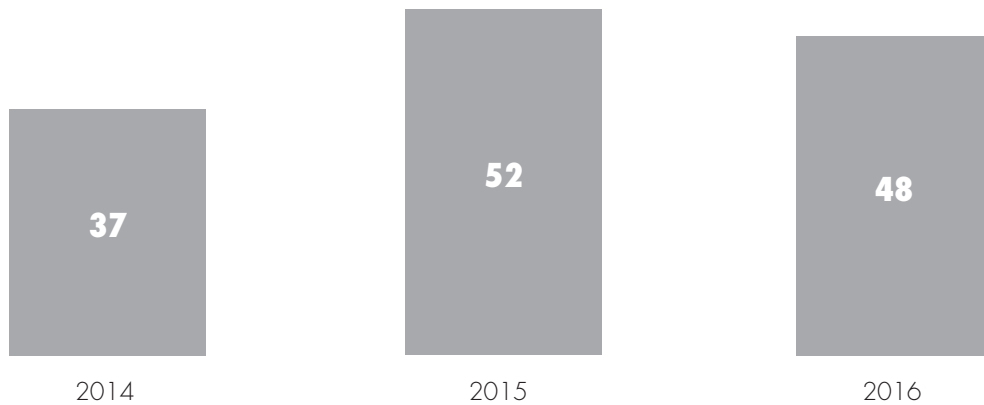
¹⁴ We precised the description of hate crimes which are not being part of our statistics, the definition is now different from the one made in 2013.

¹⁵ These descriptions in particular are held to be a most positive aspect of the Anti-Defamation League reports by Perry (2001, 18).

ANTI-SEMITIC HATE CRIMES JANUARY-DECEMBER 2016

Action and Protection Foundation (APF) shows a 10% decrease from the 52 cases of identified 48 incidents of anti-Semitic hate crime during 2016 monitoring which 2015 but 15% higher than the 37 cases in 2014.

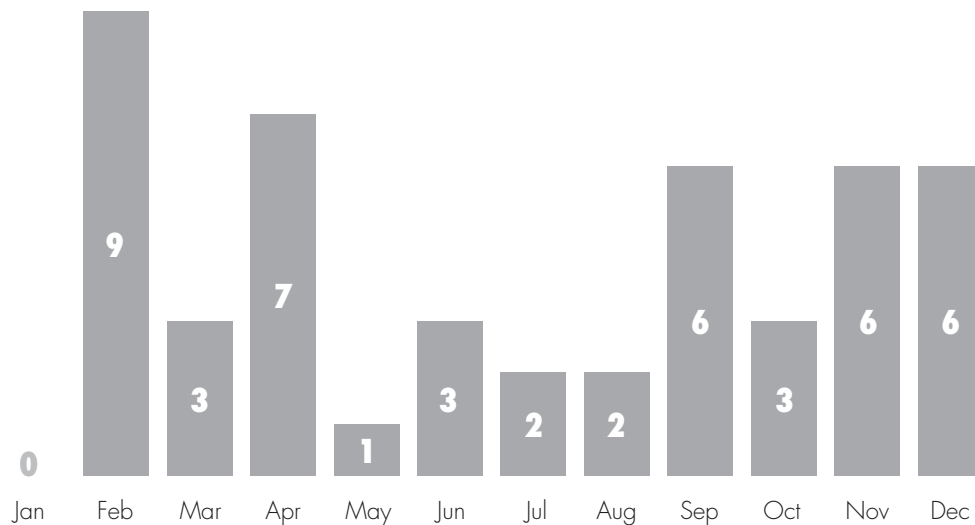
Chart 1. Anti-Semitic hate crimes in Hungary, 2014-2016



The number of cases was notably high in February. During summer, the number of anti-Semitic crimes decreased, but a relatively high number of cases remained stable towards the end of the year. The number of cases was equal between the first and second six months of the year (23-25). In 2016,

there were no major differences among the monthly distribution of crimes, except for January and summer months. Statistical variance is always a factor when evaluating crimes which occurred during a particular month or time of year.

Chart 2. Anti-Semitic hate crimes in monthly breakdown, 2016

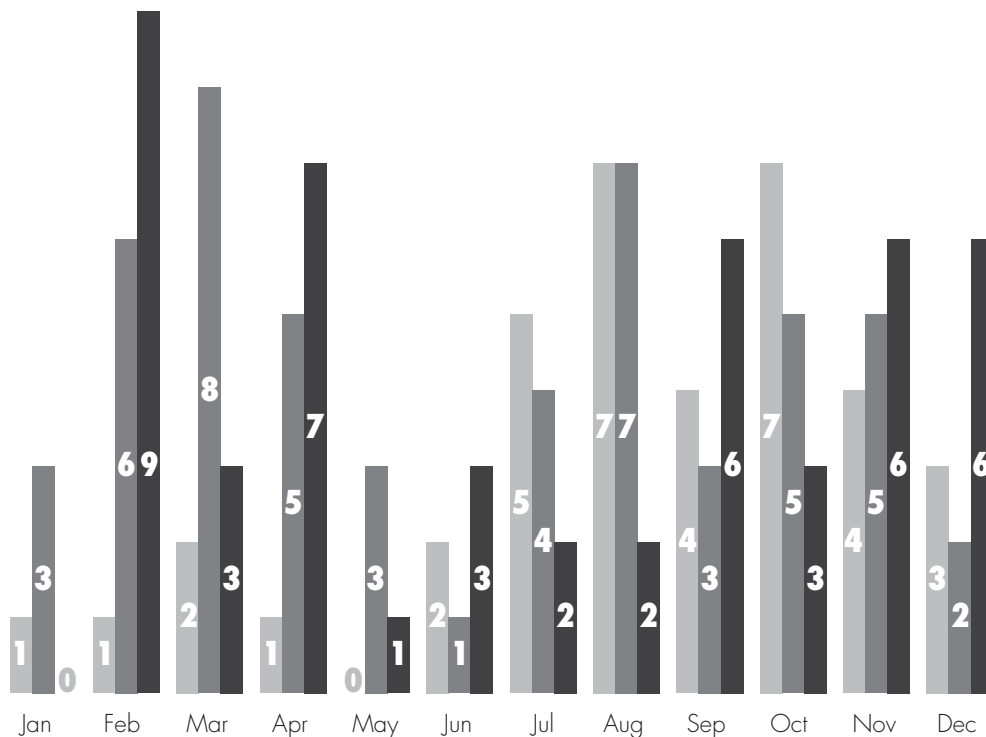


Compared to previous years, the monthly breakdown of anti-Semitic hate incidents has no specific pattern. The projection at the beginning of the year is due to the “regular” extremist events and racist, anti-Semitic speeches linked to “Day of Honour” and “Day of Outbreak”. Fewer incidents at the beginning of the summer

could be seasonal, although the end of the summer presented outstanding numbers during the past two years compared to this year. Nor can fewer incidents during the summer months be confirmed as a regular seasonal variance as we see variances in the number of incidents during other parts of the year.

Chart 3. Anti-Semitic hate crimes in monthly breakdown, 2014-2016

● 2014 ● 2015 ● 2016



In addition to the 48 reported hate crimes, we registered another 10 cases which did not fall in any categories. In 2015, this number was 39. In 2014 it was 28. The threat and one of the hate speeches happened outside of Hungary by Hungarian supporters at UEFA Euro 2016. An investigation was launched in France because of a Nazi salutation, and the world press reported pictures of Hungarian supporters with swastikas and other extremist tattoos. A few cases of vandalism happened by unknown individuals at unidentified dates. We registered a case in Miskolc, one in Eger, and two in Budapest. The tattoos included in the case were a swastika, anti-Semitic symbols, and other symbols sig-

nifying hate. Finally, there were four cases of hate speech which are not included in our statistics either because it is not entirely clear what happened and the offenders were unknown or an anti-Semitic intention was not proven. In the further parts of this study we only concentrate on cases which are included in our statistics.

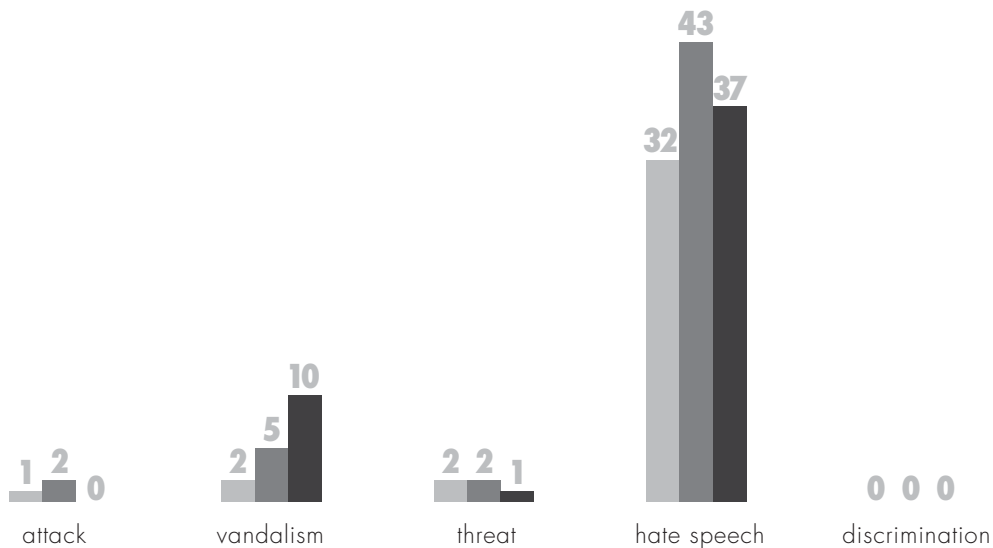
TYPE OF INCIDENTS

In the indicated period, there were no cases of murder or serious physical violence. From January to December 2016, we registered no attacks or acts of discrimination, but there were 10 cases of vandalism, 1 threat and 37 incidents of hate speech. The great majority

of registered anti-Semitic hate crimes fall into the category of hate speech. We have seen a similar pattern in 2014 and 2015. It is

an unfortunate development that the number of cases of vandalism increased during the past years.

Chart 6. Anti-Semitic hate crimes in type breakdown, 2014-2016



VANDALISM

We registered ten cases of vandalism during the indicated period. Offenses against property which do not cause danger to life fall into this category. In the majority of the cases (eight monitored cases), vandalism and similar crimes fell into this category. Among these, the most frequent form is the swastika. The swastika was drawn at Árpád viewpoint, Dob Street in Budapest, Bél-kő mountain, and the Great Church of Debrecen. There were other anti-Semitic and hate speech found. There was only one administrative procedure: the case of the Great Church of Debrecen, which ended quickly with the successful identification and prosecution of the offenders. See below for our report on similar acts:

The menorah was stolen from the Holocaust memorial in Zalaegerszeg

Zalaegerszeg, Zala County

Source: MTI, Zalaegerszegi Hírlap

On the weekend of 27-28 February, unknown culprits stole the menorah from the

Holocaust memorial that was set up in Zalaegerszeg in 2005.

On 29 February, Chief of the Jewish Community in Zalaegerszeg József Preisz reported the case to the police. The copper elements of the menorah had been sawn off before. The damage is estimated at 200,000 HUF. The Police Headquarters of Zala County ordered an investigation into theft of an object of religious worship, which is a lower value damage.



Source: Szombat

Unknown individuals vandalized a monument at March 15 Square

Budapest

Source: Action and Protection Foundation

On the 10th of April, the Police Office of Budapest District 5 called the hotline of APF reporting a Holocaust denying writing on the Holocaust monument at Budapest March 15 Square. The writing states: "This, in its present form is a lie." The police requested the staff of APF to go to the site to represent the victim. A member of the staff of APF arrived at the location, the police officers recorded the traces. In the name of the foundation, a complaint was filed. Followed by the trace recording, a member of staff of APF removed the sign.



Source: Action and Protection Foundation

A stone was thrown through the windows of the synagogue in Gyöngyös

Gyöngyös, Heves County

Source: mazsihisz.hu

On the 29th of June, the president of the Federation of Hungarian Jewish Communities, Péter Weisz, said that police had begun an investigation. The first picture shows



Source: mazsihisz.hu

the stone which is approximately eight kilograms and could not have been found around the synagogue therefore it is almost certain that it was carried by the offenders. It is presumed that the crime was intentional.

