



BRUSSELS INSTITUTE

ANTI-SEMITIC  
HATE CRIMES AND  
INCIDENTS REPORT

FEBRUARY 2014  
HUNGARY

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## EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

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One of the most important requirements for the struggle against anti-Semitism is an exact awareness of the situation, that is, an investigation of the actual prevalence of anti-Semitism. It is one of the aims of Action and Protection Foundation to eliminate the lack of awareness surrounding this issue. Instrumental in achieving this objective is the continuous professional monitoring of public life. The community cannot really be protected unless current information on this is collected and analyzed. Results of the monitoring are published at regular, monthly intervals by the Foundation.

The reports deal with two forms of behavior: anti-Semitic hate crimes, and hate-motivated incidents. The report uses the term hate incidents to cover both. The decisive criterion for identifying either to be the case is anti-Semitic motive. Note however that the first type of behavior counts as criminal according to the penal law, while the latter does not make that category. Nevertheless, a documentation of both types of hate incidents is necessary in order to gain a general overview.

For the monitoring to have the widest possible scope it is required that a variety of sources are used simultaneously. Apart from registering the incidents, it is important that their particular characteristics are also accounted for. Therefore, in the course of documentation, data detailing the incident's location, perpetrator, victim and consequences are recorded on the one hand, and on the other, different types of incidents are differentiated.

In the course of its February monitoring activities, Action and Protection Foundation identified one anti-Semitic hate incident, which fits in the category of hate speech. However, the present report gives an account of numerous events in Hungary connected to the Holocaust and anti-Semitism.

Action and Protection Foundation initiated proceedings with authorities in four cases through February 2014. For the criminal offence of assault against members of a community in one case, in another for the public denial of the crimes of the National Socialist regime, the third case on suspicion of incitement against members of a community, while in the fourth case the dissolution of a political party was proposed. The subjects of the complaints were private individuals in the first two of these cases, who said things that realizing the criminal behavior as above respectively at two public events. In the latter two cases the subjects of the complaints were registered political parties.

# ACTION AND PROTECTION FOUNDATION

The phenomenon of anti-Semitism is by no means new to Hungary. The hate speech encountered earlier has however become increasingly dominant in public life. The situation is further aggravated by the Jobbik Party, which openly declares anti-Semitic and racist views, having forty-three members of parliament making hate speech far more ever-present in both Parliament and other organized events. These circumstances brought Action and Protection Foundation into being. Among the forms of civil association offered by Hungarian law, Action and Protection Foundation chose the form of foundation; it was registered in November 2012. The Foundation seeks to provide an alternative to the ineffectual legal steps taken against deteriorating standards of public discourse, exclusion, and the ignorance in which anti-Semitism is rooted, as well as atrocities and hate crimes.

## UNITY

Action and Protection Foundation is a registered civil organization. Participating in the work of the Foundation are leading figures from Mazsihisz, which represents the Neology and Orthodoxy, the status-quo/Chabad EMIH, the reform oriented Sim Shalom Progressive Jewish Congregation, as well as socially recognized emblematic personalities independent of these movements. Trustees of the Foundation represent the most important Jewish religious and cultural movements in Hungary, a symbolic expression of the fact that action on anti-Semitism is a cause shared by all.

## BRUSSELS INSTITUTE

The *Brussels Institute*, founded by **Action and Protection Foundation**, carries out monitoring of anti-Semitic hate crime in accordance with methods worked out and proposed by the **Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe** (OSCE). In monitoring anti-Semitic phenomena the Institute records and analyzes them on the basis of information delivered by various standardized sources. The monitoring process, which categorizes incidents into seven different groups, relies on the following sources: the sources of the Institute's own Research and Incident Monitoring Group, information available in the press and public media, and relevant data to be found in judicial, criminal and other state administrative records in the framework of an agreement with these branches of government. The institute has set up a now operational **HOTLINE** that can be reached by dialing the number **(+36 1) 51 00 000**, where incidents of anti-Semitic and anti-Jewish behavior can be reported.

Beyond regular publication of the monthly monitoring reports the *Brussels Institute's* research plan incorporates a comprehensive research project related to Jewry – using both quantitative and qualitative methods –, as well as a survey on the current situation concerning anti-Semitism that encompasses society as a whole. Furthermore, the program includes development of a differentiated training program that prepares different levels and participants of state administration for action and appropriate procedure on racist and anti-Semitic phenomena, in the form of teaching materials for the educational system and further training.

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## ABOUT THE REPORT

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General opinion on, and treatment of Hungarian anti-Semitism is often unusually extreme. Voices are heard on the one hand, that belittle the importance of such offences and manifestations. On the other hand, on occasion it may be the case that in relation to one-off incidents the image registered is of a public life deluged by such incidents. Knowledge of the actual situation is an indispensable condition for treatment of the real problems, which is why Action and Protection Foundation considers it its duty to provide as comprehensive an overview of the scale of anti-Semitism in Hungary as possible. Monitoring of anti-Semitic hate crimes and incidents<sup>1</sup> is one of the tools of achieving this objective. The monitoring results are published by the Foundation on a monthly basis. Apart from the monthly report, an annual summary review including more detailed analyses on the offences committed in the course of the year is also prepared.

The fight against hate crimes bears exceptional importance, because they differ from other forms of criminal conduct. These crimes may be considered messages of a kind, and thus point beyond private actions. This additional import becomes manifest in various social realms: on the level of the individual, the group attacked, and of society as a whole. The victims may suffer a greater psychological and emotional trauma. In the case of these crimes not “only” the property, or physical integrity of victims is endangered, but also their self-respect. These offences question the right of the individual to equality, even of belonging to society itself. It is important that in the course of such crimes the victims are the target of attacks because of some unchangeable characteristic, and for this reason may well feel more defenseless. The victims are often afraid that they may again become victims of further atrocities. Inappropriate handling of such incidents can easily lead to a secondary victimization of the targeted person. This type of criminal act also has a strong affect on the group to which the victim belongs. The victims of such crimes are often interchangeable, because in countless cases the attack does not target a certain individual, but anyone who, in the given instance, is a member of the group under attack. In the event, members of the group also become involved emotionally, and might live in fear of the future when they themselves may become the target of such prejudice-motivated crimes. This is especially true of groups, which have been exposed to prejudice for a long time. There is no need to justify at length that Jewry belongs among such groups. These crimes violate the norm that holds the members of society equal. Inadequate handling of such incidents can have grave consequences for the whole of society. It may on the one hand, encourage the perpetrators, or even others to commit further crimes in the same mold. On the other, it significantly diminishes the cohesive power of society (Levin and McDevitt 1999, 92–93; OSCE/ODIHR 2009a, 19–21; OSCE/ODIHR 2009b, 17–18; Perry 2001, 10).

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<sup>1</sup> See detailed definitions in the *Methodology* section.

It may be stated in general that fewer hate crimes are reported, and in the event documented, than are committed. Victims often do not report them to the police. A number of reasons may cause this implicitly. Firstly, many do not feel assured that the authorities will treat these incidents adequately, either because they are not sufficiently prepared, or due to prejudice. Certainly there are many victims who are not clear about the applicable legal regulations. Victims may feel shame, or fear that one of their concealed traits will be exposed. Lesser categorizations of the crimes are also frequent, where official authorities do not establish the hate-crime motivation. It is civil organizations that can help remedy these problems. Cooperation with state organs—such as the police, or the Public Prosecutor’s office—may be particularly beneficial.<sup>2</sup> Reports prepared by civil organizations can be expedient in alerting the official authorities to hate motivated crimes in the country. Long-term tendencies can be outlined on the basis of the collected data. Civil organizations can help in setting particular cases on track for legal process, may provide legal defense for the victims, and give various other forms of aid. These organizations may also serve as intermediaries between the victims and the police (OSCE/ODIHR 2009b, 34–36).

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<sup>2</sup> A great example of the above can be found in the Community Security Trust (CST) and cooperation between the London and the Manchester police forces. (CST 2013)

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## METHODOLOGY

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The report deals with two types of offence: hate crimes and hate motivated incidents. These are defined by EBESZ as follows<sup>3</sup> (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 people<sup>4</sup>
- 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 coerces 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 sentence<sup>5</sup> (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

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<sup>3</sup> 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 addenda 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.

<sup>4</sup> 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.

<sup>5</sup> 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.



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 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 period<sup>6</sup> 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, and additionally volunteers are involved in a media 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.

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<sup>6</sup> These are described in the *Methods* section.

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.<sup>7</sup>

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.

Hate incidents that are not accounted for in the statistics:

- 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

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<sup>7</sup> The following were used to develop these criteria: ADL 2012, CST 2013

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.<sup>8</sup> In presenting time lines, attention will always be given to showing the dynamics of the events.

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<sup>8</sup> 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 INCIDENTS

## – FEBRUARY 2014

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In the course of monitoring in February 2014, Action and Protection Foundation identified one anti-Semitic hate incident. This can be categorized as hate speech.

### HATE SPEECH

#### **Ministry of Human Resources starts proceedings in the case of Családi Nevelésért Alapítvány (Foundation for Family Education)**

*Budapest*

*Sources: MTI, HVG*

An article appeared in the socio-economic weekly *HVG* on 14 February, which drew attention to some of the contents of a document entitled “Királyi álmok” (Royal dreams) that served as part of the course material provided online for the Foundation for Family Education course accredited in 2012, “Foundational Awareness and Methodology for Family Pedagogy”, which downloads under [kozuleti.hu](http://kozuleti.hu), as follows: “They invited the German-Jewish Habsburgs into Hungary against us [...] They are still ruling over us today in a humbler form, celebrating their false Holocaust, when they had driven off the poorer Jews, but allowed them to return after 3 days”; or “the rich leaders of the Jews took away our Paris Mall, Hungarian industry, large territories, Hungarian commerce, yet this was still not enough: so they introduced the multinational companies, and wallow in all the profits that are derived from them!”

