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Report on Xenophobia, Radicalism and Hate Crime in Hungary in 2016

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1. Laws, regulations, and practices adopted in 2016 affecting minorities

Legislation concerning the ethnic minorities in Hungary did not change in 2016. However, it should be mentioned that since Fidesz[1] (Fidesz – Hungarian Civic Alliance, *Fidesz – Magyar Polgári Szövetség*) won more than two-third of the seats in the National Assemblyin April 2010, it has constantly been using its supermajority to adopt far-reaching legal and constitutional changes, including onesdealing with serious human rights issues.

Discriminatory practices in Hungary affect mainly the Roma, the biggest minority group living in the country[2]. However one should keep in mind that in these cases latency is very high, meaning that many of themremain unnoticed. Most Roma lag behind society in many aspects: they suffer from extreme disadvantages in education, employment, and living conditions.[3]

Decrees of local governments

In our previous report, we dealt with the profound changes to the social welfare system. The most important change was that local governments' responsibilities increasedinsetting the conditions for the distribution of social benefits and public work. This new system exposed those who are in need – including Roma people – to the mayors' decisions, even more so than ever before. In 2016, these tendencies continued and some local governments started or continued to apply discriminatory measures using local decrees.

The most blatant example was the law-and-order programme called "Order and Integrity Programme" introduced by the local government of Tiszavasvári, a town in northeastern Hungary led by the Jobbik-affiliated Mayor Erik Fülöp, who has been the deputy chairman of the party since May 2016. The programme, which targeted the local Roma population and aimed at policing and intimidating them, was based on the Érpatak-model, a village in northern Hungary led by Mayor Mihály Zoltán Orosz, who is infamous for his extremist views including anti-Roma, anti-Semitic and anti-gay sentiments and his admiration for Hitler and Hungarian Arrow Cross (Nazi) Movement leader Ferenc Szálasi. According to the co-operation agreement signed by Tiszavasvári and the paramilitary organisation of Mr Orosz, the Legion of Honour, the latter patrolled Roma majority areas. While the measures only achieved some temporary results, the appearance of the Legion destabilised the local interethnic relationship and legitimised the racist-extremist discourse on the Roma.[4] Tiszavasvári's case shows that lawandorder policies are still among the priorities of Jobbik. The deputy chairman of Jobbik János Volner announced in March 2016 that the "Order and

[1] In the course of the whole essay, the name of the party Fidesz stands for the party alliance Fidesz-KDNP. Since there is no real difference between Fidesz and KDNP (Christian Democratic People's Party, *Keresztény Demokrata Néppárt*), and the latter does not have an electoral base independent ofFidesz, there is no reason to make a distinction between Fidesz and KDNP, even though they have separate groups in the parliament officially.

[2] Their estimated number is between 550-700 thousand.

[3] FRA, UNDP (2012). *The Situation of Roma in 11 EU Member States. Survey results at a glance.* Luxembourg: Publication Office of the European Union.http://fra.europa.eu/sites/default/files/fra_uploads/2099-FRA-2012-Roma-at-a-glance_EN.pdf

[4] Hunyadi, Róna, and Kovarek, 'Jobbik's Performance and Policies on the Local Level'.

Integrity Programme" would be introduced in every Jobbik-led locality.[5] However, due to harsh reactions to the programme in Tiszavasvári, party leader Mr Vona claimed in an interview in December 2016 that the cooperation between the local government of Tiszavasvári and Mihály Zoltán Orosz would end in early 2017.[6]

In our previous report, we discussed in details the case of the so-called "Numbered Streets" neighbourhood in Miskolc, a city in northeastern Hungary with approximately 164,000 residents. In January 2015, "the Capital Public Administrative and Labour Court reaffirmed that the treatment of mainly Roma residents in the »numbered streets« of Miskolc violated the principle of non-discrimination; and insisted that the authorities must provide adequate housing for those rendered homeless by its policies." City mayor Ákos Kriza, a member of Fidesz, said that he would appeal to the supreme court of Hungary, the Curia. In February 2016, despite thecourt ruling, he declared that "the local government remains determined to continue with its plans to »eliminate slums on the city's outskirts«, which is ruling party doublespeak for evicting and expelling Roma from Miskolc."[7] Those families who remained in their houses in the neighbourhoodare harassed on a daily basis, and raid-like inspections havefrequently been conducted checking every possible aspect of their life.

In November 2016, the mayor of Mezőkeresztes, a small town in eastern Hungary, was fined by the Hungarian Equal Treatment Authority (EBH). Independent Mayor János Majoros published a letter in the July 2015 edition of the town's monthly newsletter asking the residents not to sell their properties to Roma arriving from other villages. EBH concluded that "the mayor had committed an act of persecution against the Roma people by violating the legal requirement for equal treatment. In addition to fining him HUF 100,000, the EBH required the offending article to be removed from the website, and that Majoros publish a notice on the website and in the newsletter informing the public of its decision."[8]

School segregation

Our previous report showed that in 2015, Jobbik openly proposed the segregation of Roma children in public schools. They insisted that kids with behavioural and learning disabilities should be put into special separated classes and,in extreme cases,they should be sent to boarding schools.

Although in theory (rhetorically) the Hungarian government condemned illegal school segregation, in practice in some of the cases itused legal trickery to sustain Roma segregation in schools, or sometimes the Ministryof Human Capacities faild to actwhen it would have had every right to impede the establishment of segregatedschools. Moreover, in the last days of

[5]Csurgó Dénes, 'Az érpataki Polgármester Járőrözhet Minden Jobbikos Településen [The Mayor of Érpatak Can Patrol Each Locality Governed by Jobbik]', *Index.hu*, 23 March 2016, http://index.hu/belfold/2016/03/23/az_erpataki_polgarmester_jarorozhet_minden_jobbikos_telepulsen/.

[6]'„A Jóisten átlát Minden Mondatomon" – Szembesítő Nagyinterjú Vona Gáborral ["God Sees through All My Sentences" - Confronting Interview with Gábor Vona]', *Válasz*, 3 December 2016, http://valasz.hu/itthon/a-joisten-atlat-minden-mondatomon-szembesito-nagyinterju-vona-gaborral-121519.

[7] 'Miskolc Mayor Remains Defiant on Roma Evictions Despite Latest Court Ruling', *The Budapest Beacon*, 15 February 2016, http://www.errc.org/blog/miskolc-mayor-remains-defiant-on-roma-evictions-despite-latest-court-ruling/96.