So-called "Live Memorial" damaged twice in a row

Source: 444.hu

10 and 16 September 2016

Unknown individuals damaged some of the exhibits of the "Eleven Emlékmű" ("Live Memorial") on Szabadság tér. The pictures, for example, were torn down. The extent of the damage was published on the memorial's Facebook page and the organizers of the memorial released a statement to 444.hu which stated: "Just as forecast on kuruc.info, vandals desecrated it (...) we pressed criminal charges immediately". The organizers also arranged a flash mob through Facebook to restore the memorial. A few days later, however, unknown individuals tore down numerous laminated photos commemorating the Holocaust and scribbled over the agenda board of the community initiative. The organizers pressed charges again. The flash mob took place without any major incident, but many expressed their disapproval of both the flash mob and the memorial by leaving anti-Semitic comments on the Facebook event page.

THREAT

We registered one case of threat in the indicated period. Threats are hate crimes which are either oral or written threats or defamations. For example, posing in a T-shirt with a sign of Zyklon-B and publishing this picture on an extremist website is a typical case of threat.

Threatening photo on the website of Betyársereg

Budapest

Source: betyarsereg.hu

On 8 March 2016, a new photo appeared on the website of Betyársereg. The photo de-



Source: betyarsereg.hu

picts leader of the organization Zsolt Tyirityán and two other people surrounding a fourth individual (presumably all members of Betyársereg). The group is pointing at the “Zyklon B” printing on his T-shirt. Zyklon B was the gas used in the concentration camps to kill victims, so the aim of the photo is clearly to provoke fear.

HATE SPEECH

We registered 37 incidents of hate speech in 2016. Anti-Semitic speech is included in this category, which received great publicity. See below for significant incidents which occurred in 2016.

Gypsies and Jews cannot become members of Betyársereg

Budapest

Source: YouTube

A citizen reported to APF that, on 5 February, a video introducing Betyársereg was shared on YouTube. Leader of the organization, Zsolt Tyirityán, states in the video that Gypsies and Jews are not able to become members of Betyársereg.

Outbreak Day

Székesfehérvár, Fejér County

Source: ATV

On 6 February, organizations with the Arrow Cross Party’s spirits held a commemoration ceremony in Székesfehérvár. Új Magyar Gárda (ÚMG, New Hungarian Guard), Hatvannégy Vármegye Ifjúsági Mozgalom (HVIM, Sixty-Four Counties Youth Movement) and Betyársereg were among the organizers.

The Day of Honor at the Buda Castle and an event titled »Remember the heroes of the outbreak!« both commemorated the victims of the German-Hungarian military attempts to break out from the Soviet encirclement of Buda on 11 February 1945. Participants commemorated the victims with a mass, a concert, and the wearing of SS uniforms and helmets. Jobbik vice-president, Előd Novák, was also going to participate in the event, but he canceled his participation in the end. He said he was surprised when he saw the program, by which he probably

referred to former member of the Waffen-SS, Klaus Grotjahn, who was invited to but later excused himself from the event for health reasons.



Source: feol.hu

Leader of Betyársereg, Zsolt Tyirityán, who was one of the main speakers at the event, shouted “Glory to the Waffen-SS” into the microphone. Then, he called Szálasi’s coup of 15 October “the basis of Hungarism” because, according to him, there would be no Day of Honor without that, as Hungarians would have laid down their arms to the Soviets by then. Tyirityán called Soviets “the delegates of the devil”.

László Toroczkai’s comment about the Jews

Ásotthalom, Csongrád County

Source: László Toroczkai’s Facebook profile

On 8 February, APF received a citizen notification that mayor of Ásotthalom and leader of the Sixty-Four Counties Youth Movement László Toroczkai submitted a comment to a post that presented research regarding French Jews moving to Israel. The comment of 23 January read: “Somebody please tell them that the main supporters of illegal migration, which causes their sufferings, are actually people of Jewish origin. In Hungary, for example, Antal Örkény and Ferenc Kőszeg, leaders and founders of the two migrant support organizations with billions of foreign aid (Menedék Hungarian



Antal Örkény, Ferenc Kőszeg and George Soros, Source: László Toroczkai’s Facebook profile

Association for Migrants and the Hungarian Helsinki Committee), are of Jewish origin. I believe that anyone with Jewish ancestors may, without doubt, become excellent Hungarians. However, Ferenc Kőszeg is of different opinion. He says that »only half-Jews with distorted soul become passionate Hungarians.« László Toroczka also attached three photos to his comment, the photos depicted Antal Őrkény, Ferenc Kőszeg and George Soros

Day of Honor

Budapest

Source: MTI, YouTube

On 13 February at the Buda Castle, far-right organizations held an event named Day of Honor in order to commemorate, similarly to Outbreak Day, soldiers and civilians who tried to break out of the blockade of Soviet troops on 11 February 1945. The commemoration was organized by the Magyar Nemzeti Arcvonal (MNA, Hungarian National Forefront), the Pax Hungarica Mozgalom (PHM, Pax Hungarica Movement) and the Hungária Skins (HS). Speakers of the event, author and historian Tamás Retkes, representatives of the MNA, the PHM and the Slovak Testvériség (Slovenská Pospolitosť, Slovakian Brotherhood) praised the heroism of the German and Hungarian soldiers who had participated in the outbreak. The majority of the people who attended the event wore either German or Hungarian Second

World War uniforms, or uniforms that resembled these. Music from the same era was played through the speakers. Among stretched banners, there was one of the Fehér Magyar Egység (White Hungarian Unit) with an inscription that read “For a free, national and social Hungary”, and there was a banner of “Blood C18 Honor Hungary”, which is the name of a neo-Nazi organization. Many people brought MNA flags and flags that resembled those of the Arrow Cross Party. Leader of the Pax Hungarica Movement, János Lantos, said the following at the event: “The heroism of the soldiers of the outbreak still shines bright after 70 years, it has been freed from the filth and the lies that it was covered in, and that is why more and more people realize that our grandfathers were not criminals, but soldiers and heroes. They were indeed heroes, and they fought against the worst and most evil power of world history, i.e., Bolshevism marked by Jewish mass murderers. The criminals were not our grandfathers but those on the other side, and we have heard recently that they vandalized an outbreak memorial. It is enough to just take a look at this type of men, and we immediately see their souls are distorted. And this type of men, people who do such things, who disrespect the memory of heroes, are no more than sewer rats, the worst of the scum of humanity.”

A group of 100 anti-demonstrators protested against the commemoration by drumming, keeping their horns and shouting “go home Nazis” and “filthy Nazis”. The two sides were separated by a metal fence and lines of policemen.

After the demonstration was finished, participants went on a tour named »Outbreak 60-35-25 Commemoration tour«.



Day of Honor ceremony in the Buda Castle,
Source: Magyar Nemzet

Zsolt Bayer's opinion in the Donáth case *Budapest*

Source: Magyar Hírlap

On 27 February, Magyar Hírlap published »Unbearable (1)«, the first of Zsolt Bayer's series of articles. In the article, the author stood up for the Donáth statue. The following are those extracts from the article that can be interpreted as hate speech:

“Besides all this, it is high time we said we had had enough of looking at history solely through the suffering of the Jews and writing official records based on that single perspective. Enough, enough, enough!”

“[...] was György Donáth anti-Semitic? Yes, he was. Like many of his contemporaries with unquestionable talent and greatness, without whom there would be no Hungarian culture or history. If it was enough to disinherit someone from the Hungarian pantheon for being anti-Semitic, then we could forget about Sándor Petőfi, Ferenc Herczeg, Dezső Kosztolányi, Sándor Márai, László Németh, Gyula Illyés, Dezső Szabó, Féja, Ferenc Erdei, Zsigmond Móricz – the so-called “people's writers” (népiek) in general, and numerous great figures of our history. What is more, in many cases anti-Semitism is just an accusation, and people who write something bad or true about the Jews once in their life could immediately be accused of it. Not to mention the fact that the Hungarian Jews who were unfortunately overrepresented in the Hungarian Soviet Republic and the mass murders in 1919, against the will and the intention of many of them, could also be held responsible for evoking mainstream society's antipathy and anger.”

Commemoration of Eszter Solymosi

Tiszaeszlár

Source: Indavideo online video portal, YouTube video

On the 2nd of April, a commemoration was held by the Hungarian National Front in memory of Eszter Solymosi in Tiszaeszlár.¹⁶ Approximately 100 people, including mem-

bers of several far-right organizations participated in the commemoration. A speech was held by László Tompó Jr. and Magdi Högyesi, both known in Hungarian nationalist, extremist circles. Several elements of the speeches contained references offensive to Jews with the potential interpretation of hate speech. In his speech, László Tompó Jr. made reference to literary and historical authors and works (e.g., József Bari, Lipót Huber) who took it for granted that, in certain Hasidic Jewish communities, ritual murder at Passover and human sacrifice occurred. On the homepage of Indavideo, the text of the video presenting the lawsuit in Tiszaeszlár also assumes that Eszter Solymosi was murdered by the Jews. Extracts from the text: “This is a lawsuit which remained unsolved not only for the past 134 years but for tens of thousands of years. The series of hidden crimes still destroy goy families now which legitimately raises the question: how does the number of detected crimes refer to the number of committed crimes? How can a legal system of a society work in a healthy and effective way by using permanent double standards? But let us stay with the Christian child murdered innocently, for whom the law still hasn't stood up for. She suffered, she bled to death and became the victim of a Jewish ritual murder under unclear circumstances. The affair known as the “blood libel in Tiszaeszlár” could not have been kept a secret. Especially at Easter, Christian children must die according to Jewish ritual in order to serve as an ingredient for unleavened bread: matzos. (...) That time period is characterized by the fact that the judgment eventually resulted in riots and the accused Jews escaped from the country. Later it became clear that the acquittal of all the accused cost 60 million forints and several civil servants reported corruption. “The video is more than an hour long and starts with a song about the incident, a quotation from the song: “Remember her, light a candle – You Hungarian – perhaps it will be you tomorrow

¹⁶ https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Tiszaeszl%C3%A1r_affair

covered by a tomb. (...) Eszter Solymosi is crying, the hatred is murdering (...), those who take our blood are free to walk away, the guilt of this famous city pollutes our air, no press cries, let the Hungarian die, for them, it is no crime.” While struggling with his tears, the head of the Hungarian National Front concluded the commemoration at the bier with the simple line: “In the defense of our nation and homeland, all means are permitted.”

Followed by the speeches, the following organizations placed a wreath to the later established shrines of Eszter Solymosi: Hungarian National Front, Hungarian National Guard, Miskolc Faculty of the Hungarian Self-Defense Movement, Guard Motorcyclists, Hungarist Movement, Hajdúnánás Wing of Jobbik party, Conscience 88 group, Tiszaeszlár wing of Jobbik party, Mountain Hunter Club of Bükk.

Lóránt Schuster jew-baiting at a Jobbik event

Budapest

Source: ATV

On the 20th of April, Lóránt Schuster was the guest of Jobbik, Budapest District 11 in response to the invitation of the Vice President of Jobbik, Előd Novák.

The public event was organized in relation to the new book of Schuster entitled “Kaptafa” (the title is in relation to a Hungarian saying: “A szuster maradjon a kaptafánál – Let the shoemaker stick to his last” – note of the translator). “Where did the immune system of the Hungarian nation go, my dear ones?” he asked right at the beginning, introducing the essence of his lecture which can be summarized: “The media, controlled by “we all know by whom”, lies to the people day and night, as a result there is a lot of stupidity around so one must reach out for an authentic source of information.” Then he went on: „It was all laid out already in the Protocols of the Elders of Zion. It is a forgery of course, but a very perfect one, as everything happens in it as it is written.” The majority of his lecture was about revealing and presuming the Jewish origin of certain musicians and politicians highlighting their roots.



