

BRUSSELS INSTITUTE

ANTI-SEMITIC HATE CRIMES AND INCIDENTS REPORT

> DECEMBER 2014 HUNGARY

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

One of the most important requirements for the struggle against anti-Semitism is an investigation of the actual prevalence of anti-Semitism. One of the aims of Action and Protection Foundation is to eliminate ignorance of this issue. Instrumental in achieving this objective is the continuous professional monitoring of hate crimes that occur public life. The community cannot really be protected unless current information on anti-Semitic acts and other hate crimes are collected and analyzed. Results of the monitoring are published, monthly by the Foundation.

The reports deal with two forms of behavior: anti-Semitic hate crimes, and hate-motivated incidents. The report refers to both types of behavior as "hate incidents". An anti-Semitic hate crime is distinguished from other hate crime by possessing an anti-Semitic motive. Anti-Semitic hate crime is a violation of criminal law, not all hate-motivated acts are regarded as criminal. Nevertheless, a record 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 to record their particular characteristics. Date recorded includes the incident's location, perpetrator, victim, consequences. Also the types of the various incidents are differentiated.

In the course of its December monitoring activities, Action and Protection Foundation identified three anti-Semitic hate incidents. All fit in the category of hate speech. The following incidents were identified: parliamentary speech by a Jobbik Member of Parliament, Előd Novák, a photo of Ferenc Gyurcsány, marked with a Star of David, on a public transport vehicle, and comments under a photo shared by Zoltán Mága on Hanukkah. In four further instances however anti-Semitic intent could not be established conclusively, or the time when the act was committed did not fall in the month under survey, so they are not included in the statistics, though these incidents are reported in the *Further Anti-Semitic hate Incidents* section. The present report goes on to give an account of numerous events in Hungary connected to the Hungarian Holocaust and anti-Semitism.

In December 2014, Action and Protection Foundation filed two complaints with the police. The Foundation filed both complaints for public denial of the crimes of the National Socialist regime, because B. A. and H. Z. A. V. wrote Holocaust-denying comments under an article dealing with Rainer Höss, linked by the online news portal Origo.hu from its Facebook page. The comment by B. A. was "Excuse me, but there was not even a Holocaust, even those three names are too many", while H. Z. A. V. wrote "Why don't we just leave off with this Holohoax already, and even if it were true, what does this man have to do with the actions of his grandfather ??? [...]."

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, and has forty-three members of parliament making hate speeches far more frequently in both Parliament and other organized events. These circumstances brought the Action and Protection Foundation into being. Among the forms of civil association offered by Hungarian law, Action and Protection Foundation chose the form of a 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.

ABOUT THE REPORT

Hungarian anti-Semitism, is often unusually extreme. Voices are heard on the one hand, that belittle the importance of such offenses 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 incidents¹ 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 analysis on the offenses 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 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 offenses question the right of the individual to equality, even of belonging to society itself. It is important to note 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 effect 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 encourage the perpetrators or even others to commit crimes in the same mold. 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).

 $^{^1~}$ See detailed definitions in the Methodology section.

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. There are several reasons for this. 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 laws. 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 motivation for the hate-crime. It is civil organizations that can help remedy these problems. Cooperation with state authorities—such as the police, or the Public Prosecutor's office—may be particularly beneficial.² Reports prepared by civil organizations can hasten the official authority's knowledge of 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).

 $^{^2}$ 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)

METHODOLOGY

The report deals with two types of offense: hate crimes and hate motivated incidents. These are defined by OSCE as follows³ (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 people⁴
- hate motivated incident: an offense, 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 offenses 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 committed if there is a specific 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 because of racist motives. In such cases the courts must pass a heavier sentence⁵ (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. This report presents hate crimes and hate incidents motivated by anti-Semitism, whenever a perpetrator, target, means, or message of a case suggest it. The

³ 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.

⁴ 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.

⁵ 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 he or she 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, 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 period⁶ are used as the basis for examining whether the given action could have been motivated by anti-Semitism.

For the widest possible scope while 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, an 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 expedite the transfer 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 currently seems to have become an ever-increasing threat.

Monitoring of these media channels is covered in part by a paid team of experts within a professional framework, while volunteers are involved additionally in the media watch, sending information gained on to the Brussels Institute for processing. It is an aim to continuously monitor an increasingly large segment of the media. 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 social network pages and extreme, hate-inciting websites. The monitoring process is carried through systematically, according to precisely prepared standards.

⁶ These are described in the Methods section.

