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**BEST PRACTICE  
HANDBOOK**

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**ACTION AND PROTECTION  
FOUNDATION**

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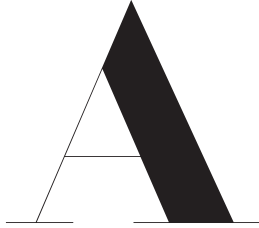
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## PREFACE

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**Anti-Semitic phenomena may vary from one historical period to another and from region to region but they are undoubtedly present in European civilization.** Countries in East Central Europe have experiences which no other European regions do. The similarities of past experiences and the common values are reflected by the challenges the Jewish community living in this region face today.

This realization motivated us to develop a common action plan with our Polish and Slovakian colleagues. After winning the support of the Visegrád Fund, established by member states of the Visegrád Group, we would like to jointly deal with the issue of anti-Semitism. Our aim is to trace and measure particular challenges by using professional means and then implement focused action plans on a regional level. We would like to establish a common monitoring, research and analysis system which would contribute to regional and Pan-European actions taken against political, verbal and physical anti-Semitism.

Action and Protection Foundation has taken a leadership role in this collaboration. Since 2012, we have been publishing monthly monitoring reports and annual representative research reports on anti-Semitism, which is unique in Europe. We have developed our educational and legal aid programs

based on facts and data acquired from these reports. Among other things, we have initiated amendments of the Fundamental Law, the Criminal Code and the Civil Code of Hungary so that taking legal action against anti-Semitic manifestations become easier. We have facilitated the content auditing process of textbooks used in the new public education system and have initiated the introduction of a new, certified course on anti-Semitism, hate crimes and the Jewry at the National University of Public Service.

We believe time has now come to share our experiences and results with others. It was our cooperation with the Jewish communities of the Visegrád Group that inspired us to write this manual, but the information provided can be applied anywhere, with no geographical limitations. We would love if our activity and the values it is based upon, as well as our professional methodology – all presented on the following pages – could contribute to the success of the advocacy of the Jewish community and other minorities, without regional limitations.

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## INTRODUCTION

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The establishment of Action and Protection Foundation (APF) was inspired by the thought that Jewish communities need to take responsibility for themselves. In the light of historical traumas, it is understandable that feelings of helplessness and vulnerability appear on a collective level, and the development of new attitudes when dealing with the challenges our communities face is indeed unavoidable.

“If I am not for myself, who will be for me? But if I am only for myself, who am I? If not now, when?” In 2012, we followed this 2000-year old piece of advice from Jewish wise men when, by uniting the Hungarian Jewish congregations, we established Action and Protection Foundation. We did so because we believe that taking action against anti-Semitism is not merely the option and duty of the outsiders, of political parties, human rights activists and international organizations. Jewish communities have great responsibility in tackling anti-Semitism. It is our common issue, regardless of one’s theological beliefs, worldviews or religious and cultural orientations.

*Taking responsibility* also means we try to understand and get along with the prominent entities of society. We seek opportunities for cooperation with potential allies and partners, with whom we can think and act together in favor of the security of Jewish communities. This is also important for the fact that although anti-Semitism attacks Jewish communities, it is also harmful and dangerous for democratic values and the society as a whole. The third pillar of efficient self-care is taking quality action on professional bases.

When defining our scope of activities, we studied the best practices of minority protection and the methodological recommendations of the Organization for Security and Co-operation

in Europe. Our strategy and everyday activities are based on the triad of research-education-legal aid, which are separate but synergistic activities at the same time.

Our *research* activity includes comprehensive and representative research conducted among the entire population and the Jewish community, and continuous monitoring of incidents based on scientific methodologies. Our education activity encompasses the development and delivery of curriculum for secondary and tertiary education and adult learning. As part of legal aid, we provide legal aid services and offer guidance in decision-drafting processes of legislative procedures and in codification processes.

A little more than five years after the foundation of APF, we proudly look at the results of our responsibility-cooperation-action triad of norms. It is great pleasure and honor to see that people wish to follow the methodology applied by APF both in Hungary and abroad.

We hope that not only will this manual provide inspiration but will also present professional assistance for those who would like to take action against anti-Semitism and racism by establishing a self-reliant and professional organization.





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## THE FIRST PILLAR

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The first question is always what kind of action plan could we set up, based on our research results, to decrease and counter anti-Semitic manifestations. The reason why we examine the forms, tendencies and reasons behind anti-Semitism with care and professional attention is to be able to set up and perform action plans that respond to actual situations.

In both types of situation analysis, APF's basic principle is to apply a professional methodology. We conduct our periodic research and carry out our continuous monitoring activities by following strict methodological rules.

### 1.1. RESEARCH

Anti-Semitism is widely talked about, it evokes strong emotions and generates fear, but the actual content and dimensions of its definition usually differ from situation to situation and from person to person. It has always been important for us that our strategies are established in view of the existing social attitudes towards anti-Semitism. In order to be able to see the situation

clearly and carry out evidence-based problem solving, APF conducts annual research on *Anti-Semitic prejudice in contemporary Hungarian society*.

