

ANTI-SEMITIC  
HATE CRIMES AND  
INCIDENTS REPORT

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JULY 2017



BRUSSELS INSTITUTE



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## EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

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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, yet 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. Data recorded includes the incident’s location, perpetrator, victim, consequences. Also the types of the various incidents are differentiated.

Action and Protection Foundation (APF) identified three incidents of anti-Semitic hate crime during July monitoring. APF classified one incident as damage to property and two

incidents as hate speech. Unknown individuals damaged an advertising surface on Ménesi út, Budapest District II. The advertisement was part of the government’s campaign against George Soros, the billboard showed a picture of the American businessman, alongside the words: “Let’s not allow Soros to have the last laugh!”. Unknown individuals scrawled “STINKING JEW” on the poster. Our report will deal with the poster campaign in detail. Vice-president of Jobbik in Fejér County and the party’s President in Mór Roland Schmidt called Tamás Varga-Bíró a Jew on Facebook, following the musician and publicist’s satirical criticism of Jobbik President Gábor Vona. An unknown individual harassed one of the 2017 Verona bus crash victims’ mother through Facebook. The woman shared on her own timeline that a Facebook user with the fictitious name Jakab Gipsz had been harassing her since February with various abusive and Jew-baiting messages.

The section titled Further Anti-Semitic Hate Incidents includes one other incident. The Hungarian Football Federation (MLSZ) sanctioned the Újpest Football Club because their fans chanted obscene and abusive comments about the owner the Federation and its executive director at two football matches. The fans also shouted things like “fag”, “gypsy”, “cock-sucker”, “filthy Jew”, “bitch” and “Sieg Heil” a number of times at different people, sometimes using the Nazi salute as well.

In July 2017, progress was reached in two legal cases initiated previously by Action and Protection Foundation. The proceedings brought against Mihály Zoltán Orosz entered a new phase, the court ordered another trial to be held for the offense of incitement against a community. In another proceeding initiated in May 2013, the investigation authority decided to continue investigations that were suspended in 2015. The website of Jobbik Committee in Nagyszénás published a letter from a reader, content of the letter may be regarded as open denial of the crimes committed by the National Socialist regime.

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## ACTION AND PROTECTION FOUNDATION

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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, exclu-

sion, 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. Among those actively participating in the work of the Foundation are 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.

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## BRUSSELS INSTITUTE

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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 op-

erational **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.<sup>1</sup> 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 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 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).

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

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

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).

<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<sup>3</sup>

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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>4</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>5</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>6</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 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,

<sup>3</sup>Our methodology remains the same since we started our monitoring in May 2013. The methodology was elaborated by Ildikó Barna, her text was integrated in this chapter. Small modifications are marked separately.

<sup>4</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>5</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).

<sup>6</sup>For our approach in dealing with this, see below.

<sup>7</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.

various indicators recorded during the monitoring period<sup>7</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, while volunteers are involved additionally in the 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.

<sup>7</sup>These are described in the Methodology section.

<sup>8</sup>The following were used to develop these criteria: ADL 2012, CST 2013

<sup>9</sup>The criteria for hate incidents that are not accounted for in the statistics were modified, therefore the present description is different from the one we used in 2013.

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>8</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<sup>9</sup>:

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

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

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

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

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

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

- Assault
  - Any physical attack against a person or people, which does not pose a threat to their life and is not serious
  - Attempted assault, which fails due to self-defense, or if the victim runs away
  - Throwing objects at a person or people, including where the object misses its target
- Damage to property
  - Any physical attack directed against property, which is not life-threatening
  - Desecration of property
  - Arson attacks on property where there is not threat to life, failed attempts at arson
- Threats
  - Any clear and specific threat, whether verbal or written
  - Any “bomb” which is assessed to be a hoax
  - Stalking
  - Defamation
- Hate speech
  - Public hate speech
  - Hate speech channeled via the internet and social media
  - Abusive behavior
  - Abusive literature sent to more than one person
  - In literature and music
- Discriminatory incidents

Placing hate incidents in context is also a priority. These actions do not exist in empty space and are by no means independent of the social and cultural environs in which they occur. The dynamics of these incidents is also of importance: often processes, rather than separately occurring events can be spoken of (Perry 2001, 8). Apart from the static data, short descriptions of each event are also published, which aid understanding of the environment surrounding the incident.<sup>10</sup> In presenting time lines, attention will always be given to showing the dynamics of the events.

<sup>10</sup>These descriptions in particular are held to be a most positive aspect of the Anti-Defamation League reports by Perry (2001, 18).

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## ANTI-SEMITIC HATE INCIDENTS

### JULY 2017

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APF identified three incidents of anti-Semitic hate crime during July monitoring. APF classified one of the incident as damage to property and two incidents as hate speech.

#### DAMAGE TO PROPERTY

##### Jew-baiting remarks at a bus stop

Source: Action and Protection Foundation  
3 July 2017

APF was notified that unknown individuals damaged an advertising surface at a bus stop on Ménesi út, Budapest District II. The advertisement was part of the government's campaign against George Soros, a poster showing a picture of the American businessman, alongside the words: "Let's not allow Soros to have the last laugh!" Unknown individuals scrawled "STINKING JEW" on the advertisement. A colleague of APF removed the hateful graffiti from the poster.

Our present report will deal with the government's campaign against George Soros and with the reactions the campaign received.



Source: Action and Protection Foundation

#### HATE SPEECH

##### Local Jobbik politician published an anti-Semitic comment on Facebook

Source: magyaridok.hu  
5 July 2017

Vice-president of Jobbik in Fejér County and the party's President in Mór Roland Schmidt called Tamás Varga-Bíró a Jew on Facebook, following the musician and publicist's satirical criticism of Jobbik President Gábor Vona wrote magyaridok.hu referring to pestisráccok.hu as their source.

The background to the case is that one of Schmidt's Facebook friends shared a post from Varga-Bíró and was then reproached by the Jobbik politician. Schmidt said that "it is rather controversial that you criticized our Hanukkah greeting so strongly that is hard to explain, but you share the Jewish Tamás Varga-Bíró's stupid posts as if you were obliged to do so".

Tamás Varga-Bíró replied by thanking Roland Schmidt for his superb comment, which could help people form an opinion of his party. "On the other hand, I do not recommend Schmidt to use the rhetoric of Gergely Kulcsár in such confusing times, I reckon it would not be too useful" he added.

We presented in our previous report that former Jobbik MP György Gyula Zagyva threatened Varga-Bíró in June. "Stinky Jew, you'll be screwed, we will kill you, your wife and your daughter, too!" said Zagyva after the musician criticized him for featuring in a video with activist Márton Gulyás.



## **Fake Facebook user writes anti-Semitic messages regarding 2017 Verona bus crash<sup>11</sup>**

*Source: index.hu*

*6 July 2017*

Index.hu reported that an unknown individual harassed one of the 2017 Verona bus crash victims' mother through Facebook. The woman shared on her own timeline that a Facebook user with the fictitious name Jakab Gipsz had been harassing her since February with various abusive and Jew-baiting messages. Such messages included: "You even want to make money out of the death of your children. Nothing is enough for you? Stinky rotten crowd of Jews". Every time the woman blocked the harasser's profile, a new profile was registered with the same fictitious name, Jakab Gipsz, and the individual behind it continued to abuse the woman. She noted there were two other families who were being abused with similar messages sent by the same Facebook user. The families concerned reported the case to the police, APF also assisted them in filing the complaints.