[8] 'EBH fines Mezőkeresztes mayor for publishing anti-Roma letter in town newsletter', *The Budapest Beacon*, 17November 2016,http://budapestbeacon.com/news-in-brief/ebh-fines-mezokeresztes-mayor-for-publishing-anti-roma-letter-in-town-newsletter/42062

2015, the government changed Hungary's public education law to permit segregation in specific instances, for example in the case of private schools operated by recognised churches. According to the Roma Press Office, Minister of Human Resources Zoltán Balog, who submitted the proposal to the National Assembly, stated back in 2010 that "more religious schools are needed where the majority of students are gipsies". As L. Nóra Ritók, a renowned anti-segregation educator, summed it up in an interview after the law was amended: "Segregation continues to get worse despite our best efforts because it is allowed to happen, even in schools and villages." "The change was so shocking that a large number of civilian members of a human rights roundtable established by the government left the roundtable. The resignations mean that the roundtable group, which was created at the request of the United Nations, has almost no well-known civilian members."[9]

In March 2015, Hungary's highest court, the Curia,ruled that the primary school in Gyöngyöspata[10] unlawfully segregated Roma and non-Roma children, resulting in the former receiving a lower quality education. Despite the court's ruling, reforms have not been implemented. In February, the Chance for Children Foundation (CFCF) sued the school, the local government and the central state institution responsible for managing schools (KLIK) in the name of 63 Roma students of Gyöngyöspata. They are asking HUF 500000 per student for each academic year spent in a segregated class at any time during the previous five years.[11]

Although Human Rights Watch underlined in 2015 that the EU did not do anything about Hungary's problematic laws and practices[12], in March 2016 the European Commission launched an infringement proceeding against Hungary due to Roma children's segregation in Hungarian schools.[13]

In August, just a few days before the beginning of the school year in Hungary, a case was unfolding in the Budapest suburb of Csobánka. The primary school was closed here due tothe controversial reorganisation of KLIK. "Most of the students of the school were of Roma background, a fact that incited a public backlash in neighbouring Pomáz when it was suggestedthat the children be re-enrolled in primary schools there. Petitions were circulated, and thousands of signatures gathered to prevent the children from being sent to Pomáz schools. Csobánka, a village of 3,000 inhabitants and 300 school-aged children, the petitioners argued, ought to have a school of its own. Meanwhile, KLIK wrung its hands about where the children were to continue their educations, so that two days before the semester began, many parents still had no idea where they were going to send their children. Finally, it was decided that six of the 37 children involved would be sent to Pomáz, and the rest would be taken into schools in Szentendre, 15 kilometres away. Parents learned where their children would go only two days before the school year began, and only then could they

[9] 'L. Nóra Ritók quits desegregation roundable in protest',*The Budapest Beacon*, 15 January 2016, http://budapestbeacon.com/news-in-brief/nora-ritok-resigns-from-desegregation-roundtable-in-protest/31106

[10]Gyöngyöspata is a smalltown of approximately 2,500 residents situated in the westernpart of Hungary.

[11] 'Victims of unlawful segregation in Hungary sue for damages',*The Budapest Beacon*, 11 February 2016, http://budapestbeacon.com/public-policy/victims-of-unlawful-segregation-in-hungary-sue-for-damages/32015

[12]'Hungary: Outstanding Human Rights Concerns', *Human Rights Watch,* 18 February 2015,https://www.hrw.org/news/2015/02/18/hungary-outstanding-human-rights-concerns

'Hungary: Little EU Action on Rights Concerns', *Human Rights Watch*, 18 February 2015,https://www.hrw.org/news/2015/02/18/hungary-little-eu-action-rights-concerns

[13] 'European Commission launches another infringement proceeding', *The Budapest Beacon*, 26 May 2016, http://budapestbeacon.com/civil-society/european-commission-launches-another-infringement-proceeding/34645

begin making arrangements for getting to and getting home from schools in other towns. Some children were assigned to different schools than their siblings, increasing this burden. Officially, parents are entitled to choose which schools their children attend, but parents in Csobánka have said that this is not how it worked in practice."[14]

In October 2016, the Appeals Court of Pécs ordered to close a school because of unlawful segregation. This was the first such case in Hungary.

Legislative amendments concerning asylum-seekers

In our 2015 Report, we discussed that the legislation concerning asylum-seekers changed profoundly in 2015. The government's anti-immigration rules were further tightened in 2016.

In March 2016, the Hungarian government declared a state of emergency causedby migration for the entire area of the country. According to the cabinet, this is necessary because of the unknown effect the closure of the Balkan migration route will have on migrants.[15] The state of emergency was extended in September 2016.

In April 2016, Hungary terminated the monthly cash allowance available to asylum-seekers as well as the school-enrolment benefit previously provided to child asylum-seekers. This amendment to the migration- and asylum law also made it possible that those deported to Hungary under the Dublin regulation can be detained.

"At the beginning of June 2016, they modified asylum and border legislation to allow forthe so-called »deep border control«legalisingthedetention ofrefugees apprehended within up to eight kilometres from the Serbian border, and to take them back to the transit zone between Serbia and Hungary. As a result, these people could only submit their asylum applications in the transit zones and nowhere else, which is a violation of both international and EU law because the authorities should start the procedure as soon as a person first requests it in the territory of Hungary."[16]

As the consequence of amendments to the Asylum Act approvedin June 2016,refugees and beneficiaries of a subsidiary protection status are now obliged to move out from the reception centre where they are accommodated a month after theyare grantedinternationalprotection, and will not receive any targeted support for their integration (financial benefits, housing allowance, language course, etc.). These provisions may immediately push the few who receive international protection in Hungary towards homelessness and destitution, thus fundamentally questioning the effectiveness of the status granted to them.[17]

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[14] 'Last-minute educational "reforms" cause chaos and confusion in Hungary', *The Budapest Beacon*, 3 September 2016, http://budapestbeacon.com/civil-society/last-minute-educational-reforms-cause-chaos-and-confusion-in-hungary/38521

[15] 'Breaking News: Hungary Declares State of Emergency as Migrant Crisis Turns Unpredictable', *Hungary Today*, 9 March 2016, http://hungarytoday.hu/news/breaking-news-hungary-declares-state-emergency-migrant-crisis-turns-unpredictable-96001

[16] Nóra Köves, 'Serious human right violations in the Hungarian asylum system', *Heinrich Böll Stiftung. The Green Political Foundation*, 17 May 2017, https://www.boell.de/en/2017/05/10/serious-human-rights-violations-hungarian-asylum-system

[17] Hungarian Helsinki Committee. 'Hungary: Recent legal amendments further destroy access to protection, April-June 2016', http://www.helsinki.hu/wp-content/uploads/HHC-Hungary-asylum-legal-amendments-Apr-June-2016.pdf

2.Law enforcement practicesagainst minorities in Hungary in 2016

The discriminatory practices of law enforcement bodies mainly targeted refugees and migrants as well as members of the Roma community in 2016. Even though a significant level of anti-Semitism is present in Hungarian society,[18] law enforcement bodies do not seem to be affected by this. Discriminatory law enforcement practices against members of the Jewish communitywere not observed in 2016.

Discriminatory practicesagainst asylum-seekers

The Hungarian government has consistentlybeen following a harsh anti-immigrationstance both in its policies and its rhetoric since January 2015. The government's strategy on migration and asylum-seekers can be categorised in the context of securitisation.As described in Chapter 1, anti-immigration rules were further tightened in 2016 compared to the regulations passed in 2015, and new measures were also introduced (e.g., the cessation of integration benefits in June 2016, the introduction of the 'eight-kilometre-rule', the law restricting asylum-seekers to submit their asylum application in transit zones).Besides the domestic political rationale behind these measures, which are explainedin Chapter 3 below, the Hungarian government's intentions with the legislative changes have been the same since 2015.First, to prevent asylum-seekers from entering Hungary by closing the country both physically and legally and, second, to force those who managed to enter the country and file an asylum application to leave Hungary as soon as possible either in the direction they came from (i.e. to Serbia) or towards Western Europe. The practices of law enforcement bodies in 2016fit the government's political strategy and reflected the sameapproach.