Schuster and Novák at Jobbik's event. Source: ATV

The ex-MIÉP rock musician quoted a few sentences from Theodor Herzl and from the London based newspaper, The Jewish Chronicle. He also discussed that the profit of each and every drop of oil goes to the Jews. He also shared that he is planning to write even more books, out of which the last one will be entitled “Antikrisztus/Anti-Christ” and “they will surely not like that”. According to László Semsei, the author of the article at ATV, Schuster declared after the 90-minute long lecture that he is keeping fingers crossed for Jobbik in order to remain loyal and to avoid dissolution, like in the case of MIÉP.

Complications around the creation of a turul statue in Szentendre

Szentendre, Pest County

Source: 168ora.hu, szentendre.hu, magyar-narancs.hu

In 2013, the local government of Szentendre decided to give permission for the creation of a turul statue at one of the most popular spots of the city, at the crossroad of Szentendrei and Sztratosvai Streets. On the 18th of June 2016, the representative body of the City voted for a local NGO, the Conservative Circle of Szentendre to build the statue. István Holló, the local representative of Jobbik who is storing the statue in his own garden said that “we definitely have to create this statue because we have already announced the inauguration for the second of July.”

The decision of the local government is only a theoretical agreement. The project has not gotten the required legal permissions yet. This was not taken into consideration by the Foundation for the Turul Statue of Szentendre, so they started the foundation at the appointed public area on the 24th of June without the necessary permissions.



Anti-Semitic writing on the basis of the turul statue;
Source: magyarnarancs.hu

A group of locals, led by Balázs Horváth the activist of a group called “Living Monument in Szentendre” launched a civil disobedience movement against the creation of the statue.

Mr Horváth, together with his fellow supporters, held a sit-in at the scene on the 24th of June, making it impossible to continue building the foundation. Áron Kubatovics, the local representative of Society for Living

Szentendre (TÉSZ), also appeared at the demonstration. He opposed the statue and at the demonstration he emphasized that the attempt to set up the statue is not legitimate, not only because of the idea behind it but also because they lack permission from several competent professional authorities, although the main permission is available.

Balázs Horváth climbed on the pillar and, shortly after, the constructors called the police. According to Mr Horváth, the actions of the police were questionable. It was not clear whether the procedure was undertaken against the builders or against the person who prevented the construction. It was stated that both the construction and the climbing on the base was against the law. Finally, the builder’s truck left the scene.

István Holló and András Filó¹⁷, both members of the Conservative Circle participated at the construction. The next development was an anti-Semitic message which appeared on the base of the turul statue during the night of the 24th of June. The message read, “Those who are disturbed by the turul statue should move to Israel!

Hungary is our homeland! God bless the Hungarians!” The writing was reported to the hotline of Action and Protection Foundation. A colleague went to the scene and filed a complaint. (We will further report on that in the Legal Actions chapter.)

The mayor of the city, Miklós Verseghe-Nagy and János Holló both condemned the writing. Miklós Verseghe-Nagy, the mayor of the city which has a predominantly Fidesz government, reacted to the hateful writing on his Facebook page. His opinion was published on the webpage of the city on the 27th of June entitled “Szentendre cannot be provoked”: “In the name of the Local Government of Szentendre and also in my own name, I protest against the anti-Semitic writings which appeared at the public areas of the city. I condemn any forms of hateful, discriminating behavior and I express my deepest sympathy for those who are affected in this case. I have already ordered the removal of the writings. I also ordered increased control of the scene by the Public Safety Office. We kindly ask the residents to immediately report any abuse to the local government office which might be experienced.”

For Facebook in Hungary, hate speech is acceptable

Source: 444.hu

According to the 444.hu webpage, on the 21st of June, a photo appeared on Facebook, published by user “Háborús Bűnös”, which illustrates a piece of soap with the following writing: “Son of Saul! This is the way I love you!” Both the photo and the writing are considered hate speech because it refers to the Facebook user’s vision that he would like to see Jews as a piece of soap just like in the movie of András Jeles Nemes.

The author of the article shared the information that he reported this hateful content to Facebook but he got the following response from the Hungarian representative:

¹⁷ András Filó, ex-member of Parliament of Jobbik, founder of Gárda. Mr. Filó was in the national news in 2010 because anti-Semitic writings appeared in the window of his party-office in Szentendre before the national parliamentary elections, such as “the weapon of Jews is money, don’t put a weapon in his hands.” Mr. Filó denied that he placed the posters himself, according to him, it was an activist. Moreover, there were no such writings at all, and the word “Jews” did not even appear, he explained in front of the cameras of RTL TV channel. He admitted that Viktor Orbán and Antal Rogán were wearing kippah on the poster and Jewish rabbi counting money also appeared. Mr. Filó disagrees with the idea of Jews being always given indemnities and anyway these are the Jews who create anti-Semitism. He elaborated on the real estate investments in Hungary which are financed by the Jewish although “This is Hungary, not Israel” and “the Hungarians are only considered to be Hungarians together with their land”. The politician filed a lawsuit against Népszava, although Court declared legally: because of this concrete case, Mr. Filó has bear the word “Jewbaiter” used by the newspaper.

Saul fia!



Én így szeretlek!

Source 444.hu

didn't even get a response. The photo is still available on the profile of Facebook user "Háborús Bűnös". The case is difficult to understand because according to our May report, Facebook accepted the EU Directive of 31st of May, 2016 on hate speech, consequently all content and comments must be eliminated within 24 hours which are categorized as hate speech. Our colleague pointed this out in his letter erre a szabályozásra is utalt levelében.

FOI request elicits Jew baiting outrage from László Toroczkai, mayor of Ásotthalom

Hungary

Source: 444.hu

22 July 2016. András Léderer, coordinator of the Hungarian Helsinki Committee's refugee program, requested an FOI from the local government of Ásotthalom with regard to the operations of the armed regional guards on duty there.

On his Facebook profile Léderer writes that he did not receive an answer to his questions, but mayor László Toroczkai, elected as an independent and since having joined the ranks of Jobbik Party as its deputy leader, posted his photograph to his own Facebook page and reacted in a personal manner. In his post Toroczkai emphasized that Léderer was earlier a member of the Party of Free Democrats (SZDSZ), and that "he is Jewish, and thought it very important to make it public last year that he is homosexual", going on to explain, that "those of his ilk" i.e. people disturbing the order in his opinion had been banned from Ásotthalom in a decree.

"We found that the picture does not harm the Community principles." The staff of Action and Protection Foundation also notified Facebook several times that the picture is insulting but they got the same response. Afterwards, a colleague of ours wrote a letter expressing his disagreement but he

Léderer recounted that while he had not received a reply, he did receive many comments that were anti-Semitic, and dealt with his Jewish background and sexual orientation in both messages and comments citing a small selection of these in his post.

Budaházy would have been interviewed by 24.hu

Source: 24.hu

Budapest, 30 August 2016

A reporter from 24.hu also attended György Budaházy's trial, where Budaházy was convicted, but the decision is not final. Following the trial, the 24.hu reporter wanted to ask a question from Budaházy, who asked back: "what is this, are you Jewish?". After the reporter answered yes, Budaházy refused to answer his question and stated even later, outside the court building that he did not want the reporter to be around any more.

Holocaust denial and anti-Semitic comments on YouTube

Source: Action and Protection Foundation

12 September 2016

The Unified Hungarian Jewish Congregation (EMIH) launched a series of videos titled "Jewish tales" on YouTube. The second video and the individual appearing in it received multiple anti-Semitic and Holocaust-denying comments. Based on their profiles, the commenters were fake YouTube users, but APF decided to take legal action anyway. The "Jewish tales" are short videos shot in starred houses and present what Judaism means to young people. The majority of people appearing in the videos are not Jewish, like the 15-year-old girl who speaks in the second one. Commenting has been turned off for the videos since the incident.

Defamatory montage of Szmó Köves on a blog

Source: Action and Protection Foundation

17 September 2016

On 17 September 2016, the owner of puccsista.blog.hu published a montage of Executive Rabbi of the Unified Hungarian Jewish Congregation (EMIH) Szmó Köves. The

montage included a photo of the Rabbi with defamatory text likely to incite to violence and implying the Rabbi threatens the life of Hungarians. APF contacted the competent host service provider immediately and requested the content be deleted as soon as possible since the blogger breached the conditions of use. APF also took legal action against the blogger.

Jew-baiting and tearing down posters

Source: *444.hu*

22 September 2016

In Szentendre, a taxi driver attacked two young activists of the Hungarian Two-tailed Dog party. Both activists are minors. The activists recorded the attack. The video shows the driver tearing down the party's posters and punching the minors as they approach him. *444.hu* managed to reach the activist who had taken the video. The activist told the news portal that the incident took place on the afternoon of 22 September at the final stop of suburban railway line H5 in Szentendre. According to the activist, they had been placing posters on rubbish bins and lamp posts in the area when the taxi driver asked them what they were doing. After telling him they were placing posters of the Two-tailed Dog Party, the taxi driver shouted "You Jewish motherfuckers!". Later on, the activists were on their way back to the station when they noticed the taxi driver was tearing the posters down

Falsification of history at the House of Hungarians

Sources: *tev.hu; egipatrona.hu*

11 October 2016

A report detailing a falsification of history in a label under a picture at an exhibition in the House of Hungarians (Magyarok Háza) was submitted to our Foundation. An exhibition in Memory of '56 was held at the House of Hungarians, an affiliate of the World Federation of Hungarians, with an inscription under one of the tableaux that begins with a mention of Prince Primate József Mindszen-

ty, followed by: "He rescued the Jews, and would have rescued Hungarians too, if the Jews had let him." A representative of the Foundation took a look at the picture in question and then the Foundation took a stand against the false and highly anti-Semitic statement and called upon the World Federation of Hungarians to remove it immediately.

The exhibition presents material by the late Sándor Rácz compiled at an earlier date for a 50th anniversary but provided to the World federation of Hungarians by the family of the compiler this year. Photographs of individuals who played an important role in the Revolution can be seen at the exhibition.

An article by the House of Hungarians about the opening of the exhibition which may be considered hate speech in its own right – described the call made by our Foundation as an attack, and a "violent, anti-Hungarian intervention". Twisting our words under the slogan of free speech, it labeled the request censorship of the late Sándor Rácz and a falsification of history, announcing that the picture would remain in place in the form it takes at present.

Holocaust denial in a comment posted to an online article

Source: *sonline.hu*

20 October 2016

In the course of its monitoring activity our Foundation found a news item – discussed in our current Report – in which inquiries were made with the authorities about an ongoing case against a person photographed with Nazi tattoos on the strand in Balatonlelle. This was also reported by the *Sonline.hu*. Under the article a person registered as László Abonyi, without a profile picture or public profile, left a public comment denying the Holocaust:



Abonyi László · Budapest

és ma fél Magyarország most már horogkeresztet rajzol a homlokára. akkor fél Magyarországot lecsukják??? Pont ez a zsidó faszködés, és folyamatos holokamu sírás az oka annak, hogy ilyen jelenségek vannak. Na de Nagy Sándort és Napóleont is elfelejtették már, talán egyszer ezt a szarorságot is el fogjuk.

[László Abonyi - Budapest: and if half of Hungary draws a Swastika on its forehead today, will they jail half of Hungary???

is exactly the sort of Jewish fucking around, this continuous whining about the Holocaust that prompts such phenomena. But then we have forgotten Alexander the Great and Napoleon too, perhaps we'll also forget this crap soon.]

The Foundation will file a complaint in the matter, with the required data presently being secured.

Anti-Semitic shouting and scuffles on 23 October

Sources: 24.hu; hvg.hu; 444.hu

23 October 2016

A number of news portals presented events that occurred in Kossuth Square on 23 October in video reports. Demonstrators joined the crowds that had gathered on the square in front of the Parliament, to express disappointment with the government and the Prime Minister by whistling, blowing whistles, or shouting. The whistling elicited antipathy in some of the people in the crowd, and they gave expression in both words and action. One individual emitted a steady stream of Jew-baiting and promised a beating, sending the whistler to Israel, following this up by attacking the person. A scuffle broke out in a number of places in fact. In each case, attempts were made to take the whistles, or other instruments away from those expressing their opinions, a number of reports came in about people being struck with walking sticks or umbrellas – for example, the historian Krisztián Ungváry protested with a whistle in hand and a bleeding head, after an unknown person struck him with his fist. The portal 24.hu also reported that journalists were at the receiving end of physical assaults as well, while trying to do their jobs.