<sup>11</sup> On 20 January 2017, students from the Szinyei Merse Pál High School in Budapest were involved in a serious road traffic accident between Verona and Venice, Italy. A coach that was transporting the students and the accompanying adults back from a skiing trip collided with the highway traffic barrier. There were 56 people on board, 17 people, most of them children, were killed. The cause of the accident remains unknown, it is likely that the driver was negligent.

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## FURTHER ANTI-SEMITIC HATE INCIDENTS

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APF identified one incident of anti-Semitic hate crime during July 2017 monitoring which we did not include in our most recent statistics because – as we detailed in the Methodology section – circumstances of the incidents are unclear or the perpetrators could not be identified.

### HATE SPEECH

#### **Újpest fans making numerous discriminatory comments**

*Source: mno.hu; 24.hu  
18 and 25 July 2017*

At the Paks Újpest football match of 15 July, fans of the Újpest Football Club chanted obscene and abusive comments about the Újpest Football Club’s Belgian owner and the Club’s executive director Eszter Gyarmati. The reason behind the outcry is the change of the Clubs’s coat of arms which the fans disapprove. They first held a demonstration against the decision, then they expressed their disapproval in Paks. According to media coverage, fans have basically decided to cause as much

material injury to Roderick Duchatelet as possible, this is how they are trying to pressurize him. The first attempt was rather successful seeing the decision of the Hungarian Football Federation’s disciplinary committee reached on. The decision says that “(...) fans of the visiting team at the Paksi FC Újpest FC football match were expressing themselves in an unacceptable and appalling manner almost continuously, sometimes making racist or sexist remarks as well. According to reports, fans of Újpest FC shouted things like ‘fag’, ‘gypsy’, ‘cocksucker’, ‘filthy Jew’, ‘bitch’ and ‘Sieg Heil’ over two-hundred and fifty times at different people, sometimes using the Nazi salute as well.”

The decision proposed a stadium closure and fined the club HUF 500,000. MLSZ also stated that the most severe sanction for racism is a fine of HUF 10,000,000.00 but the disciplinary committee have not imposed such a heavy sanction before.

Following the Újpest FTC match on 25 July, MLSZ sanctioned Újpest FC with a fine and behind-closed-doors matches for the racist expressions of their fans.

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## COMMUNITY NEWS AND RESPONSES

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### **Holocaust victims commemorated in Debrecen**

*Source: dehir.hu  
2 July 2017*

The Jewish Community of Debrecen held a church service in the Jewish cemetery on Monostorpályi út to commemorate Holocaust victims from Debrecen. 12 thousand people were deported from the city of Debrecen, but only 6 thousand returned.

A speaker of the event said that the Hungarian government supports the renovation of 116 WWI graves in the Jewish cemetery of Debrecen. Deputy Mayor of Debrecen Lajos Barcs stated that commemorations could keep victims of the Holocaust alive. President of the Jewish Community of Debrecen Tamás Horovitz said that “commemoration is not an option, but our duty.”

### **Praising Horthy is the falsification of history according to Paul Shapiro**

*Source: nepszava.hu  
6 July 2017*

Director of International Affairs at the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum Paul Shapiro have recently paid an official visit to Budapest and given an interview to Népszava.



*Source: nepszava.hu*

According to Shapiro, it is impossible to separate Horthy’s actions of different years from one another and assess them individually. The Director said that Horthy made

Hungary Hitler’s ally and we cannot separate historical facts from each other but have to look at the big picture. We have to look at all the activities of Horthy and if we do that, there will be more negativities to find, those will come to the fore. Nothing can outweigh mass murder. At the end of the interview, Shapiro talked about the exhibition called “The Power of Nazi propaganda” that had opened in the Holocaust Memorial Center in Páva utca. He said that the theme of the exhibition was especially relevant in Hungary today.

### **Prime Minister of Israel Benjamin Netanyahu’s visit to Budapest**

*Source: MTI; hir24.hu; hvg.hu; demokrata.hu  
18 and 19 July 2017*

Prime Minister of Israel Benjamin Netanyahu paid a visit to Budapest in July 2017. Following his talks with Hungarian Prime Minister Viktor Orbán, the two PMs gave a joint press conference where Orbán emphasized that Hungary declared zero tolerance against anti-Semitism. He also highlighted that in WWII, Hungary committed a sin when it did not protect its citizens of Jewish heritage. He said the Israeli Prime Minister’s visit to Hungary – which was the first after 30 years – opened a new chapter in Hungary-Israel relations and it will be the foundation of a new cooperation that focuses on the future. Orbán thanked Israel for contributing to Europe’s security and agreed with Netanyahu that firm action should be taken to stop the growth of anti-Semitism. “We respect and acknowledge the right of Israel to self-defense” – stated Orbán, then added that Hungarians would also like their self-defense to be acknowledged by others. He said there was a significant Jewish community in Hungary and the Hungarian government guaranteed their absolute security. “There is a renaissance of Jewish life in Hungary today, which our country is really proud of because it contributes to our per-

formance as a nation. Due to our difficult history, it should be made apparent that we made a mistake, committed a sin when we decided that instead of protecting the Jewish community, we chose collaboration with the Nazi. This can never happen again.” The Hungarian Prime Minister finished his speech by stating that “Israel teaches us that we lose the things we do not fight for.”

Benjamin Netanyahu said that Hungary always reminds him of the fact that it gave birth to modern Zionism, and therefore to modern Israel as Theodor Herzl, the father of the Jewish State and the person who foresaw the danger of anti-Semitism, was Hungarian. The Israeli Prime Minister also mentioned he wanted to visit Theodor



Source: 24.hu

Herzl’s birthplace. (The Jewish Museum of Dohány utca is located at his birthplace today.) Netanyahu said we should look forward into the future, and that Hungary has given lots of talents to the world and that is why cooperation of the two countries is important. He said they discussed the concerns of the Jewish community, too – probably meaning the poster campaign against Soros –, and as Orbán personally and now also publicly declared he guarantees his support and stands up for Israel despite the fact that new anti-Semitism manifests itself through anti-Zionism and anti-Israelism.

The countries signed two agreements at the meeting.

“The fact that Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu stands up for Hungary is clear denial of the false and hurtful accusations Hungary has received” – said Minister of Foreign Affairs and Trade Péter Szijjártó

on M1 television channel the following day. The Minister also highlighted that Hungary is one of those European countries which have contributed the most to the success of the fight against anti-Semitism: we declared zero tolerance against anti-Semitism, we sanction the denial of the Holocaust, support the renovation of synagogues both in Hungary and abroad, and history of the Holocaust was included in our school curriculum. Szijjártó stated that Netanyahu’s visit opened new dimensions in both political and economic terms. He stressed the visit was especially important because Hungary has always insisted that the EU had a balanced and politically correct approach to Israel – said the Minister.