Due to the closure of Hungary's southern borders with Serbia and Croatia in 2015 and stricter migration rules, the number of registered asylum-seekers decreased by 83% from 2015 to 2016 (177,135 in 2015 and 29,432 in 2016).The largest group of asylum-seekers were Afghans (38%), followed by Syrians (17%), Pakistanis (13%) and Iraqis (12%).Similarly to previous years, most asylum procedures (91%) were also suspended in 2016,primarily because the applicant left the country for an unknown location after the registration. However, the vast majority of asylum applicantswho stayed and waited for their application's resultswere rejected: only 8.5% of the 'meaningful' decisions were positive, which is the lowest rate in the EU.[19]Single men arriving in Hungary through Serbia, which is still the most significant migration route in the Balkans, have hardly any chance to obtain asylum status,andtheir application is unlikely even toundergo a substantial evaluation. The reason is that Hungary is the only country in the EU thatconsiders Serbia to be a safe third country for asylum-seekers.

The number of asylum applications suddenly and sharply decreased after a legal amendmentcame into force on July 5, which authorised police to forcibly transfer any migrant

[18] According to the latest research, 33% held anti-Semitic views in 2016. In Hann, Endre and Róna, Dániel (2017): *Anti-Semitic Prejudice in Contemporary Hungarian Society Research Report.* Budapest: Medián, Action and Protection Foundation. p. 4–5. (http://tev.hu/wp-content/uploads/2017/05/TEV_Antisemitism-research_2016.pdf) For more see Chapter 4.

[19]Immigration and Asylum Office, 'Annual Statistics 2015-2016', 26 January 2017, http://www.bmbah.hu/images/statisztikak/170126%20OIN%20Annual%20Statistics%202016.xls.

caught within 8 kilometres of the border fence to the Serbian side of it. Between July 5 and the end of the year, police moved migrants back to Serbia from within the 8-kilometre range of the fence in 8,466 cases and blocked migrants from crossing the border ina further 10,591 cases.Thus, police denied migrants their right to submit an asylum application in 19,057 cases altogether between July and December 2016.[20]

Asylum-seekers coming to Hungary through Serbia, which is still the most significant migration route in the Balkans, areallowed to enter the country and submit their asylum application only at two locations, in the transit zones in Röszke and Tompa. Moreover, admission to the transit zones takes an unpredictable amount of time and happens in a non-transparent, arbitrary manner. Since the transit zones were established in September 2015, the number of daily admissions hasbeen dropped gradually by the asylum authority. Initially capped at 100 people a day in each zone, the number was subsequently decreased to 50, 30, 20 and, finally, to 10 in November 2016. Thus, an ever-growing number of migrants gatheredoutside the transit zones at the other side of the fence, albeit partially stillon Hungarian territory. In these "pre-transit areas" people waited to be admitted to the transit zones to file their asylum application. Even though these areas are partly located on Hungarian territory, Hungarian authorities provided hardly any aid to meet the basic human needs of asylum-seekers or to ensure that their human rights are respected. According to the Hungarian Helsinki Committee's report in April, the lack of food, the absence of shelter and sanitary facilities, and overall inhumane conditions characterised the situation of the hundreds of people who waited at the fence to be admitted to the transit zones.[21]Migrants lived in makeshift tents made of blankets provided by the UNHCR. Since the winter of 2016, Serbian authorities have provided shelter for those waiting,and asylum-seekers only travel to the pre-transit area when they can enter the transit zone.[22]

[20] The number of cases is not identical to the number of persons pushed back at the border. Migrants blocked from entering the country are not registered and might try to cross the border several times. Hungarian Helsinki Committee, 'A Menekültvédelem Jövője Magyarországon [The Future of Refugee Protection in Hungary]', March 2017, http://www.helsinki.hu/wp-content/uploads/A_menekultvedelem_jovoje_Magyarorszagon_Web_black.pdf.

[21]Hungarian Helsinki Committee, 'Destitute, but Waiting - Report on the Visit to the Tompa and Röszke "Pre-Transit Zone" Area on the Serbian-Hungarian Border', 22 April 2016, http://www.helsinki.hu/wp-content/uploads/HHC_R%C3%B6szke_Tompa_pre_transit_zone_22April2016.pdf.

[22]Hungarian Helsinki Committee, 'Under Destruction: Dismantling Refugee Protection in Hungary in 2016', accessed 10 June 2017, http://www.helsinki.hu/wp-content/uploads/Under-destruction_2016.pdf.

1. Image of Makeshift tents in the pre-transit zone near Röszke. (Source: Are you Syrious?, photo by Natali Ja)[23]



Not only pre-transit zones were characterised by poor conditions in 2016 but reception centres as well. Following the trend started in 2015, when the asylum authorityclosed the largest reception centre in the country in Debrecen[24], further asylum centres were closed in 2016. In spring, the reception centre at Nagyfa[25] and then,in December,the centre in Bicske[26]wereclosed as well. The latter facility was the best-equipped reception centre in Hungary, and due to its proximity to Budapest, it provided more opportunities for asylum-seekers and refugees to start their integration process. In parallel, a temporary container camp in Kiskunhalas[27] and a tent camp in Körmend[28]were opened. Both facilities offerpoorer accommodation and fewer opportunities for integration. Despite the fact that the tent camp in Körmend proved to be inadequate during the winter of 2016, the asylum authority rejected requests to move asylum-seekers from these inhuman conditions to other facilities with free capacity.[29]

In November 2016, the European Committee for the Prevention of Torture and Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment (CPT) published its report on its visit to Hungary from October 21 to October 27,2015. While CPT found that the detained asylum-seekers were treated correctly, the report also mentions some specific and characteristic problems. They received a considerable number of claims about physical ill-treatment, verbal abuse and disrespectful behaviour by police officers and/or armed guards. CPT's delegation also received complaints "about delays in the enjoyment of the right of notification of custody to a third person, about a lack of information on the right of access to a lawyer, the inability to consult a lawyer before being questioned by the police or before a court hearing or about a

[23]Are you Syrious?, 'AYS Daily Digest 13.08 — Worrying Reports of Sexual Violence in Greek Refugee Camps', *Medium*, 14 August 2016, https://medium.com/@AreYouSyrious/ays-daily-digest-14-08-worrying-reports-of-sexual-violence-in-greek-refugee-camps-719ee86ca9cf.

[24] Debrecen is the second largest city in Hungary after Budapest situated in the eastern part of Hungary. It is also the chief town of Hajdú-Bihar county.

[25]This reception centre operates in Algyő. Algyő is a large village of approximately 5,400 residents situated in the south-eastern part of Hungary.

[26]Bicske is a town of approximately 11,600 residents and it is around 35 km west of Budapest.

[27]Kiskunhalasis a city of approximately 29,000 residents situated in the southern part of Hungary.

[28]Körmendis a town of approximately 12,400 residents situated in the western part of Hungary, 15 km from the Austrian border.