Zsolt Bayer published a hate speech opinion piece

Source: tev.hu; egipatrona.hu

11 November 2016

On his blog, Zsolt Bayer referred to Pál Dániel Rényi's 444.hu article about Rétvári Bence's (KDNP) proposal in regards to the persecution of Christians. Rényi wrote that, by the proposal, the Hungarian government would label the persecution of Christians

as genocide. He also presented some steps taken against the persecution of Christians, and implied that these have been somewhat inefficient. Bayer's piece was a reaction to this article, the publicist wrote that Rényi "came from a rather interesting family and he finally found his success in the cesspit of 444.hu." Bayer saw no big difference between recent attacks on Christians in the Middle East and the Jewish Holocaust. He finished off his piece by relativizing the Holocaust: "Or you, Rényi, and all the miserable people with views like yours, do you really think that suffering, genocide, sacrifice and execution for one's religion and heritage will be Jewish privileges for good? In the past, the present and the future? You are wrong, Rényi!"

In APF's opinion, the closing sentence is dangerous because there is an accusation behind the words, an accusation that Jews demand certain privileges because of the Holocaust and they show no respect towards the suffering of other people and other ethnic groups. His words make a clear generalization and a collective judgment.

Anti-Semitic blogger

Source: Action and Protection Foundation;

viszavzsodor.blogspot.hu;

fenyesszelek.blogspot.hu

22 November 2016

APF was informed of a blog with anti-Semitic publications. The actual post we were notified of is from 2014 but the blog is still active today. It mostly shares, adapts and refers to articles from kuruc.info and other well-known fake news websites – like naturahirek.com. The content of the articles is strongly anti-Semitic, and they usually present highly unrealistic themes – according to one article, for example, McDonald's uses missing children as ingredients to their hamburger meat...

The blogger does not use his or her real name, but has been writing the articles under the pen name "Sodródunk" ("Drifting") since April 2011. According to his or her profile on Blogger.com, he or she operates two blogs with exactly the same content.

APF is acquiring the necessary data and information, and we will press charges in due course.

Holocaust-denying Facebook comment

Source: Action and Protection Foundation; Sim Salom Jewish Congregation
23 November 2016

APF was informed that Facebook user Piroška Soproni made a comment that denies the Holocaust on a post on Sim Salom Jewish Congregation's Facebook profile. The post was part of a series of articles which interviewed women involved in Jewish community and religious life about whether they think the equality of women is necessary in Hungarian Neolog Judaism. The president of the synagogue at the Budapest University of Jewish Studies, Magda Vadász, was interviewed in the article. Its title was Freedom should be provided to every trend of Judaism. Piroška Soproni's reaction to the post was:



“Provide freedom to your motherfuckers filthy Jews. Feel free to go back to Israel and there you may bark about your free space. It's not enough that we pay your Holochoax, you want more.”

Piroška Soproni's Facebook wall mainly includes anti-Semitic posts, and reshares of her own posts. APF is now acquiring the necessary data and information, and we will press charges in due course.

Anti-Semitic Facebook user

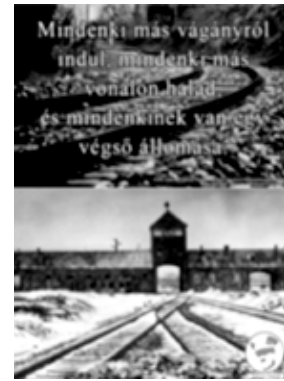
Source: Action and Protection Foundation
29 November 2016

APF was informed of another anti-Semitic profile. Facebook user Imre D. published a picture depicting the entrance of the Auschwitz-Birkenau camp with the following caption: “everyone leaves from different platforms, everyone travels on different tracks and everyone has a final destination.” The post is rather inappropriate, but not necessarily anti-Semitic. However, the

user who describes himself a “Jew hunter”

published numerous aggressive and bigoted posts, one of which resulted in D. being banned from Facebook

for a period of time. His profile picture is also informative. It depicts the Hungarian tricolor with the caption of “I am Hungarian, not Roma or Jewish.”



Source: facebook.com

Holocaust denial on Facebook

Sources: Action and Protection Foundation; facebook.com
7 December 2016

A concerned citizen's report brought the content shared under the Facebook profile of Imre Facsar to our attention. In the content shared there can be found instances of Holocaust denial, conspiracy theories, and a mixture of the two – mostly including photos.

The classic fundamental thesis used by Holocaust deniers – describing Auschwitz as a quasi holiday camp – was underpinned by what it purported scientific facts. These “facts blurred the line between Freemasonry, Islam, and Christianity. Its message is not exhausted – relativizing of the Holocaust, but in trying to prove that it never happened. It concludes that what we call the Holocaust was a planned, conscious event that mislead the world, and served to rescue the Jews. The Foundation will investigate and file a complaint.

Provocative fake profile

Sources: Action and Protection Foundation; facebook.com
7 December 2016

A civil complaint brought to the Foundation's attention a fake profile registered on Facebook that abused the identity of a well known Jewish personage. The profile ran under the heading “Zoltai Andrea barátai” (Friends of Andrea Zoltai) and expressed a commitment towards Jewry in its initial posts then turning increasingly provocative in style, both where its posted content and comments were concerned – posts includ-

ed messages such as the following: “I wish every citizen of New Israel (formerly called: Hungary) a peaceful Shabbat! Shalom Israel!”; or sharing the national anthem of Israel with “I am frequently asked what the new national anthem of Hungary will be. The answer is obvious □ When do you think we should make it compulsory?”

The obvious provocation elicited masses of anti-Semitic commentary ranging from simple “Jew-baiting” to Holocaust denial.

The fake profile was reported to Facebook, along with a number of those who had added comments. Due to the extremity of anti-Semitism and Holocaust-denying views exhibited by many of the commenters, the Foundation collected data on them separately, and plans further legal steps.

Tibor Ágoston on Facebook

*Source: Action and Protection Foundation
22 December 2016*

A notification through the online contact form of the Foundation indicated that a post from 29 April 2014 on the Facebook profile of Tibor Ágoston, who has received a final court sentence for Holocaust denial in a post that speaks in lengthy detail about how Jews — a particular Jewish elite, the Zionists, it claims — sent the Jews to the death camps, is still publicly accessible. Tibor Ágoston’s post could later no longer be found.

Action and Protection Foundation had earlier reported that the County Court of Debrecen had found Tibor Ágoston, the former Debrecen Municipal Council representative, and member of parliament candidate for Jobbik, guilty of the denial and trivialization of the crimes of the National Socialist regime according to paragraph 333 § of the Hungarian Criminal Code. The sentence was a fine of 750,000 HUF, which could be converted to 300 days in prison.

On a remembrance event on 12 January 2014, Ágoston spoke about a “holohoax, holló-kaszt [Hung. : cast of crows] and holocaust”, which the audience received with elation. Ágoston added that the mispronunciations were deliberate. Complaints were filed in the case by, among others, Action and Protection Foundation and the Jewish Congregation of Debrecen.

Hanukkah greetings from Jobbik with an anti-Semitic rejoinder

*Sources: zsidó.com; mno.hu; 24.hu;
hvg.hu; 444.hu*

Budapest, 27 December 2016

Slomó Köves, rabbi of the Unified Hungarian Jewish Congregation replied to the Hanukkah greetings sent by Gábor Vona, leader of Jobbik in an open letter, noting with regard to the greetings: “I was surprised, and perhaps even felt uneasy about it”, because, as he explained, “they do not consider members of the Hungarian Jewish community who are also members of the Hungarian nation, deserving of equal esteem.”

He also said he could name numerous individuals and occasions on which Jobbik politicians made anti-Semitic statements in the very recent past — which have never even been retracted, and even Gábor Vona himself stated in 2013 that Jewry seeks global domination, and sought a ban on diplomatic relations between Hungary and Israel, going so far as to say that if it came to light that he was Jewish, he would resign from leadership of the party.

To conclude, the rabbi, “politicians, public personalities, can not only offend the dignity of hundreds of thousands of people with their undignified utterances, but also set a negative example for millions of others, as has been the case for 10 years in the widest public discourse, and still continues on a daily basis on the part of Jobbik. It may be that they intended their good wishes on Hanukkah as some sort of gesture, but I would consider it more effective, if they gave voice to these gestures on those fora that have until now advanced hatred, outrage, and not lastly promoted the darkness of ignorance, rather than light.”

Gábor Vona responded in an open letter: “It is the same single God we both adore. You, and me.” The party leader then elaborated: “the gesture of greeting was intended sincerely, from the party which is to form the next government.” In his opinion, the rabbi “had slept through the last three years. In the course of Jobbik becoming a people’s party I have publicly repeated over and over again, and also proved on a number of occasions that [...] it has crossed

into a responsible, and constructive adult period.”

He added: “Besides, if we are on the subject, it is very easy to find offences, and offensive sentences on both sides. I could do so myself. You can as well. And others can do so too. Everyone. Any person who feels comfortable in their own, well-built mental trenches will always find reasons to remain there. It is much simpler to do so. After all, no great bravery is required for someone to take shots at others from their own mental trenches, and it takes far more bravery to come out of there. Sadly, the 20th century, in terms of our shared history, was all about the the ever deepening trenches.

The Christian Hungarians and Jewish Hungarians struck innumerable wounds on each other. The promising beginnings in the 19th century were followed by a century of walls, trenches, and devastation in the 20th. If we take a look at the great historical turning points – Hungarian Soviet Republic, the Horthy era, the Second World War and the Holocaust, the ÁVH, 1956 etc. –, we see that in these moments we moved increasingly away from the ideal of Hungarian-Jewish peaceful co-existence and nation building.”

Action and Protection Foundation considers the above statement to contain a collective judgment and generalization that is smear on Jewry. Vona brought up the old, collective “grievances” in the context of an argument that was originally aimed at the present, and the statements made by the party he leads.

He condemns Slomó Köves and the Jewry of the present for – among others – for events that took place a 100 years ago: he creates the impression that the “grievances”, the “crimes” could be attributed to them, as if the “Hungarian Jewry” of the present were collectively responsible for them.

Secondly, the party president revitalized typical anti-Semitic stereotypes by describing the Hungarian Soviet and the ÁVH as bones of contention between Jewish and non-Jewish Hungarians. Unfortunately, it is quite common for people to attribute the horrors perpetrated by these regimes to Jewry.

While the leadership of these may have included many people of Jewish origin, they did not consider themselves representatives

of Jewry – not to mention that the victims of these crimes were of Jewish background just as often as the perpetrators. Thirdly it is also worth noting that Vona (also) referred to the holocaust as a moment in which “we moved increasingly away from the ideal of Hungarian-Jewish peaceful co-existence and nation building.”

Finally, the party president repeated an argument he has frequently brought to prove that Jobbik cannot be called anti-Semitic in any light, since it has Jewish members. “Péter Jakab is, for example, one of our most talented politicians. He is of Jewish background. And he is now one of our national spokesmen. I have nothing to add to that.”

Anti-Semitic manifestation from the Jobbik organization in Vecsés

Sources: 24.hu; mno.hu; atv.hu;

betyarsereg.hu, pestisracok.hu

29 December 2016

President of Jobbik, Gábor Vona, and spokesperson Ádám Mirkóczi sent their good wishes on the occasion of Hanukkah to – among others – Slomó Köves, the Executive Rabbi of Unified Hungarian Jewish Congregation. The party organization of Vecsés however distanced itself from the party president, who is campaigning for a people’s party. Their statement on the organization’s official Facebook page read: “Vecsés JOBBIK DOES NOT send greetings to Jewry on the occasion of Hanukkah (or whatever the f*ck)! This organization distances itself from anyone to whom such a ridiculous notion even occurs!”

The statement created a great stir, even within the party. Gábor Vona gave the national daily, Magyar Nemzet a statement on the matter indicating he had initiated an ethical review of the case in the party leadership. In his opinion such defamations of religion were not acceptable even in Jobbik’s “adolescent period”. “Anyone who shows such a stance must leave the party.”