To *HVG*’s question about how the above text should be interpreted, and whether she denies the Holocaust, Márta Nemes, the president of the Foundation replied with a resounding “Of course!” and said that “in her experience” the deported Jews were “allowed to return home after three days”. Furthermore, in her opinion “the Israeli lobby is financing the armaments industry, and is responsible for global warming”, adding by the way that she has Jewish friends, and she does not speak about these topics when delivering courses. She explained about the text denying the Holocaust that she had not submitted it to the accreditations committee, “only” posted it in her public profile, as a “subject of interest”.

The State Secretariat for Public Education of the Ministry of Human Resources has instituted proceedings in the matter of the accreditation of the course “Foundational Awareness and Methodology for Family Pedagogy” on the basis of the *HVG* article—the Ministry announced through *MTI* the same day.

# COMMUNITY NEWS AND RESPONSES

## The German Occupation Memorial

*Budapest*

*Sources: MTI, Amerikai Népszava, ATV, Galamus csoport.hu, Heti Válasz, HVG, Magyar Hírlap, Magyar Közlöny, Népszabadság, Non recuso laborem! blog, Pester Lloyd*  
The manifestations of public opinion (mainly protests) recounted in the *January Report* continued in February.

An Interview with the Budapest-born member of the executive office of the German Foundation Memorial to the Murdered Jews of Europe, Adam Kerpel-Fronius, was published on the *Pester Lloyd* website on 31 January. A Hungarian translation of the interview was made available to the public on 4 February by Galamus Group. According to Adam Kerpel-Fronius the memorial's message is essentially that "Hungary was the perfectly innocent victim of the German National Socialist aggressor. While they recognize the Holocaust as a tragic chapter in history they shift the responsibility exclusively onto Hitler's Germany. Therefore, the monument represents a serious falsification of history. [...] It should be absolutely clear: responsibility for the Hungarian Holocaust can neither be attributed solely to the German invaders, nor to the Hungarian State alone, because both bear responsibility. The Hungarian government is drawing an advantage from many Hungarians not being aware of this fact."

On 1 February civil organizations and the parties of left-wing union (MSZP, the Democratic Coalition [DK], Együtt-PM, and the Hungarian Liberal Party) protested with a flash-mob against the German occupation memorial planned for Szabadság Square. Fruzsina Magyar, a dramaturge, and the Radnóti and Tolerance Award-winning Facebook group Tolerance organized the rally with the aim of making the government revoke the license for the monument. István Hiller (MSZP) said that the perpetrators of the Holocaust were vile murderers, and this needed no softening, no relativization, but had to be faced. In his opinion the current course taken in Hungary was a premeditated, deliberate rewriting of the recent past. Szilvia Bach, the comedian also joined the protesters wearing a yellow star. Some people were wearing a crossed-out swastika badge in protest.

"The opposition surrounding the German occupation memorial is wholly incomprehensible, as it would stand in remembrance to the pain of all the victims," said Péter Boross, ex-Prime Minister on 2 February in ATV's program Szabad szemmel (With an open eye). Péter Boross emphasized: he was amazed by the "overreaction" to the sculpture.

*HVG* published its interview with Hartmut Koschyk (CSU), the Merkel government's Commissioner for Minority Affairs on 2 February. Concerning the memorial he said "Germany acknowledged and continues to recognize responsibility for German crimes. [...] It is a pity that tensions have arisen due to the memorial. It would have been better had foreign embassies been involved in the preparatory consultations as in the case of the Hungarian Ho-

locaust Memorial Year—2014. [...] At the same time, following discussions I have had here, it is my impression that the Hungarian government does not raise doubts with regard to the responsibility of the ethnically Hungarian helpers of National Socialism and the partial responsibility of the Hungarian state authorities for what happened then. [...] At the moment the Hungarian government has to state its objectives with the memorial, for this is the way it can reduce the tensions that have developed around it.”

The Lantos Foundation published a statement on 3 February that expresses how “critically important” it was for the Hungarian government to speak “plainly and with one voice” about the German occupation memorial, as well as Sándor Szakály’s statement, and avoid the threat posed by “mixed messages”. The Foundation thought it necessary for the proposal of the German occupation memorial to be reconsidered. “The current plan for the sculpture apparently shows complete amnesia with regard to the role of the Hungarian government regarding the worst atrocities of the tragic occupation” the Lantos Foundation wrote. According to the press release “such memorials can play an important role in people’s education and can speak about the country’s history with dignity.”

*Népszabadság* published an article on its website on 4 February, according to which Viktor Orbán himself took the decision not to set up the statue before the election, postponing the date prompted partly by it not being expected to be ready for the anniversary, and partly by the widespread protests, especially the threat of boycott from Mazsihisz. Plans for the erection of the memorial have not however been officially canceled.

Antal Rogán denied the veracity of the information in a press conference held the same day: “No such thing was ever discussed, in any form”, he had not received such information, the article had no basis.

President of the National Association of Germans in Hungary, Ottó Heinek explained his views on the memorial in a letter dated 5 February, in response to a request from Mazsihisz President, András Heisler. “Serious anxieties, doubts and aversions have come up within our community in regards to the German occupation memorial planned for Budapest” Ottó Heinek reported. “The intent in itself of raising the memorial, but the visual design that has become public even more starkly expresses the message that every crime, all the evil began on 19 March 1944, and the occupying foreign forces bear all the responsibility exclusively for everything that happened.” Heinek believes that there is room for remembrance of the German occupation in the year 2014, however, the existence of this memorial cannot be justified on many levels. He deeply agrees with the Mazsihisz President that the message of the memorial undermines any credible confrontation of history. Ottó Heinek trusts that the government will admit its mistake and take the path towards finding a consensus and desist from setting up the memorial.

In an interview with *Magyar Hírlap* on 5 February Péter Boross said with regard to the memorial that “if the government wants to set up a memento to the victims on the anniversary, with emphasis on its good will, the complaints related to it can at best be interpreted

as expressions of hatred, dictated by electoral interests. [...] Yet to assert in relation to the memorial that the government wants to glorify the Nazi occupiers, that must count as the ultimate in deceit.”

The Presidency of the Hungarian Lutheran Church released a statement on 6 February that supports a public sculpture in memory of the 19 March 1944 occupation of Hungary by Nazi forces, and particularly its victims. However, they also consider it important for “the way the monument is set up and the time allotted for its completion not to limit the possibility for extensive exchange of views, and no room should be left opportunity for the cause of the memorial to become the degraded instrument of political ambitions that would exclude shared remembrance.”

With regard to the issues raised at the meeting of the Jewish Community Roundtable on 6 February János Lázár, Secretary of State for the Prime Minister’s Office said, in connection with the memorial that “it would be a falsification of history if we were to act as if Germany had not stripped Hungary of its sovereignty on 19 March 1944”, and similarly, if “we tried to deny the responsibility of the German occupation in the deportation of our Jewish countrymen in 1944 by Hungarians and Germans together.”

Following the round-table András Heisler, President of Mazsihisz said that they consider the German occupation memorial “harmful in respect of the country not only as a Jewish organization, but also as Hungarian citizens”, since it “generates conflict and paves the way for misinterpretations”. He also added that they advise against the memorial being raised, if only on account of its “dubious symbolism and aesthetic value”.

A declaration by the newspaper *Amerikai Népszava* published on 6 February stated: “The German occupation memorial is a factual announcement of the rehabilitation of the Fascist ideology and social system. The rules of democracy do not apply in a fascist system, because they are eliminated by the system itself. The authentic defense against fascism is anti-fascism. The anti-fascist struggle has a strong tradition in Europe and in Hungary. The best of the Hungarians fought as anti-fascists under the Horthy regime, which is now defended by the Orbán government. The statue of the racist Prime Minister Gyula Gömbös was blown up in 1944. This act became one of the symbols of anti-fascism. [...] If the Hungarian government crosses this line by raising this memorial, and takes on the legacy of the allies of Nazi Germany, it is not only the right of the Hungarian people, but their duty to initiate the anti-fascist struggle. The most important step in this movement would be to blow up the memorial.”

On 9 February the Party Democratic Coalition called upon the local government of District 5 to revoke the permission given for the memorial the next day, 10 February, on grounds of the decisions taken by Mazsihisz.<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>9</sup> At its general assembly on 9 February, Mazsihisz brought a resolution that it would distance itself and not attend the Hungarian Holocaust Memorial Year—2014, until there are changes regarding the memorial, the House of Fates and the dismissal of Sándor Szakály.



*Népszabadság* published a statement by Slomó Köves, Executive Rabbi of EMIH on 10 February, about why he had stayed away from the Holocaust Memorial Committee, saying that every Jewish community had voiced its critical opinion of the memorial already, it would be important that civil society and academic life also give public expression to their opinion. He proposed that rather than forming a committee of historians, the Prime Minister's Office requests the opinion of the Section of History and Philosophy at the Hungarian Academy of Sciences in a matter of such weight for national remembrance.

On 10 February the party Együtt–PM called on the government to ask for a resolution on the matter from the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, and to ground a broad social debate on the memorial to German occupation planned for Budapest on the basis of this resolution.

Also on 10 February, Zoltán Balog, Minister of Human Resources said in response to the Mazsihisz boycott of the Hungarian Holocaust Memorial Year—2014 that the official Hungarian position with regard to the occupation has remained unchanged since 1990, and “the responsibility cannot be divided, the German, Nazi state and the collaborators of the Hungarian state both bear hundred percent responsibility for the crimes committed”, emphasizing that the memorial planned for Szabadság Square is not to stand in memory of the German occupation, but the victims of the occupation.

On 12 February, at the remembrance held by the Association of Hungarian Resistance and Anti-Fascists (MEASZ) by the memorial to the martyrs in Vizafogó on the occasion of the 69<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the liberation of the capital from German occupation Dezső Hiszékeny, vice-mayor of the 13<sup>th</sup> District said that in his opinion the German occupation memorial does not lead relations between the majority and minority towards reconciliation, because it continues to approach Hungarians and Jewry as two separate units. Vilmos Hanti, President of MEASZ considered the German occupation memorial under preparation outrageous, which in his opinion does not differentiate between victim and perpetrator.