We are interested in finding out the Hungarian society's opinions and prejudice about the Jews (cognitive anti-Semitism) and the sentiments towards the Jewish community (affective anti-Semitism). We examine the prevalence and intensity of anti-Semitic prejudice, the susceptibility of different social groups to anti-Semitism and the potential motives behind such susceptibility<sup>1</sup>. Remembering the tragedy of the Shoah during World War II figures high both in Hungarian anti-Semitism and in the local Jewish community's grievances. Therefore, we pay special attention to map the Hungarian population's opinions and associations concerning the Holocaust and its remembering.

Our research is carried out by issuing a face-to-face questionnaire to 1,200 individuals of the Hungarian population over 18 years of age. A team of professional pollsters also supports our research process and cooperates with APF's research director. The results of our research are presented in research reports, which are available on our website both in Hungarian and in English for further use.

The research reports always include an explanation of the methodology we use. We present the questions, the results and the conclusions of each research area in separate sections. We also conduct an international comparative analysis, which provides a useful addition to the contextualization of the research results.

Our research therefore reveals different opinions, attitudes and approaches but the particular actions and manifestations are not examined through these factors. The identification and characterization of anti-Semitic acts are carried out by the monitoring process presented below.

<sup>1</sup> The sets of questions and an explanation of the summary of the report are presented in Appendix I.  
The complete report is available here: <https://tev.hu/en/prejudice-report/>

## I.2. MONITORING AND PREPARING REPORTS

One of the most important criteria to be able to fight anti-Semitism is an adequate assessment of the prevalence of anti-Semitism. For this reason, APF monitors events and the press on a monthly basis, in line with professional standards. As a result of this monitoring activity, we present anti-Semitic manifestations in monthly reports, and we prepare annual reports after analysing the information acquired through our regular monthly monitoring activities.

Preparing reports is one of APF's most important activities. It consists of several different stages and it is vital for us to have appropriate human resources in place at all stages. The monitoring activity and the connecting report writing are carried out by a team of experts, including data collectors and analysts, an assessment and research expert, a copy editor, translators, a native proofreader and a typographer.

In order to define and organize the workflow process and ensure having the key competencies at each stage, the following questions need to be answered:

- What do we examine?
- Where do we gather data from?
- How do we gather data?
- How do we evaluate data?
- What is included in a report?
- What happens to reports?

### WHAT DO WE EXAMINE?

During our monitoring process, we look for incidents with anti-Semitic motives. Such incidents include all incidents when an anti-Semitic motive is implied by either the offender, or their target, the message of the act committed or the way it was carried out. The target of such incidents may be an individual, a group of

individuals, an event, a building, a memorial or any other properties. It is important to note that an anti-Semitic motive could only be established if the offender chose their target especially on the presumption that they belong to the Jewish community. It is irrelevant whether this presumption is true or false.

#### WHERE DO WE GATHER DATA FROM?

The monitoring of incidents with anti-Semitic motives requires the use of various different sources at the same time. Important sources of information are:

- Television and radio channels;
- Print media;
- Online news portals;
- Social networking sites;
- Extremist and inflammatory sites;
- Parliamentary speeches;
- Public bodies and civil society organizations;
- Notifications received from victims or witnesses (online, by phone or in person).

#### HOW DO WE GATHER DATA?

Our monitoring group needs 1 or 2 data collectors. They are in charge of registering reports and notifications: they are notified by victims or witnesses in person, through a hotline or in written form, they fill in a notification form every time. Data collectors use search software and manage content filtered by such software.

APF has created a list of key words which are to be searched on online portals. There are 31 expressions on the list at the moment, these include anti-Zionist, anti-Semitism, the Holocaust, National Socialist, Arrow Cross, Jewry. Data collectors first read through the contents filtered by search software on a daily basis.

Then, they register the objective characteristics of incidents potentially motivated by anti-Semitism, based on a uniform coding system. Such characteristics are the target, location and time of incidents, attributes of offenders, information about victims and possible historical information on the given incident. The documentation of an incident consists of putting down the facts, creating photos and added materials to help the evaluation process. The filtered news stories are saved as PDFs, and screenshots are taken of hate speech discovered on online portals. (In case of notifications received, we always have the notification form and photos – for example those of a swastika painted at a bus stop – attached to the given file.)

The next step of data processing is the evaluation of data.

#### HOW DO WE EVALUATE DATA?

Data analysts of the monitoring team read through the filtered news and contents. After semantic analysis conducted on all records, analysts establish whether the given incident was motivated by anti-Semitic prejudice. If they believe so, the content is forwarded to the researcher.

The researcher reads the content they have received and if they agree that a given incident was motivated by anti-Semitism, they prepare an explanatory justification. Such textual explanation elaborates on our views about why the incident is classified as anti-Semitic.

Incidents with anti-Semitic motives are examined further. The researcher evaluates incidents from two aspects. First, it is examined and established whether the *given incident qualifies as a criminal offense*. Not only is this essential for accurate reporting, but it also prepares for taking further legal actions and sanctions. (Further information on this is presented in section 3)

Applying the definition of the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE), if an incident qualifies as a criminal offense under the legislation of the given country and

it was motivated by prejudice towards particular groups of people, the incident is considered a **hate crime**. Incidents which were committed with a bias motivation but do not reach the threshold of a criminal offense are considered as **hate motivated incidents**.