He said that if the whole organization in Vecsés shares this opinion, the whole organization would be cut off. The party affirmed in a press release that an ethics procedure had been initiated on account of the statement published on the Facebook page

of the Vecsés Jobbik organization, a statement that is defamatory about religion and diametrically opposed to the stance held by Jobbik and the leader of the party.

Hungarian television channel atv.hu contacted the head of the Jobbik ethics committee, who also reported that the official procedure had been initiated on the basis of the complaint filed by the party leader. According to Gábor Staudt, their first task is to establish who wrote the post, which would be followed by the committee’s decision on such conduct being out of line with the statutes of the party. This would make way for sanctions that range from a reprimand to exclusion from the party. As he pointed out, a disbanding of the local organization, or the initiation of a new one the prerogative of the national board, not the ethics committee.

After ten years as a member of the Outlaw’s Army (Betyársereg) and receiving a mandate in the representative body of the Vecsés municipal government under Jobbik colors, Attila Szabó gave an interview to the portal of the extreme right group. In the interview, he said that the post had been written by him and his friends. He claimed they had not intended to put Gábor Vona in a difficult situation, but meant it only for Slomó Köves, who had humiliated them, and “once again given evidence of his immeasurable

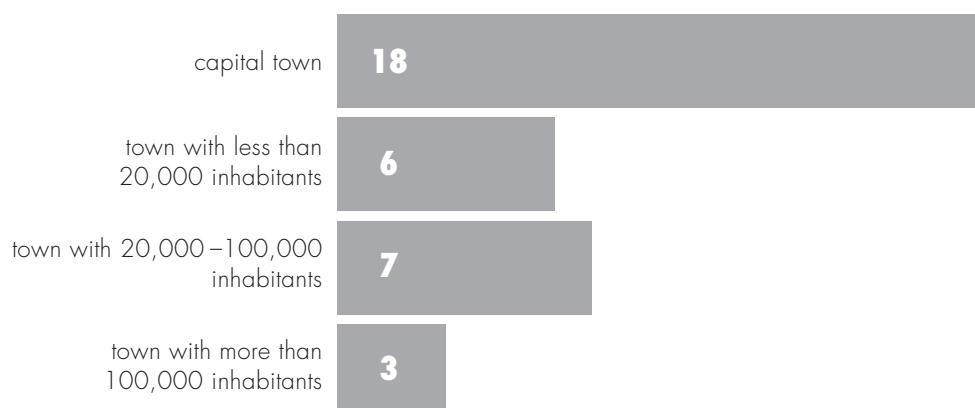
hatred and incompatibility. We felt he had humiliated us as well. Maybe the way we put it was a bit tough, too impetuous, but those who know the outlaw mindset will not be surprised by this.”

Answering the question whether it was a mistake to publicly share his opinion in written form, he said: “Where the message itself is concerned I would certainly not say it was a mistake, and we stand by it even now.” So far as transforming Jobbik into a people’s party is concerned, this Jobbik representative from Vecsés considers the process far too exaggerated, and painful that the party elite has forgotten the old troopers, who “braved snow and ice, as well as the stifling heat to plaster whole towns with the posters and took up the cause of Jobbik, often even at their own expense.”

As it turned out, not much after the post became widely read it was deleted from Facebook. The Vecsés organization was not the only one to talk of its annoyance with the party president’s gesture. Imre Orbán, Jobbik representative in the municipal government of Veszprém County also protested, reacting, among others, with a statement: “Thank you Mr. President, for making fools of us and humiliating us.” Imre Orbán has often allowed himself anti-Semitic comments on Facebook before.

THE LOCATION OF THE INCIDENTS

Chart 10. Geographical distribution of hate crimes, 2016.



Of the crimes that occurred in an identifiable location, more than half, 18, happened

in Budapest. Three cases occurred in towns with more than 100,000 inhabitants. Sev-

en occurred in middle-sized towns with 20,000–100,000 of inhabitants. Only six occurred in villages.

Fourteen locations were not identifiable, so we tagged them with the general location of “Hungary”. Mostly Facebook posts, events and comments belong to this category. Events outside of Budapest are not limited to one area of the country. They happened in several towns, from Székesfehérvár to Ásotthalom. Apart from the location, it is also difficult to identify data about the victim and the offender because of the background and motivation of the incidents. As we have noted, hate speech includes hate speech on the internet and includes symbols such as swastikas, the Star of David and other symbols of hate. It is hard to identify the offender, the organizational level of the event and the precise characteristics of each case.

THE VICTIMS OF THE INCIDENTS

In the majority of the cases, the victims are Jews in general, so the target of the hate was the entire Jewish community. In four cases, the target of the incident was an individual. The victims include well-known people such as András Léderer, refugee coordinator for the Hungarian Helsinki Committee; Antal Örkény, university lecturer; Ferenc Kőszeg, a founder of the Hungarian Helsinki Committee and Márton Gulyás, an activist.

One question from a reporter of the 24.hu website was rejected because of his Jewish origin after the trial of György Budaházy. Other crimes occurred at the Holocaust monument in Zalaegerszeg (in Budapest Square on March 15th), the Eleven monument in Budapest, and the synagogue in Gyöngyös. Other crimes occurred at Christian locations, such as the Great Church of Debrecen, where two minors painted a swastika on the walls of the church.

Chart II. Offenders of incidents motivated by hatred, 2016.



We know the number of hate crime offenders in more than two-thirds of the cases if we include incidents committed by a group of people—for example, a group of football fans. In most cases, these acts were not crimes that occurred spontaneously during a dispute, but were instead unprovoked acts of anti-Semitism. In 24 cases, the

offender was male. In one case the offender was female. In 18 cases, the offender is unknown. In six cases, the offense was committed by a group of people—Betyársereg, football fans, etc.

The offenders vary in age. They include young people, the middle-aged and elderly people. In 27 cases, people committed the

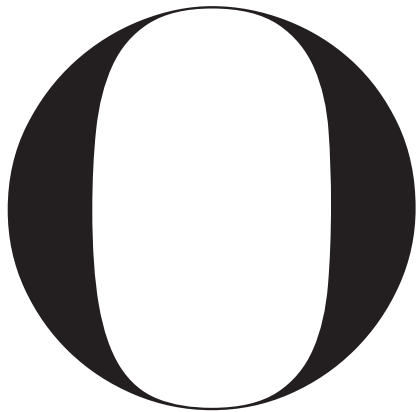
crime individually. It is a common feature that they commented on politicians' and public speakers' actions.

Among our politicians, MPs, and supporters, several belong to Jobbik in some way: Zsolt Tyirityán – the head of Betyársereg, Előd Novák, László Toroczkai, Tibor Ágoston, Lóránt Schuster, György Budaházy and Zsolt Bayer.

THE NATURE OF EVENTS

In 2016, the majority of cases happened spontaneously. Only some of them were linked to specific events, including: the Day of Honour, the Day of Break-out, the commemoration of Eszter Solymosi, and the lawsuit of Tiszaeszlár.

CASE STUDY



On 29th of December, the President of Jobbik, Gábor Vona, sent Chanukah Greetings to Slomó Köves — among others. Slomó Köves refused in public to accept the unprecedented greetings, causing stirs in the international and Hungarian public discourse and within Jobbik itself. Naturally, it raises the question: Has Jobbik changed? Is it an anti-Semitic party? Are Vona's greetings honest?

Vona admits that there were “extremities” in the past, but the party left the “reckless adolescence” and “grew up”¹⁸. He also said that diversity is a normal phenomenon in a “folk-party”. Due to the high number of party members, there is always someone with a “different opinion”. Nevertheless, as he is the president of the party, he is to be held responsible. He represents the official position of the party. The evolution applies to himself¹⁹ as well. As a president it is he who takes the lead in the evolving (“growing up”).

In this case study, we are going to present that none of his statements are correct. Although it is certainly true that the rhetoric, appearance and terminology of Jobbik has changed compared to the previous period. The party is still anti-Semitic with frequent anti-Semitic statements and even the president's behavior is not free from anti-

Jewish attitudes. Jobbik neither “apologized in public” nor made any strong statements regarding the changes.

The first factor of the examination is to look at the composition of the party members and the sanctioning of the members who made anti-Semitic statements, particularly among the leaders. It is true that in 2016 Előd Novák (with István Apáti and István Szávai) were removed from as leaders, but László Toroczkai and Dávid Janiczak (and Erik Fülöp), who replaced them, do not have a moderate attitude either, although they are more disciplined (it does not apply to Toroczkai). In the fall of 2014, Janiczak had photos taken with a man wearing a Hitler costume, and Toroczkai referred to András Léderer's (coordinator of the Hungarian Helsinki Asylum and Migration Committee) “Jewish” origin and “homosexuality”, instead of reacting on his request for data. The ex-president of Sixty-Four Counties Youth Movement (HVIM) called Slomó Köves — “a professional Jew” on a program on N1 TV on 14 January. Márton Gyöngyösi, who referred to Jews as national security risks, is still the leader of the Party Faction and the leader of the Cabinet Foreign Affairs. Gergely Kulcsár, a member of the faction, spat into the shoes that were placed as a Holocaust monument along the banks of the Danube. (The party forced him to put flowers on the scene). Although the party removed the openly anti-Semitic Balázs Lenhardt and Zsolt Baráth — infamous for blood libel — still, it was a telling point that it happened long after this scandalous incident.

After the scandal of Vona's greetings, blasphemy was committed by the core unit of the party in Vecsés via a Facebook post. The president of the party first threatened the core unit with expulsion, but eventually the sanction was just a reprimand. Never-

¹⁸ “In his answer to Slomó Köves he said: “You should think about the fact that you could not recall any disputable manifestation from Jobbik.”

¹⁹ “As a basically conservative Christian person, I have become involved with a cultural — spiritual sphere, where one side has constantly called the Hungarians Nazis, and the other side called the Jews traitors. As for me, I followed the patterns which are in accordance with my values...” “Later I realized that it was simply a dead end and my country eats up valuable energy.”

theless, the party expressed its disagreement with such acts while still keeping the responsible members. This case made clear that the party actually does not want to a confrontation with its far right wing.

The second factor examines how representative the Anti-Semitic statements in the party are and how many party members and core units are ready to follow the president's trends and how many are not.

It tells a lot that according to the "Pesti Srácok" (Fellas from Pest), not only the core unit in Vecsés, but more than 50 core units protested against the gestures of Jobbik, which has not been denied by Jobbik.²⁰ Imre Orbán, who is a Jobbik member, said mocking the president "Thank You Mr. President for making a fool of us!" It was also he who previously commented on Facebook²¹ "Shove your menorah up your ass!". János Stummer, the regional director of Jobbik, in March 2016, suggested that a House of Fates should be established for Hungarians "instead of, or beside the Holocaust shop window, commemorating all the pain and sorrow and resurrection of the Hungarian Nation", making it clear that he believes that Holocaust is not the tragedy of the Hungarian nation. Jobbik has always participated in the "Outbreak Memorial march" (this march serves as a memorial service for remembering the Hungarian soldiers fighting together with Nazi Germany against the liberating Soviet forces) at some level each year.

The same happened in 2016 and 2017. Tibor Ágoston, member of Jobbik, committed the crime of Holocaust-denial via his speech on 12 January 2014, and was convicted in a legally binding judgement. Sándor Pörzse, ex-editor-in-chief of "Barikád", the member of Vona's staff up today said in the Esztergom synagogue, "It's high time for a game over, isn't it?" "They don't like us, and we don't like them....." Just like in our grandfa-

ther's time. Ok, they were not so brave back then...." Anti-Jewish attitudes are close to the person who has open Jewish origin so he is often used as a shield Péter Jakab and he detailed in his open letter²² letter to Slomó Köves in June 2014. The second district unit of Jobbik issued a protest in March in 2017 on Facebook against the idea of organizing an Olympic event in Budapest for athletes of Jewish origin, (Maccabi Games 2019) encouraging the collection of signatures. Although the president of the party disagreed with this action, this demonstrates that this phenomenon is not unique, and even after starting a "cutie-campaign" in the fall of 2013, anti-Jewish manifestations of Jobbik are still present.