### Magyaridok.hu’s review on the international reactions

Source: magyaridok.hu  
18 and 19 July 2017

Magyaridok.hu published a review on Benjamin Netanyahu and Viktor Orbán’s talks. The report of EUobserver on the two Prime Ministers’ meeting in Budapest was entitled “Orbán and Netanyahu put their concerns of anti-Semitism aside”. Author of the article, former correspondent in Brussels for *Népszabadság*, Eszter Zalán wrote that one could have expected the two Prime Ministers to cross swords since Orbán was accused of arousing anti-Semitic feelings with his anti-Soros campaign. Yet, Netanyahu ordered the Israeli Ambassador to retract his statement. The author presented that the Israeli Ambassador to Hungary was corrected by the Israel Ministry of Foreign Affairs and that Netanyahu’s step put the Federation of Hungarian Jewish Communities (Mazsihisz) in an awkward position. With regard to civil society organizations in Hungary, Zalán highlighted that the new Hungarian law on NGOs followed Israel’s example.

An article of *Magyar Idők* reviewed Israeli newspapers writing about Netanyahu’s visit. The article said that the importance of the visit is shown by the fact that prominent newspapers not only published the reports of international news agencies, but also



sent their own correspondents to Budapest. Such newspapers included pro-government Israel Hayom, Maariv, Yedioth Ahronoth, ynet and The Times of Israel. The newspapers highlighted Viktor Orbán's statement about zero tolerance against anti-Semitism and the Hungarian Prime Minister's promise to stand up for Jewish people.

According to liberal newspaper Haaretz, the visit was a test of the relations between the right-wing Israeli government and the European right-wing, nationalist governments because of the Soros and Horthy issues. The website of English-language pro-government The Jerusalem Post published that Netanyahu's visit was important because it strengthened Orbán's position and showed that not only the political leaders of Kazakhstan and Russia but a more recognized figure in the western world also visited him. The newspaper wrote that "the old adage that the road to Washington leads through Jerusalem resonates in Budapest", and the Hungarian Prime Minister could hope to develop closer ties with Donald Trump as a result of the meeting with Netanyahu. The article said the trip was important for the Israeli Prime Minister because Hungary has the third-largest Jewish community in the EU and because "Hungary is on the side of those countries inside the EU who are favorably disposed toward Israel". The article also highlighted that Orbán referred to Netanyahu as a dedicated patriot, he praised patriotic governments, acknowledged the right of Israel to self-defense and expressed that Hungary also wants their right of self-defense to be acknowledged by others.

### **President of Mazsihisz András Heisler criticized both Orbán and Netanyahu**

*Source: hvg.hu; 24.hu; mno.hu  
19 July 2017*

At Mazsihisz' event held in the Synagogue on Dohány utca, Hungarian Prime Minister Viktor Orbán and Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu commemorated victims of the Holocaust. In his speech, President of Mazsihisz András Heisler stated that Orbán had praised Horthy. Heisler said that

"Hungary has had an uneven approach to the Holocaust", to the responsibilities of the government and the regent of the time, as the compensation of Jewish survivors is still not complete and the impairment of religious rights should still be remedied. He added that Mazsihisz was happy to hear Viktor Orbán say that Hungary committed a sin in WWII, Heisler thought it was a "step taken in the right direction".

Heisler also talked about the billboard campaign against George Soros, he said it generated bad feelings in Jewish people, who are now scared and this is unacceptable.

The President of Mazsihisz told Netanyahu they were shocked to see that after Israeli Ambassador to Hungary condemned the campaign against Soros because of its anti-Semitic nature, the Israel Ministry of Foreign Affairs asked the Ambassador to retract his statement. In Heisler's opinion, only a strong diaspora could help Israel, he assured Orbán that Mazsihisz would assist the Hungarian government in matters they agree on.

Heisler thinks their fight for assimilation is severe and "further bridges should be built between the two countries".

Viktor Orbán also gave a speech at the event. The Hungarian Prime Minister said that Israel and Hungary envision a future where



Source: mno.hu

they are connected by their self-defense against outside threats, the fight against terrorism, modern technology, innovation and research, trade and investment relations and the deep relationship between the two cultures. Orbán stressed that they envision a future where the two countries

are primarily connected by mutual respect. He mentioned Theodor Herzl and said that “the safety of Israel and Europe – including Hungary – is interconnected.” The Prime Minister talked about the fact that there is a renaissance of Jewish life in Hungary today and our country has the third-largest Jewish community in Europe. Orbán did not react to András Heisler’s speech.

Benjamin Netanyahu said in his speech that the birth of Zionism gave birth to destruction in the world, too, but he thanked Viktor Orbán for his actions taken in favor of the Jewish community. The Israeli Prime Minister praised the achievements of the Jewish community and he also talked about the Hungarian Theodor Herzl, father of the Jewish State. Netanyahu talked about current anti-Semitic movements in the world and mentioned he travelled to Hungary after visiting Paris, where French President Emmanuel Macron told him that anti-Zionism was a reinvention of anti-Semitism. Netanyahu said he agrees that latent anti-Semitism exists. According to him, there is also a new, anarchistic form of anti-Semitism, which is linked to radical Islam. The Israeli Prime Minister thought it was important that Orbán had openly talked about the sins former Hungarian governments committed against the Jewish community. He thanked Orbán for taking action against anti-Semitism and for the friendship between the two nations.

### **Interview with Viktor Orbán in Israel Hayom**

*Source: MTI; hvg.hu; dehir.hu  
21 July 2017*

Viktor Orbán gave an interview to Israeli newspaper Israel Hayom. The Hungarian Prime Minister stated there is zero tolerance against anti-Semitism in Hungarian politics and that “both the Hungarian right-wing and the Hungarian Jewish community need to make efforts in order to create mutual trust after having a difficult relationship due to historical reasons” wrote MTI about the interview.

Orbán said it complicated the relationship with Jewish communities that “communists and the left-wing” usually disregard certain factual evidence and accuse people, who are not anti-Semitic at all, of anti-Semitism. “According to the left-wing, my political community, myself and my government are anti-Semitic”, which is an unfair proposition – said Orbán.

It was revealed in the interview that Orbán considered Horthy an anti-Semite. “I believe that a political elite which adopts laws that discriminate civilians based on their origins is anti-Semitic” he said. Orbán also stated that Horthy committed a serious sin, but a few years earlier he also saved Hungary and neither of these facts could be denied.

The Hungarian Prime Minister praised his relationship with Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu. Orbán said their relationship was based on mutual respect and was of great value. As a result of Netanyahu’s present visit to Budapest, this relationship they have had for decades was now further personalized and deepened. Orbán also talked about the similarities and differences originating from the different situation of the two countries. He said that Israel’s closer relations to moderate Arab countries that could provide help regarding the dangers of migration currently threatening Europe, was a common European interest.

According to Orbán, there are MPs in Hungary who have made anti-Semitic expressions and political parties that have accepted these. He made it clear he was referring to Jobbik: “I cannot say that everyone in Jobbik is an anti-Semite but they obviously accept certain actions, programs, people and approaches that are clearly anti-Semitic.”

### **EMIH asked Netanyahu to help Hungarian Jews make Aliyah**

*Source: zsidó.com  
21 July 2017*

The Unified Hungarian Jewish Congregation (EMIH) and its associated religious

communities and civil society organizations published a statement and thanked Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu for his visit to Budapest and for expressing to the Hungarian Jewish community that he does not forget the griefs of the past, but looks into the future and wishes to be part of the Jewish renaissance in Hungary.