An interview with Ilan Mor, the ambassador to Budapest from Israel, appeared in the weekly *Heti Válasz* on 13 February. He replied to the question whether Hungary had a right to set up a memorial to German occupation of Hungary with the following: “I am no judge, so it is not for me to decide, nor is it my role to be an advisor. I am trying to draw attention to the fact that in such a sensitive issue one must proceed with caution and understanding, and not deny the facts of history.” Ilan Mor did not agree with the interviewer, András Stumpf's suggestion that “when in regards to the memorial, Jewish communities emphasize Hungarian responsibility, they are indirectly on the verge of drawing a veil over that of Germany”. In his opinion “no one wants to whitewash the Nazis”.

In its 17 February press release the Hungarian Liberal Party “calls upon the Prime Minister to lend his ears to Hungarian and international criticism and withdraw plans for the erection of a German occupation memorial. The Liberals expect an immediate decision from Viktor Orbán in the issue of the Szabadság Square memorial. The Liberal Party ob-

serves in shock how for weeks already the members of the government responsible have not dared to bring a decision with regard to the scandalous memorial planned for Szabadság Square.”

On 18 February Zoltán Balog, Minister for Human Resources gave a statement to ATV television, saying that the government’s position could change with regard to the memorial at the cabinet meeting on 19 February.

The Government resolution, which appeared in the Hungarian Official Journal on 19 February, postponed the date of the inauguration of the “memorial to the victims of the German occupation of Hungary” to May 31.

On 20 February András Heisler, President of Mazsihisz told ATV television that “it is not as a Jewish leader that the memorial is disturbing for him but as a Hungarian citizen. This Memorial should not be erected either in April or in May.”

In a post on his blog on 20 February Gordon Bajnai called the postponement of the the Szabadság Square memorial’s completion a “cynical evasion of conflict preceding the elections”, which does not dissolve the differences in principle. “A falsification of history will remain falsification of history even after a few months have elapsed.”

Szabolcs Kerék Bárczy, representing the Democratic Coalition Party, in a press release on 20 February held it against Fidesz that it stood firm in its decision to erect the statue on Szabadság Square though it “violates the memory of our fellow Hungarians carried off murdered in the Shoah, and falsifies our history”. “Fidesz commits another trespass against the memory of the victims through this [the postponement] and treats an already disgusted posterity as if they were stupid, continuing unabashedly all this time to entice the people who hold extremist views to itself.”

On the same day Ferenc Gyurcsány, President of DK said “we will not be satisfied with the German occupation memorial not being completed by 19 March, but rather at the end of May.” It is not enough if the inauguration of the occupation memorial is only delayed—he said.

On 20 February Gusztáv Zoltai, the executive director of Mazsihisz called it exasperating that the German occupation memorial is still going to come to existence, even if later.

In his statement of 28 February Gergely Pröhle, Deputy Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs weighed up the situation, with “it is a significantly disproportionate reaction to speak of an intent to falsify history in relation to a commemoration of the victims of Nazi German occupation and threaten a boycott, but it is also clear that it is not possible to remember the Holocaust without the participation of Jews. No doubt the formal and symbolic world of a statue can make the chances of a shared remembrance much less likely. It is perhaps not by chance that a majority of artworks commemorating war are simple obelisks, or nonfigurative depictions that allow more room for personal interpretation. The postpone-

ment of the erection of the memorial and the letter from the Prime Minister now offers a new opportunity to find a solution, time to think things through.”

### **Continuing reaction to Sándor Szakály’s statement**

*Budapest*

*Sources: MTI, ATV, Népszabadság*

On 17 January Sándor Szakály called the first deportation of Jews to Kamenets-Podolsk in 1941 a police action against aliens in an interview that was prepared by MTI. His statement was discussed in detail in our previous report. Reactions in February are found below.

According to Péter Boross’s press release from 2 February it is a “vile act” to accuse Sándor Szakály of denying the Holocaust. He knows of no connection between the historian and the extreme right, and considers this impossible. It is a “dishonest accusation” that Sándor Szakály identifies with such ideologies.

The Lantos Foundation released a statement on 3 February, in which it expresses how “critically important” it was for the Hungarian government to speak “plainly and with one voice” about Sándor Szakály’s statement, as well as the German occupation memorial, and avoid the threat posed by “mixed messages”. While the Foundation deemed it important and welcomed Sándor Szakály’s acknowledgement of the incorrectness of his statement, it nonetheless continues to question whether he is the appropriate person to fill the post of director of the Veritas Institute for Historical Research. The statement also mentioned that János Lázár, Secretary of State for the Prime Minister’s Office distanced himself and the Office from the statement, but “this was self-evident, and though to be appreciated, this humble note is a hardly adequate rejection of Mr. Szakály’s hurtful and inaccurate statement”.

After the Jewish Community Roundtable held on 6 February András Heisler, President of Mazsihisz gave expression to the following opinion on Sándor Szakály’s statement: “Such an important government institution ought to have a more deserving leader.”

In its press release of 17 February the Hungarian Liberal Party “calls upon the Prime Minister to take heed of the Hungarian and international criticism and revoke Sándor Szakály’s appointment”.

On 18 February Zoltán Balog, Minister for Human Resources gave a statement to ATV television, noting that the government’s position regarding Sándor Szakály’s appointment may change at the 19 February meeting of the cabinet.

Upon an approach from the daily *Népszabadság* on 27 February Sándor Szakály said that he had imposed a voluntary moratorium on himself after the Member of Parliament for the Democratic Coalition Party Oláh Lajos lodged a complaint against him for denial of the Holocaust. He will not accept any public opportunities to speak until the courts have passed a final sentence on his case, since he does not wish to stir further ill feeling.

## House of Fates

*Budapest*

*Sources: MTI, website of the Bálint Jewish Community Center, Kormányportál (Government portal), Népszabadság, Facebook profile of the House of Fates*

A debate about the House of Fates was held at the Bálint Jewish Community Center on 1 February, with the participation of historians András Gerő and László Karsai. András Gerő, who is also officially taking part in the project, put forward in the beginning of the discussion that he supports the plan. He will do so until he experiences something problematic, or unacceptable. On the other hand he does not by any means support any effort whatever form it takes, whether open or hidden, for the rehabilitation of the Horthy era. The government is duplicitous in this matter: it follows an interest- rather than value-based policy; it seeks to satisfy the expectations of the extreme right as well. According to András Gerő there is a need for the House of Fates, because by now it has become evident that the Center in Páva Street has not been an all-round success. Gerő also deemed the criticism leveled at the name of the institution, House of Fates, unfounded. There has not been any thought of the name being a slight at the novel *Fatelessness* by Imre Kertész. In his opinion “the government set an idiotic deadline, it is both physically and intellectually impossible for the exhibition in the House of Fates to be ready by April.” He was absolutely certain that at most the building to house the institution will be ready by then. The interior content, “whatever anyone may say” will not be ready by then. A more realistic date is the anniversary of the liberation of the Budapest ghetto, in January 2015. László Karsai agreed in principle that a new center for remembrance was needed, however the Director of the House of Terror, Mária Schmidt, was not the right person to lead this institution. Karsai called the message according to which Mária Schmidt had held worthwhile consultations on the concept for the center a lie. “It is a slap in the face of the memory of the victims” to appoint such a person as the leader of the House of Fates.

In connection with the opinions voiced at the Jewish Community Roundtable held on 6 February János Lázár, Secretary of State for the Prime Minister’s Office said, concerning the House of Fates that “it could only be realized in Hungary if an intelligent, fair and content-centered dialogue comes about in its regard”. He pointed out: “it is not the government’s aim to realize a place of remembrance against the wishes of the Hungarian Jewish community”, but to “do so together, with the help and support of the community”. If the cooperation is not successful, “there is no point in realizing the program”, he explained.

After the roundtable discussion András Heisler, President of Mazsihisz said that they could see no readiness for cooperation on the part of the project director of the House of Fates so far. Mazsihisz holds the position that the institution’s authoritative historical approach must be ensured—he added.

In an article which appeared in *Népszava* online on 7 February György Gábor, philosopher of religion said in relation to the House of Fates that “the concept is weighed down by seri-

ous errors and also the person of its director”. The expert called it a basic issue to be decided “whether there was even a need for a new Holocaust memorial site, or whether it would not make more sense to develop the already existing Holocaust memorial Center in Páva Street?” In his opinion the choice of location was a professional mistake. For it has to be noted that the chosen railway station in Józsefváros was never used in the deportations, and it was not certain that the “death trains” had even passed through. Gábor György also considered the choice of name a serious professional error, because the name House of Fates “alludes in a vile manner” to the novel by the Nobel Prize-winning author Imre Kertész, *Fatelessness*, not to mention the fact that “Jewry does not even use the concept of fate”. Another sore point in the concept pointed out by the expert was that the House of Fates would commemorate the child victims of the Holocaust, which would make many people feel as if the ground idea had been that “the children are innocent, they did not deserve this, and meanwhile we have not spoken about the adults, which may seem like we share certain anti-Semitic views and have come to a deal with those who represent such views that be that as it may, at least the children were innocent.” According to the philosopher of religion, a comprehensive discourse about the House of Fates on the basis of these points of view “could make it the catalyst of a facing-up to the past, of the appraisal, which we have evaded for 70 years.”

In its press release of 9 February Mazsihisz asked the Prime Minister of Hungary to put a halt to the House of Fates project.

In a letter of 10 February Mazsihisz proposed an alternative to the House of Fates, which would mean the creation of an institution where “Hungarian-Jewish coexistence, the symbiosis of Hungarian and Jewish culture, the treasures brought about together could be presented.”

On 12 February *Népszabadság* online published the news that professor of history István Deák and the aesthete Péter György had also refused to participate in the House of Fates project. István Deák would only see any sense in adding proposals to the project if the work was not at such an advanced stage. He notes: it would have been better to exchange views much earlier about how the “Hungarian crimes and tragedies” of the Holocaust could be remembered with the greatest dignity after seventy years. István Deák sees it as the communist falsification of history having been exchanged for Nationalist falsification of history—or at least a chaotic rush. Péter György has serious qualms about both the name and the concept of the House of Fates.