[29]Hungarian Helsinki Committee, 'Under Destruction: Dismantling Refugee Protection in Hungary in 2016'.

lack of information on the right of access to a doctor. Moreover, many foreign nationals complained about the quality of interpretation services and in particular that they were made to sign documents which they did not understand." Asylum-seekers perceived the "lack of information on their legal situation, on the future steps in their respective proceedings and the length of their detention" as a major problem. Furthermore, the report expressed doubts "whether border asylum procedures are in practice accompanied by appropriate safeguards, whether they provide a real opportunity for foreign nationals to present their case and whether they involve an individual assessment of the risk of ill-treatment in the case of removal."[30]

Similarly to previous experiences, asylum-seekers were frequently detained in 2016 too. Even though the option to detain asylum-seekers should only be used as a "last resort" in thecase of a threat to national security or if the identity of the asylum-seeker cannot be established, or in case there is a risk that the asylum-seeker would leave Hungary before their application is processed. Hungarian authorities, almost uniquely in the EU, tend to detaina high ratio of asylum-seekers. According to the Hungarian Helsinki Committee, asylum-seekers in detention frequently and vastly outnumbered those in an open facility in 2016.[31] In summer 2016, the European Court of Human Rights ruled that the detention of an LGBT asylum-seeker by Hungarian authorities in 2014 violated the European Convention on Human Rights because the detention was arbitrary and unjustified. Furthermore, the court found that Hungarian authorities had failed to make an individualised assessment or take into accountthe applicant's vulnerability within the detention facility because of his sexual orientation.[32]

Since the beginning of spring 2016, there have been an increasing number of reports about serious abuses and ill-treatment committed by uniformed individuals against asylum-seekers who tried to cross the border irregularly. The Hungarian Helsinki Committee, Human Rights Watch (HRW), UNHCR, Médecins Sans Frontières (MSF)and Amnesty International received reports and documented hundreds of individual cases of violenceagainst migrants onand in the proximity of the Hungarian-Serbian border in 2016. A common feature of these reports is the claim that the perpetrators wore uniforms matching those of the Hungarian police and military. In HRW's reports,the uniforms of local paramilitary units,the so-called 'field guards', were also mentioned.[33]The most tragic and best-known case was that of a 22-year-old Syrian man who drowned in the river Tisza because he was pushed back into the river by the police after he had attempted to cross into Hungary from Serbia on June 1 together with a bigger group of refugees. In its press release related to the tragic incident, UNHCR reported that the organisation's staff and partners "collected information on over 100 cases with disturbing allegations of excessive use of force as people try to cross the border." UNHCR condemned the fact that Hungary's restrictive asylum policy forced "desperate people into the hands of smugglers and towards alternative, irregular and often dangerous

[30]Committee for the Prevention of Torture and Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment, 'Executive Summary to the Report to the Hungarian Government on the Visit to Hungary Carried out by the European Committee for the Prevention of Torture and Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment (CPT) from 21 to 27 October 2015', 3 November 2016, https://rm.coe.int/16806b5d21.

[31]Hungarian Helsinki Committee, 'Under Destruction: Dismantling Refugee Protection in Hungary in 2016'.

[32]The AIRE Centre, 'Court Confirms Sexual Orientation Is a Vulnerability for Asylum Seekers in Detention', 5 July 2016, http://www.airecentre.org/news.php/233/court-confirms-sexual-orientation-is-a-vulnerability-for-asylum-seekers-in-detention.

[33]Human Rights Watch, 'Hungary: Failing to Protect Vulnerable Refugees', 20 September 2016, https://www.hrw.org/news/2016/09/20/hungary-failing-protect-vulnerable-refugees.

routes."[34]Amnesty International published its report based on 143 interviews in September 2016, claiming that the Hungarian authorities use violence against refugees, unlawful refoulement and detention are commonplace, and asylum-seekers have to wait for the conclusion of the process in degrading and unlawful conditions.[35]The Hungarian Helsinki Committee received almost 500 written complaints about violence against migrants between May and December 2016.[36] The organisation collected the testimonies of unaccompanied minors as well, who reported that the Hungarian police hit and kicked them, and used gas spray against them.[37]In May, HRW published reports on refugees and migrants who claimed to have been "brutally beaten and abused by officials" who used spray and"set dogs on them, kicked and beat them with batons and fists, put plastic handcuffs on them and forced them through small openings in the razor wire fence."[38]MSF reported that its doctors in Serbia treated refugees and migrants with injuries caused by Hungarian authorities on a daily basis. In September, a Frontex spokesperson described the events in an article in the French newspaper Libération as "well-documented abuses on the Hungary-Serbia border."[39]Even though Hungarian authorities rejected the accusations and promised investigations, these have not been launched ever since.

Besides fast-track procedures introduced for asylum applications,concluding mostly in a rejection without any substantial examination, and the disproportionate number of asylum detention orders, the Hungarian judiciary ruled against asylum-seekers in two significant cases in 2016. In July, a courtof first instance sentenced ten individuals to imprisonmentand expelled nine persons from Hungary, all accused of participating in a riot at Röszkeafter the closure of the border in September 2015.According to the Hungarian Helsinki Committee, the process was unconstitutional and absurd for many reasons (e.g., irregularities, breaches of various national and international regulations, lack of actual criminal offences committed by those accused, etc.).[40]In another instance, a Syrian-Cypriot migrant was jailed for ten years in November for taking part in the Röszke riot and hurling rocks at police in an attempt to force the border open. The actions were deemed an "act of terror" under Hungarian law.[41]

[34]UNHCR, 'UNHCR Alarmed at Refugee Death on Hungary-Serbia Border', 6 June 2016, https://data2.unhcr.org/en/news/12901.

[35]Amnesty International, 'Stranded Hope: Hungary's Sustained Attack on the Rights of Refugees and Migrants', 27 September 2016, https://www.amnesty.org/download/Documents/EUR2748642016ENGLISH.PDF.

[36]Hungarian Helsinki Committee, 'A Menekültvédelem Jövője Magyarországon [The Future of Refugee Protection in Hungary]'.

[37]Hungarian Helsinki Committee, 'Hungary: Access Denied', 14 July 2016, http://www.helsinki.hu/wp-content/uploads/HHC-info-update-push-backs-brutality-14-July-2016.pdf.

[38]Human Rights Watch, 'Hungary: Migrants Abused at the Border', 13 July 2016, https://www.hrw.org/news/2016/07/13/hungary-migrants-abused-border.

[39]Cédric Vallet, 'A La Frontière Serbe, Frontex S'embourbe Dans La Galère Hongroise', *Libération.fr*, 18 September 2016, http://www.liberation.fr/planete/2016/09/18/a-la-frontiere-serbe-frontex-s-embourbe-dans-la-galere-hongroise_1501920.

[40]Kata Janecskó, 'Börtönre ítélték és Kiutasították a Röszkei Zavargás Résztvevőit [Participants of the Röszke Riot Sentenced to Prison and Expelled]', *Index.hu*, 1 July 2016, http://index.hu/belfold/2016/07/01/roszkei_osszecsapas_migransok_tomegzavargas_per_itelet/; Bence Horváth, 'A Helsinki Bizottság összeszedte a Röszkei Zavargásos ítélet 13 Legabszurdabb Részletét [Helsinki Committee Collected the 13 Most Absurd Details of the Judgement in the Case of the Röszke Riot]', *444.hu*, 1 July 2016, http://444.hu/2016/07/01/a-helsinki-bizottsag-osszeszedte-a-roszkei-zavargasos-itelet-13-legabszurdabb-reszletet.

[41]Marton Dunai, 'Hungary Sentences Syrian Migrant to 10 Years in Jail for Border Riot', *Reuters*, 30 November 2016, http://www.reuters.com/article/us-europe-migrants-hungary-idUSKBN13P1MP.