Among the monitored hate incidents there are some that are considered part of the statistics, but there are also some that are recorded, though not counted as part of the statistics.⁷

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

- Only hate incidents that occurred in Hungary regardless of whether the victim is a Hungarian citizen
- 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 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 during the collection of data. Tabs are kept on whether incidents had any, and if so, sort of—possibly legal—consequences.

Apart from registering incidents, it is also important to capture the qualitative differences 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 mem-

 $^{^7}$ $\,$ The following were used to develop these criteria: ADL 2012, CST 2013 $\,$

bers 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
 - $\circ\,$ Any attack on a person that potentially causes serious bodily harm
 - $\,\circ\,$ 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
 - \circ Kidnapping
- Assault
 - \circ Any physical attack against a person or people, which does not pose a threat to their life and is not serious
 - \odot Attempted assault, which fails due to self-defense, or if the victim runs away
 - $\circ~$ Throwing objects at a person or people, including where the object misses its target
- Damage to property
 - \odot Any physical attack directed against property, which is not life-threatening
 - $\circ\,$ Desecration of property
 - $\circ\,$ Arson attacks on property where there is not threat to life, failed attempts at arson
- Threats
 - $\circ\,$ Any clear and specific threat, whether verbal or written
 - Any "bomb" which is assessed to be a hoax
 - o Stalking
 - \circ Defamation
- Hate speech
 - Public hate speech
 - $\circ\,$ Hate speech channeled via the internet and social media
 - o 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.⁸ In presenting time lines, attention will always be given to showing the dynamics of the events.

⁸ 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 - DECEMBER 2014

In the course of monitoring in December 2014, Action and Protection Foundation identified three anti-Semitic hate incidents, all of which belonged in the category of hate speech.

HATE SPEECH

Előd Novák's address to Parliament

Budapest, Kossuth Lajos Square 2–4 Source: Parliament Press Office

State support for Holocaust survivors was debated in Parliament on December 2^{nd} . Előd Novák, Member of Parliament for Jobbik, addressed the assembly on the matter. In his opinion, "as a result of Holocaust-industry lobbying [...] the deadline that had at long last been closed in May 2006 has been extended again, so it is now again possible to apply for Holocaust compensations with the Jewish Heritage of Hungary Public Endowment. Moreover, the total budget of nearly 2.5 billion HUF [...] shows an increase if 44 percent compared to, let us say, the amount two years ago. Which means that if as purportedly, true to the general claim, there were very few survivors, they are increasing each decade. Furthermore, it is now not only possible for someone to whom it did not occur, let us say, till 2006, that they were so called Holocaust survivors, to state that actually they are, but the amount increases by more than the rate of inflation [...]. "We have repeatedly called upon the government to come forward finally with an answer to whether Hungarian society has finally paid off once and forever the debt it accrued by the "historical crime" against Jewry, and if not, how long will the reparations continue? Not till the end of times, we hope."

László Teleki, Member of parliament for the MSZP responded to Előd Novák's words: "what I do not understand is what exactly he [Előd Novák] means when he speaks about so called Holocaust survivors, because where this Act is deals with compensation of Jews, I consider it, I am completely in agreement with it, and support it, because those who were deported, and members of their family suffered a great deal, and therefore I believe, this question aught to be settled. And my other question is: how long do we have to continue paying, if I remember correctly, there was such a sentence, and so this is also something I do not understand, how long we should. Until there are Holocaust survivors, and as long as there is a law regarding this, I think this cannot be an issue, how long we should continue paying."

Előd Novák replied to László Teleki's words: "He [László Teleki] said, it cannot be a issue how long the Holocaust reparations are to be paid, and went so far with parliamentary irresponsibility as to say that he supports every appeal for compensation, including even new appeals. Obviously he must have thought of Gypsy-Holocaust compensation, but we could come up with a number of other sorts of compensation as well. For example if we say somebody is the survivor of the rout at the Battle of Mohács (1526 defeat of Hungary by the Ottoman Turks) then they may as well submit a claim for compensation as survivor of the Battle of Mohács. [...] I believe that if we are to reopen the possibilities for compensation—though you had previously said that you would not support any further claims, at least this was the way you swept our arguments for compensation of various victims of the communist regime off the agenda-then yes, we would like to propose one of the most striking examples, bringing it to the attention of the current government, since it is a pity to say they have no proposal forthcoming, and this would be to pay arrears on the wages of the forced laborers of the Rákosi regime. [...] And so far as the issue at hand is considered, what are we actually talking about, when we speak about the so-called Holocaust survivor? Indeed, a number of things may be understood by the term. This is in fact a compound word and composite signifier, and indeed it does have a meaning, among the others, which allows us to question the measure of truth related to some claimants. And when you reopen the doors to claims for compensation, which had been shut in 2006—we can establish that there were few, but now it seems there are an increasing number of so-called Holocaust survivors—we are now forced to bring up those examples, those scams when some called themselves Holocaust survivors under the framework of the Holocaust industry only for the money, while they had never been deported, not even harassed (for luckily there were some people like that), but Holocaust survivors simply in the sense that they had survived the period, as it were. [...] it is nonetheless quite unacceptable that in the framework of the serial fraud, which Imre Kertész [the name was given in the Anglicized form, Christen name first, pronouncing him a foreigner] has called the Holocaust industry, many people utilize these national budget resources [...] to make a living."