In its statement of 17 February the Hungarian Liberal Party “called upon the Prime Minister, to heed Hungarian and international criticism and negotiate with the Jewish organizations about the way the House of Fates museum could be realized.”

On 17 February ATV television announced that according to its information Tamás Krausz had also refused participation in the drafting of the concept. In his opinion: “The whole gov-

ernment project—from the Horthy statues, through the memorial plaques to the just unbelievable, quasi-romantic kitsch planned for the Szabadság Square—is a senseless, self-destructive neo-Horthyist intellectual restoration, whose meaning, ideological message is to erase the line between the executioners and the victims”.

On 18 February Zoltán Balog, Minister for Human Resources gave a statement to ATV television, noting that the government’s position regarding the project may change at the 19 February meeting of the cabinet.

The House of Fates Facebook profile posted the news that János Szász can no longer participate in the work of the International Advisory Board on 24 February.

### **Jobbik meeting in the synagogue of Esztergom**

*Budapest, Esztergom, Komárom-Esztergom County*

*Sources: MTI, mandiner.hu*

The Jobbik Movement for a Better Hungary announced a local forum for 14 February to be held on the premises of the culture center in Esztergom, which had earlier been a synagogue.

The choice of location for the gathering drew wide protests. Among others, the mayor of Esztergom, Éva Tétényi wrote an open letter to Gabor Vona, the President of the Party on 3 February asking him to “change the location of the event in the interest of a an honorable, humane, normatively European campaign that takes account of people’s feelings”.

Jobbik released a statement on 3 February, in which it emphasized: “Jobbik has the same rights as any other political force sent to the parliament by the will of the Hungarian electorate. Thus we also have the right to inform those who are interested in our program and our work in and outside the parliament in the Esztergom cultural center in the framework of a local forum. From this point of view whether the building had functioned as a synagogue many decades earlier is completely irrelevant.”

On 12 February the Executive Rabbi of the Unified Hungarian Jewish Congregation and Action and protection Foundation turned to the Police Headquarters of Esztergom with a request that the event be banned. More details can be found under the section about Important Steps Taken by Action and Protection Foundation.

Mazsihisz protested the Jobbik gathering at a press conference held on 12 February, since it offends the memory of the martyrs. Gusztáv Zoltai, Executive Director of Mazsihisz said that they support the initiative in which a number of civil organizations are gathering for a protest in front of the building at the time of the forum. Activist of the Facebook page “Elég volt” (That’s enough), Ágnes Drelyó announced at the press conference that they have planned to gather at the site before the Jobbik event is set to begin, and though they plan to hold a peaceful protest they intend to prevent the meeting from taking place. András

Heisler, President of Mazsihisz also stressed: the reason why they support the civil initiative is that they consider this degradation of the memory of the martyrs of Szeged impermissible.

Csilla Maronka, director of the cultural center told MTI that as an institution with an official public educational function they cannot differentiate between political parties.

The party event was held in the one-time synagogue on 14 February. By the time the forum was to begin the crowd of protesters was already 200–250 persons strong, many of the protesters put on yellow stars of David, while stones and burning candles were placed in front of the memorial plaque on the wall of the building. An elderly man threatened Gábor Vona, when he was going to enter the synagogue. “Get out, you Nazi murderer, out of the synagogue!” he shouted, and started towards the party President. The Jobbik members providing security for the event caught the man and shoved him out the entrance.

### **Sentence postponed in the legal Church proceedings against Loránt Hegedűs**

*Budapest*

*Source: MTI*

The responsible Court of the Church Diocese brought a decision on 20 February, to delay the passing of a sentence on Loránt Hegedűs, who inaugurated a Horthy statue in his Church of Return Home on 3 November, until 7 March.

György Horváth, legal advisor of the Northern Budapest diocese of the Calvinist Church who was acting as prosecutor asked in his prosecution speech for the accused to be stripped of office primarily because he held a political event in the church, which contradicts the resolution of the ecclesiastical council. He also accused the pastor of propagating principles, among others that of Miklós Horthy’s cult, on which there is no consensus within the Church, thereby dividing the Church and damaging it. He called attention to the fact that Loránt Hegedűs was continuously publishing articles of openly anti-Semitic and Fascist ideology on the news-portal kuruc.info, which in itself makes him unsuitable for remaining active as a pastor. He argued that Loránt Hegedűs even used the sermon he gave before inaugurating the statue to incite against the Jews.

Árpád Nemes, lawyer for the defendant, Loránt Hegedűs, not in attendance at the trial, denied the accusations. There is no evidence to show that the event held in the church was not of a spiritual, but of political nature, and it is conceptually impossible that a mass should violate the ecclesiastical resolution—he said.

In the course of the trial the defense made constant efforts to add documents to the process which prove, in their opinion that Horthy’s activity was positive. These were consistently rejected by the court which held that the historical appraisal of Horthy was not a subject of the trial.

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# OFFICIAL AND CIVIL RESPONSES

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## Complaint against Tibor Ágoston lodged

*Debrecen, Hajdú-Bihar County*

*Source: MTI, ATV, dehir.hu, Jobbik.hu, Magyar Hírlap, Népszabadság*

We reported in January that on 12 January, at a commemoration of the soldiers lost in the Don River, Tibor Ágoston used the words “holokamu” (holohoax) and “hollokoszt” in his speech, instead of Holocaust.

At his Press conference in Debrecen, on 12 February, Gordon Bajnai declared that they would defend every one of their fellow assaulted countrymen. István Szegedi, the candidate for the broad coalition *Összefogás* (Alliance) announced that *Együtt–PM* is filing a police complaint on account of Tibor Ágoston’s statement.

The Jewish Congregation of Debrecen, according to the statement they sent to MTI on 13 February, was outraged at hearing of Tibor Ágoston’s expressions. They consider it impermissible and outrageous that anyone should be allowed to speak in this way about the horrors in which their family, their loved ones, their fellow humans were deliberately and methodically annihilated. Such statements and people who believe in such ideologies have no place in public life. Tamás Horovitz, President of the congregation also said in the press release that they have filed a complaint against Tibor Ágoston for his statements denying the Holocaust.

In response to the statement on Jobbik’s website the spokesman for Jobbik, Ádám Mirkóczy posted the following on 13 February: “Jobbik condemns every genocide, and honors every innocent human victim, at the same time we are sorry that a segment of Hungarian Jewry wants not only to remember the Holocaust, but also use it for their own material and political gains.”

On 13 February the Party Democratic Coalition (DK) called upon Péter Polt, the Chief Prosecutor, to summon the Holocaust-denying Member of Parliament, Tibor Ágoston, to court.

In his press release of 14 February the Mayor of Debrecen, Lajos Kósa also distanced the local government from any statement that questions the fact of the Holocaust, its inhumanity, and tries to diminish its historical weight and the responsibility that is to be born for it. He concluded the press release as follows: “We declare unequivocally that we distance ourselves from the undignified statements made by the leader of the Jobbik faction of Debrecen with regard to the Holocaust!”

In its article of 14 February *Dehir* wrote that in reply to their questions Tibor Ágoston declared that he would not resign.



Since 14 February the Hajdú-Bihar County Police Headquarters is investigating the case under suspicion of public denial of the crimes of the National Socialist regime.

Hajdú-Bihar County prosecutor Edit Jónáné Pocsai announced on 18 February that the complaint lodged by the President of the Jewish Congregation of Debrecen related to Tibor Ágoston's statement had arrived at the Hajdú-Bihar County Chief Prosecutor's Office.

On 18 February the Dean of the Calvinist Church Diocese of Debrecen, Zsigmond Vad sent his statement to NOL.hu (*Népszabadság* online), in which the Church leader denounced the statements made in regards to the Holocaust by the Jobbik Member of Parliament, Tibor Ágoston, who was a presbyter of the Calvinist Church Diocese of Homokkert. As his statement explains: "We consider the statement Tibor Ágoston made with regard to the Holocaust saddening and unacceptable. [...] Within the congregations' communities we consider such and similar statements impermissible and unacceptable." He added that an investigation would be conducted into the matter.

### **Mazsihisz files complaint against the anti-Zionist protest**

*Budapest*

*Source: Website of the Federation of Hungarian Jewish Communities (Mazsihisz)*

Mazsihisz lodged a complaint with the responsible investigating authorities against individual unknown for incitement against a religious group and denial of the Holocaust on 26 February.

In their press release of the same day they wrote that they had learned with consternation that an "anti-Zionist demonstration" had been planned for 8 March in the heart of the capital, a procession along the streets from Kodály Körönd–Andrássy Street–Dózsa György Street. According to the proclamation of the demonstration the organizers "have had enough of the lies of the Zionist Jews" and "they are at the end of their tether". According to the organizers the Holocaust was also caused by the "Zionist top Jews".

# NEWS AND OPINION ABOUT ANTI-SEMITISM IN HUNGARY

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## German Occupation Memorial—opinions that appeared in media abroad

*Norway, Germany, Austria*

*Sources: MTI, website of Neue Züricher Zeitung*

An interview with Gergely Próhle, Deputy Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs appeared in the Norwegian daily *Aftenposten* on 2 February. The article begins with a presentation of the planned German occupation memorial, to which Próhle reacted as follows: the third largest Jewish community of Europe lives in Hungary, and this memorial is a part of the comprehensive Hungarian Holocaust Memorial Year—2014. Próhle pointed out that opinions differ among historians and Jewish organizations as well, and it is good that an exchange of views about the memorial and the text it will be accompanied with is underway. He emphasized that innocence does not necessarily take center-place in the work of art, and no one denies Hungary's partial responsibility in the Holocaust. In Próhle's opinion debates about responsibility for the war are currently going on in a number of countries, and these have to be carried through in Hungary too, since we are speaking of a nation of many colors, various points of views, and reminds the reader that prior to 1989 there was no chance in Hungary to carry on an open debate about the war.