However, in other cases that involved criminal offences against asylum-seekers courts were not as determined anymore and copied their practice in other cases in which the victims belonged to a minority group: evaluated the facts as less serious than they really were, failed to identify and examine the possible racist motive and classified the acts as minor offences instead of hate crimes.A camerawoman of a television channel close to the far-right party Jobbik was sentenced only to probation at first instance in January 2017 for kicking a refugee girl. According to the court, nothing indicated that she was motivated by the victim's ethnic origin or migrant status.[42]In a case in which right-wing extremists seriously beat an asylum-seeker while verbally assaulting him because of the colour of his skin, police initially started investigating charges of vandalism and changed its legal classification only after having receivedcomplaints fromthe victim's legal representative. Since the court acknowledged the racist motive only partially, the perpetrators received alightersentence at first instance in May 2016.[43]

In 2013, an asylum seeker from Ivory Coast, a resident of the reception centre of Bicske left the town to travel to Budapest. On his way to the railway station he was stopped by two Hungarian youngsters, who first shouted "black man, go back to Africa, this is Hungary" at him, and when the asylum-seeker tried to escape they chased him down and beat him up, leaving the victim unconscious. Although both perpetrators were both previously convictedfor using theswastika symbol publically, their clothing and hairstyle showed the characteristics of skinheads and one of them was proud to declare his National Socialist viewsin his statement to the court, in May 2016 the Court of Bicske failed to classify this case as a hate crime.[44]

Discriminatory practices againstthe Roma

The main target of discriminatory law enforcement practices in Hungary are traditionally the members of the Roma community, which is the biggest minority group living in Hungary.[45] While practices against asylum-seekers received major attention from both national and international watchdog and aid organisations in 2015 and 2016, the latency is very high with regard to practices against the Roma. The Roma constitute the most vulnerable group in Hungary, prone to discriminatory practices in housing, education, employment and law enforcement processes. The foundation of their disadvantageous status is mainly related to the fact that they tend to belong to the poorest and less educated segment of the Hungarian society and in many localities, they live separately from the majority, in a parallel society both physically and metaphorically.

[42]Péter Erdélyi, 'Lehet, Hogy László Petra Mégiscsak Azért Rúgott, Mert Nem Szereti a Menekülteket (Petra László Might Have Kicked Because She Doesn't like Refugees]', *444*, 16 January 2017, http://444.hu/2017/01/16/lehet-hogy-laszlo-petra-megiscsak-azert-rugott-mert-nem-szereti-a-menekulteket.

[43]'Elillant a Gyűlölet, Amikor Eszméletlenre Verték [Hate Disappeared after the Victim Had Been Beaten into Oblivion]', *Helsinki Figyelő*, 25 May 2016, http://helsinkifigyelo.blog.hu/2016/05/25/elillant_a_gyulolet_amikor_eszmeletlenre_vertek.

[44] Enyhe ítélet a bicskei sínekre dobott, elefáncsontparti áldozat ügyében [Light sentence in the case of the victim from Ivory Coast thrown on the tracks in Bicske] http://www.helsinki.hu/enyhe-itelet-a-bicskei-sinekre-dobott-elefantcsontparti-aldozat-ugyeben/

[45] Their estimated number is between 550-700 thousand.

The most typical form of discrimination against the Roma by law enforcement bodies is the ethnic profiling practice of police officers. According to the experience and reports of Hungarian human rights and advocacy organisations such as the Hungarian Helsinki Committee (HHC), the Hungarian Civil Liberties Union (HCLU) andthe Roma Press Centre (RSK), police tend to issue disproportionally high finesto members of vulnerable groups, especially the Roma, for minor offences with a low level of risk posed to society.According to reports, the authorities use the fining regime for minor offences as a tool to keep the Roma living in segregated areas in check. Reports include cases when police officers wait for their victims at the edge of the Roma settlement to issue a fine for whatever minor deviation from rules they observe. There are testimonies of people being fined for not walking on the pavement, crossing the street without a zebra crossing or a missing bicycle equipment.[46] A group of rights advocacy organisations established a working group in December 2015 to advocate for changesto the minor offence regime.[47]

Another typical discriminatory practice of both the police and the courts is that verbal or physical offences against members of the Roma community (and also against other minority communities such as Jews and LGBT people) are not classified as hate crimes, and the racist or ideological motives of the offences are not examined. In a case in which a group of men wearing ski masks and armed with baseball bats, knivesand gas spray seriously assaulted a small group of Romani public workers in 2014, the police did not investigate the racist motive. Also, the regional court in its first instance ruling in May 2016rejected the racist motive and declared that the reason was a personal conflict between one of the victims and the perpetrators despite the fact that the perpetrators attacked the victims by shouting "Filthy gipsies, you'll die!".[48]Similarly, in the case of the serial murderstargeting the Roma community in 2008 and 2009, in its ruling, Hungary's highest judicial authority, the Curia,did not stress the racist motive in its verbal statement. The terms 'Roma', 'anti-gypsy' or 'racist' were not even mentioned.[49]In another case, the police initially classified an offence as a public insult and thus launched penal proceedings against the perpetrator. Based on the complaint of the victim, the police were later ordered to launch a new investigation into charges of inciting hatred against a member of a community.[50]The classification was reversed in the case of Gyöngyöspata, a town in north-eastern Hungary in 2011. "Vigilante groups descended onto the village for two months in 2011. Rather than intervening to protect the villagers, the police started imposing fines on Roma for minor offences, following an

[46]Krisztián Magyar, 'Ha a Járdán Sétálsz, Az a Baj - Tengernyi Bírság és Börtön Szabálysértésért [If You Walk on the Walkway That's a Problem - Massive Fines and Jail Sentence for Minor Offences]', *Magyar Narancs*, 7 July 2016, http://magyarnarancs.hu/kismagyarorszag/ha-a-jardan-setalsz-az-a-baj-100003.

[47]Hungarian Civil Liberties Union, 'Közös Fellépéssel a Szabálysértési Rendszer Megváltoztatásáért [Joint Initiative to Change the Minor Offence Regime]', Tasz.hu, accessed 11 June 2017, https://tasz.hu/romaprogram/kozos-fellepessel-szabalysertesi-rendszer-megvaltoztatasaert-0.

[48]Péter Erdélyi, 'Símaszkban Verték össze a Közmunkásokat, Rendőr Adott Tippeket Hozzá [Public Workers Beaten up by Some Wearing Ski Masks with a Police Officer Giving Recommendations How to Do It]', *444.hu*, 26 January 2017, http://tldr.444.hu/2017/01/26/simaszkban-vertek-ossze-a-kozmunkasokat-rendor-adott-tippeket-hozza.

[49]'The Sentencing of the Defendants in the Attacks against Roma Victims Is Binding', *Tasz.hu*, 24 February 2016, https://tasz.hu/en/romaprogram/sentencing-defendants-attacks-against-roma-victims-binding.