At the end of his three-day visit, the Israeli Prime Minister held private talks with leaders of the Jewish community. Executive Rabbi of EMIH Slomó Köves thanked Netanyahu for his visit and brought up the issue of the Law of Return that limits the options of many people who are willing to make Aliyah to Israel. The Executive Rabbi said that those Hungarian Jews whose grandparents and great-grandparents left their religion in the 1920s and 30s because of the anti-Jewish laws are now denied their right to make Aliyah. Netanyahu asked his chief advisors to look into the case in order to find a solution to the problem.



Source: zsidó.com

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## OFFICIAL AND CIVIL RESPONSES

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### Talks on protecting the Hungarian Jewish community

Source: MTI; [hir24.hu](http://hir24.hu)  
6 July 2017

On 6 July 2017, Prime Minister Viktor Orbán and Ashkenazi Chief Rabbi of Israel David Lau met in the Hungarian Parliament and talked about protecting and supporting the Hungarian Jewish community and about the flourishing Jewish life in Hungary.

Deputy Prime Minister and leader of the Christian Democratic People's Party (KDNP) Zsolt Semjén and Executive Rabbi of the Unified Hungarian Jewish Congregation (EMIH) Slomó Köves also attended the meeting. Viktor Orbán assured his guest that the Hungarian Jewish community enjoys full protection from the government, and he added that similarly to other historical religions, the Hungarian Jewish community receives every possible support.



Source: MTI

According to Head of the Prime Minister's Press Office Bertalan Havasi, the Executive Rabbi was happy to declare that Jewish life is flourishing in Hungary and he thanked Viktor Orbán for his support.

### Viktor Orbán: "Hungary committed a sin when it deported Jews"

Source: [hvg.hu](http://hvg.hu)  
21 July 2017

In his regular radio interview, the Prime Minister talked about Israeli Prime Minister

Benjamin Netanyahu's visit to Budapest. At the very beginning of the interview, the reporter asked why the Israeli Prime Minister did not publicly react to President of Mázsihisz András Heisler's criticism. "The Israeli Prime Minister said everything he wanted to say" answered Orbán. He explained that the two countries have maintained a good relationship with one another for ten years, in fact, their relationship was historical. Benjamin Netanyahu paid a visit "because of the future and not because of anti-Semitism" he stressed. Orbán also repeated the statement he made at the time of the Israeli Prime Minister's visit that "It is fact that Hungary committed a sin when it deported Jews" when he was asked why he is only talking about this now. In Orbán's opinion, there are two types of leaders today: patriotic and globalist. Benjamin Netanyahu is a tough man, but we are not ballet dancers either, he added.

The Hungarian Prime Minister also talked about the migration crisis. He had already conducted talks with Turkey and Egypt, and he now talked with Israel. As he said, Hungary was ready to assist Italy and Germany to stop the influx of migrants. In his opinion, mass migration was the reason behind the growth of anti-Semitism.

### EVENTS AND REACTIONS CONCERNING THE BILLBOARD CAMPAIGN AGAINST SOROS

#### Lajos Bokros branded the billboard campaign fascist

Source: [nyugat.hu](http://nyugat.hu); [magyarnarancs.hu](http://magyarnarancs.hu)  
3 July 2017

Leader of the Modern Hungary Movement (MoMa) Lajos Bokros released a statement in relation to the billboard campaign against George Soros. In his statement entitled "The mask falls", he said he did not think matters could be made worse after previous campaigns and the national consultations, but he was wrong. "The Jewish financier, who

wrecked England, who is fed by the fat of the people, who undermines nations' sovereignty, is now threatening Hungary. Openly anti-Semitic propaganda based on lies = fascism." Bokros called the Prime Minister of Hungary a fascist in his statement.

The Government Information Center reacted to Lajos Bokros' statement briefly. They wrote that Bokros was member of the Soros network and as "a paid soldier, he defames the Prime Minister of Hungary."

### **András Heisler about the billboards**

*Source: MTI; 444.hu; hvg.hu; hirtv.hu*  
3–6 July 2017

According to President of Mazsihisz András Heisler, the government's new poster campaign's message "Let's not allow Soros to have the last laugh!" reminds the Hungarian Jewish community of bad memories – independently from the intent of the campaign creators. Heisler believes the campaign may trigger that someone will play the "Jewish card" and that is not right, that is a very bad direction. He claimed that his community



forrás: 444.hu

criticizes all forms of hate speech. "We have received notifications from members of our community a number of times", from a community that has learnt a lot during history – said Heisler referring to some controversial statements the government has recently made. He added he is not as optimistic as he used to be when the erection of another Horthy statue was prevented by protests. He does not think this campaign will be terminated because of protests, as the most important thing is now maximizing the number of votes and electoral interest.

On 4 July, Heisler completed his statement by adding that "Campaigns targeting Soros may be associated with anti-Semitism – they have been already, and this is independent from whether the government had such intent or not."

In the program entitled "Egyenesen" (Straight) on Hír TV on 5 July, Heisler repeated what he had said about the campaign before, and also stated that trying to decide whether the campaign had an underlying message was being in a stalemate. He said that Mazsihisz used to raise their voice against every single similar form of incitement, but after a period of time their voice lost its power and they realized their actions became counterproductive. The general public began to think that "Jewish people are always complaining, always protesting against something", but they still wish to speak up in important matters in the future. Heisler said they noted multiple times that "Soros was an emblematic figure, he is thought to be a Jewish capitalist financier in Hungary, so it is dangerous to play with his image."

On 6 July, Heisler wrote an open letter to the Hungarian Prime Minister and asked him to take the posters down and end the campaign. He reasoned that although "the campaign was not openly anti-Semitic, it was still capable of generating uncontrolled and anti-Semitic feelings. The past few days have made it clear that our fear was not ill-founded. Messages reminding us of dark periods of our history appeared on posters in Budapest and in some other big cities around Hungary (...)"

### **The Prime Minister responded to Mazsihisz**

*Source: MTI; hir24.hu*  
7 July 2017

Prime Minister Viktor Orbán responded to András Heisler's open letter through the Head of his press office Bertalan Havasi. The Prime Minister's open letter was sent to MTI, too. "Illegal migration is clearly a question of national security, and whoever threatens Hungary's security will have to face the Hungarian state's political and legal

power regardless of ethnic origin, religious faith or financial means.” According to the Prime Minister, the fate of Hungary and the EU depend on the actions we take against illegal migration. He wrote that “terrorist attacks and violent incidents especially concern the Jewish communities in Europe.” Orbán thinks that protecting Hungarians is his duty as Prime Minister. He also said that due to civilizational and religious differences, illegal migration brings a culture of intolerance and growing anti-Semitism to Europe. “I do not expect thanks or recognition for our struggle against illegal migration, but a little help from your community would be nice.”

#### **János Lázár does not think the posters are about Soros’ Jewish heritage**

*Source: 444.hu  
6 July 2017*

“This is not about George Soros’ heritage or identity, but about his actions” said Minister of the Prime Minister’s Office János Lázár when a reporter of RTL Klub (Hungarian television channel) asked him about the anti-Semitic intent of the poster campaign. According to Lázár, Viktor Orbán also considers George Soros a Hungarian and the posters are not demonstrating against his heritage or origin, but the fact that Soros wants to let migrants enter Hungary and the European Union. In the Minister’s opinion, illegal migrants who are let to the EU by advocates of open borders might be the source of growing anti-Semitism. Lázár stated again that the Hungarian Jewish community can count on the government’s protection and they are open to criticism – even in the case of the poster campaign –, but a “poster is successful if it attracts people’s attention”.