The German conservative daily *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* (FAZ) published an interview with Minister for Foreign Affairs János Martonyi on 5 February. The memorial does not, by any means send the message that “we want to lessen or deny our responsibility even by the least bit”, he said. “Over recent years, months and days we have repeatedly stated that we accept our moral and political responsibility”, he added, emphasizing that “we failed to protect our fellow Hungarian citizens of the Jewish faith or Jewish background,” and then “we actively participated in their extermination”. However the memorial “does not have anything to do with this”. Some people argue that the memorial “honors every victim” the Foreign Minister clarified, pointing out: it is historical fact that the German occupation happened on 19 March 1944, and the number of victims after this were high. The victims were primarily and foremost the Jews, but “there were others as well”.

The liberal Austrian daily *Der Standard* published an interview with Gordon Bajnai, the leader of the Együtt–PM alliance in its issue of 18 February, in which he said that by means of the planned occupation memorial the government was reinforcing in society the approach that Hungary had simply been an innocent victim of National Socialism. The government is playing an “Orwellian game”, according to which “the one who rules over the past, also rules over the future; the one who rules in the present day also rules over the past”.

An article dealing with the memorial appeared on the website of the Israeli newspaper *Yedioth Ahronoth* called Ynet on 18 February. Slomó Köves, Executive Rabbi of the Unified Hungarian Jewish Congregation stated in it that it was very hard to Judge the chances of the protests against the memorial being successful, “everyone is waiting to see. They have not begun to build the memorial, I think they have started to see ‘the problem’, and I think it is not permissible to burn the bridges. It must be made possible for them to step back with as little complication as possible. For us it is the resolution of the issue that matters and not the media attention it receives”.

On 20 February the Swiss liberal newspaper *Neue Zürcher Zeitung* published an article about the postponement of the inauguration of the memorial. According to the liberal conservative newspaper the postponement of the memorial planned for the Szabadság Square also has strategic reasons related to the elections. The newspaper is of the opinion that the boycott by the Federation of Hungarian Jewish Communities (Mazsihisz) “is a dire strike against the government”. In Meret Baumann, the author’s opinion the debate around the memorial therefore exemplifies the internal contradictions of the government: after all they did not take the proposals by critics of the memorial into consideration, but postponed it to after the general elections in April.

### **Another Holocaust survivor withdraws his support**

*United States of America*

*Sources: Hungarian Spectrum, Népszabadság*

On 1 February the newspaper *Népszabadság* reported a letter by Holocaust survivor Steven Fenves, Professor Emeritus at Carnegie Mellon University, which he addressed to Randolph L. Braham in January. In his letter he informed Professor Braham, that he had revoked his permission given to the Holocaust Information Center of Subotica (Szabadka), which would have allowed them to name it after Klári Geréb, the famous artist, who was his mother, and he also decided not to gift a few of his mother’s works intended for an exhibition to be held in the Municipal Museum of Subotica to the Museum. The two institutions had previously received support from the Hungarian Government in the framework of the Hungarian Holocaust Memorial Year—2014.

Steven Fenves reconsidered his decision after he saw Sándor Szakály’s photograph on the news portal *Hungarian Spectrum*, in which the member of the National Committee for Memorial Sites and Shrines was shown with the bust of a Hungarian csendőr (gendarme) complete with the flying black cock-feathers, “exactly as worn by those gendarmes when they herded us into the makeshift ghetto and soon thereafter loaded us into the boxcars destined for Auschwitz. [...] It was extremely painful for me to realize that the Hungarian government that sponsors this man also funds the two 2014 activities in Subotica.” Braham had inspired his decision, by his account.

**“The accusation of anti-Semitism is a dire weapon to use”***Budapest**Sources: Echo TV, Magyar Hírlap*

János Fónagy, the head of the Hungarian-Israeli friendship section of the Hungarian Parliament gave an interview on Echo TV on 5 February in the program “Napi aktuális” (Topics of the day). As he put it, remembrance does not bring back the dead, the purpose of remembrance is to ensure that those who are living today and future generations are clear about what happened in the Shoah. János Fónagy disagreed in the interview about Hungary having being branded as anti-Semitic on an international level. According to the MP, only certain fora and mouthpieces proclaim this, and the criticism is not aimed at Hungary as a whole, only at certain political movements.

“If the accusation of anti-Semitism is not true, it is very hard to defend one’s self, because anyone defending themselves is excusing themselves, which causes an irresolvable dilemma”, he added. János Fónagy declared: “There is no political anti-Semitism in Hungary, though undoubtedly, similarly to other countries in Europe there are manifestations of anti-Semitism, and these must not be ignored for even a moment.”

**Hungarian Ambassador summoned by the Israeli Foreign Ministry***Jerusalem, Israel**Source: MTI*

The Hungarian Ambassador in Tel-Aviv was summoned by the Foreign Ministry of Israel on 13 February. According to the account given by Ambassador Andor Nagy, Israel expressed its anxiety over growing anti-Semitism in Hungary, also mentioning the issue of the neo-Nazi party running in the elections, while at the same time the measures taken by the Hungarian government since 2010 were acknowledged.

The Israeli side expressed its deep disquiet due to a number of anti-Semitic events as well as the disastrous statements by Hungarian politicians, expressing serious doubts with regard to Hungarian society being ready, brave and honest enough to face up to the past—as the *Nrg*, the website of the Israeli newspaper *Maariv* was informed.

On request from the MTI, Ambassador Nagy said: “In the course of the discussion they expressed their fears, similarly to the way they had been formulated by Mazsihisz in their letter to the Prime Minister: in regards to the concept of the House of Fates within the Hungarian Holocaust memorial Year—2014, as well as its realization; while they also took exception to the statement of the Director of the Veritas Institute; as well as the issue of the statue symbolizing German occupation, which is to be built on Szabadság Square.”

### **Ilan Mor's thoughts**

*Budapest*

*Source: Heti Válasz*

On 13 February the weekly *Heti Válasz* published an interview with Ilan Mor, Israeli Ambassador to Hungary. In the interview Ilan Mor explained that “there is anti-Semitism in Hungary today. This does not mean Hungary is an anti-Semitic country. There are a vast number of people both on the political right and left who reject racism, but they have the shared responsibility of making sure their country is democratic and free of hate.”

### **Righteous Among the Nations and For Courage awards bestowed**

*Budapest*

*Source: MTI*

The Jerusalem Yad Vashem award of Righteous Among the Nations and the Hungarian Honors for Courage awarded to the same persons were ceremonially bestowed on the same day on 20 February in Budapest.

Minister of the Interior, Sándor Pintér emphasized on the occasion, “it is the government’s straightforward position that every extremist manifestation must be combatted, and it implements this in everyday life”. The head of the portfolio highlighted: “if we unite, no anti-Semitic, racist, hate-mongering, exclusionist groups or party can ever come to power.” Majority of the country’s population agrees with this and turns away from those who follow or support such ideologies he added. Everyone should work towards ensuring “that the memory of terrible dictatorships only remains a memory and that it never becomes possible to exclude, debase, murder people for their origins or religion”.

Ilan Mor, Ambassador to Hungary from Israel recounted that 70 years ago the Holocaust was made possible by anti-Semitic views grounded in ignorance, religious fanaticism and conspiracy theories. Denial of the Holocaust is an expression of anti-Semitism, every attempt at denying the genocide committed against the Jews is an effort to exculpate the Nazi ideology and anti-Semitism. According to Ilan Mor a reaffirmation of the strong commitment to observe and react to the increasingly frequent denial of the Holocaust in Hungary by extremist political and social groups is needed. The struggle against the “banalization or relativization” of the Hungarian Holocaust is necessary, and the opinion-leaders on both the left and right should be motivated to take a stand against such phenomena together.

## **As Christian Hungarians we raise our voices against the falsification of history**

### *Hungary*

*Source: Website of the Federation of Hungarian Jewish Communities (Mazsihisz)*

On 24 February Mazsihisz posted a declaration they received, in which Christian Hungarian intellectuals<sup>10</sup> declared: “As Hungarian Christians, and citizens of Hungary who think responsibly about the past, present and future of the country, we agree with initiatives that support the authentic exploration of the history of the Holocaust, an honest appraisal of responsibility and true facing up to the facts. [...] As Hungarian Christian citizens who are concerned about the present and future of the country we consider it our historical duty to humbly seek forgiveness for the crimes of our forebears and thereby proclaim peace and reconciliation through our actions as well. Anyone who feels repentance for their sins and asks for forgiveness cannot relativize the crimes committed and cannot quibble or shift the responsibility to others. Leading politicians of the Hungarian government have begged the Jewish community for its forgiveness in unambiguous and determined terms on a number of public fora. In light of these facts, the events of the past weeks—explained by the now regular and deliberate misinterpretation and distortion of the indefensible crimes committed by the Hungarian nation against our Jewish compatriots, as formulated by the government and legitimized by the Fundamental Law of Hungary—delegitimize the honest repentance and apology. [...] We consider it necessary to raise our voices against the falsification of history! [...] We mean to follow the directions of the Lord, and seek healing of the dividedness of the nation through resolute facing up to the crimes and repenting for them on the 70<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of the Holocaust.”

## **The Annual Human Rights Report of the U. S. Department of State**

*Washington, United States of America*

*Source: MTI*

The Department of State made its annual Country Reports on Human Rights public on 27 February, where in the case of Hungary it mentioned the social discrimination against Roma and their exclusion, as well as anti-Semitism (anti-Semitic assaults and vandalism) among the most important human rights problems.

<sup>10</sup> Balázs Wintermantel, Miklós Bánki, Andrea Simonyi, Edit Láng, Ádám Balogh, Miklós Rékai, Márta Petus, Pál Petus, Tünde Andékó, Gabriella Sári, Budapesti Dávid Satora Congregation, Gábor Vincze and Balázs Horváth in the name of the Élő Ige Gyülekezet—Budapest (The living word congregation), “Zúgó szél” Evangéliumi Keresztény Foundation, Pál Nemes of the Budapesti Dávid Satora Congregation, dr. Attila Németh of the 168 hour-long prayer chain, dr. Róbert Deák of the Új Lehetőség Alapítvány (New opportunities Foundation), Pál Katona of the Missionary Center to Albania, Macedonia, Montenegro, Írisz Sípos (Germany), Zsuzsa Lengyel Radnóti Miklós High-school, Gergely Tóth and the Immanuel Community, Zoltán Roóz (of the Evangelical Congregation of Sopron, Agapé team (Zoltán Csáki and Gyöngyi Schwantek), Hajnalka Csapó.