Károly Czibere, State Secretary for the Ministry of Human Resources stated in the name of the government: "I believe that the expression Holocaust industry offends the years and the feelings of every decent person in this House of Parliament and is unacceptable in this country. We firmly denounce every speech of this nature in the name of the government. It is offensive to say Imre Kertész; he is Kertész Imre, the Noble Prize-winning Hungarian author."

Portrayal of former Prime Minister Gyurcsány with an insect's body on a public transport vehicle

Budapest

Source: Fórum az antiszemitizmus ellen (hereon: Forum Against Anti-Semitism) The Forum Against Anti-Semitism posted a photo to the Facebook profile of the group on December 3rd depicting an anti-Semitic graffiti caricature of Gyurcsány. The drawing portrayed a creature with the head of Gyurcsány and the body of an insect, and a Star of David on the face. The following text is included with the picture: "Figyelem! Gyurcsótányírtás! Taposd el!" (Attention! Gyurcockroach elimination! To be stamped out!), and indicated the creature as "izraeli ormányos Gyurcsótány" (an Israeli Gyurcockroach with a trunk).



The caricature of Gyurcsány on the wall of the vehicle. Source: Forum Against Anti-Semitism

Zoltán Mága attended the Hanukkah lighting of candles

Across continents

Source: Index, !!444!!!, Facebook user profile of Zoltán Mága

The violin virtuoso Zoltán Mága took part in the Hanukkah reception held by the Unified Hungarian Jewish Congregation (EMIH) on 18 December in the Synagogue of Óbuda, and posted photographs of the event to his Facebook user profile. A number of Facebook users left anti-Semitic comments under one of the photographs.

Both online news portals, Index and !!444!!! collected those comments that were offensive:

B. Z., border guard: "May the fire consume you freeloading motherfuckers. Jew and Gypsy, out of this country!"

H. I.: "Filthy Jewish vermin!"

G. M.: "Rotten motherfucking Jewish bastards."

A G. G.: Shit stinkers and the kikes !"

D. I.: "Shoot them into the Danube"

FURTHER ANTI-SEMITIC HATE INCIDENTS

In the course of its Monitoring activities in December 2014, Action and Protection Foundation identified four anti-Semitic hate incidents that were not included in the statistics, either because the offenses were not committed in the month surveyed, or anti-Semitic intent could not be proved to remove all doubt.

Youths wrench metal balustrade of a synagogue

Budapest, Rumbach Sebestyén Street Source: Origo.hu

A group of four young people passed in front of the Synagogue of Rumbach Sebestyén Street on the night of December 7th. Two boys lugged at the metal balustrade by the steps leading to the entrance of the Synagogue, partly wrenching it out. The girls in the group laughed conspicuously and then left.

The Budapest Police Headquarters posted the video of the incident publicly on December 8th, asking for help any civilians could provide. The police have initiated proceedings for vandalism against perpetrators unknown.

Newspaper denying the Holocaust available at post office

Budapest Source: Szombat Online

On December 13th, the online version of the political and cultural journal *Szombat* published an earlier exchange of letters between journalist Gábor Iván Gémesi and the Hungarian postal service, Magyar Posta Zrt.

Gábor Iván Gémesi wrote a letter to Magyar Posta on December 3rd, taking issue with the fact that in one of its offices, located in the Mall on Corvin Boulevard, a monthly newspaper called *Magyar Oldal* (The Hungarian side) is sold. He believes this newspaper denies the Holocaust. He quoted some of the article titles from the newspaper as evidence to this claim: "Hamis vascipók a Duna-parton" [Fake iron shoes on the Danube embankment], "Szovjet segítséggel jutottak hatalomra a zsidókommunisták" [The Jew-communists got hold of power with Soviet assistance] and "Ne higgyünk a 'vészkorszakról' szóló történelemhamisító meséknek!" [Let us not fall for the historically falsifying tales about the Holocaust]. Gémesi pointed out: "Some of the articles in the supremacist publication dishonor the memory of the dead and deny the Holocaust, and relativize it." He also requested that the "extremist and Holocaust denying media product be removed urgently from the till" and that the Hungarian Postal Service should review its offering of media products, since "no newspaper that incites against a community, religion or minority can be afforded any room at a state-owned company!" Gémesi demanded urgent action to be taken by the Hungarian postal Service in apologizing to the survivors of the Holocaust for this outrageous but hopefully accidental incident.