When qualifying incidents, the starting point is always the applicable criminal code of the given country. In Hungary, the Criminal Code in force specifies that violence against a member of a community, incitement against a community, denial of the crimes committed by the National Socialist regime and use of totalitarian symbols (e.g. swastika, SS insignia, arrow cross) qualify as hate crimes. In addition, some other criminal offenses may also be qualified as hate crimes if a bias motivation can be proved.

Secondly, the researcher examines the *type of incidents* based on the classification of the Facing Facts! project<sup>2</sup>. These guidelines differentiate six types of incidents:

**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

<sup>2</sup> Source: Facing Facts! project © 2012 CEJI

- 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 no 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

Based on our experiences in Hungary, 3% of the news filtered by search software are found to be relevant from our perspective.

**WHAT IS INCLUDED IN A REPORT?**

The aim of our reporting activity is to provide a clear picture of anti-Semitic manifestations in Hungary in a given period. Facts and data are complemented with further descriptions, graphs and illustrations, which present the social and cultural processes and tendencies that surround hate incidents.

Our reports always present APF's scope of activities and the methodology applied during our monitoring activity. We give an account of the anti-Semitic incidents committed in the given period, as well as of other news affecting the Jewish community and of official and civil responses to current issues.

Our research director plays an important role as a copy editor in the last stage of our reporting activity. APF's research director is an expert knowing social processes rather well, they have active experience in academic and university education and are therefore able to guarantee the objectivity of the reports and that they are based on scientific standards. The material prepared by the monitoring group is commented on, completed and approved by the research director.

As mentioned before, our annual report focuses more on the analysis of tendencies and correlations. Our research director also prepares materials that not only give account of anti-Semitic hate incidents, but also provide guidelines for understanding anti-Semitism. The annual report reviews traditional and modern social-psychological, historical and cultural explanations, it tests their current validity and compares them to the results of our annual research report entitled Anti-Semitic prejudice in contemporary Hungarian society. Our report also presents APF's educational and legal activities, highlighting current legislations which provide legal framework for the fight against anti-Semitism in Hungary. Issues which attract great public attention in the examined period of time and corresponding official and civil responses are also detailed in our annual report.<sup>3</sup>

*Budapest, April 2016: Unknown individuals damaged a Holocaust monument on Március 15 Square. On 10 April, the Police Office of Budapest District 5 called the hotline of APF because they had received citizen notification reporting a Holocaust denying writing on the Holocaust monument at Budapest Március 15 Square. The writing on the monument stated: "This, in its present form is a lie". The police requested that a colleague of APF go to the site and represent the victim. A member*

<sup>3</sup> Monthly monitoring reports and annual reports are available in full text on the following links:  
<https://tev.hu/en/monthly-report/> and <https://tev.hu/en/annual-report/>.



of our staff arrived at the location, police officers recorded evidence. APF filed a complaint. After the police finished recording evidence, APF's colleague removed the writing. – An example of damage to property, taken from APF's annual report of 2016.

At the last stage of our report writing activity, the reports are translated to English, too. Following the review and approval of our native proofreader, the typographer receives the documents to ensure the aesthetical and appropriate outlook of the compiled content.

### WHAT HAPPENS TO REPORTS?

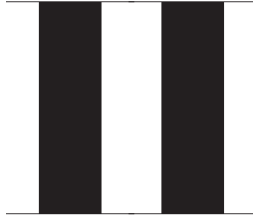
Monitoring and research reports provide the starting point for APF's strategic planning, and our educational programs are also based on the results of these reports. The reports are not considered as internal documents, we pay particular attention that information reaches public opinion and stakeholders (civil society organizations and public bodies, authorities). This is important because reports contribute to a clearer understanding of events and happenings and support problem-solving: the lobby activities of civil society organizations, the work of public and law enforcement bodies and the development of policy areas.

As part of our dissemination plan, we have created a list of Hungarian press organs, and a list of Hungarian and international organizations, institutions which play a role in the fight against anti-Semitism and therefore it is important for them to have a credible picture of current situations and processes. We send our Hungarian and English language reports to them by electronic means.

All our reports are available on our website (<https://tev.hu/en/prejudice-report/>). When a monitoring report or the annual report on anti-Semitic hate incidents is published, we hold press events and issue press releases. A lot depends on the quality of communication. APF regularly consults a professional PR agency which helps us reach our target audiences.

### Tibor Ágoston on Facebook (Source: Action and Protection Foundation, December 2016 report)

A notification through the online contact form of APF indicated that a post from 29 April 2014 on the Facebook profile of Tibor Ágoston, who had received a final court sentence for Holocaust denial, which speaks in lengthy detail about how Jews – a particular Jewish elite, the Zionist, it claims – sent the Jews to the death camps, is still publicly accessible. Tibor Ágoston's post could later no longer be found. APF had earlier reported that the County Court of Debrecen had found Tibor Ágoston, former Debrecen Municipal Council representative and member of parliament candidate for Jobbik, guilty of denial and trivialization of the crimes committed by the National Socialist régime according to paragraph 333 § of the Hungarian Criminal Code. The sentence was a fine of HUF 750,000, which would be converted to 300 days in prison. On a remembrance event on 12 January 2014, Ágoston spoke about a "holohoax, hollo-kast [Hungarian: cast of crows] and holocaust", which the audience received with elation. Ágoston added that the mispronunciations were deliberate. Complaints were filed in the case by, among others, Action and Protection Foundation and the Jewish Congregation of Debrecen.