[50]'Jobb Később Mint Soha: Négy év Után ítélet (Better Later than Never: Judgement after Four Years]', *Tasz.hu*, október 2016, https://tasz.hu/romaprogram/jobb-keson-mint-soha-negy-ev-utan-itelet.

apparently deliberate practice of singling Roma out for this treatment."[51] Although in September 2015, the Eger Regional Court found that the police engaged in direct discrimination against the local Roma population in Gyöngyöspata, in April 2016 the Debrecen Regional Court reversed the judgement of the first-instance court for lack of evidence. At the same time, in April 2016 the European Court of Human Rights decided in its ruling that Hungarian authorities failed to adequately investigate racist motives of threats and insults made during anti-Roma marches in Gyöngyöspata.[52]

According to a study, in most of the cases, the Hungarian authorities avoid applying the legal characterisation of hate crime or even apply the clause against the Roma. For instance, in one of thecounties with a high ratio of Roma citizens, Roma perpetrators were more often convicted of inciting hatred against a member of a community (against the community of Hungarians) than perpetrators belonging to the majority group between 2009 and 2013.[53]An example of this phenomenon is the criminal conviction of Roma perpetrators who attacked two persons who a few days earlier had organised a far-right march through the Roma-majority part of the town. The court sentencedall perpetrators to imprisonment for committing a hate crime against members of the community of Hungarians and a far-right organisation called Hungarian National Guard.[54]

A significant case of discrimination against the Roma at the court and in the education system occurred in 2016. A Roma mother decided to take her child out of a completely segregated school and bring the child to another, integrated school in which Roma and non-Roma learn together and where the level of education quality is higher. However, the authorities including the competent court and later the Curia and the Constitutional Court all rejected the mother's complaint because the law was not breached. According to the courts, the rights of the child were not restricted by attending a segregated school.[55]

Institutionalised, comprehensive discrimination against the Roma at the local level occurred in two major cases in Hungary in 2016. The local government of Tiszavasvári, a town in north-eastern Hungary led by a mayor of thefar-right Jobbik party signed a co-operation agreement with the mayorof the small town Érpatak, who is infamous for his extremist views including anti-Roma, anti-Semitic and anti-gay sentiments.[56] The agreement aimed at introducing the clearly discriminatory law-and-order policy model of Érpatak in Tiszavasvári to "facilitate the integration of Roma people into society". An important element

[51] 'Ethnic Profiling in Gyöngyöspata.'https://www.opensocietyfoundations.org/litigation/ethnic-profiling-gy-ngy-spata

[52]'Strasbourg Elmarasztalta Magyarországot Egy Rasszista Bűncselekmény Kapcsán (Hungary Convicted by Strasbourg for Racist Crime]', *Tasz.hu*, április 2016, https://tasz.hu/romaprogram/strasbourg-elmarasztalta-magyarorszagot-egy-rasszista-buncselekmeny-kapcsan.

[53]Erdélyi, 'Símaszkban Verték össze a Közmunkásokat, Rendőr Adott Tippeket Hozzá [Public Workers Beaten up by Some Wearing Ski Masks with a Police Officer Giving Recommendations How to Do It]'.

[54]Eszter Jovánovics, 'Az ítélőtábla Szerint a Gárdát Utálni Rasszizmus [Hating the Guard Is Racism, according to the Court]', *A TASZ Jelenti*, 9 June 2017, http://ataszjelenti.blog.hu/2017/06/09/az_itelotabla_szerint_a_gardat_utalni_rasszizmus.

[55]'Nem Vihette El Gyerekét a Szegregált Iskolából [She Was Not Allowed to Take out Her Child from the Segregated School]', *NÉPSZAVA Online*, 15 July 2016, http://nepszava.hu/cikk/1100007-nem-vihette-el-gyereket-a-szegregalt-iskolabol.

[56]'„Rend és Tisztesség" Tiszavasváriban – Terjed Az érpataki Modell ["Order and Integrity" in Tiszavasvári - the Model of Érpatak Is Spreading]', *Tasz.hu*, március 2016, https://tasz.hu/romaprogram/rend-es-tisztesseg-tiszavasvariban-terjed-az-erpataki-modell.

of the model isthe continuous harassment and intimidation of Roma citizens by the strictest actions of the authorities for every alleged deviation from the rules. According to the co-operation agreement, the "civil society organisation" of Érpatak's Mayor Mihály Zoltán Orosz, the Legion of Honour undertook law enforcement duties in Tiszavasvári, helped to make the child protection system more efficient, and undertook duties related to drug prevention and propagating a healthy lifestyle.[57]The other case is that of Miskolc, a city of approximately 158,000 residents in north-eastern Hungary, whose local government has been applying discriminatory practices against the poor, mainly Roma citizens. Inhabitants of the Roma settlement called "Numbered Streets" have been subject to continuous razzias and forced evictions without being offered alternative housing options.[58]

[57]Bulcsú Hunyadi, Dániel Róna, and Dániel Kovarek, 'Jobbik's Performance and Policies on the Local Level' 2016.

[58]'Antidiszkriminációs per Indul Miskolc Vezetése Ellen [Antidiscrimination Process to Be Started against the Local Government of Miskolc]', *Tasz.hu*, 27 April 2016, https://tasz.hu/romaprogram/antidiszkriminacios-indul-miskolc-vezetese-ellen.

3. The government's rhetoric regarding asylum-seekers and minorities

The government's rhetoric concerning asylum-seekers

The government's rhetoric regarding asylum-seekers in 2016 followed the samepattern as in 2015.Prime Minister Viktor Orbán launched a harsh and massive anti-immigration campaignin January 2015, right after the attack on the French magazine Charlie Hebdo. Since then, migration has become the central topic for the Hungarian government that has been doing its best to keep the issue on the top of the political agenda and insert any other topic immediately in the framework of migration.

The government's rhetoric is completely in line with the policy measures described in Chapter 1 and 2 and is based on two fundamental elements. First, the government uses the issue of migration to deliberately polarise society along symbolic lines. Creating polarisation has been a key element of the governing Fidesz party's political strategy for a long time. The main principle of this strategy is that Fidesz divides the political field into "national" and "anti-national" camps, and contextualises every political topic according to this division. Should an opponent contest Fidesz's viewpoint, the critic is almost automatically put into the "anti-national" camp regardless of their arguments. According to Fidesz's narrative, onlythey represent Hungarian national interests. The second fundament of the government's rhetoric besides polarisation is the tactic of securitisation. The topic of migration is framed in the context of security, and thus refugees and migrants are portrayed as a security risk for individual citizens, the Hungarian state and nation, European culture, Christian religion and the western socio-political order. Due to the combination of the polarisation and securitisation approach, refugees constitute the symbolic enemy that poses a threat to the nation, against whom the "national interests"must bedefended.

The reason for the government's harsh anti-immigration stance is political: by presenting a symbolic enemy and creating polarisation Fidesz's voters can be held in a constant state of "emergency", which unites and mobilises this particular group of the electorate. In such a political climate, every question becomes a matter of loyalty and a choice between the good and the bad.Via this strategy the government has been able to divert the public's attention from bad governance and corruption scandals todirect anti-establishment sentiments against external actors (e.g., EU). Furthermore, by excluding opponents from the national community, the government can discredit critical actors and prepare the ground to eliminate these voices. However, the key rationale behind this strategy is to restructure the political landscape, dominatethepublic discourse and overwrite the traditional left-right division by creating a new dichotomy ("national" vs. "anti-national").

In order to keep up with the strategy, the government's main aim in 2016 was to keep the topic of migration on the top of the political agenda. Since the actual number of refugees and migrants coming to Hungary sharply decreased after the physical and legal closure of the southern border by the end of 2015,a new symbolic tool, an engine behind the campaignwas needed in the absence of actual refugees in 2016. The new communication frameworkwas the referendum on the EU's relocation quota plan that was announced in February and held in October 2016. The referendum, which in the government's rhetoric was about "the forced settlementof illegal immigrants to Hungaryupon the dictates of Brussels", provided the

government with the opportunity to prolong the topic of migration for almost an entire year (including the efforts to amend the constitution afterthe referendum to prohibit the relocation of asylum-seekers), and to name the EU as the main scapegoat.