The third factor is to examine the statements of the president: did he, or does he indeed keep away from anti-Semitism? Of course reasonable criticisms of the policies of the state of Israel are acceptable. But demonizing²³, the Jewish state, applying double standards against the country, stigmatizing it with extreme adjectives always comes from prejudice. Vona said in 2013, "I will not be an Israel's dog", in the summer of 2014, several months after the "growing up", he wanted to end diplomatic relations between Hungary and Israel. Furthermore, he called for a boycott against Israeli products²⁴. In May 2015, Vona stated, "It would be nice to have a Jewish leader, who would not pull the Holocaust card as a weapon against Hungarian people."²⁵ He accused the ambassador of Israel Ilan Mor of forcing Pázmány University to have a mandatory Holocaust course.

Reacting to Slomó Köves answer refusing his Chanukah greetings, in December 2016, Vona made anti-Semitic statements again. Vona said the following, "By the way, it is easy to find injustice and insulting sentences, I could. And so could you, and anybody could. The person, who feels comfortable

²⁰ <http://pestisracok.hu/huszonot-jobbikos-alapszervezet-tiltakozik-vona-iranyaltasa-ellen/>

²¹ <https://444.hu/2013/08/15/nezd-mar-egy-antiszemita-fajgulalo-jobbikos/>

²² "It is high time for the Jews of Hungary, particularly for their leaders, to self-reflect. Instead of constant accusation, self-pity, condemning Hungarian people, finally they should think it over how they reached the point where they totally identified themselves with the left-wing and liberalism, a policy that continuously ignores the interests and values of the Hungarian Nation, adding that Hungarian people are rightfully disturbed by Holocaust-industry."

²³ "At present first of all Israel — not East-Korea, not Iran, not Turkey, not Syria — threatens World Peace. Israel is an aggressor." (Gábor Vona, Bárány Fekete, p. 96)

²⁴ http://mandiner.hu/cikk/20140724_vona_megszakitana_a_kapcsolato_lizraellel

²⁵ http://alfahir.hu/vona7_a_holokausztal_mint_bunkosbottal_verik_a_magyar_emberek_fejert

in his inner ditch of the battleground, always finds an excuse why to stay there. It is so much easier, because you don't need to be brave to shoot at others from your inner ditch, but to climb out of it and leave your comfort zone. Unfortunately, the 20th century, regarding our common history, is about staying deeper and deeper down in the ditch. The Hungarian Christian people and the Hungarian Jewish people have wounded each other many times. The 19th century started in a very optimistic manner, but the 20th century was the century of walls, ditches and massive destructions. When looking at great historic turning points, The Council Republic, Horthy regime, WWII, and the Holocaust, The State Security Authority, 1956, we can see that at these moments the distance was growing and growing between Jewish and Hungarian people, demolishing the hope of building a common home." According to TEV, the above statement is a collective judgement and generalization that wants to put Jews in a bad light.

Vona pulled the card of collective offenses in such a debate, where originally the topic was the present time and his party's statements. He blames Slomó Köves and Jewish people today for events that happened a century ago. He wants to make Jewish people today become responsible for the offenses and sins committed in the past. Secondly, he recalled typical anti-Semitic stereotypes by describing the Council Republic and State Security Authority as a Hungarian Jewish conflict: unfortunately it is very common to attribute these horrors to Jews. The leaders didn't identify themselves as Jews, although they had Jewish origin, not to mention the fact that there were also several Jews among the victims.

Thirdly, Vona referred to the Holocaust as a moment, when "the distance was growing and growing between Jewish and Hungarian people, demolishing the hope of building a common home." Fourthly, the distance will not decrease when looking at

the Vona's statement to kuruc.info, the extreme nationalist and fascist site in 2013, in which he said he would resign from his position if he turned out to have Jewish origin. He confirmed this statement later in 2017 in Hír Tv (News TV). It is clear that even at the moment when he made a gesture to improve the relationship, he had certain "accidental sentences", "outbursts" that showed that he could not put aside his hostile attitudes towards the Jews. We collected Vona's statements from 2013 and the following period, that is, from the time when the party was becoming a "folk party".

Fifthly, if there had been any significant change in their way of thinking then it should have been manifested in cathartic declarations, or distant from previous statements: it would be "An authentic manifestation if Jobbik changed its previous ideas and these actions were open straight manifestation." (said Dániel Bodnár Chairman of The Board of Trustees of our Foundation.²⁶ Slomó Köves chief rabbi of EMIH also shared his opinion²⁷).

Nevertheless, neither did Jobbik apologize nor distanced itself, but Jobbik missed out many symbolically important opportunities where — unlike the other parties — it was the only one that didn't participate. Each political party represented in the Hungarian Parliament takes part in the annual Life of March or at least they express their sympathy in a statement, but Jobbik never has. After the death of Imre Kertész, every prominent public figure expressed their sincere condolences, except for Jobbik. The politicians of Jobbik never considered Imre Kertész as a Hungarian — the only Hungarian who won the Nobel Prize in literature — and they protested against the state award he had received²⁸ (this all happened in the period of becoming a "folk party").

Unfortunately, the reaction of the Jewish community as regards Jobbik was not unified. It seems that without Slomó

²⁶ <https://888.hu/article-tett-es-vedelem-a-jobbikkal-valo-ellenzeki-egyuttmukodes-elfogadhatatlan#>

²⁷ <http://zsidok.com/kosersag-szabalyai-avagy-miert-treffli-jobbik/>

²⁸ Előd Novák's opposition in the parliament in December 2014. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=27q5cbRWj5Y>

Köves' public statement it would not have received media coverage. EMIH has always doubted the authenticity of this extreme party becoming a "folk party" therefore he expressively refused to accept its Chanukah greetings and emphasized at every forum that Jobbik is still non-kosher,²⁹ the attitude towards the party must remain the same as before 2013. In the beginning MAZSIHISZ didn't react to Vona's greetings. Later, in January 2017, they organized a conference about the topic, where those who were present discussed the proper reaction on the issue.³⁰ During this conference, András Heisler, the president of MAZSIHISZ, declared that he was not willing to have a dialogue with Jobbik and does not aim to start a conversation with the party.³¹

In the light of this it was surprising that Zoltán Radnóti, the Chairman of the Rabbinical Board, (who earlier refused any communication with Jobbik on his social media platforms) eventually gave an interview to Jobbik's official news portal called *Alfahír*.³² During the interview Radnóti welcomed the evolution of Jobbik. It was even more confusing when András Heisler, on behalf of a "secular" organization, disagreed with Radnóti.³³

ANTI-SEMITIC PREJUDICE IN TODAY'S HUNGARIAN SOCIETY

On behalf of the Action and Protection Foundation, Medián Public Opinion and Market Research Institute conducted comprehensive research in November 2016. This research, similar to research from previous years, was about the relation of Hungarian society to Jews.³⁴ Every year, the research was conducted with a questionnaire by per-

sonal interviews with 1200 participants who were all over 18 years of age.³⁵ The research methodology was based on the conception elaborated by András Kovács³⁶. In the course of the research, they predominantly used the questionnaire applied and used frequently by him since 1995, which shows the change of data from period to period. In the rest of the report, we present the results of 2016 compared to data of previous years.³⁷

The perception, the importance of social affairs of Jews

Our research highlights how much Hungarian public opinion cares about the issues related to Jews. We can conclude, based on the high ratio of not applicable answers and on the frequency of inconsistent answers, that the majority of respondents can't form a proper opinion in this topic. The issues were raised are unknown to them. They cannot relate to the questions focusing on Jews. Only one-tenth of the respondents could recall a public issue related to Jews during the last year. Nevertheless, it is not necessarily a small number. Hungarian society is even less aware of the situation of other ethnicities and minorities living in Hungary. Secondly, before we present the results, we have to think about what it means (and what it doesn't mean) to agree with an anti-Semitic statement read on a questionnaire. It is "only" an opinion or attitude and not a display of behavior or an act of discrimination.

Although we don't know about the strength (or "weight") of the opinion, even answers that appear extreme don't necessarily represent the personal experience of respondents. We learned much about the difference between the two categories of

29 <http://zsido.com/kosarsag-szabalyai-avagy-miert-treffi-jobbik/>

30 <http://www.mazsihisz.hu/2017/01/12/mit-csinaljunk-ha-a-jobbik-kerul-hatalomra-9982.html>

31 <https://zsidotarsadalom.wordpress.com/2017/01/12/hanuka-es-a-jobbik-a-mazsihisz-szerint-nincs-parbeszed-vonaval/>

32 <https://zsidotarsadalom.wordpress.com/2017/01/12/hanuka-es-a-jobbik-a-mazsihisz-szerint-nincs-parbeszed-vonaval/>

33 <http://www.atv.hu/belfold/20170314-vitat-gerjesztett-a-forabbi-jobbikos-interjuja-a-mazsihisz-ben>

34 Research reports are to be found on the webpage of Action and Protection Foundation (www.tev.hu) under Monitoring/Research section.

The chapter uploaded there is the summary and highlights of the Research report of 2016.

35 The slight distortions of the sample were corrected by a mathematical procedure, called weighting, using the statistics published by the Hungarian Central Statistical Office (KSH). So the sample accurately represents the composition of the population according to the type of settlements, gender, age group and school qualification. The sampling error of the published data is maximum +/-3% depending on the ratio of the answers in the complete sample.

36 Further reading: András Kovács. 2005. *A kéznél lévő Idegen. Antiszemita előítéletek a rendszerváltás utáni Magyarországon*. Budapest: POLGART Publishing. OR Kovács, András. 2011.

The Stranger at Hand. Antisemitic Prejudices in post-Communist Hungary. Leiden Boston: Brill.

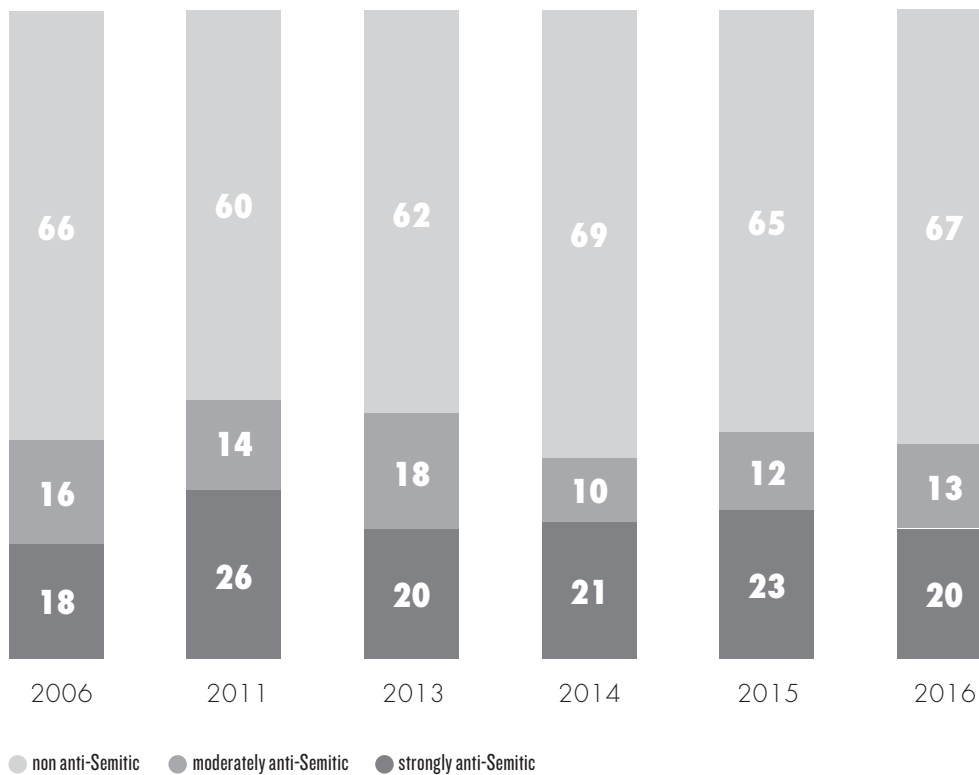
37 In the course of the presentation of results, we copy complete phrases and parts of text from the entire research report published on the website of APF.

spontaneous anti-Semitic statements and traditional attitudes based anti-Semitism. A good part of anti-Semitic respondents, categorized by the traditional methodology, don't necessarily think of something negative when we mention Israel and the Jews. But if we call their attention to anti-Semitic or anti-Israeli statements, they are more likely to agree with or to "connect" with these statements. This connection can exist the other way around too. Anti-Semitic thoughts can exist separate from anti-Semitic statements. It seems clear that anti-Semitic thoughts or statements can be the result of temporary suggestions or impressions rather than a constant tendency towards anti-Semitic beliefs. In our interpretation, this variability is a natural characteristic of anti-Semitism. When we use this methodology, it is always informative to ask the same questions repeatedly for several years, so we can take a look at long-term tendencies. This data helps show the types of views and misconceptions about Jews

(cognitive anti-Semitism) and emotional relationships or social distance (affective anti-Semitism).