### The opinion of György Tatár

*Switzerland, Hungary*

*Source: Hetek*

An interview with the philosopher of religion, György Tatár appeared in the weekly *Hetek* on 28 February. In regards to the manifestations of anti-Semitism Tatár said: “it is not the ‘expressions’ of anti-Semitism that are of interest. These would not exist if Hungarian society were not deeply and broadly imbued with anti-Semitism, which moves along a rather wide scale: from bursts of bloodthirsty hatred on street corners to the academic intellectuals’ view of history and the world, the latter of which even makes it impossible for the individual concerned to admit their own anti-Semitism. The phenomenon of a well-intentioned rack of lies is regular, in other words, the type of intellectual who has not the slightest idea of their own insincerity. Habitual lack of seriousness is a pan-intellectual phenomenon. [...] The enlightened struggle against prejudice takes not the slightest notice of the fact that there is no ‘prejudice’ apart from anti-Semitism that is followed by paranoid political movements in dread of world conspiracies against the nation, nor the fact that hatred of Jews is so much of an integral element of a number of European national identities that in lieu of Jews it is the national identity itself that keeps anti-Semitism alive. This, among others is what the conviction of the anti-Semites, namely that the Jews are a threat to national identity is rooted in.”

### Jews no longer required for anti-Semitism today

*Budapest*

*Source: ATV, Breuerpress International*

The conference “Modern anti-Semitism, or Judeophobia without Jews in Central Europe” was held on 28 February, organized by Via Cultura and the Political Capital Institute.

Not only the number of people who are prejudiced against Jews determines how typical of a country anti-Semitism is. According to Péter Hunčík, a professor at Central European University it also counts how the political elite uses the terminology of anti-Semitism to mobilize people in its own interest. Péter Hunčík called the political elite “cynical anti-Semites”, independently of which country they lived in. “The main thing is that this phenomenon exists here, exists there as well, exists in the whole of Eastern and Central Europe, and persists virulently into our times, so something should be done about it”, as Hunčík put it.

Among post-Soviet states the proportion of the population harboring prejudices against Jews is highest in Hungary, Poland and Romania—the Conference informed participants. There is a common characteristic to modern anti-Jewishness in Eastern and central Europe. This subject was raised by Magda Vásáry: “if a society does not feel all right, is not satisfied, does not have confidence, it always finds a scapegoat, one it can hold to be the cause of all its troubles”.

The speakers at the conference thought: the pernicious myths that feed anti-Semitism can all, without exception be traced back to a lack of critical thinking.

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## OTHER NEWS

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### **Mazsihisz to stay away from the Hungarian Holocaust memorial Year—2014**

*Budapest*

*Sources: MTI, website of AJC, ATV, HírTV, Index.hu, Jerusalem Post, Kormányportál (government portal), Népszabadság, website of Szombat*

We reported in January that Mazsihisz considered whether to stay away from the events of the Hungarian Holocaust Memorial Year—2014, because of a lack of information about the ideology behind the House of Fates memorial center, the memorial to the German occupation planned for Szabadság Square, and the statement made by the Director of the Veritas Institute.

On 2 February András Heisler, President of Mazsihisz told ATV that at the meeting held together with the Budapest Jewish Congregation (BZSH) that day they brought a resolution according to which Mazsihisz is to do everything in its power to secure “proposals, concessions and alternatives” from the government that it can bring to the general assembly on 9 February. He added: they also decided that if suitable proposals would not be forthcoming, the administration and leadership will propose to the assembly that Mazsihisz take a stance by staying away from the events of the Hungarian Holocaust Memorial Year—2014.

András Heisler also said that they had a clear position in regards to the memorial site in Józsefváros, the occupation memorial, and Sándor Szakály, yet they were open to proposals from the government, and if the government is able to put forward a proposal that is acceptable to the general assembly, they will accept it.

Following negotiations at the Jewish Community Roundtable on 6 February András Heisler said “we did not get answers to our questions”, but received a promise from János Lázár, the Secretary of States for the Prime Minister’s Office, that he would inform Prime Minister Viktor Orbán about the issues.

At the press conference held after the negotiations János Lázár, Secretary of State heading the Prime Minister’s Office announced: Prime Minister Viktor Orbán would give concrete answers to the three questions raised by the Jewish organizations the following week.

In Mazsihisz sent its general assembly’s and BZSH’s 9 February resolution to MTI they appended the explanation that “under the present circumstances Mazsihisz will distance itself from the government’s Holocaust Memorial Program—2014”. Furthermore: “Mazsihisz will be able to participate in the processes of the ‘Holocaust 2014’ government program and draw from the funds awarded by the Civil Fund, if the government alters its practice with regard to the commemoration and processing of the holocaust in the light of their current resolution.” Additionally they request the Prime Minister of Hungary to halt the construc-



tion of the German occupation memorial and the House of Fates project, and to remove Sándor Szakály from his position.

Ronald S. Lauder, President of the World Jewish Congress, gave expression to the World Jewish Congress' "full support for the stance taken by the Hungarian Jewish community in the debates related to the commemorations of the Holocaust" in a letter that was read at the general assembly.

The AJC: Global Jewish Advocacy released a statement on 10 February in which they support the Mazsihisz boycott. They consider the boycott a painful decision, but they find the Fidesz government's wish to rewrite history traumatic. For in the opinion of the AJC the Hungarian government is trying to minimize the role of Hungary as concerns the Holocaust. "Plans to build a memorial to the German occupation, controversial remarks by the director of a government-sponsored research institute, and refusal to share plans for building a second Holocaust museum in Budapest are all viewed with suspicion by the federation of Jewish communities in Hungary, known by the acronym MAZSIHISZ" the press release said. They urge Prime Minister Viktor Orbán to address the Jewish community's concerns without delay.

The party Democratic Coalition (DK) welcomed the Mazsihisz decision in a press release of 10 February, and claimed that the government was not deserving of hosting the Hungarian Holocaust Memorial Year—2014. DK welcomes Mazsihisz's decision as the first really widely effective act within Hungarian civil society that steps up against the Horthy cult aggressively propagated by the Orbán government.

On 10 February Zoltán Balog, the Minister of Human Resources expressed his regret that "this was the decision taken, and that the matter had been leading in this direction right from the start".

The general assembly addressed a letter to Prime Minister Viktor Orbán dated 10 February, in which proposals are made for the resolution of the above-mentioned problems.

Appearing on HírTV on 10 February András Heisler stressed that a boycott<sup>11</sup> had not been mentioned either in their resolutions or public statements earlier, only that they had invited the government to engage in dialogue, because they felt that certain events in the program of the Hungarian Holocaust Memorial Year—2014 were proceeding in the wrong direction. Their decision means that until the issues they have raised are not resolved they will stay away from the programs.

According to an article in the *Jerusalem Post* on 10 February Ilan Mor considers Mazsihisz's decision premature.

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<sup>11</sup> The Association of Hungarian and Anti-Fascists (MEASZ) called the decision taken by Mazsihisz a boycott on 9 February.

On 12 February András Heisler announced that “the letter addressed to the Prime Minister does not signify back-tracking as compared with the resolutions of the Federation of Hungarian Jewish Communities (Mazsihisz) general assembly”.

In his letter of 19 February Viktor Orbán asked the leaders of Mazsihisz to return to this dialogue after the Easter, since with the onset of the election campaign “there is a danger that we will not hear each other’s voices even with the best of intentions. [...] Our work groups should, in as much as possible, continue their work even until then.”

Gusztáv Zoltai, the Executive Director of the Federation of Hungarian Jewish Communities (Mazsihisz) told MTI on 20 February that Mazsihisz will stay away from the state events related to the Hungarian Holocaust Memorial Year—2014. Though they did receive a very courteous reply from Prime Minister Viktor Orbán, it did not include answers to the three issues they had raised.

In a press conference he held in Gyula on 25 February, János Lázár, Secretary of State for the Prime Minister’s Office called the position taken by the Federation of Hungarian Jewish Communities with regards to the Hungarian Holocaust Memorial Year an ultimatum, which threatens to spoil the Holocaust commemorations, but, he added, this will not be capable of severing the coexistence of Hungarians and Jews.

On 25 February, the Jewish journal *Szombat* deemed János Lázár’s statement to be threatening. Amongst others they wrote: “the unqualified contrasting of the two communities does not help calm sentiments. [...] The controversial historical-political agendas of the government certainly do not aid Jewish and Non-Jewish coexistence in the present, nor to clarify how the whole of society could coexist with its own past. [...] Perhaps the memorial year becomes more a part of the process of facing up to the past precisely with the decisive step taken by the Jewish community, because it points out the misconceptions and evasive mechanisms to avoid responsibility, which are still very much alive in society and among the leading political elite.”

András Heisler responded to János Lázár’s statement in *Klubrádió*. He deemed Lázár’s statement impossible to understand or interpret. As he put it, Hungarian-Jewish coexistence is not in danger, because Mazsihisz only has a conflict with the government, not society at large. He agreed with the Secretary of State that the Hungarian Holocaust Memorial Year—2014 is under the danger of failure, but this is not the fault of Mazsihisz, but rather that of the government.

## Others distancing themselves from the Hungarian Holocaust Memorial Year—2014

*Budapest*

*Sources: MTI, ATV, Facebook profile of László Harsányi, website of the Federation of Hungarian Jewish Communities (Mazsihisz), Népszabadság, Facebook profile of the Jewish Congregation of Nyíregyháza, Szombat Online*

The synagogues of Dohány Street and Frankel Leó Street, as well as the Jewish Centre for Tourism and Culture (Zsidó Idegenforgalmi és Kulturális Központ) also reject the funding won from the Civil Fund for the realization of the programs of the Hungarian Holocaust memorial Year—2014, the Federation of Hungarian Jewish Communities (Mazsihisz) announced on 5 February through MTI.