MP for KDNP István Hollik has a similar opinion. After sharing a personal story that he had seen two Jewish kids walking on Kazinczy utca without their parents, Hollik stated that Hungary is a safe place for the Jewish community, too, since the government is taking action against illegal immigration.

#### **Israeli Ambassador condemned the poster campaign against Soros but the state of Israel ordered him to retract his statement**

*Source: hir24.hu; magyaridok.hu; haaretz.com  
8 and 10 July 2017*

Israel’s Ambassador to Hungary Yossi Amrani called for government representatives to stop inciting hatred. “I call on those involved in the current billboard campaign and those responsible for it to reconsider the consequences. No gain can come from such a campaign recalling the historic lesson. At the moment, beyond political criticism of a certain person, the campaign not only evokes sad memories but also sows hatred and fear. It is our moral responsibility to raise a voice and call on the relevant authorities to exert their power and put an end to this cycle.” said the statement of the Israeli Embassy in Hungary.

On Benjamin Netanyahu’s order however, the Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs retracted the statement issued by the Israeli Ambassador to Hungary, and also sharply criticized Soros himself for funding organizations that defame Israel – wrote Israeli newspaper Haaretz.

In response to Yossi Amrani’s criticism, the Hungarian Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade said that “just like Israel, Hungary will take action against everyone who poses national security risks to the country and its citizens.” The Ministry also wrote that “illegal migrants and their often-anti-Semitic views pose risks to Jewish communities in Europe and in Hungary”.

Spokesman of the Israeli Foreign Ministry Emmanuel Nashon issued a clarification and said that “in no way was the statement meant to delegitimize criticism of George Soros who continuously (...) seeks to deny Israel the right to defend itself”. Haaretz also wrote that “there was also pushback from right-wing politicians (...), which condemned the Foreign Ministry for issuing a statement that seemed to defend Soros, whom the Israeli right sees as leading the boycott (...) movement against Israel.”

### **German Minister Michael Roth shocked by the posters**

*Source: hvg.hu; facebook.com  
9 July 2017*

Minister of State for Europe at the German Federal Foreign Office Michael Roth paid a visit to Hungary in July 2017. Among others, the German Minister met and held talks with State Secretary for European Union Affairs at the Prime Minister's Office Szabolcs Takács, with representatives of civil society organizations and members of Momentum Mozgalom (Momentum Movement). After the talks, the German politician wrote on Facebook that "Hungary was a difficult partner, we have different views on asylum policy, on questions concerning scientific and academic freedom, civil society organizations, media and rule of law." Roth also shared a Soros poster and commented that "such a government campaign against George Soros leaves me speechless. These posters are everywhere in Budapest :-(((".

### **Former PM of Belgium Guy Verhofstadt also condemned the posters**

*Source: 24.hu  
11 July 2017*

Former Prime Minister of Belgium and leader of the Alliance of Liberals and Democrats for Europe Group Guy Verhofstadt expressed his shock over the Hungarian government's propaganda fight against George Soros. On his Facebook timeline, the Belgian politician shared a poster with the "Let's not allow Soros to have the last laugh!" message and an advertisement of Fidelitas that shows George Soros controlling marionettes – the puppets are politicians from the Hungarian opposition. Verhofstadt shared another picture which is a Nazi caricature from the 1930s depicting a wealthy Jew controlling the society as a marionettist. He commented that "Up until now, I have compared Orbán's political strategies to Nazi history but now the Hungarian government is actually applying Nazi propaganda against its political enemies".

In his opinion, the "Stinking Jew" graffiti scrawled on certain posters is the kind of reaction the government intended to receive.

### **George Soros also reacted to the poster campaign**

*Source: hir24.hu; hvg.hu;  
magyarhirlap.hu; bbc.com  
11 and 12 July 2017*

Michael Vachon, the advisor and spokesperson of George Soros, wrote a letter about the Hungarian poster campaign. He stated that the anti-migrant campaign using an image of George Soros is reminiscent of Europe's darkest hours. Vachon asked the addressees of his letter to spread the word about the campaign – a campaign in the heart of Europe, in Hungary that reminds us of the anti-Semitic caricatures of the 1930s. "Some of the posters have been defaced with hateful graffiti such as 'stinking Jew' scrawled across Soros's face. (...) Fidesz reject charges that the campaign is anti-Semitic in nature and claims that the Hungarian government's goal is to stop Soros's 'migrant campaign' (...)." 24.hu news portal referred to a BBC article which published George Soros' statement. According to the businessman, the Hungarian government is trying to turn people against him using anti-Semitic means, and the Hungarian Jewish community fears that anti-Semitism lies behind the campaign even though the government denies it. Soros thanked those who tear the posters down, and thanked the leaders of the Hungarian Jewish communities for speaking up against the campaign. "I am distressed by the current Hungarian regime's use of anti-Semitic imagery as part of its deliberate disinformation campaign" he wrote.

### **Gergely Gulyás thinks accusing the government is discriminative thinking**

*Source: MTI; demokrata.hu  
11 July 2017*

"Accusing the government of anti-Semitism because of the Soros campaign is a sign of discriminative thinking" said Depu-

ty Chairman of the Hungarian Parliament Gergely Gulyás on M1 television channel. He said that following the logic of *Mazsihisz*, the campaign could also be branded anti-Hungarian as one is just as aware of Soros' Hungarian origin as of his Jewish heritage. Gulyás claimed that the accusations the Hungarian government made about George Soros have nothing to do with the financier's heritage or origin. He added that it was natural that a European Jewish community was sensitive to presumptions of anti-Semitism and we should always be understanding with them, but only within reason.

### **The Advertising Association also condemns the Soros posters**

*Source: hvg.hu*  
12 July 2017

In response to public complaints, the Hungarian Advertising Association stated that the campaign against George Soros violated some general and basic social norms and releasing it as a public service announcement was misleading. The ethical complaints the association received on 4 and 5 July said the government's propaganda-campaign was anti-Semitic, immoral, discriminative and incited hatred.

"As a communication trade association with the highest number of members in Hungary, the Hungarian Advertising Association consider it their duty to stand up for the reputation of the advertising industry and speak up against advertisements and campaigns which undermine public confidence in advertising, violate certain generally accepted moral and ethical principles and public taste" they wrote on Facebook. "Advertising principles also apply to political advertisements, and there have been more and more political ads recently on all of the various platforms (streets, TV, radio, internet) that do not comply with these. However, the campaign using a picture of Soros is the first one that received public complaints" said the statement.

### **Controversial Soros posters taken down**

*Source: atv.hu; hvg.hu; 24.hu; haaretz.com; mno.hu*  
11 and 12 July 2017

Referring to 'an influential Fidesz politician', atv.hu wrote that the posters that received heavy criticism will be taken down on 15 July when the new law on posters enters into force. Viktor Orbán thought it would be best if champions of the FINA World Championships did not encounter the posters. According to the source of atv.hu, the Hungarian Prime Minister believed the anti-Soros campaign was an "absolute success" both in terms of domestic policies and also because Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu declared the campaign was not anti-Semitic.

The Government Information Center also announced that the posters will be taken down.