The representative of Magyar Posta Zrt. responded to the letter on December 8th. The letter explained that they have an effective contract with the publishers of the newspaper *Magyar Oldal* with regard to distribution, since the publication satisfies the criteria established in the Standard Contractual Clauses of Magyar Posta Zrt.⁹ In addition the letter stated that "Magyar Posta Zrt. did not have the right to review the contents of the newspaper, until the publisher has a valid permit. According to the laws currently in effect the publisher is responsible for the contents of the publication." "The law regulates the terms of freedom of speech and the conditions of its being upheld clearly, with the powers to oversee this held by the Media Council." It was also added in comment: "Stocks are reviewed from time to time, and in light of a lack of interest, decrease in demand or any other unforeseen circumstances a decision may be made to stop distribution o the newspaper."

Gábor Gémesi points out in his response to the Hungarian Postal Service: "Holocaust denial is not an opinion, as You have put it, and referenced it, but a category of criminal law."

A visit to the postal office in the Mall at Corvin Boulevard from the Foundation on 16 December established that the newspaper is still on sale.



The newspaper *Magyar Oldal*, still on sale at the office of the Hungarian Postal Service. Source: Action and Protection Foundation

⁹ The registration criterion: the publication must have a document issued by the Hungarian National Media and Infocommunications Authority (NMHH) Certification of Registry of New Publication, as well as an ISSN number issued by the National Széchenyi Library; its Publisher Information must contain the name of the publisher, its seat, the name of the individual responsible for the publication, and the chief editor; it must bear the markers of a regular publication in essence and content, providing news, publishing articles.

Threats to prosecutor in Kecskemét

Kecskemét, Bács-Kiskun County Source: MTI, Baon.hu

The County Prosecutor of Kiskunfélegyháza filed charges against a male resident in Budapest, who physically threatened a prosecutor in Kecskemét in an e-mail because of a novel he had written about the Holocaust, Gábor Schmidt, speaker for the Prosecutor's Office of Bács-Kiskun Megye, informed the MTI on 16 December.

The documentary novel by the Kecskemét prosecutor, Csaba Benczúr, *Hírős Holokauszt* [The well known Holocaust] deals with the town's history of the Holocaust. The second edition of the novel appeared in 2014. The 40-year old accused read about the documentary novel on the internet and then wrote a threatening message to the private e-mail address of the injured party on 3 October: "You filthy Jewish mongrel of a prosecutor dog! Stub yourself out like a cigarette butt, along with your documentary novel! because if we stub you out, you will leave a purple blot on the pavement! watch it, because your novel will really become a novel! get it in your brain, there was no Holocaust yet, but soon it will come! an all-encompassing shoa.. death to the Jews! death to global Jewry! completely irrespective of age and sex! ruthless, tortuous death! death..."

Police authorities initiated an investigation after the complaint was filed, and apprehended the man, who was held as the suspect. The man admitted committing the crime. The county prosecutors office has indicted the accused of attempted coercive assault against the member of a community.

Anti-Semitic poster in the shop-window of a second-hand bookstore

Budapest, Múzeum Boulevard

Source: a private individual and Facebook profile of the Központi Antikvárium (Central Used-Book Store)

On December 19th a private individual posted a photo to their Facebook profile in which one of the posters exhibited in the shop-window of the Központi Antikvárium can be seen. The following text could be read on the poster: "The Baross Association requests: Buy your goods with Christian merchants!" The individual took offense that the Központi Antikvárium had exhibited a poster with an anti-Semitic tone in its shop-window.

The Központi Antikvárium published a statement on December 21st, in which it expressed regret for having "offended the sensitivities of a number of people" with the poster. In view of this response the poster had been removed. The statement also explained the reason for the exhibition of the poster in the shop-window: "The item had been received as a part of a large collection of political posters. Those who visit the shop regularly, or have kept track of our shop-window may recently have noticed a number of propaganda posters with communist, socialist, irredentist or other subjects, and may come across more in the future. These are documents of an age, and we—as booksellers—only look upon them as such."