The government launched three waves of campaigns ahead of the referendum, evenly distributed over the course of the year. The campaigns, which aimed at theincreasing fear of refugees and migrants, consisted of billboards, posters, television and radio spots and ads in newspapers and on online platforms. The first wave of the campaign was launched in May and featured the slogan "Let's send a message to Brussels so they can understandit too!".

2. Image Billboard fromthe first wave of the referendum campaign with the slogan: "Let's send a message to Brussels so they can understand it too!". The logo reads "Referendum 2016 against forced settlement". *Source: Facebook*[59]



The second wave, which started in July, ran under the slogan "Did you know?" and consisted of messages focusing on the alleged security threats posed by refugees. Some examples of the headlines:

- Did you know?More than 300 have died in terrorist attacks in Europe since the beginning of the immigration crisis.
- Did you know?The Paris terror attacks were carried out by immigrants.
- Did you know?Nearly one million immigrants want to come to Europe from Libya alone.
- Did you know?Since the beginning of the immigration crisis,the number of cases ofharassment againstwomen has risen sharply in Europe.
- Did you know? Brussels wants to settle a city's worth of illegal immigrants in Hungary.

[59]Government of Hungary, 'Let's Send a Message to Brussels so They Can Understand Too!', *Facebook*, 13 May 2016, https://www.facebook.com/kormanyzat/photos/a.134933189912743.29836.120370174702378/1072644489474937/?type=3.

3. Image Billboard fromthe second wave of the referendum campaign with the slogan: "Did you know? More than 300 have died in terrorist attacks in Europe since the beginning of the immigration crisis." *Source: Facebook*[60]



The third wave was launched in September and aimed at emphasising the national character of the referendum. The slogan reads „Don't put Hungary's future at risk! Let's vote No on 2 October!".

4. Image Billboard fromthe third wave of the referendum campaign with the slogan: "Don't put Hungary's future at risk! Let's vote no on 2 October!"*Source: Facebook*[61]



In September, a booklet with misleading information and distorted facts was sent to each household. For instance, the booklet referred to non-existent "no-go" areas throughout Europe with massive migrant populations in London, Berlin or Paris, where local bodies hadlost their authority and where law and order are absent. The booklet featured texts, images and data that were designed to incite fear and hatred of refugees and migrants by portraying them as a

[60]Government of Hungary, 'Did You Know?', 18 July 2016, https://www.facebook.com/kormanyzat/photos/a.134933189912743.29836.120370174702378/1118563054883080/?type=3.
[61]Government of Hungary, 'Don't Put Hungary's Future at Risk!', *Facebook*, 31 August 2016, https://www.facebook.com/kormanyzat/photos/a.134933189912743.29836.120370174702378/1158184807587571/?type=3.

dangerous group that poses security, cultural, social and economic threats to Hungary and Europe.

5. Image Images fromthe booklet sent to every household ahead of the referendum. ***Source: The Budapest Beacon***[62]



The campaigns featured all major characteristics of the Hungarian government's anti-refugee rhetoric that has been prevalentsince the beginning of 2015. In general, the rhetorical toolkit of the government includes every element of right-wing populist, xenophobic and anti-establishment narratives and resembles the rhetoric of far-right parties elsewhere in Europe. The key element of the toolkit is the incitement of fears and hatred of refugees and migrants. Among the various types of fears, the government mainly focuses on concerns about both personal and national security. Within the framework of the securitisation approach, government and Fidesz party officials have linked migration to terrorism and crime (e.g., offences against women).According to PM Orbán, "every single migrant poses a public security and terror risk."[63] After every single terrorist attack committed in Europe, government politicians were often heardemphasising that the perpetrators were immigrants.

Furthermore, Fidesz portrays migration as part of a global power struggle, a war between 'Europeans' and 'migrants'. According to László Kövér, speaker of the Parliament, for instance, by defendingtheir culture on their territory given to them by God, Hungarians also defend European culture and civilisation.[64]Interlinked with the security aspect, the government also increases the cultural fear of migrants. That's why government officials talk about the 'migration of nations'. The term generates the impression of a war between cultures and civilisationsand evokes images depictinganassociation of barbaric hordes wanting to conquer others' lands.

[62]'"We Must Stop Brussels!" Referendum Booklet Warns Hungarians', *The Budapest Beacon*, 7 September 2016, http://budapestbeacon.com/featured-articles/we-must-stop-brussels-referendum-booklet-warns-hungarians/38777.

[63]'Hungarian Prime Minister Says Migrants Are "Poison" and "Not Needed"', *The Guardian*, 27 July 2016, sec. World news, https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/jul/26/hungarian-prime-minister-viktor-orban-praises-donald-trump.

[64]'Kövér: „Rabok Legyünk Vagy Szabadok, Muszlimok Vagy Keresztények?" [Kövér: "Shall We Be Slaves or Men Set Free, Muslims or Christians?"]', *Mandiner.hu*, 8 July 2016, http://mandiner.hu/cikk/20160708_kover_rabok_legyunk_vagy_szabadok_muszlimok_vagy_keresztenyek.

Religious confrontation also appears in the government's vision: Fidesz portrays migration as a struggle between Christian Europe and Muslim intruders. According to PM Orbán, Brussels' migration policy leads to the catastrophe of a civilisation, and we will not be able to recognise Europe anymore due to the steadily increasing Muslim population.[65]

To dehumanise asylum-seekers and to quiet down the feeling of solidarity, government officials carefully choose their words: they never ever use the term 'refugees', they talk insteadabout 'illegal immigrants' or 'illegal migrants'. The term 'migrant' (migráns) itself is a result of the government's rhetoric campaigns. Before 2015, the definition was unknown to the public; it was only used by migration experts. Since 2015, it has become 'the' word that people use when talking about asylum-seekers, of course with a negative connotation.

Anti-establishment and Eurosceptic elements and conspiracy theories also appear in the rhetorical toolkit of Fidesz. The government has been blaming the EU for being too weak on migration and forcing a policy based on inclusion and acceptanceof member states. According to government officials, migration to the EU is supported, financed and organised by some background actors, especially George Soros.According to Minister for Prime Minister's Office János Lázár, George Soros stands in the middle of "certain American circles that support migration."[66]To exploit anti-establishment sentiments, PM Orbán tends to blame the EU and speak about the cowardice of European leaders who donot dare to speak the truth. His speech on the national holiday on March 15 included every key element of Fidesz's right-wing populist narrative concerning refugees and migrants:

"Europe is not free because freedom begins with speaking the truth. In Europe today it is forbidden to speak the truth. (...) It is forbidden to say that today we are not witnessing the arrival of refugees, but a Europe being threatened by mass migration. (...) It is forbidden to say that immigration brings crime and terrorism to our countries. It is forbidden to say that the masses of people coming from different civilisations pose a threat to our way of life, our culture, our customs, and our Christian traditions. It is forbidden to say that, instead of integrating, those who arrived here earlier have built a world of their own, with their own laws and ideals, which is forcing apart the thousand-year-old structure of Europe. It is forbidden to say that this is not accidental and not a chain of unintentional consequences, but a planned, orchestrated campaign, a mass of people directed towards us. It is forbidden to say that in Brussels they are constructing schemes to transport foreigners here as quickly as possible and to settle them here among us. It is forbidden to say that the purpose of settling these people here is to redraw the religious and cultural map of Europe and to reconfigure its ethnic foundations, thereby eliminating nation states, which are the last obstacle to the international movement. (...) Mass migration is like a slow and steady current of water which washes away the shore. It appears in the guise of humanitarian action, but its true nature is the occupation of territory; and their gain in theterritory is our loss of territory. (...) We shall not import to Hungary crime, terrorism, homophobia and synagogue-burning anti-Semitism.