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## THE SECOND PILLAR: EDUCATION AND TRAINING

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It is known from social-psychological research that there are so-called authoritarian personalities and attitudes, which are prone to racist and thus for example anti-Semitic sentiments, prejudice and acts. Ignorance is a breeding ground for prejudiced thinking, anti-Semitic sentiments and manifestations. Our educational program is therefore put together in a way that it contributes to dispelling misconceptions about the Jews and the Jewish community in several different ways. Our program chiefly targets students between 14 and 24 years of age.

With our **programs developed for secondary school students**, we would like to transfer new and true knowledge, and would like to touch the emotions of young people. Historical experiences and Holocaust remembrance always come up at talks and presentations about the Jewry, and we propose a new approach for processing these issues. Instead of repeating well-known facts and figures, it would be important to think over the opportunities and roles of individuals and the community in decreasing – or ad absurdum stop – anti-Semitism (or racism in

the wider sense). We should recall what the Jewish community went through during the persecution of Jews, what dangers indifference poses on individuals and the society as a whole. It is also important to provide examples of how some people did stand up for the persecuted community, demonstrating that it is indeed worth acting according to our inner, moral voice even in the middle of the worst circumstances and general apathy.

We have developed our educational programs by taking into consideration the areas of interest and receptivity of secondary school students. Our programs are informative and sensitizing and they are well suited to the 45-minute long history or ethics classes, but they could also be used at classes with the head teacher of a given class or at informal school gatherings. Members of staff of APF are in direct contact with secondary schools. We usually invite guest speakers to our programs, who work through a given topic with the students, are authentic and have relevant experience in the given area.

Our most popular program is entitled *Mindennapi zsidóság* (Ordinary Jews), and is offered by executive rabbis of the Unified Hungarian Jewish Congregation (EMIH). The presentations and talks of the program are about topics everybody is interested in and affected by: learning, work, relationships, eating, clothing. The teachings of Judaism are presented through these issues and we also talk about adhering to the everyday life rules of Judaism. Besides the topics, the presenters themselves are also interesting, especially in the sense that many young people meet rabbis in person for the first time in their lives at these talks. The audience can always ask question at these talks, and the rabbis always give straight and honest answers. The interactive part of these occasions clearly proves that despite today's material world, young people are also interested in getting to know thoroughly the world of spirituality and faith.

Our other program with similar popularity is called *Gyűlöletcselekmények Magyarországon* (Hate incidents in Hungary). After presenting and comparing a few basic concepts, like stereotypes and prejudice, we talk about the most typical hate incidents being committed in Hungary. APF explains why incidents motivated by hatred are more dangerous than "simple" ones on all levels, including that of the individual, the group and the society. We talk about how these incidents could be identified, what needs to be done upon detecting them, and how APF's legal aid could be used.

We also hold interactive sessions entitled *Érvelési technikák a gyűlöletkeltéssel, kirekesztéssel szembeni vitákban* (Argumentation techniques useful in debates about discrimination and incitement to hatred). Such sessions are held jointly with experts of a Hungarian research institute. We show tools to recognize populist reasoning and false argumentation and ways how to effectively challenge them.

Our presentation entitled *A szélsőjobb zsákutcás politikai üzenetei* (Hollow political messages of the extreme right) is a collaborative project with Csanád Szegedi, former MEP and former vice-president of Jobbik. Csanád presents the recruitment process and reasoning techniques of the extreme right, the lies and dangers behind their politics. It gives special credibility to the presentation that Csanád Szegedi shares first-hand experiences with his audience.

There are out of school opportunities as well where we can meet students and can directly talk with them about religious, cultural and historical issues.<sup>4</sup>

With regards to **educational programs at universities**, we have an important role played in the training of future law enforcement professionals. Representatives of law enforcement agencies need to know the characteristics and classification of anti-Semitic hate crimes and their possible responses. This is why the cooperation we have developed with the National University of Public Service is valuable to us. This cooperation is manifested in the preparation of supplementary educational material and methodological planning, and it creates an opportunity to think together. Similarly to our secondary school programs, our focus is on transferring knowledge and sensitization.

A course named "The background and the social consequences of hate crimes" was introduced in 2014 at the Faculty of Law Enforcement at the National University of Public Service. Students of the course get to know the statutory background of hate crimes, but the main focus of the course

<sup>4</sup> When visiting the Óbuda Synagogue, Budapest's oldest and recently renovated synagogue, young people not only get to know the building but also the operation of the community. The rabbi house in Mád is suitable for multi-day school trips and its visitors can get to know the traditional life, artefacts and cultural heritage of the once flourishing Jewish community in Tokaj-Hegyalja. The heritage site in Orlasziszka and the Mád Synagogue are also open to visitors.

is not on transferring lexical knowledge but on making students understand and sense the background and social consequences of hate crimes. It is indispensable that future law enforcement professionals know the current legislation, but it is also just as important that they see and understand human aspects when taking action. This approach permeates the thematic of the course and it has also motivated us to write an ethno-sociographic document, which provides police officers with the most important information about Judaism and the Jewish community.