The day before that, Minister of Human Resources Zoltán Balog was invited to ATV's program entitled "Egyenes beszéd" (Straight talk) where he also talked about the posters. The Minister said he believed that those who decided on placing the posters would in time decide to take them down, and they will probably be removed because of the new law on posters. "Hatred is wrong, but justifiable self-defense is necessary" stated Balog. He said they were attacking a person who threatens our country, someone who plans to bring migrants here and wants to overthrow the government.

In relation to the same issue and referring to its own sources, Magyar Nemzet wrote that the posters were only taken down temporarily. The sources could not or did not want to tell what the aim of the next campaign will be and whether George Soros will appear in it, but they confirmed this quiet period was only temporary.



**András Kovács, István Hegedűs  
and Balázs Jarábik about the  
poster campaign**

*Source: 168ora.hu;  
14 July 2017*

168 óra (168 hours) published an opinion piece about the poster campaign. Among others, the political news magazine contacted sociologist and university professor András Kovács, who have conducted a lot of research about Jewish identity and anti-Semitism in Hungary since the change of regime.

Kovács said that “these posters recall some well-known stereotypes like the Jews are greedy, mercenary, they control the banking industry, they are the enemies of nations and they secretly try to attain world domination.” He did not want to guess what the intent of the people behind the campaign was. He thought if they had calculated on this consequence, that is worrying, but it is not much better either if they had not.

The sociologist said that based on research conducted last year, approximately 20 percent of the adult population in Hungary today believes in a secret Jewish conspiracy that controls political and economic processes. This 20 percent undoubtedly perceives the poster campaign as an anti-Semitic message.

András Kovács also stated that in Hungary, the number of people expressing anti-Semitic feelings rises during election campaigns, this has been the case since 1995. In 2010, however, the proportion of anti-Semites doubled and it still has not decreased to previous levels. Before 2010, the proportion was around 10-12 percent, but it has been 20-25 percent ever since. This change undoubtedly correlates to the fact that Jobbik appeared on the political scene, but Kovács also said that up until then, there was only one political party which tried to mobilize its supporters by anti-Semitism, that was MIÉP. It is fact that Jobbik’s rhetoric became anti-Semitic over time, but their mobilization strategies were based on anti-Roma feelings.

President of the Magyarországi Európa Társaság (Hungarian Europe Society) István Hegedűs thought it was not accidental that the campaign against Soros had various interpretations and it allowed for arguments that said no anti-Semitic message was behind it. He believed the campaign fit in the actions of the Hungarian government, actions which made democratic European figures understand how Orbán’ illiberal system works.

Only a few minutes after arriving in Budapest, Balázs Jarábik, a well-known Slovakian-born American scholar at the Carnegie Endowment for Internal Peace where his research focuses on Eastern and Central Europe, declared that the posters were quite unpleasant. He believed the posters were politically motivated, they portray Soros as the enemy either to gain a few extreme right voters, or to prevent parties of the left-wing and civil society organizations supported by George Soros from forming a coalition against the right-wing. The article of 168 óra ended with András Kovács’ thought that it was not impossible for anti-Semitism to reach record levels during the election campaign, yet it was not really capable of political mobilization in Hungary today. On the other hand, portraying a “stranger” as an enemy and especially the concept of “the enemy is unknown” was capable of mobilization. Kovács said there was a number of historical examples which showed that creators may lose control over such campaigns which then destroy both friends and enemies.

**Tamás Deutsch denied it was predictable that posters were going to generate anti-Semitic feelings**

*Source: magyarnarancs.hu; facebook.com  
17 July 2017*

MEP for Fidesz Tamás Deutsch expressed his opinion about the Soros posters on Facebook. According to him, the argument which reasoned that although the posters were not openly anti-Semitic, it was foreseeable what feelings they were going to generate and therefore they were anti-Semitic

was wrong. “Well, based on this brilliant logic, since it is foreseeable that the Jewish child of a Jewish person could suffer an anti-Semitic attack (e.g. Jew-baiting), then if a Jewish person decides to have a child, they deliberately generate anti-Semitism. Then I have done so on five counts. And where’s the end. That’s all.”

### **International press about the posters**

*Source: demokrata.hu; atv.hu; MTI  
20 July 2017*

Spokesperson for the Embassy of Israel in Washington Itai Bardov accused George Soros of having a consistent record of reckless antipathy toward Israel. In a New York Times article, the spokesman reacted to an opinion piece about the Hungarian poster campaign and said it was outrageous to claim that Benjamin Netanyahu tolerated anti-Semitism.

Bardov’s statement was made in response to Israeli journalist Mairav Zonszein’s opinion piece. The latter article said that “(...) George Soros should be the darling of the Israeli establishment. But Mr. Soros has failed the only litmus test that seems to count for Israel’s current leadership: unconditional support for the government, despite its policies of occupation, discrimination and disregard for civil and human

rights.” According to Zonszein, the Israeli foreign ministry’s criticism of Soros “in effect, backed a Hungarian propaganda effort against Mr. Soros (...)” Zonszein also wrote that “Mr. Orban has personally accused Mr. Soros’s operations of ‘trying secretly and with foreign money to influence Hungarian politics’ a statement that appears to toy with an anti-Semitic trope about Jewish influence and yet strangely echoes the Israeli foreign ministry’s condemnation of Mr. Soros. It takes some gall on the part of Mr. Netanyahu to choose this moment to kick Mr. Soros while he’s down (...) Mr. Soros is, once again, a victim of anti-Semitism in the heart of Europe.”

As opposed to this, Itai Bardov stressed that it was George Soros who supported NGOs “that libel Israel by falsely accusing it of genocide and war crimes”. Bardov thinks that “There is no contradiction between speaking honestly about Mr. Soros and simultaneously fighting anti-Semitism (...)”. The liberal *Süddeutsche Zeitung* also published a commentary entitled “Legally”. The article said that the Hungarian Prime Minister wanted to stigmatize those civil society organizations which receive foreign funds. The posters of anti-Semitic nature were linked to this element of the campaign against Soros.

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## NEWS AND OPINIONS ABOUT ANTI-SEMITISM IN HUNGARY

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### **Freedom House believes the government has anti-Semitic attitudes**

*Source: MTI; hvg.hu  
14 July 2017*

According to human rights organization Freedom House, “The government of Hungary has resorted to tactics reminiscent of the darkest days of dictatorship in its vilification of refugees, and civil society organizations that advocate an orderly, humane policy of immigration”. Freedom House released a statement in response to the Hungarian government’s television and poster campaign affecting civil society organizations. President of Freedom House Michael Abramowitz said in the statement that “The imagery and language used by Prime Minister Orbán’s government is deeply offensive and indeed anti-Semitic, especially its targeting of the Open Society Foundations and its Hungarian-born founder, George Soros. His organization has sought to secure fundamental freedoms for all Hungarians, including minorities.”

### **A caricature of Viktor Orbán published in Financial Times**

*Source: nepszava.hu;  
14 July 2017*

An opinion piece entitled “Viktor Orbán’s Hungary crosses to Europe’s dark side” was published in Financial Times. Author of the article, Philip Stephens, wrote that the campaign against Soros “disinters anti-Semitic tropes”. He also wrote about the controversial case that the Hungarian Prime Minister praised Miklos Horthy, about Netanyahu’s decision to speak up for the Hungarian Prime Minister and the fact that Hungarian Jewish communities encouraged the posters to be taken down, because of their anti-Semitic and inciting nature.