"Buy your goods with Christian merchants! Source: Facebook profile of a private individual

COMMUNITY NEWS AND RESPONSES

No community news and responses pertaining to the subject of the report was identified in the course of monitoring the month of December.

OFFICIAL AND CIVIL RESPONSES

Charges against demonstrators on Szabadság Square dropped

Budapest

Source: MTI

On December 4th, the press office of the Budapest-Capital Regional Court informed the MTI that the infringement proceedings against protesters demonstrating against the German occupation monument had been terminated.

We reported in April that the demonstrators were not aware of the fact that the notary of district 8—responsible in case of conflict of interest—had issued a premises protection order for the area of construction. Police called upon the protesters to leave the area; some left the area voluntarily, but many individuals had to be removed multiple times by the police after repeated summons.

With the ruling of December 2nd, the Pest Central District Court of Justice amended the decision of the 5th District Police Headquarters, which issued a monetary fine to fifteen individuals, and terminated proceedings against all fifteen individuals for non-compliance with lawful procedure. The justification by the Court states that the people against whom the proceedings were instituted had declared in advance that they wish to hold a demonstration on Szabadság Square, and the police had acknowledged the notice of the demonstration. During the demonstration however the 8th District Local Government prohibited access to the area, but the order had not been delivered to the persons drawn into the proceedings. The police were informed about the order for protection of premises but failed to inform the organizers of the demonstration about the ensuing process on the basis of protection of premises. Therefore the individuals drawn into the process were mistaken about their legal right to be on the premises. The ruling is in effect.

Court ruling in the case of the vandalized Hanukkiahs

Budapest

Source: Unified Hungarian Jewish Congregation (EMIH)

On the night dawning on November 30th 2013, three young persons vandalized three hanukkiahs. The hanukkiahs had been erected on Blaha Lujza Square, Nyugati Square and Városháza Park. Two of the three perpetrators came forward voluntarily in the beginning of December 2013; the third was apprehended at his home. All fully confessed. Proceedings on the well-founded suspicion of vandalism were instituted against them. On April 8th 2014, the prosecutors indicted all three individuals for the actions planned in advance and asked for suspended prison sentences. The perpetrators were accused in court of vandalism upon objects of religious worship and disorderly conduct.

The Pest Central District Court of Justice ruled in the case of the three young men on December 11th 2014. According to the ruling, all three perpetrators are guilty of the offense of continued vandalism, as well as continued disorderly conduct, committed by the secondary and tertiary co-defendants as criminal accomplices. In light of these offenses, the primary accused, P. Á. was given a sentence of one year and two months in prison, the secondary co-defendant, P. P. was given a sentence of one year in prison, and Í. B. P., tertiary co-defendant was given an sentence of ten months in prison, but the enforcement of the prison sentences was suspended for a probation period of two years. As a special prescription for conduct, they have been required to read Ferenc Fejtő's *Magyarság és zsidóság* [The Hungarian people and Jewry] and Gábor Fleck-Szuhay Péter's *Kérdések és válaszok a cigányságról* [Questions and answers about the Roma people] during the probation period. They must prepare a diary of their reading, and show it to their patron supervisor. The Court also required the perpetrators to pay for the cost of proceedings in their cases.

NEWS AND OPINION ABOUT ANTI-SEMITISM IN HUNGARY

Péter Boross on remembrance at the Horthy Conference

Budapest Source: MTI

The conference "Egy korszak és névadója – Horthy Miklós és Magyarország a két világháború között" (A period and the man whom it is named after—Miklós Horthy and Hungary between the two world wars) was held by Veritas Research Institute at the MoD Institute and Museum of Military History.

Péter Boross, former Prime Minister of Hungary, also gave a speech at the event. In his opinion there is a need for an objective image of the Horthy period, which faced difficulties that could barely be resolved and was finally left without options. He reminisced about his childhood when, at the age of ten, he began his studies at the military school in Kőszeg, in 1938, his father was a forest manager, and there was no sense of being discriminated against in this environment. Locals belonging to the educated classes, Catholic, Calvinist and Jewish formed a social circle, "and engaged in affirmative, positive gatherings". He then declared: "there was no anti-Semitism where I lived."