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## **THE THIRD PILLAR: LEGAL ACTIVITIES**

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An important message of APF's activities is that hate crimes shall not remain without consequences. We would like to convey this to victims, offenders and the social environment in which offenses are committed.

Accordingly, we need to be aware of what legal instruments are available or should be available to counter anti-Semitic manifestations. We need to know the applicable Hungarian legislation, the international legal norms and the agreements concluded by the government. APF's thorough legal preparation is provided by a law firm whose lawyers deliver professional support, free of charge or sometimes in return of payment.

It is this cooperation that enables us to assess what options we have in particular cases for taking legal action, and we also rely on this firm during our legal and lobby activities.

The type of support we can offer to victims of infringing activities and the expertise we provide in legislation development is presented below.

### III.1. LEGAL PROTECTION AND LEGAL AID

It was mentioned before that we find out about infringing activities through citizen notifications and through the work of our monitoring team.

We operate a hotline through which anyone can let us know if they were attacked or insulted for their (presumed) Jewish origins or if they were witnesses of any anti-Semitic hate incidents, including the use of totalitarian symbols in public places, and public speech denying or relativizing the Holocaust. Besides the hotline, an incident could also be reported online through our website or via email. These notifications are evaluated by our monitoring team and the lawyers, and they decide together what legal steps or supportive action are plausible.

If an anti-Semitic incident is qualified as a hate crime, the following assistance could be provided:

- Wording of complaints, documenting charges and forwarding them to relevant authorities;
- Supporting victims with advice or preparing their statements as needed;
- Communicating with authorities;
- Legal representation of victims during procedures.

In 2015, a female employee of an international bank contacted APF and requested our help. The woman was open about her Jewishness and her sympathy with Israel (she was wearing a כּוּסֵת Chai medal and put a small Israeli flag next to her computer screen). She received numerous comments and indications that she should not be so intense in her expressions. In the end, the bank terminated the woman's employment, which made her think it was because she actively and openly expressed her Jewishness. She requested advice from APF. Following the guidance of our legal adviser, she took the case to court. The case was concluded with an out-of-court settlement and the bank paid her a compensation.



Of course, we do not only initiate legal proceedings in cases of citizen notifications. We inform investigation authorities about the incidents we identify during our monitoring process for being motivated by anti-Semitic sentiments or deny the Holocaust. As part of our legal work, we have initiated about 100 proceedings in cases of Holocaust denial, violation of the dignity of a community and other hate crimes. In 2014, as a result of our initiative, kuruc.info – a site propagating far right views – with over 70,000 followers on Facebook was deleted from the social networking site, and the owner of the kuruc.info domain name was arrested.

In 2015, similarly to experiences of previous years, the majority of legal actions, 11 out of 14, was filing complaints. In the other 3 cases, APF filed two submissions and an employment lawsuit. Half of the 14 complaints filed were for open denial of the crimes committed by the National Socialist regime, two were for violence against a member of a community and two were judicial review proceedings. APF filed one complaint for the use of totalitarian symbols and we provided legal assistance in an employment lawsuit for breach of equal treatment.

### III.2. LOBBYING AND LEGAL EXPERTISE

APF is eager to collaborate with legislators in the development of both criminal and civil law, and also of constitutional law, which provides a framework for the whole legal system. During the past few years and thanks to our research and monitoring reports, we have gained a reputation that enabled us to attend a number of professional forums and talks of state secretaries about the legal aspects of fighting anti-Semitic hate crimes.

We continuously seek the opportunities for thinking together with organizations, expert groups and political parties that play a role in developing a transparent legal environment which provides legislative guarantees for the safety of the Jewish community, and which is also in line with EU legislation.

For APF and the Jewish communities, it is important to give attention to and improve legislations ensuring the protection

of communities and minorities, the rules prescribed for incidents motivated by religious or ethnic discrimination, Holocaust denial and vandalism, as well as regulations that forbid spreading of certain Nazi and fascist oppressing ideologies.

We have participated in the amendment of the law regulating the use of totalitarian symbols and in the preparation of the fourth amendment of the Fundamental Law of Hungary. The fourth amendment declared as a basic principle that the dignity of communities qualifies as a limitation to the freedom of expression. The amendment has also created the possibility of enforcement proceedings for attacked members of a community, while the new Civil Code and the parallelly amended provisions of the Code of Civil Procedure have set up the financial, legal and procedural rules of such enforcement proceedings.

We have also taken part in the harmonization of the Hungarian Criminal Code and the European framework laws: the 28 October 2016 decision of the National Assembly amended the Criminal Code, incitement to violence was added to the conducts of incitement against a community, which made it clear that incitement to hatred and incitement to violence are two separate conducts. As judicial practice had considered incitement to hatred was incitement to violence, the clear separation and distinction between the two conducts obviously overruled previous judicial practice. We were pleased to see that the amendment APF had proposed was approved and our legal position is also reflected in the justification of the decision.