Anti-Semitism significantly increased in 2010 (which we believe was largely fueled by the mainstreaming of Jobbik – an extreme right-wing political party). Since then there was only very modest shift from that point. Between 2015 and 2016, the number of respondents who agreed with anti-Semitic statements increased. This increase in the cognitive dimension is partly due to the phenomenon we call "politics after the truth". In today's information flow, it is harder and harder to decide whether something is true or not. Conspiracy theories and misconceptions get broad publicity, and it often happens that politicians intend to generate fear or disinformation on purpose. This can lie behind the spread of the denial or relativizing of the Holocaust, as the general dislike of Jews and Israel decreased over the past year. Overall, the level of anti-Semitism hasn't changed over the past year.

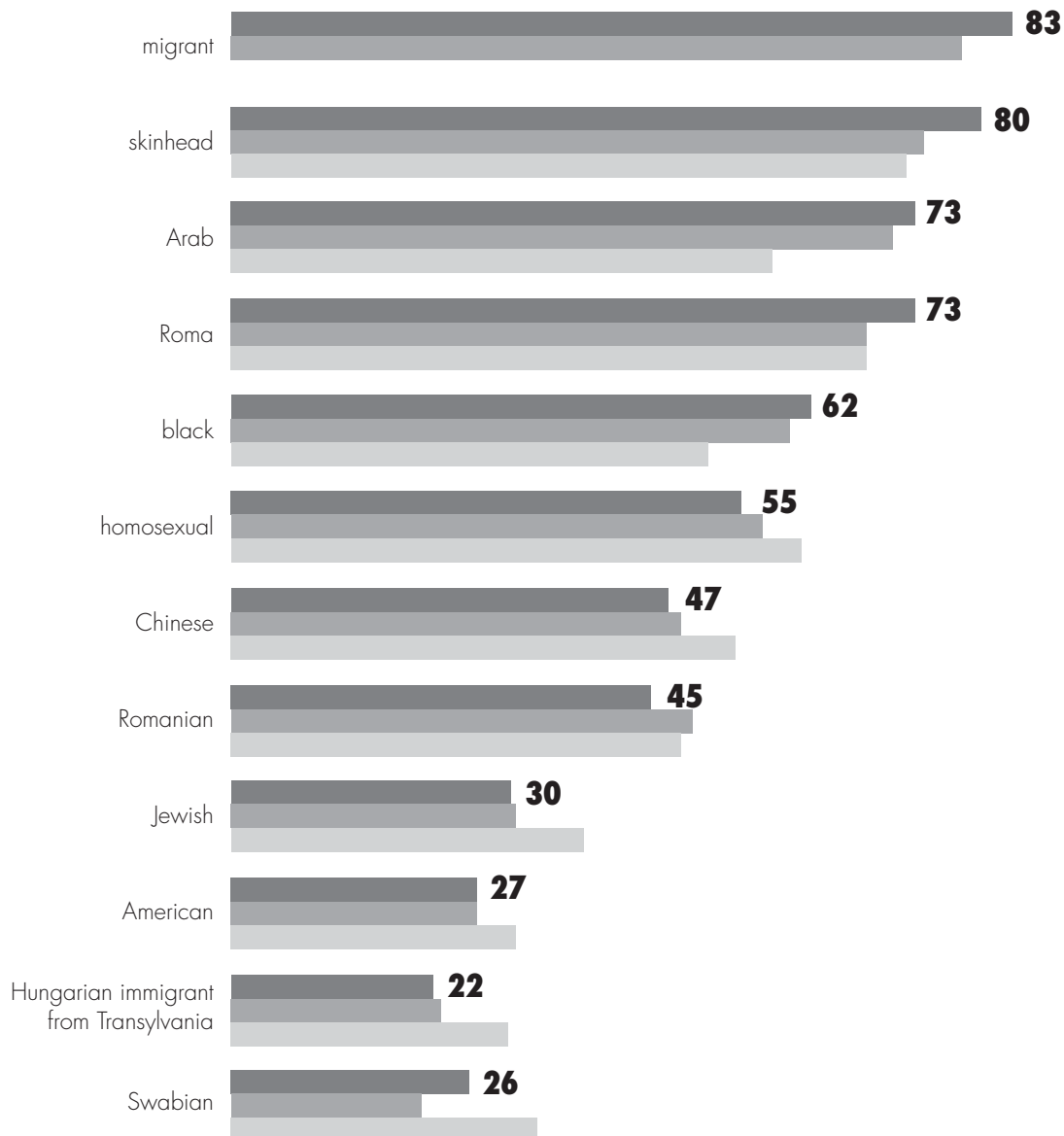
Chart 1. The proportion of anti-Semitic people in Hungarian society, 2006-2016 (percentage)



Also, this slightly more favorable emotional relation is also part of a broader context. The emotional anti-Semitism of the society is the manifestation of general xenophobia. Those respondents who are more negative to other ethnicities are more dismissive to Jews. Anti-Semitism has unique characteristics, but for the great majority of Hungarian society, being a “Jew” is just another form of otherness (even symbolically). Hungarians dislike Jews much in the same way they dislike

other ethnicities. The rejection of Jews compared to other ethnicities is not particularly strong. Migrants are the most disliked, even more disliked than Roma people. The appearance of migrants (and Arab and black people who are usually identified as migrants) changed the perception Hungarians towards Jews and lowered their social distance from Hungarian society. Out of all the indicators, we only see an improvement where respondents were less hostile to Jews than to migrants.

Chart 2. Social distance from certain groups. “Would NOT agree to have a ...neighbour” (2013-2016, percent) ● 2016 ● 2015 ● 2013



Hungarian public opinion became more understanding towards Israel. The flow of migrants into Hungary fueled dislike towards the Arab countries. It might seem strange that even strongly anti-Semitic re-

spondents became more sympathetic Israel. But because these respondents are the most hostile towards migrants and Arabs in general, this change in attitude is easier to understand.

Table I. Anti-Semitism and opinion on Israel, 2016

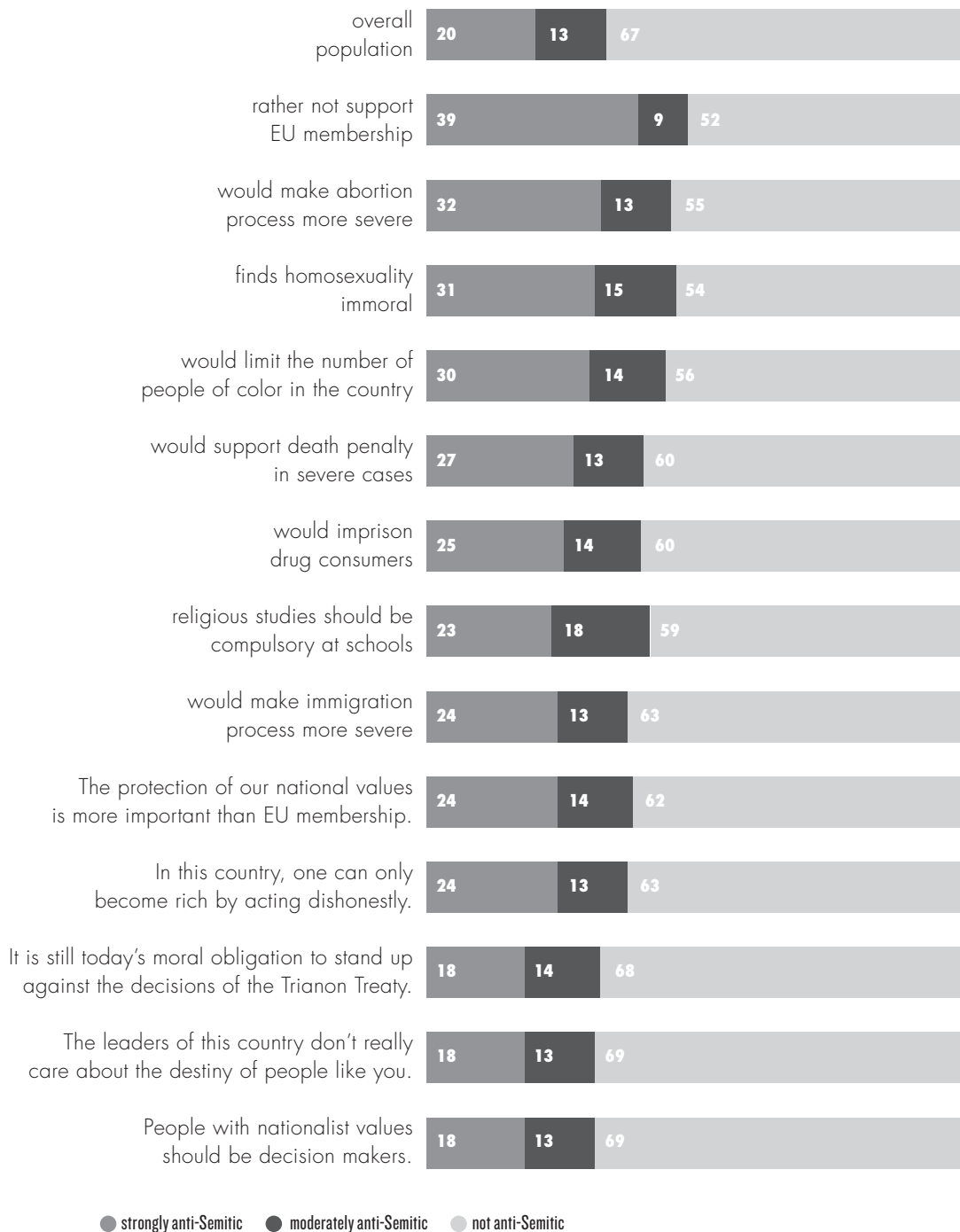
(The ratio of those who agree, percentage; 5 – fully agrees, 1 – doesn't agree at all; agrees = 5 and 4 integrated)

	not anti-Semitic	moderately anti-Semitic	strongly anti-Semitic	Jobbik voters	overall population 2016	overall population 2015
The Jews living here are more loyal to Israel than to Hungary.	18	43	65	34	31	27
The Hungarian Jews would rather cheer for Israel than for Hungary at a Hungarian-Israeli soccer game.	19	36	62	44	30	29
Israel uses legitimate self-defense against those who attack Israel.	33	33	32	20	33	25
The political system of Israel is more democratic than that of the Arab countries which attack the Jewish state.	32	22	25	16	29	27
I am more understanding towards Israel than earlier after having seen the more and more brutal Islamic terrorist attacks.	33	34	32	19	33	23
Israel is an aggressor, carrying out genocide against Palestinians.	22	35	51	33	29	28

One of the main questions of the research is to point out social groups and their motivation which are responsive to anti-Semitism. The answer of the analysis is that there is only marginal dependence between anti-Semitism and affinity of members of a social group. There is no relationship between the spread of anti-Semitism and type of work, settlement or religion. Those who have a university diploma, wealthier people, women, and members of the youngest and oldest age groups members are less likely to be categorized as anti-Semitic (but the differences are small). The voters of Jobbik and those who identify themselves as radical