Sándor Szakály, Director of Veritas Institute quoted historian Péter Gosztonyi, who had lived in Switzerland, and contended that Horthy was not a real politician heart and soul, but had committed the sort of crime the fanatic apostles of certain ideologies had. He added that Horthy remained aloof from both internal and foreign policy, leaving it to his prime ministers; among them, István Bethlen, had extricated the country from the trauma of the post-World War One Treaty of Trianon. The territorial revision and program for the review of the Peace Treaty brought about a fellowship of nations. Finally he noted that anyone who claims that the Germans were received with a shower of flower petals is mixing up Hungary of 1944 with Vienna in 1938. The aftermath was one of the most tragic periods of Hungarian history, deportations began in May, and were stopped by Horthy in the summer, who attempted to exit the German alliance in October, unsuccessfully, never to grow from the status of politician to that of a statesman.

Csaba Latorcai in the United States

Washington, United States of America Source: MTI

MTI published a phone interview with Csaba Latorcai, Deputy State Secretary for Priority Social Affairs, on December 15th. Csaba Latorcai gave an account of his visit to Washington and New York, where he presented reports on the government program for the protection of cultural heritage aimed at renovating synagogues and preserving Jewish cemeteries for fu-

ture generations. In Washington, he had meetings at the US Department of State with Ira Forman, Special Envoy to Monitor and Combat Anti-Semitism, and Nicholas Dean, Special Envoy for Holocaust Issues, Paul Shapiro, Director of the Center for Advanced Holocaust Studies at United States Holocaust Memorial Museum and Andrew Baker, Director of International Jewish Affairs for the American Jewish Committee (AJC). In New York, he met with the leaders of the organizations, World Jewish Congress (WJC) and the Anti Defamation League (ADL), as well as Malcolm Hoenlein, executive vice chairman of the Conference of Presidents of Major American Jewish Organizations and Rabbi Arthur Schneier.

He said in regards to the trip: "We would like the program to involve the school community services, so young people also participate, if not necessarily as active partners, then just to become aware of the communities that had once lived here, mostly destroyed during the Holocaust. In our opinion this would be a beneficial practice, which is part preservation of heritage, furthermore a component of combating anti-Semitism, and also a way to pass on local history and history related to the Holocaust." He also noted: "I believe this was a great opportunity for us, since we are constantly in the focus of American media attention, for the alleged strong anti-Semitism in Hungary—which in this sense is factually not true. It is just as important to raise awareness of how the third largest Jewish community in Europe lives in Budapest, and it need not fear to assume its identity. No atrocities are perpetrated on anyone for having Jewish ties, and for making that clear, and for this reason there is a particularly rich bloom of multifarious and colorful Jewish cultural life in Hungary."

European Council report published

Strasbourg, France Source: MTI

A report about Hungary was published by the Council of Europe Human Rights Commissioner Nils Muižnieks on December 16th. The report was produced following the commissioner's early-July visit to Hungary. In the course of his visit, Muižnieks held discussions with government officials and representatives of non-governmental organizations, both Hungarian and international.

Muižnieks warned that prejudice was on the rise. He gave voice to his fears about the growth of racism and prejudices. In spite of the Hungarian authorities denouncing anti-Semitic statements, anti-Semitism is a recurrent problem in Hungary—the ET report has found. Muižnieks listed the "growing visible presence of extremist organizations" over recent years among the most worrying phenomena. "A distinctive feature of this phenomenon is the combination of the strong presence in the Hungarian national parliament of a party which uses extremist rhetoric and the close links between the latter and paramilitary groups carrying out acts of intimidation", the summary of the report states. The Commissioner welcomed the tightening of laws aiming to curb hate speech and hate crime, and efforts to implement these laws more effectively, nevertheless calling upon the authorities to focus more on possible racist motives behind criminal offenses.

The Hungarian legal system punishes incitement to hatred

Budapest Source: MTI

On December 17th, János Lázár, Minister of the Prime Minister's Office, gave a statement after the meeting of the Jewish Community Roundtable. The head of portfolio considered the regulation in Hungary well suited to deter and punish the gamut of anti-Semitic criminal offenses. He noted however that, in terms of properly implementing these laws, both prosecution and police still have much to do. He also stated that anyone who incites hatred can expect that those actions will not go unpunished by the Hungarian legal system. In commenting on the crimes of anti-Semitic nature he said: their numbers remain level, but this is not the most important factor, rather what is important is that they can threaten the peace of mind of a whole community.

András Heisler, President of the Federation of Jewish Communities in Hungary (Mazsihisz), also gave a statement after the meeting, saying that there are bad experiences in practice, cases under process following complaints of anti-Semitism are blocked, but promises for investigations into these have been received.

OTHER NEWS

The Hungarian government had already given an apology for the Holocaust twenty-five years ago

Budapest

Source: Magyar Hírlap

The Hungarian daily, *Magyar Hírlap* published an interview with György Haraszti, the director of the Holocaust Memorial Center, on December 13th.