It is also important to pay attention to the application of law, because in many cases the legislative environment is given to take effective action against hate crimes, but the judicial application is usually inconsistent. APF continues to try and take advantage of its right to apply procedural law so that we can apply and we may also form the application of law enforcement practices. We believe that legal proceeding initiated by APF for Holocaust denial have contributed to the fact that law enforcement agencies, public prosecutor's offices and courts have applied law in line with both the letter and the values of law, in the spirit of zero tolerance. As a result of the firm application of law, there are fewer Holocaust denying incidents today.

A short case study below shows how APF’s monitoring, legal and educational activities are built on one other.

#### Exemplary verdict for Holocaust denying woman

On 21 November 2014, an individual submitted a Holocaust-denying comment to a Facebook post of an article entitled “The mass-murderer’s grandchild did penance in Budapest”, published on origo.hu. The article was about Rainer Höss’s – grandson of Rudolf Höss, former concentration camp commander in Auschwitz – visit to Hungary. On 21 November 2014, Facebook user Z. V. submitted the following comment to the article: “Let’s forget this holohoax, and even if it was true, what does this man have to do with his grandfather’s actions???” (literal translation). By submitting the comment, the individual committed the crime of public denial of the crimes committed by the Nazi regime, because she used the term “holohoax” and used it on a platform accessible to the broad public. On 3 December 2014, APF pressed charges for public denial of the crimes committed by the Nazi regime at the Szeged Police Department. On 10 December 2015, Ferenc Szanka, spokesman of Csongrád County Prosecutor’s Office, informed MTI that the District Court of Szeged would reach a verdict in the case in expedited procedure. According to the accusation, the comment doubted the existence of the Holocaust and referred to it as a lie. The defendant publicly claimed that the genocide committed by the Nazi regime was a lie and doubted that it had happened by her comment and the expressions used in it. On 16 April 2015, the Szeged District Court condemned the woman aged 61, from Szeged. The court held the defendant guilty for public denial of the crimes committed by the Nazi regime, and sentenced her to one-and-a-half years probation and parole supervision. As a behavioral order, the defendant also had to visit the Holocaust Memorial Center in Páva Street, Budapest. In the justification of the verdict, Judge Krisztián Nemes exposed that there was no question that the defendant was guilty as charged. However, due to the extenuating circumstances – especially the defendant’s confession and apology – he considered it unnecessary to sentence her to prison. The woman visited the Memorial Center on 29 July 2015, where a colleague of APF accompanied her. After the tour, the woman said the exhibition was a shocking experience, and that it was inconceivable to her how humanity was ever capable of such a thing. (Source: APF Annual report, 2015.)





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## SOCIAL DIALOGUE

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The above presentation of our activities shows that continuous communication and cooperation with different social groups and institutions are very important to us. Our mission can be best accomplished if we are in active dialogue with Jewish communities and mainstream society. These talks are crucial with regards to particular cases of anti-Semitism and general societal issues. In the past few years, APF has created a number of opportunities where APF's views are presented and one can also get to know the Jewish communities' and mainstream society's thoughts and needs.

Personal and direct meetings are always very fruitful, whether these are informal gatherings of members of Jewish communities or professional conferences and events<sup>5</sup>.

<sup>5</sup> With representatives of, for example, the Unified Hungarian Jewish Congregation (EMH), the Jewish Community Round Table, the Hungarian Jewish Cultural Association, the Zachor Foundation and the Tom Lantos Institute. Our international partners include the European Jewish Association (EJA), the Anti-Defamation League (ADL), the Jewish Agency for Israel, the American Jewish Committee (AJC) and Chabad organizations.

We regularly attend Hungarian and international events on anti-Semitism. In November 2017, we were organizers and hosts of a conference held in Budapest, marking the 5th anniversary of APF's activities. With the contribution of prominent Hungarian and international experts, we discussed topical issues of today's anti-Semitism in Europe and the security situation of Jewish communities. The first part of the conference focused on the nature, impacts and potential risks of mass migration to Europe. The second panel dealt with methodological questions of measuring anti-Semitism, while in the last part of the conference the responsiveness of young people towards anti-Semitism and extremism, and the spread of anti-Israeli attitudes in academic environments were discussed.<sup>6</sup>

We use social media – we post Hungarian and international news related to anti-Semitism and the security of Jewish communities twice a day. We hold press conferences and appear on different media platforms when we publish our annual and research reports. We are happy to give interviews and take the opportunity provided by the national press service: we issue statements and resolutions about our concrete topical issues. There have been numerous Jewish cultural festivals organized in Hungary recently<sup>7</sup>, which are important meeting opportunities for the Jewish community and mainstream society. At these events, APF is usually present with other Jewish organizations and such events, similarly to our social media presence, provide us great opportunities to receive direct feedback about our activities, reputation and opinions about anti-Semitism.