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## OTHER NEWS

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### The new extremist organization was formed in Vecsés but conflicts arose already

Source: [mno.hu](http://mno.hu); [hvg.hu](http://hvg.hu); [magyaridok.hu](http://magyaridok.hu); [24.hu](http://24.hu); [index.hu](http://index.hu)  
9 July 2017

A new, openly extreme-right movement called Erő és Elszántság (Power and Determination) was founded by Identitesz, Betyársereg (Army of Outlaws) and Városi Nemzeti Szövetség (National Urban Alliance) in Vecsés. President of Identitesz Balázs László said that their aim was to establish unity and a new form of right-wing that breaks away from the past and political correctness. In this spirit, he called the Budapest Pride, which took place almost at the same time as their event, a moral cesspool. László thought ethnic self-defense was especially important, more important than the issues of corruption, healthcare and education.

Leader of the Army of Outlaws Zsolt Tyirityán said their movement was like an advocacy organization whose mission was to fight for living space and remove “evil liberalism” from their living space. Tyirityán thought it was important to have white and European racial consciousness. He said he did not hate anybody but expected everyone to respect him as a white European and a proud Hungarian patriot. In response to a question asked by a local correspondent of [24.hu](http://24.hu), Tyirityán said it was a wonderful feeling to sign Mein Kampf.

According to original plans, Mihály Zoltán Orosz’ Érpataki Modell Országos Hálózata (National Network of Érpatak Modell) was also going to be part of the new movement. Yet, Origo published that Mihály Zoltán Orosz registered a party called Rend és Igazságosság (RIA, Order and Justice), which caught Tyirityán by surprise and therefore asked Orosz not to come the new movement’s event in Vecsés.

In response to the question asked by Magyar Nemzet about whether the Hatvannégy Vármegye Mozgalom (Sixty-Four Counties Youth Movement) linked to László Toroczkai was going to part of the new movement, Tyirityán said that members of the youth movement sympathized with their activities and Toroczkai was his friend. With regards to their links to Jobbik, Tyirityán stated that Jobbik was neither their ally, nor their enemy.

Spokesman of the Army of Outlaws Attila Szabó was host of the event held in Vecsés.



Source: [magyaridok.hu](http://magyaridok.hu)

Szabó has recently quit Jobbik because, as he said, it was not the party any more for whom he would give his life. He also claimed it was “ridiculous to think that Vecsés was a center of the Hungarian extreme right, and that the ‘Erő ünnepe’ (Celebration of Power) was an event of the extreme right.”

Mihály Zoltán Orosz attended the event as part of the audience. He told [mno.hu](http://mno.hu) that one should go beyond the notions of Com-

munism, Nazism and liberalism and he did not think it was good if these reappeared in any kinds of “neo” forms. Orosz did not consider Tyirityán and his movement Neo-Nazi but stated that today’s dividing line is not set between the different ethnic groups but between those who build things and those who demolish them.

“Our movement is the movement of unity and hierarchy, individualism is not accepted” said Balázs László, refereeing to Mihály Zoltán Orosz’ acts.

HVG wrote that the organizational structure of the movement has not yet been clear. The newspaper also stated that leader of Identitesz Balázs László and leader of the Army of Outlaws Zsolt Tyirityán will decide until September whether they will form a political party or not.

#### **Modern anti-Semitism in the Visegrád countries – research report**

*Source: magyaridok.hu  
12 July 2017*

According to results of a recent research conducted in the countries of the Visegrád Four, the Czech Republic is the most inclusive toward the Jews, and Poland has the highest percentage of citizens who agree with anti-Semitic statements. The results of the research were published in the report entitled “Modern anti-Semitism in the Visegrád Countries” published by the minority rights organization Tom Lantos Institute. Authors of the report examined the different forms of anti-Semitism in the Visegrád countries. According to Ildikó Barna, one of the authors and former head of research at APF, the report fills a gap since there have been several studies focusing on the emergence of new anti-Semitism in the Western world, but there has been a lack of academic research regarding its existence and forms of manifestation in Central and Eastern Europe. The Czech Republic, Poland, Slovakia and Hungary were examined by standardized methods in order to be able to compare

them easily.

Radicalism researcher and editor of the report Anikó Félix said there were three manifestations of modern anti-Semitism, namely secondary anti-Semitism that is mainly characterized by Holocaust denial, conspiratorial anti-Semitism, and new anti-Semitism that pertains to the demonization and delegitimization of Israel. The report pays particular focus on the latter.

According to the author of the report published with support received from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade, the government’s current poster campaign against George Soros’ activities generates although may not deliberately anti-Semitism.

#### **Jobbik festival with Neo-Nazi performers**

*Source: magyarnarancs.hu  
19 July 2017*

Jobbik held an event called “Days of Hungarian Self-Defense” on Zagyvarékas. Magyar Narancs stated that they have come across a poster advertising the event at one of the party’s offices. Among bands performing at the event, there were skinhead “Egészséges Fejbőr” (Healthy Scalp) and “Romantikus Erőszak” (Romantic Violence). There were also men dressed in táltos<sup>12</sup>, magician and outlaw costumes at the festival. Self-defense programs were also offered during the event. Magyar Narancs wrote that there was a series of some proper extreme right programs that Jobbik have distanced itself since they decided to become a people’s party but Vona Gábor’ party has always wanted to gain voters from this community, too. According to information received from Jobbik, the party supported the organization of the event, the amount of HUF 500,000 they paid was spent on the concerts and programs for children, which therefore means that Jobbik supported Egészséges Fejbőr’s concert, too. A roundtable discussion featuring Zsolt Tyirityán was also organized at the festival. Shortly after this event on Zagyvarékas, Tyirityán found-

<sup>12</sup>The táltos is a figure in Hungarian mythology similar to a shaman. Source: <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Táltos>

ed a new political movement with *Identitesz* in Vecsés. Leader of the Army of Outlaws told *Magyar Narancs* that they founded the new movement because *Jobbik* was no longer an extreme right party.



Source: [magyarnarancs.hu](http://magyarnarancs.hu)

According to the poster advertising the festival, [kuruc.info](http://kuruc.info) provided media support for the event. *Kuruc.info* is an online portal which has published numerous racist and anti-Semitic articles and opinion pieces, the court ruled against the platform on multiple occasions but they have failed to comply with these decisions. For some reason, *Jobbik* has now decided to cooperate with them – wrote *Magyar Narancs*.

### Young *Jobbik* supporter praises Hitler – based on leaked online correspondence

Source: [magyaridok.hu](http://magyaridok.hu); [pestisracok.hu](http://pestisracok.hu)  
24 July 2017

A 17-year-old member of *Jobbik*'s youth organization in Kecskemét praised Hitler in her online correspondence published by *PestiSrácok*. Based on the young woman's Facebook conversation, she has National Socialist views, praises Hitler and believes everything he did was right. "I adore Hitler! He did the right thing! Germany is truly a perfect country, Germans are perfect. Hitler wanted to create a perfect world, in which

only Germans exist" – quoted *PestiSrácok*. According to the article, the teenage girl maintains an active relationship with the leadership of *Jobbik*, she is ambitious and wants to become a politician one day. There is a picture of her and Gábor Vona on her Facebook timeline.