He stated the following: "A constant and recurring problematic demand over the last twenty-five years has been for the Hungarian government and Hungarian society to ask Jewry for forgiveness for the Holocaust. This has already happened a quarter of a century ago. Decrees were passed to ensure fitting memorials of the Holocaust."

In relation to evaluating the Holocaust he compared it with how the Battle of Mohács¹⁰ is seen. In his opinion, "from a perspective of five hundred years we are now able to see clearly" that "the we can speak about a national tragedy that affected the future of the whole country", however if we take the chroniclers of the decades following Mohács, they evaluated the events very differently indeed. Not only did they choose two kings, but there were among them those who favored the Turks, and apostates and renegades as well. Following from this argument he asks, "why do we then expect all of us to have the same evaluation of the tragedy of the Holocaust, barely a few generations after the events? [...] Of course there are well-grounded basic facts. There is not one normal person, with a decent good will, who would for example, deny the Holocaust, or not feel sorry, and feel grief for the victims."

Kálmán Osváth, the interviewer also put forward that "a part of Hungarian society also thinks that what happened to the Jews living in Hungary is terrible." Haraszti responded as follows: "They admit what happened. They acknowledge it, but at the same time, many people wonder why this has to be discussed, why the responsibility of their grandparents or parents needs to be brought up? And if, in a given case they were indeed responsible, in how much can a person of this day and age be responsible for it?" Furthermore, he added: "In general, the things that are unceasingly drilled into people, including the brains of young students at their most susceptible age, will elicit aversion, or even resistance. I think, staying with the subject of the Holocaust, that the horror can best be made perceptible, brought to consciousness, if we bring to their attention—in a way appropriate to their age, of course—that at any point of time, this could also happen to them."

¹⁰ On 29 August 1526 the Hungarian army led by Pál Tomori and György Szapolyai suffered a catastrophic defeat at the hands of the Ottoman army of Suleiman the Magnificent. Since King Louis I also lost his life after the battle, the setback resulted in total collapse of the Hungarian state of medieval origins, and the people of the country had to undergo the ravages of the competition between the two kings and the advance of the Ottoman Empire simultaneously.

⁽Source: http://www.rubicon.hu/magyar/oldalak/1526_augusztus_29_a_mohacsi_csata/)

IMPORTANT STEPS TAKEN BY ACTION AND PROTECTION FOUNDATION (TEV)

TEV files complaint against individual unknown for public denial of the crimes of the national socialist regime

Budapest

Source: Action and Protection Foundation

On December 2nd, the Foundation filed a complaint at the Police Headquarters in Siófok, against an individual unknown for public denial of the crimes of the national socialist regime.

An article was published on the online news portal origo.hu on November 21st 2014, titled "Budapesten vezekelt a tömeggyilkos unokája" [The grandson of the mass murderer did penance in Budapest], about Rainer Höss, who visited Hungary by invitation of the March of the Living Foundation and gave a lecture in the Uránia Film Theatre on November 21st as part of the closing event of the Holocaust memorial Year 2014. The article presents Rainer Höss as the grandson of Rudolf Höss;¹¹ and Rainer Höss had the names of three Holocaust survivors tattooed onto his chest along with the words "Never forget" and a Star of David. The news portal offers its readers various ways to express their opinions. One of the options available allows Facebook users to comment under a link to the article shared with the addition of a few engaging sentences on the website's Facebook page called Origo Hírek.

A Facebook user with the profile named B. A. commented under the shared link and short review on November 21st 2014, as follows: "Excuse me, but there was not even a Holocaust, even those three names are too many". The user satisfied the legal criteria for public denial of the crimes of the National Socialist regime with the sentence, as he made the comment available to the wide public.

TEV files complaint against individual unknown for public denial of the crimes of the national socialist regime

Budapest

Source: Action and Protection Foundation

On December 3rd, the Foundation filed a complaint with the Police Headquarters in Szeged¹² against an individual unknown for public denial of the crimes of the National Socialist regime.

¹¹ As commander of the Auschwitz death camp, Rudolf Höss murdered over a million persons, among them 430 thousand Hungarian Jews. After the Second World War he was put on trial and executed.

¹² On the basis of data found, and publicly available on community pages on the internet, it may be presumed that the user is resident in Szeged.

Another private individual also left a Holocaust denying comment under the Facebook link and review to the article described in the previous case, dealing with the visit of Rainer Höss, on the online news portal origo.hu posted on November 21st 2014, "Budapesten vezekelt a tömeggyilkos unokája".