Our research shows that issues related to the Jewish community are not of central interest to Hungarian citizens because people are concerned by matters that directly affect them. This is why sensitization is very important and with regards to prevention, it is also crucial for us to make mainstream society understand that anti-Semitism starts with the Jews but it never ends with the Jews.

<sup>6</sup> <https://tev.hu/konferencia-2017/>

<sup>7</sup> Sólet (Cholent) kosher gastro festival, Judafeszt (JudaFest) presenting the culture and traditions of Judaism, Pozsonyi Piknik

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## APPENDICES

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### Appendix 1:

When measuring cognitive anti-Semitism, respondents indicate on a five-point scale how much they agree with the following statements:

- It is dangerous that intellectuals of Jewish origin keep media and culture under their influence
- There is a secret Jewish conspiracy that determines political and economic processes
- Jewish influence is too great in Hungary today
- It would be best if the Jews emigrated from the country
- The number of Jews in certain fields of employment should be restricted
- The crucifixion of Jesus is the unpardonable sin of the Jews
- The sufferings of the Jews were God's punishment
- The Jews are more prone to using unethical means to achieve their goals than others

Sentiments towards the Jewish population (affective anti-Semitism) were explored through three questions in 2017:

- Respondents were asked if they feel sympathy or antipathy towards the Jews
- Respondents were asked to indicate their sentiments about the Jews and other ethnic groups on a nine-point scale
- The third question also measured the antipathy towards and social distance from the Jews and other ethnic groups or minorities, the question was whether one would consent to a member of a given group (Arab, Skinhead, Migrant,

Chinese, American, Swabian, Romanian, Gypsy, Black, Homosexual) moving into their neighborhood.

SUMMARY OF THE RESEARCH PAPER  
ANTI-SEMITIC PREJUDICE  
IN TODAY'S HUNGARIAN SOCIETY, 2017

First, our research aimed to highlight how much focus is given to issues related to Jews by the Hungarian public opinion. We can conclude, based on the high ratio of not applicable answers and on the frequency of inconsistent answers that the majority of respondents cannot form a proper opinion in this topic, the issues we raised are unknown to them. They cannot relate to the questions focusing on Jews. Only one-tenth of the respondents could recall a public issue related to Jews of last year. On the other hand, it is not necessarily a small number. The majority of Hungarian society is even less aware of the situation of other ethnicities and minorities living in Hungary. Secondly, before we present the results, we have to think about what it means (and what it does not mean) to agree with an anti-Semitic statement of a questionnaire. It is certain that it “only” means an opinion or attitude and surely not a behavior or act of discrimination. Although we do not know about the weight of the opinion, even answers with extreme values don't necessarily represent the personal integrity and experience of respondents.

We learned a lot about the difference between the two categories: spontaneous anti-Semitic mentions and traditional agreement based anti-Semitism. A good part of anti-Semitic respondents, categorized by the traditional methodology, don't necessarily think of something negative when we mention Israel and the Jews, but if we call their attention to anti-Semitic or anti-Israeli statements, they are more likely to agree with or to “connect” to these. This connection can exist the other way around too: anti-Semitic thoughts can be born even by refus-



ing the anti-Semitic statements. In any case, it seems clear that anti-Semitism rather means a receptivity than a solid state of mind. In our interpretation, this variability is a natural characteristic of anti-Semitism. When we use this methodology, it is always informative to ask the same questions repeatedly for several years, so we can take a look at long-term tendencies.

These pieces of data refer to the popularity of views and misconceptions in relation to Jews (cognitive anti-Semitism) and to the emotional relationship, social distance (affective anti-Semitism). Based on this, anti-Semitism significantly increased in 2010 (according to our opinion in line with the mainstream appearance of Jobbik). Since then there was only very modest shift from that point. Between 2016 and 2017, the number of those respondents who agreed with the anti-Semitic statements increased. This increase in the cognitive dimension is partly due to the phenomenon we call “politics after the truth”. In today’s information flow, it is harder and harder to decide whether something is true or not. Conspiracy theories and misconceptions get broad publicity and it often happens that politicians intend to generate fear or disinformation on purpose. The general dislike to Jews and Israel increased, even if to small extent, over the past year not only in the cognitive but also in the emotional dimension. In general terms, we have to be very cautious to state that the level of anti-Semitism increased in Hungary, as the balance between positive and negatives mentions in the case of answers to open question remained unchanged. The increase of the popularity of Holocaust denying and relativizing statements also stopped in 2017.

The emotional anti-Semitism of the society is the manifestation of general xenophobia: those respondents who are more negative to other ethnicities are more dismissive to Jews. Of course, anti-Semitism has special features, but for the great majority of Hungarian society being a “Jew” is just another form of otherness (even symbolically) and citizens feel dislike in this respect just as they do to any other ethnicities. The re-

jection of Jews compared to other ethnicities is not so strong, we find migrants on the top of the list, even more disliked than Roma people. The appearance of migrants (and Arab, black people too who are identified with migrants) changed the perception of Jews and placed them to a different context in the questionnaire. Hungarian public opinion became more understanding to Israel; the flow of migrants rather led the dislike of many towards the Arab countries. It might seem a contradiction first that even the strongly anti-Semitic respondents were emphatic towards the Jewish state, but if we note that these are the respondents who are the most rejecting of migrants and Arabs in general, this relation is easier to understand.