The Jewish Centre for Tourism and Culture formulated its reasons as follows: “we feel that our outrage requires no explanation, after all our opinion must be shared by all honest persons (independently of religious belonging) who can rise above their self-interest. We do not want anything to do with Nazi memorials, nor falsifications of history or the desecration of our dead. We want none of this political drama, that might take as victims the memory of our ancestors and the future of our children. Not only the one who expects it is the perpetrator, but also the one who realizes it!”

The Frankel Synagogue Foundation—in agreement with the community of the Frankel Synagogue—also does not wish to make use of the financial support. By this means they wish to call attention to the fact that “the depiction of the Horthy era in a positive light, the inclusion of Arrow-Cross writers in the national curriculum, the presentation of deportations as police action against aliens, and several other government manifestations and the simultaneous support for commemoration of victims of the genocide are not compatible and do not fit the demands of an honorable manner of thought.”

The Foundation for the Synagogue of Dohány Street also decided that “as the situation stands” it would reject the support it had been awarded.

The Jewish Congregation of Nyíregyháza made its statement available on 5 February through its Facebook profile, in it resigning the support it had been given by the Civil Fund. They announced: “The Jewish victims in Hungary became the martyrs of a concocted crime that was proclaimed collective. The current attempt at falsification of history also tries to shift what is believed to be a collective responsibility upon the ‘invaders’. We were indeed planning to use the amount we had been awarded in worthy fashion, but we believe that its rejection, if only on a small scale, still expresses a rejection of the notion of collective crime.”

In its press release sent to MTI on 7 February the Gólem Theatre rejects the funds won in the framework of the Hungarian Holocaust Memorial Year—2014, invited to tender and awarded by the Hungarian government. They believe that in the current situation the real-

ization of the planned project from these funds would not be appropriate. “The Hungarian government, rather than using the seventieth anniversary of the Holocaust to face up to the historical responsibility and commemorate the happenings with dignity, is using it to falsify history and sully the memory of the victims”, the statement declares.

László Harsányi, the one-time director of the Holocaust Memorial Center in Páva Street, Budapest, posted his letter written to the Civil Fund on his Facebook page on 8 February, rejecting the support awarded him by the Fund, which he would have used to write a book. He justified his decision as follows: “when I had it in my power to help tell the truth about the Hungarian Holocaust, I was able to place a pebble each on their imaginary graves [his grandparents’ imaginary graves, who died in the course of the Holocaust]. The pebbles of remembrance, which I would not want to now kick off these virtual graves—because of the vulgar, cynical decisions and sentences of the current regime.”

In the 9 February press release of the Association of Hungarian Resistance and Anti-Fascists it joins the *Mazsihisz* boycott, and rejects the support awarded by the Hungarian government by way of the Holocaust related funding program, “until it sees a meaningful policy change on the part of the government”.

The Bet Orim Reform Jewish Congregation sent its press release to ATV television on 8 February, in which it rejects the sum it was awarded through the Holocaust Memorial Year—2014 tender for bids. They wrote: “in recent weeks we have seen with regret that as the Hungarian parliamentary elections draw closer, the earlier initiated commemoration for the Holocaust Memorial Year have been degraded by now to the immature political games of the Hungarian government. We do not wish to give our name to such practices.”

The Béke-Shalom Friendship Society of Zalaegerszeg announced on 8 February that it does not intend to avail itself of the support received through the Hungarian Holocaust Memorial Year—2014 tender for bids. As Vilmos Siklósi, the President of the society explained, they will not accept the support due to the political situation that had been created around the commemoration. The government is using double-speak, says the opposite in Brussels and in Hungary, but also acts differently.

On 9 February the association Hanoar Hatzioni Hungary also let it be known on its website that it will not be using the funds it was awarded for the Hungarian Holocaust Memorial Year—2014, because “it does not consider it right that the remembrance of the victims is overshadowed by unseemly gestures serving to shift responsibility and recast history rather than serving dialogue. [...] With our decision we would like to join those civil organizations, churches and individuals who have to date, expressed their misgivings about the lack of societal dialogue and the position taken by the Hungarian government.”

On 10 February Sándor Márkus, the President of the Jewish Congregation of Szombathely let MTI know in a statement that the congregation had unanimously decided that it would

not use the funding it had been awarded in the framework of the Hungarian Holocaust Memorial Year—2014.

On 11 February the József Attila Circle – Literary Association of Young Writers (JAK) posted on its website that it would resign the funding it had received from the Civil Fund, because “the aim of the program planned by JAK for the Holocaust Memorial Year is to rethink historical remembrance together from a perspective of current social acceptance of responsibility. We believe that as an organization representing contemporary artists it is our essential duty to help an authentic absorption of the past. However, in the shadow of this sculpture [the German occupation memorial] it seems impossible to talk about, amongst others Miklós Radnóti, who gave the motto for the intellectual groundwork of the Memorial Year.”

On 16 February the presidency of the Hungarian Jewish Cultural Association (Mazsike) informed MTI that it would suspend the use of the funds it was awarded for its contribution to the Hungarian Holocaust Memorial Year—2014, until the government did not provide “answers to its questions, which would serve reconciliation and elicit the agreement of the Jews”. In their statement they call unacceptable all those “developments, decisions, government plans that offend not only the feelings of the Jewish community, but every Hungarian citizen who belongs to that majority, which thinks of the past with responsibility and would like to live in peace with their compatriots whichever minority they may belong to”.

Mazsihisz posted the news that the Jewish Congregation of Kaposvár would also not accept the funding they had been awarded from the Civil Fund on 24 February.

On 26 February, the writer Lajos Parti Nagy spoke on ATV television about the press release of the Hungarian Belletrist Society of the previous day, to the effect that they would return to the government the support they had received in the framework of the Hungarian Holocaust Memorial Year—2014. They are demonstrating against the memorial policies of the government, because the Hungarian Holocaust Memorial Year—2014 only serves the campaign objectives of the government as they seek to rewrite history, to detach Jewry off the body of Hungarians—the writer said.

### **Commemoration of the Buda Castle break-out and the counterdemonstration**

*Budapest, Kapisztrán Square and Úri Street*

*Sources: MTI, Index.hu, Népszabadság, Facebook page of Andor Schmuck*

Radical right-wing organization held a remembrance on 8 February, which they call the “Day of Honor” on Kapisztrán Square, commemorating the Buda Castle break-out attempted by the Hungarian Defense Force, the German Wehrmacht and the Waffen SS 69 years ago, during the Soviet siege of Budapest.

As the banners and flags indicated, the members of the following extremist organizations were among those present: the Hatvannégy Vármegye Ifjúsági Mozgalom (Sixty-four Counties Youth Movement), the Betyársereg (Outlaws’ Army) and the Magyar Nemzeti

Arcvonal (Hungarian National Front). The approximately 300 participants included the members of the Bulgarian, Dutch, and Hungarian “divisions” of the international organization called Blood and Honour.

Many of the participants wore various uniforms, many of them chose the black uniform that is similar to the ones once worn by members of the Arrow-Cross party, with an armband reminiscent of the Arrow-Cross armband also worn for the occasion. Others attended in clothes similar to the Second World War Hungarian and German uniforms, with many people waving flags resembling the Arrow-Cross flag or the Árpád Stripes flag.

At the commemoration ceremony held in “military formation” a majority of the speakers emphasized that the most of those involved in the break-out gave their lives in the “struggle against Bolshevism”, for a “Christian Europe”.

One of the people in the procession asked the video crew filming where they had come from. When he found out they had come from the news-portal *Index*, he raised his voice to give an order: “Let the organizers know, get rid of them! We don’t need the Jews!”

Before the commemoration began the Antifascist Network and a number of organizations joining them (among them the MEASZ, the Imre Nagy Society, the Hungarian Solidarity Movement) held a counterdemonstration with the participation of over a hundred individuals under the heading “Álljon meg a menet!” (Hold up the procession). In front of the procession a banner was stretched out, and it read: “Fascism means war and destitution”. The crowd often chanted during the demonstration: “Nazis get lost!”

A group of people arriving for the “Day of Honour” commemoration and about twenty members of the anti-fascist counterdemonstration did nevertheless meet on Kapisztrán Square. Only a police line and their pushing back the crowds taunting one-another prevented a fight.

Andor Schmuck posted an announcement on his Facebook page on 6 February that the Social Democrats will be remembering the victims of the Holocaust from 8 a.m. to 8 p.m. on 8 February on the Pest Embankment by the “shoes” memorial, as well as protesting against the “pro-Nazi break-out march”.

On 8 February the MSZP National Central Office protested in a press statement, as various right-wing extremist and Hungarist organizations had attempted to disturb public order in Budapest with their processions, and to stake their faith by hatred, exclusionism and anti-Semitism. The Hungarian inheritors of the legacy of fascist and Arrow-Cross ideologies call their action the “Day of Honour”, but in fact they have made this day the day of dishonor. “It is intolerable for new-Arrow-Cross organizations to march through the streets of Budapest and provoke Hungarian people with the best sentiments by hailing the names of the murderers of those days. We have called upon every democratic party, movement, and civil organization to denounce the actions of the far right on this day, let us stand up against the representatives and propagation of new-fascist ideology together.”

# IMPORTANT STEPS TAKEN BY ACTION AND PROTECTION FOUNDATION (TEV)

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## **TEV proposes that the Nemzeti Forradalmi Párt (National revolutionary Party) be banned**

*Budapest*

*Source: Action and Protection Foundation*

Action and Protection Foundation (TEV) delivered its proposal to the Budapest Chief Prosecutor's Office on 7 February, suggesting that the Budapest Metropolitan Court ban the National Revolutionary Party, which is registered in Dunakeszi.

The National Revolutionary Party was registered among the National Electoral Committee's general records of 2014, but did not allow the use of the requested shortened name Magyar Hajnal (Hungarian Dawn), nor the use of the indicated emblem. The ruling stated expressly that the National Revolutionary Party had submitted a request for changes to the Budapest Metropolitan Court, in which it asks its name to be changed to Magyar Hajnal Mozgalom Párt (Hungarian Dawn Movement Party).