The Facebook user with a profile called H. Z. A. V. posted the following comment on November 21st 2014: "Why don't we just leave off with this Holohoax already, and even if it were true, what does this man have to do with the actions of his grandfather ??? [...]."The user satisfied the legal criteria for public denial of the crimes of the National Socialist regime with the sentence, as he made the comment available to the wide public.

Police investigation into the case of the "Holokamu" (Holohoax) page of the portal kuruc.info suspended

Budapest

Source: Action and Protection Foundation

As reported in our September issue, the Foundation filed a complaint against an unknown individual for the public denial of the crimes of the National Socialist regime on September 1st. The news portal kuruc.info has had a page available to the public since January 2014 under the heading "Holokamu" (Holohoax), where anonymous editors collect articles and writings that deny that the Holocaust ever occurred, raise doubt in this regard, trivialize it, or attempt to justify it.

With a decision of December 16th the Budapest Police Headquarters of the 5th District suspended the investigation, as the identity of the offender could not be established in the course of the investigation. In the explanation of the decision it is stated that following a legal examination of the elements composing the contents of the website it can be established that the heading of the page itself, the expression "holokamu" (Holohoax) bears meanings that draw the fact of the Holocaust having occurred into question, and its use in public by itself comprises the act of having committed the criminal offense. In the course of the investigation it was impossible to establish the identity of the individuals who composed the offending content or placed the offending graphic design element, and no personal or material evidence leading to offender could be found.

Yet in spite of no prosecution proceeding against a concrete accused having been initiated, the Police Headquarters submitted a proposal for blocking access to the offending content to the Prosecutor's offices of Budapest Districts 5 and 8.

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	Incident	Category
1.	2 December	Előd Novák's address to Parliament	Hate Incident: Hate Speech
2.	2 December	Charges against demonstrators on Sza- badság Square dropped	Official and Civil Responses
3.	2 December	TEV files complaint against individual unknown for public denial of the crimes of the national socialist regime	Action and Protection Foundation steps taken
4.	3 December	Portrayal of former Prime Minister Gyur- csány with an insect's body on a public transport vehicle	Hate Incident: Hate Speech
5.	3 December	TEV files complaint against individual unknown for public denial of the crimes of the national socialist regime	Action and Protection Foundation steps taken
6.	3 and 8 December	Newspaper denying the Holocaust avail- able at post office	Anti-Semitic Hate Incident (not in- cluded in statistics)
7.	5 December	Péter Boross on remembrance at the Horthy Conference	On Anti-Semitism in Hungary
8.	7 December	Youths wrench metal balustrade of a synagogue	Anti-Semitic Hate Incident (not in- cluded in statistics)
9.	11 December	Court ruling in the case of the vandalized Hanukkiahs	Official and Civil Responses
10.	13 December	The Hungarian government had already given an apology for the Holocaust twenty-five years ago	Other News
11.	15 December	Csaba Latorcai in the United States	On Anti-Semitism in Hungary
12.	16 December	Threats to prosecutor in Kecskemét	Anti-Semitic Hate Incident (not in- cluded in statistics)
13.	16 December	European Council report published	On Anti-Semitism in Hungary
14.	16 December	Police investigation into the case of the "Holokamu" (Holohoax) page of the por- tal kuruc.info suspended	Action and Protection Foundation steps taken
15.	17 December	The Hungarian legal system punishes in- citement to hatred	On Anti-Semitism in Hungary
16.	18 December	Zoltán Mága attended the Hanukkah lighting of candles	Hate Incident: Hate Speech
17.	19 and 21 December	Anti-Semitic poster in the shop-window of a second-hand bookstore	Anti-Semitic Hate Incident (not in- cluded in statistics)

CONTACT AND SUPPORT

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

If 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 authorities who can take appropriate measures!

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

HOTLINE

$\tiny (\texttt{+36 1)} \ 51 \ 00 \ 000$

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

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

DONATIONS CAN BE MADE TO THE FOUNDATION ON THE FOLLOWING BANK ACCOUNT:

$13597539 {\textbf -} 12302010 {\textbf -} 00057157$

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The publisher wishes to thank Dr. András Kovács, sociologist, Professor at CEU, for all the encouragement and helpful advice.

The publishers expresses their gratitude for the self-sacrificing work of the volunteers who, under expert guidance, have put their continuous efforts into the preparation of this report over the past months.

Use of the Report or any part thereof requires written permission from the publisher and such use must properly cite this report as as a reference.

2014 Budapest



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