One of the main questions of the research is to point out social groups and their motivation that are responsive to anti-Semitism. The answer of the analysis is that there is only marginal dependence between anti-Semitism and affinity of members of a social group. There is no relationship between the spread of anti-Semitism and type of work, settlement and religion. Those who have a university diploma, who have the highest income, women, the youngest and the eldest age groups members are less likely to be categorized as anti-Semitic but differences are very small. We can say that the voters of Jobbik and those who identify themselves as rather radical and right-wing voters than moderate and left-wing voters share anti-Semitic views in a bigger proportion, but even these factors give only partial explanation for anti-Semitism. According to the comparative analysis, euro-skepticism, law-and-order, authoritarian attitudes and the rejection of the different forms of otherness (homosexuality, drug consumption, and immigration) rather increase the probability of anti-Semitism. These questions of attitudes, together with xenophobia, are the strongest factors for explaining anti-Semitism. The remembrance of the Shoah deeply divides the Hungarian society. A little less than half of the respondents says that it should be kept on the agenda and slightly more than the other half says we should

move on. In this question, the support of statements backing up the open denial and relativizing of the Holocaust increased from 7–14% of 2006 to 8–22% in 2017. The anti-Semitism of Jobbik’s voters moderately diminished from 2014 to 2015 but it remained permanent in 2016 and 2017. The populist strategy was not really successful; the majority of respondents find this party anti-Semitic. Only few people reported some kind of improvement, and the same number of people noticed increasing anti-Semitism. At the same time, we have to add that free associations in relation to Jews showed only minor to moderate differences in cases of Jobbik and non-Jobbik voters. When respondents heard the word “Jew”, they mainly associated it with three things: religion, nation, country (descriptive, neutral mentions). Many of them thought about the Holocaust and persecution, money, influence and power. It is hard to tell whether this latter association stems from respect or jealousy which is often the motivation of anti-Semitism. At the same time, very negative, degrading mentions (greedy, eager for power, ignoring others) only came up in the case of 14% of respondents and every tenth respondent gave positive mentions too (educated, cohesive, intelligent). Although, the frequency of negative mentions increased slightly, the frequency of positive thoughts increased to similar extent, furthermore the ratio of those who insisted on the idea of similarity of characteristics of all people, regardless of their origin. The ratio was similar when we asked people about Israel; the majority of them had neutral associations. This proves again that there is only a small part of voters, which have a specific conception in mind in relation to Jews whether it is positive or negative. The balance between the positive and negative mentions did not change. In total, the overall picture did not become more negative in this dimension. This is our main argument not to panic about this tendency: the spontaneous thoughts of respondents were negative only to minor extent and they were not less favorable in relation to Israel and Jews than one year earlier.

At the same time, this year, we introduced a new question in our questionnaire that drew our attention to a negative phenomenon in relation to the overall judgment of Hungarian Jews: the link between György Soros and the Jews. For the first time in the history of this questionnaire, there were respondents who directly associated to Soros when hearing Jews and the other way around (spontaneously, without offering answer options). Although, they ratio is only 2%, there were much more respondents who indirectly linked Soros to Jews. One third-fifth of respondents associated

to money, capital, power, enrichment, influence rather in a negative than positive context. Every tenth respondent consequently mentioned similar associations to both questions at the same time. The third worrying factor is that the judgment of Soros was not independent from the anti-Semitic approach. The anti-Semitic respondents, categorized by other questions, mentioned negatives significantly more frequently and positives less frequently than non anti-Semitic respondents. One of our main learnings is that the judgment of the American-Hungarian billionaire relies on other factors too. Among all factors, the anti-Semitic attitude is far not the most important one. We suppose, due to the government's campaign, the activity of Soros is rejected by the great majority of society, not only by the anti-Semitic voters. Finally, international comparison shows that the level of anti-Semitism in Hungary is higher than in Western Europe but not remarkably different from Central-Eastern European countries. The situation of Hungarian Jews is more favorable here than in Western Europe, where they have to face physical atrocities too.

Appendix 2.  
The essential phases of writing the monitoring report

**1.**

**DATA COLLECTION**

via search software and citizen reports (data collectors)

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**2.**

**SEMANTIC ANALYSIS**

to find out whether there is anti-semitic motivation behind the incidents (data analysts)

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**3.**

**ASSESSMENT OF DATA**

to establish whether the given incident qualifies as a criminal offense. (researcher)

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**4.**

**WRITING THE REPORT**

(Researcher and Research executive)

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**5.**

**TRANSLATION, REVISION**

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**6.**

**EDITING, TYPOGRAPHY WORK, PRINTING**

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**7.**

**PUBLISHING THE REPORT**

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## CONTACT AND SUPPORT

Action and Protection Foundation is the civil initiative of a number of Jewish organizations that is ready to take resolute steps to curb increasing widespread anti-Semitic manifestations. In case anyone faces insults or anti-Semitic abuse due to a supposed or real Jewish background, do not remain silent, let us know, so that we can forward the case through the appropriate channels to the official organs required to take measures!

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

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

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

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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