### Pax Hungarica Movement was dissolved

Source: [atv.hu](http://atv.hu); [nepszava.hu](http://nepszava.hu)  
31 July 2017

Leader of Pax Hungarica Movement *Endre János Domokos* announced that his Hungarist movement was going to dissolve due to losing all its members as a result of a series of disappointments. "Some of the former members sought to have a more radical movement, while others hoped that we were going to replace *Jobbik* after its decision to become a people's party. Both sides are disillusioned." – said *Domokos*' statement.

According to *Domokos*, only few people understood what their "mission" was about, but "they were overwhelmed by their struggle for existence and therefore the Hungarist movement is now only a shadow of its former self".

Remaining assets of the movement are distributed to "Szabad Szellem Alapítvány" (Free Spirit Foundation), and their website called [Kitartas.net](http://Kitartas.net) will be taken down in the autumn.

### Picture of George Soros with a swastika published on 888.hu

Source: [valasz.hu](http://valasz.hu); [888.hu](http://888.hu)  
31 July 2017

Online news portal [888.hu](http://888.hu) published a montage of George Soros which was originally shared on an American website. The montage shows a grinning George Soros in front of a Nazi flag with a swastika on it. The article of [888.hu](http://888.hu) wrote that MSZP chairman of the Committee on National Security in the Hungarian National Assembly *Zsolt Molnár* summoned the National Assembly, but *Szilárd Németh* claimed they were in reality summoned by George Soros' order. *Németh*

said that the accusations among the agenda items were based on the lies of the Soros network. The following picture was published with the article:



Source: 888.hu

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## ACTION AND PROTECTION FOUNDATION LEGAL ACTIONS

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### **Notice of trial date**

*Source: Action and Protection Foundation  
6 July 2017*

APF received a notice of trial date from the District Court of Eger. The court ruled that Mihály Zoltán Orosz will stand trial for incitement against a community on 27 September 2017. A colleague of APF will attend the trial.

### **Investigation relaunched**

*Source: Action and Protection Foundation  
31 July 2017*

APF was notified that investigations will be relaunched in a case we initiated. In May 2013, APF filed a complaint against an unknown individual at the Police Office of Orosháza. On 1 December 2011, a letter from a reader called Attila Pónya was published on the website of the Jobbik Committee in Nagyszénás. The letter was titled “Ismét izzik a holokauszt...” (The Holocaust is glowing again...). On suspicion that the content of the letter is open denial of the crimes committed by the National Socialist Regime, proceedings were launched against the author of the article. On 1 April 2015, the investigation was suspended because the perpetrator could not be identified. The Police Office of Orosháza has now contacted APF and informed us that further investigation appeared necessary and therefore the proceedings were relaunched.

## 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.	2nd of July	Holocaust victims commemorated in Debrecen	Community News and Responses
2.	3rd of July	Jew-baiting remarks at a bus stop	Anti-Semitic Hate Incidents – Damage to property
3.	3rd of July	Events and reactions concerning the billboard campaign against Soros – Lajos Bokros branded the billboard campaign fascist	Official and Civil Responses
4.	3-6th of July	Events and reactions concerning the billboard campaign against Soros – András Heisler about the billboards	Official and Civil Responses
5.	5th of July	Local Jobbik politician published an anti-Semitic comment on Facebook	Anti-Semitic Hate Incidents – Hate Speech
6.	6th of July	Fake Facebook user writes anti-Semitic messages regarding 2017 Verona bus crash	Anti-Semitic Hate Incidents – Hate Speech
7.	6th of July	Praising Horthy is the falsification of history according to Paul Shapiro	Community News and Responses
8.	6th of July	Talks on protecting the Hungarian Jewish community	Official and Civil Responses
9.	6th of July	Events and reactions concerning the billboard campaign against Soros – János Lázár does not think the posters are about Soros' Jewish heritage	Official and Civil Responses
10.	6th of July	Notice of trial date	APF Legal Actions
11.	7th of July	Events and reactions concerning the billboard campaign against Soros – The Prime Minister responded to Mazsihisz	Official and Civil Responses
12.	8 and 10th of July	Events and reactions concerning the billboard campaign against Soros – Israeli Ambassador condemned the poster campaign against Soros but the state of Israel ordered him to retract his statement	Official and Civil Responses
13.	9th of July	Events and reactions concerning the billboard campaign against Soros – German Minister Michael Roth shocked by the posters	Official and Civil Responses
14.	9th of July	The new extremist organization was formed in Vecsés – but conflicts arose already	Other News
15.	11th of July	Events and reactions concerning the billboard campaign against Soros – Former PM of Belgium Guy Verhofstadt also condemned the posters	Official and Civil Responses
16.	11 and 12th of July	Events and reactions concerning the billboard campaign against Soros – George Soros also reacted to the poster campaign	Official and Civil Responses
17.	11th of July	Events and reactions concerning the billboard campaign against Soros – Gergely Gulyás thinks accusing the government is discriminative thinking	Official and Civil Responses



18.	12th of July	Events and reactions concerning the billboard campaign against Soros – The Advertising Association also condemns the Soros posters	Official and Civil Responses
19.	11 and 12th of July	Events and reactions concerning the billboard campaign against Soros – Controversial Soros posters taken down	Official and Civil Responses
20.	12th of July	Modern anti-Semitism in the Visegrád countries – research report	Other News
21.	14th of July	Events and reactions concerning the billboard campaign against Soros – András Kovács, István Hegedűs and Balázs Jarábik about the poster campaign	Official and Civil Responses
22.	14th of July	Freedom House believes the government has anti-Semitic attitudes	News and Opinions about Anti-Semitism in Hungary
23.	14th of July	A caricature of Viktor Orbán published in Financial Times	News and Opinions about Anti-Semitism in Hungary
24.	17th of July	Events and reactions concerning the billboard campaign against Soros – Tamás Deutsch denied it was predictable that posters were going to generate anti-Semitic feelings	Official and Civil Responses
25.	20th of July	Events and reactions concerning the billboard campaign against Soros – International press about the posters	Official and Civil Responses
26.	18 and 25th of July	Újpest fans making numerous discriminatory comments	Further Anti-Semitic Hate Incidents
27.	18 and 19th of July	Prime Minister of Israel Benjamin Netanyahu's visit to Budapest	Community News and Responses
28.	18 and 19th of July	Magyaridok.hu's review on the international reactions	Community News and Responses
29.	19th of July	President of Mazsihisz András Heisler criticized both Orbán and Netanyahu	Community News and Responses
30.	19th of July	Jobbik festival with Neo-Nazi performers	Other News
31.	21st of July	Interview with Viktor Orbán in Israel Hayom	Community News and Responses
32.	21st of July	EMIH asked Netanyahu to help Hungarian Jews make Aliyah	Community News and Responses
33.	21st of July	Viktor Orbán: "Hungary committed a sin when it deported Jews"	Official and Civil Responses
34.	24th of July	Young Jobbik supporter praises Hitler – based on leaked online correspondence	Other News
35.	31st of July	Pax Hungarica Movement was dissolved	Other News
36.	31st of July	Picture of George Soros with a swastika published on 888.hu	Other News
37.	31st of July	Investigation relaunched	APF Legal Actions

## CONTACT AND SUPPORT

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

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

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

**HOTLINE (+36 1) 5 1 00 000**

The website of Action and Protection Foundation: [www.tev.hu/forrodrot](http://www.tev.hu/forrodrot)  
The Facebook page: [www.facebook.com/tev-tett-es-vedelem-alapitvany](https://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:

**13597539-12302010-00057157**

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