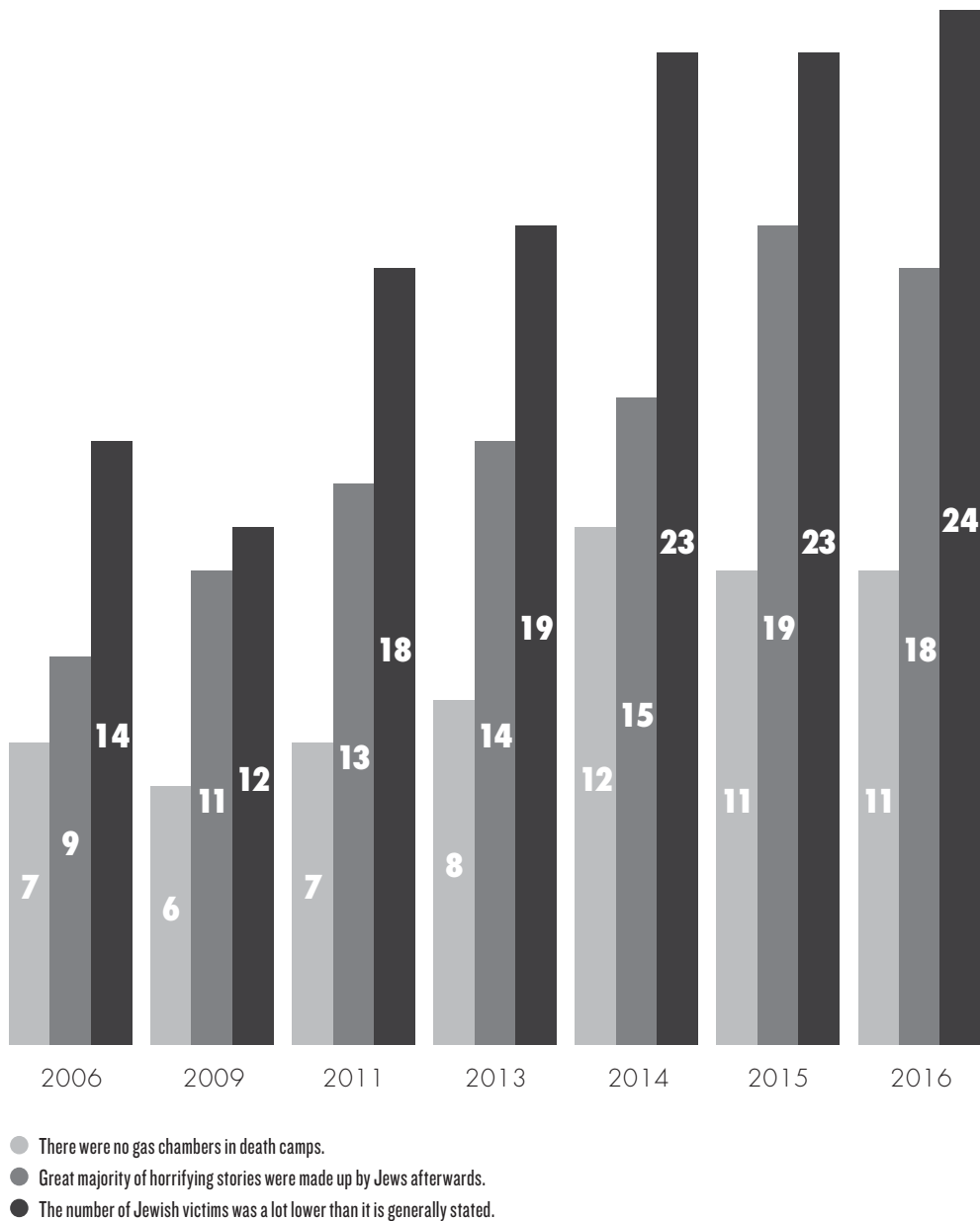
and right-wing voters, rather than moderate and left-wing voters, share a larger proportion of anti-Semitic views. Nevertheless, even these factors provide only a partial explanation for anti-Semitism. According to the comparative analysis, euro-skepticism, law-and-order, authoritarian attitudes and the rejection of the different forms of "otherness" (homosexuality, drug consumption and immigration) increase the probability of anti-Semitism. At the same time, misanthropy is independent of anti-Semitism. Attitudes explored in the questionnaire, together with xenophobia, are the strongest factors for explaining anti-Semitism.

Chart 3. Anti-Semitism and socio-political attitudes (2016, percentage)



Remembrance of the Shoah deeply divides Hungarian society. Half of the respondents say that it should be kept on the agenda, and the other half says we should move on. In this question, there was no shift in from previous years, although the support of statements backing up the open denial and relativizing of the Holocaust increased from 7 14% of 2006 to 11 24% in 2016.

Chart 4. The ratio of those who agree with Holocaust-denying and relativizing statements 2006–2016 (percentage)



The anti-Semitism of Jobbik supporters moderately diminished from 2014 to 2015, but it remained permanent in 2016. The populist strategy wasn't really successful. The majority of respondents find this party anti-Semitic. Only a few people reported some kind of improvement, and the same number of people noticed increasing anti-Semitism. Responses to questions which allowed for free association of words related

to Jews showed only minor to moderate differences in given by Jobbik and non-Jobbik voters.

When respondents heard the word "Jew", they mainly associated it with three things: religion, nation, country (descriptive, neutral mentions). Many of them thought about the Holocaust and persecution, money, influence and power. It is hard to tell whether this latter association stems from respect or

jealousy, which is often the motivation of anti-Semitism. Negative, degrading mentions (greedy, eager for power, ignoring others) only came up at every tenth respondent. This was also the ratio for positive mentions (educated, cohesive, intelligent). The ratio

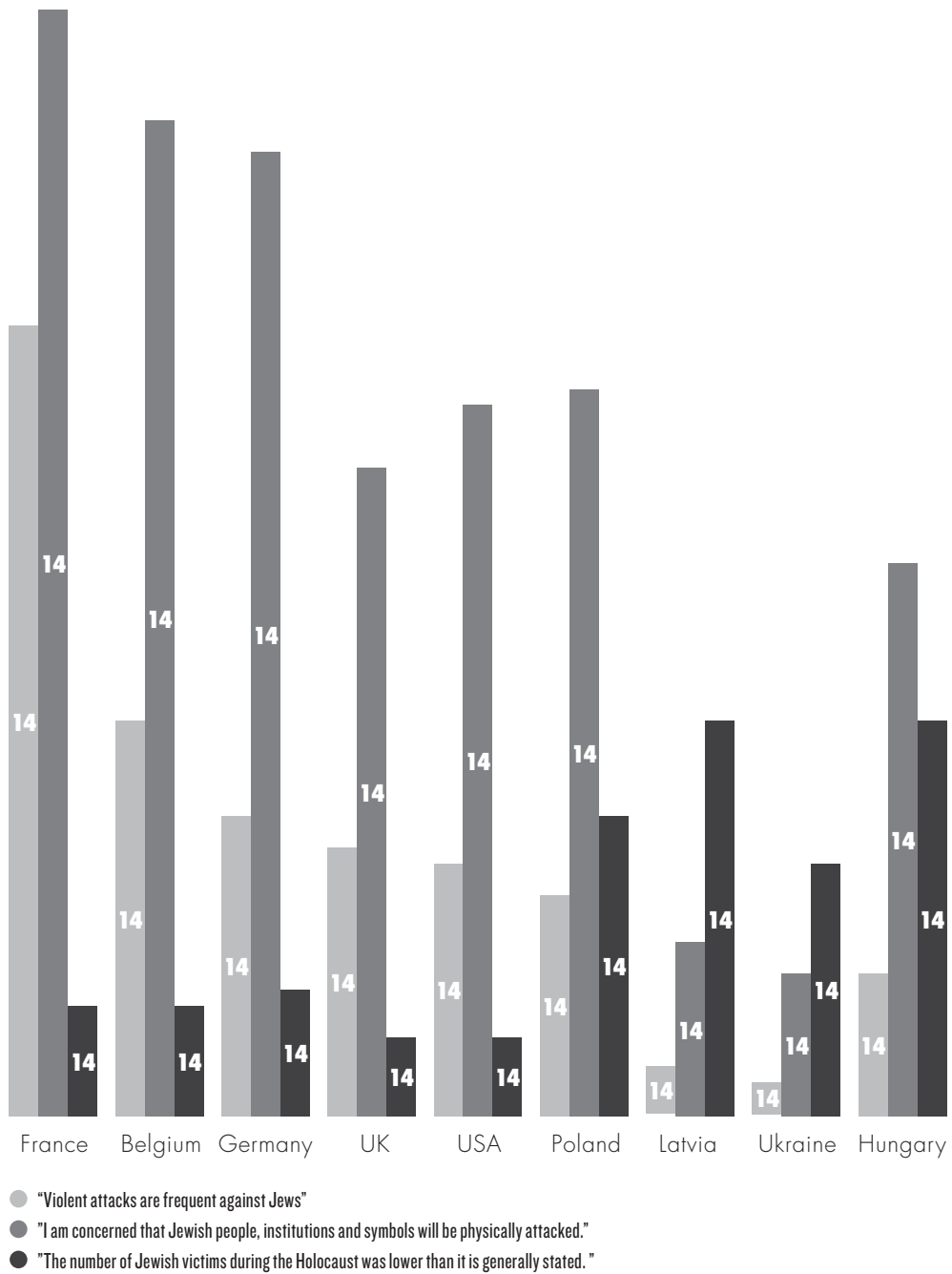
was similar when we asked people about Israel and typical Jewish characteristics – the majority of them had neutral associations. This shows again that there is only a small fraction of voters who have a specific conceptions of Jews, whether positive or negative.

Table 2. "What comes to your mind first when you hear the word Jew?" (2016, open questions, spontaneous answers in groups according to the level of anti-Semitism, in percentage of respondents)

	not anti-Semitism	moderately anti-Semitism	strongly anti-Semitism	voters of Jobbik	overall population 2016	overall population 2015
Persecution, Holocaust, Auschwitz, World war 2, suffering	30	24	25	26	28	23
Neutral hints: religion, ethnic group, customs, culture, Bible, language	32	19	9	21	26	26
Money, power, richness, commerce, USA, influence	17	36	29	19	22	22
Negative characteristics: desire for power, hunger for money, exploitation, avarice, laziness, hatred	4	9	25	23	9	13
Positive: intelligent, tolerant, hardworking, human	7	1	3	3	6	3
They are the same as others. I don't care about who is Jewish and who is not	5	4	1	3	4	3
Palestinian-Jewish conflict	3	0	5	1	3	4
Physical signs (sideburns, nose, etc.)	2	3	2	2	2	2
Relative, neighbor, acquaintance	0	0	0	0	0	2
Food (kosher, etc.)	0	4	1	2	0	2
	100	100	100	100	100	100

Finally, international comparisons show that the level of anti-Semitism in Hungary is higher than in Western Europe but not remarkably different from Central-Eastern European countries. The situation of Hungarian Jews is more favorable here than in Western Europe where they have to face physical atrocities too.

Chart 5. The supposed frequency of attacks against Jews and relativising Holocaust in a few European countries (2015, percentage, source: ADL³⁸)



38 <http://global100.adl.org/public/ADL-Global-100-Executive-Summary2015.pdf>

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CONTACT AND SUPPORT

Action and Protection Foundation is the civil initiative of a number of Jewish organizations that is ready to take resolute steps to curb increasing widespread anti-Semitic manifestations.

In case anyone faces insults or anti-Semitic abuse due to a supposed or real Jewish background, do not remain silent, let us know, so that we can forward the case through the appropriate channels to the official organs required to take measures!

Notifications of such incidents are received by the Foundation through any of the following means:

HOTLINE (+36 1) 5 1 00 000

The website of Action and Protection Foundation: www.tev.hu/forrodrot
The Facebook page: www.facebook.com/tev-tett-es-vedelem-alapitvany

Action and Protection Foundation's undertaking can only be successful if great numbers share in our commitment to prepare the grounds for the right to fair process for all those who have suffered offenses. In aid of this cause please support the work of the Foundation with your contribution! Donations can be made to the Foundation on the following bank account:

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