The association, which currently appears in the registers as National Revolutionary Party was politically active under the name of Hungarian Dawn, and continue to do so. Their website can be reached under the url magyarhajnal.com, where among the videos one can find a movie that contains their political credo, uploaded on 29 January 2014, easily summarized in a nutshell: people of Roma descent are violent criminals, who are out for the lives of majority members of society, while the aim of the people of Israelite faith is to acquire the property and goods of people who are not of the Israelite faith. The advertisement in the same form as Goebbels' propaganda is openly exclusionist, racist, anti-Semitic; deeply offends the dignity of ethnic, racial and religious communities.

According to TEV the Party has realized the crime of inciting hatred against a community with this campaign video, which marks out its political line of activity and ideology. In addition it unequivocally and expressly offends the declared human dignity of national, ethnic, racial and religious communities, in that it contains the collective stigmatization of the given group.

## **TEV filed a complaint against Jobbik for suspicion of incitement against members of a community**

*Budapest*

*Source: Action and Protection Foundation*

The Unified Hungarian Jewish Congregation (EMIH) and Action and Protection Foundation sent its complaint against Jobbik Movement for a Better Hungary to the Police Head-

quarters of Esztergom on 12 February, when Jobbik had planned an election meeting in the building of the synagogue of Esztergom for 14 February.

Exclusionist constituents, seriously violating the dignity of Israelite religious communities are to be found in both the ideology and rhetoric of the Jobbik Movement as a political party. At the same time, though currently in the possession of the local government, regardless of the foregoing, the building must be seen as a symbol of Jewry. This in itself raises the suspicion of incitement against a community, if a party that feeds antagonism against Jewry and builds political capital on doing so should hold a large-scale electoral meeting precisely in the most sacred place of Jewry, in the synagogue.

**TEV files complaint against Sándor Pörzse for criminal assault on members of a community**

*Budapest*

*Source: Action and Protection Foundation*

On 17 February, Action and Protection Foundation filed a complaint with the Central Investigating Chief Prosecutor's Office against Sándor Pörzse for his speech at the electoral assembly held by Jobbik in Esztergom on 12 February. In his speech he had said: "The little devil is whispering in us, isn't it? That just for once we could get to the end of this, couldn't we? Right; they don't like us, we don't like them. And so for once there could be a moment when we say thanks, but no thanks, don't call the police, we ask for no security of any sort at all. And then we could go ahead the way it was in the days of our grandfathers, right? They didn't have such big mouths then, did they!"

The passive subjects of the realized criminal act were members of the audience demonstrating against Jobbik's electoral assembly, because of their actual or believed belonging to the Israelite religious community. Sándor Pörzse used expressions in the formulation of his speech that were indicative of intent to commit the criminal act. For example, in Hungarian slang the meaning of the expression "get to the end of this" means to get into a fight, to fight it out. The reference to "them" and "us" simply adds up to starting off a mass fight. Also adequate to cause dread in members of the Jewish community were the words "the way it was in the days of our grandfathers", and "they didn't have such big mouths then, did they".

**TEV filed a complaint against Tibor Ágoston for the criminal act of publicly denying the crimes of the National Socialist regime**

*Budapest*

*Source: Action and Protection Foundation*

We reported in January that the Youth Section of Jobbik in Debrecen held a remembrance in memory of the soldiers fallen by the Don River. Tibor Ágoston, local government MP for the city of Debrecen, member of the Jobbik faction, gave a speech in which he deliberately used the words "holohoax" and "hollocost" instead of Holocaust.



In this month's *Report* we give details of developments concerning this statement in the Official News and Responses section.

Action and Protection Foundation filed a complaint against Tibor Ágoston for the criminal act of publicly denying the crimes of the National Socialist regimes with the Police Headquarters of Debrecen on 17 February.

**Complaint against Jobbik for suspicion of incitement against members of a community transferred**

*Esztergom, Komárom-Esztergom County*

*Source: Action and Protection Foundation*

With a resolution brought on 18 February the Police Headquarters of Esztergom transferred the complaint filed by Action and Protection Foundation on 12 February to the competent authorities at the Criminal Department of the Komárom-Esztergom County Police Headquarters.

**Complaint against Jobbik for suspicion of incitement against members of a community dismissed**

*Tatabánya, Komárom-Esztergom County*

*Source: Action and Protection Foundation*

On 26 February the Komárom-Esztergom County Police Headquarters dismissed the complaint filed on 12 February by Action and Protection Foundation for incitement against a community. According to the justification “the criminal act of incitement against a community cannot be proven to have been committed, as the documents submitted are not in line with the provisions, the criminal behavior of incitement to hatred can be established if the incitement to hatred is aimed at whipping up hatred, which transforms into active behavior, and in the course of the incitement of hatred the immediate threat of violence arises, which cannot be confirmed in the present case”.

**TEV's proposal for the banning of the National Revolutionary Party transferred**

*Budapest*

*Source: Action and Protection Foundation*

In its legal motion of 7 February Action and Protection Foundation requested the Budapest Chief Prosecutor's Office to ban the National Revolutionary Party. In its letter dated 25 February the Budapest Chief Prosecutor's Office transferred the case to the Pest County Chief Prosecutor's Office due to jurisdiction.

## **Procedure against Imre Csató Kovács terminated**

*Budapest*

*Source: Action and Protection Foundation*

In July 2012 an article appeared on the website kuruc.info under the heading “Keressük a 97 éves Csatáry bácsit zaklató zsidókat nyomravezetői díjjal – hét antimagyart már beazonosítottunk” [We are looking for the Jews who harassed 97-year old uncle Csatáry (prizes for tipoffs)—seven anti-Hungarians already identified], with a comment appended to it through the Facebook plugin module on 17 July 2012 by Imre Csató Kovács: “If you track down who they were, I’d be happy to beat one of them to death.”

The decision of the Budapest Police Headquarters Department of Investigations brought on 23 February terminates the investigation, as the action does not count as criminal behavior. It was determined in the course of the investigation that Imre Csató Kovács is not a Hungarian citizen, and the location of the criminal act was on a website run by a server from abroad, which means that the named individual committed the described act abroad.

## THE MONTH'S CHRONICLE

All the incidents to be found in the report are presented chronologically in the table below. The *Category* column shows which part of the report deals with the given case in greater detail.

No.	Date	Event	Category
1.	1 February	Another Holocaust survivor withdraws his support	On Anti-Semitism in Hungary
2.	5 February	“The accusation of anti-Semitism is a dire weapon to use”	On Anti-Semitism in Hungary
3.	7 February	TEV proposes ban on Nemzeti Forradalmi Párt (National Revolutionary Party)	Action and Protection Foundation Steps Taken
4.	8 February	Commemoration of the Buda Castle break-out and the counterdemonstration	Other News
5.	12 February	TEV files a complaint against Jobbik for suspicion of incitement against members of a community	Action and Protection Foundation Steps Taken
6.	13 February	Hungarian ambassador summoned by the Israeli Foreign Ministry	On Anti-Semitism in Hungary
7.	13 February	Complaint against Tibor Ágoston lodged	Official and Civil Responses
8.	13 February	Ilan Mor's thoughts	On Anti-Semitism in Hungary
9.	14 February	Ministry of Human Resources starts proceedings in the case of Családi Nevelésért Alapítvány (Foundation for Family Education)	Hate Incident: Hate Speech
10.	17 February	TEV files complaint against Sándor Pörzse for criminal assault on members of a community	Action and Protection Foundation Steps Taken
11.	17 February	TEV filed a complaint against Tibor Ágoston for the criminal act of publicly denying the crimes of the National Socialist regime	Action and Protection Foundation Steps Taken
12.	18 February	Complaint against Jobbik for suspicion of incitement against members of a community transferred	Action and Protection Foundation Steps Taken
13.	20 February	Righteous Among the Nations and For Courage awards bestowed	On Anti-Semitism in Hungary
14.	20 February	Sentence postponed in the legal Church proceedings against Loránt Hegedűs	Community News and Responses
15.	23 February	Procedure against Imre Csató Kovács terminated	Action and Protection Foundation Steps Taken
16.	24 February	As Christian Hungarians we raise our voices against the falsification of history	On Anti-Semitism in Hungary
17.	25 February	TEV's proposal for the banning of the National Revolutionary Party transferred	Action and Protection Foundation steps taken
18.	26 February	Mazsihisz files complaint against the anti-Zionist protest	Official and Civil Responses

No.	Date	Event	Category
19.	26 February	Complaint against Jobbik for suspicion of incitement against members of a community dismissed	Action and Protection Foundation Steps Taken
20.	27 February	The annual human rights report of the U. S. Department of State	On Anti-Semitism in Hungary
21.	28 February	The opinion of György Tatár	On Anti-Semitism in Hungary
22.		The German Occupation Memorial	Community News and Responses
23.		German Occupation Memorial—opinions that appeared in the media abroad	On Anti-Semitism in Hungary
24.		Continuing reaction's Sándor Szakály's statement	Community News and Responses
25.		Others distancing themselves from the Hungarian Holocaust Memorial Year—2014	Other News
26.		House of Fates	Community News and Responses
27.		Mazsihisz to stay away from the Hungarian Holocaust memorial Year—2014	Other News
28.		Jobbik meeting in the one-time synagogue of Esztergom	Community News and Responses

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## CONTACT AND SUPPORT

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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!

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NOTIFICATIONS OF SUCH INCIDENTS ARE RECEIVED BY THE FOUNDATION THROUGH ANY OF THE FOLLOWING MEANS:

### HOTLINE

(+36 1) **51 00 000**

**The website of Action and Protection Foundation: [www.tev.hu/forrodrot](http://www.tev.hu/forrodrot)**

**The Facebook page: [www.facebook.com/tev-tett-es-vedelem-alapitvany](http://www.facebook.com/tev-tett-es-vedelem-alapitvany)**

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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 offences. 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:

**13597539-12302010-00057157**

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