[65]'Ne Kockáztassuk Magyarország Jövőjét! [Don't Put Hungary's Future at Risk!]', *Fidesz.hu*, 12 September 2016, http://www.fidesz.hu/hirek/2016-09-12/ne-kockaztassuk-magyarorszag-jovojet/.

[66]'Lázár János Szerint a Körök Közepén Soros György áll [Due to János Lázár George Soros Stand in the Moddle of the Circles]', *NOL.hu*, 19 May 2016, http://nol.hu/belfold/jubileumi-kormanyinfo-lazar-janossal-1616151.

There shall be no urban districts beyond the reach of the law, there shall be no mass disorder or immigrant riots here, and there shall be no gangs hunting down our women and daughters. (…) We shall not allow others to tell us whom we can let into our home and country, whom we will live alongside, and whom we will share our country with. We know how these things go. First, we allow them to tell us whom we must take in; then they force us to serve foreigners in our country. In the end, we find ourselves being told to pack up and leave our own land. (…) The leaders and citizens of Europe must no longer live in two separate worlds. We must restore the unity of Europe."[67]

The government's rhetoric concerning the Roma

SinceHungarian society has traditionally been prejudiced against the Roma and the far-right Jobbik party emerged from relative unanimityby playing the Roma card and inciting hatred against them, the topic has almost become a taboo for the governing Fidesz party. Since initiatives and efforts to support the Roma and their inclusion are not popular, the topic is pushed in the background and kept on a low level in the government's communications. At the same time, the harsh anti-refugee rhetoric diverted attention from the Roma, who received some breathing space because refugees and migrants have taken over the status of the mostdisliked minority group in the country. However, many are concerned that the hate incited deliberately against one group might easily turn against another group, and the most vulnerable in this regard are traditionally the Roma.

In 2016, the Roma received special public attention in the frames of three topics. First, during the campaign ahead of the referendum in October Tamás Szabó, amember of Fidesz and mayor of Jászberény, a town in Eastern Hungary, tried to mobilise the Roma in his campaign speech by threatening them that the acceptance of migrants to Hungary would lead to a decrease in social benefits for the Roma because this is the only sourceof whichthe financial support for possible future migrants can be covered.The statement might not have been the invention of the mayor himself because it was made at a joint campaign gathering with Speaker of the Parliament László Kövér, one of the most senior Fidesz politicians. Furthermore, the statement resembles comments made by both Justice Minister László Trócsányi and PM Orbán in 2015, who both linked the question of accepting asylum-seekers with issues important to Hungary's Roma population. Trócsányi explained back then that Hungary cannot accept economic refugees because, among other reasons, the country must ensure the social inclusion of 800,000 Roma.Later PM Orbán explained in a speech to Hungary's ambassadors that it is Hungary's fate and historical reality to live together with hundreds of thousands of Roma but Hungary does not expect other countries, especially those in the West, to also have to live together with a Roma minority of significant size.[68]

Another topic that directed attention to the Roma was education. First, the disastrous results of OECD's PISA tests were blamed on the low performance of deprived children, e.g.

[67]'Speech by Prime Minister Viktor Orbán on 15 March', 15 March 2016, http://www.kormany.hu/en/the-prime-minister/the-prime-minister-s-speeches/speech-by-prime-minister-viktor-orban-on-15-march.

[68]'A Fidesz Azt üzeni a Cigányoknak, Hogy a Migránsok Elveszik a Segélyüket [Fidesz's Message to the Roma Is That Migrants Would Take Their Social Benefits]', *444.hu*, 14 September 2016, http://444.hu/2016/09/14/a-fidesz-azt-uzeni-a-ciganyoknak-hogy-a-migransok-elveszik-a-segelyuket.

the poor and the Roma, by Minister of Human Capacities Zoltán Balog.[69]Another huge issue concerning education was the question of the segregation of Roma pupils in schools,for which the European Commission (EC) launched an infringement procedure against Hungary in May 2016. Government representatives cynically claimed the EC's decision isintangible because Brussels cannot know who is Roma and who is not because compiling a register based on ethnicity is prohibited in Hungary.[70]While the government denied that it supported or allowed segregation, Minister of Human Capacities Zoltán Balog repeatedly stated in previous years that it is not a problem if only Roma kids attend a particular school if they get a proper level of education.[71] However, many cases and testimonies show that the second half of the sentence hasnot been a prerequisite for segregation.[72]

Another case that focused attention on the Roma was when President János Áder awarded the infamous columnist József Bayer, who is one of Fidesz's earliest members and a key supporter of PM Orbán, the Order of Merit of the Knight's Cross. The case led to a scandal both domestically and internationally because Bayer has a long track record of hate-inciting articles against the Roma, Jews, migrants and liberals.

On the Roma Holocaust Memorial Day on 2 August, Minister of Human Capacities Zoltán Balog stated that the Roma Holocaust was a joint tragedy of Hungary and Europe and that the government condemns all forms of violence and hatred which make any people or ethnic group collectively responsible on the basis of racial origin.[73]

The government's rhetoric concerning the Jews

The Hungarian government has proclaimed many times since 2010 that it applies zero tolerance towards anti-Semitism. The government has a generally good relationship with Jewish organisations and supports Jewish culture, Holocaust remembrance, Jewish organisations and events. However, the government is very vocal in certain symbolic and historical issues and engages in identity politics in a way that is suitable to evoke anti-Semitic echoes among those who are receptive and prone to such views. Such an issue was the erection of the German Occupation Memorial in 2014, which portrayed Hungary as an innocent victim and put the responsibility for the Holocaust solely on Hungary's occupation by Nazi Germany. In 2015, a key issue was the erection of a statue of Bálint Hóman, a

[69]'Kend Rám! - Balog Zoltán a Szegényekre és a Romákra Hárítja Az Oktatás Katasztrófáját [Blame on Me! - Zoltán Balog Blames the Poor and the Roma for the Catastrophe of Education]', *Kettős Mérce*, 20 December 2016, http://kettosmerce.blog.hu/2016/12/20/kend_ram_balog_zoltan_a_szegenyekre_es_a_romakra_haritja_az_oktatas_katasztrofajat.

[70]'A Kormány Nem érti, Honnan Tudja Brüsszel, Melyik Diák Roma [The Government Doesn't Understand How Brussels Knows Which Pupil Is Roma]', *Eduline.hu*, 27 May 2017, http://eduline.hu/kozoktatas/2016/5/27/A_kormany_nem_erti_honnan_tudja_Brusszel_me_5TBP3V.

[71]'Government Rejects Jobbik's Proposal On School Segregation', *Hungary Today*, 26 January 2015, http://hungarytoday.hu/news/government-rejects-jobbiks-proposal-school-segregation-49521.

[72]'Az Osztálykirándulástól Is Tiltották a Roma Diákokat [Roma Pupils Were Banned from Class Trips Too]', *Eduline.hu*, 26 April 2016, http://eduline.hu/kozoktatas/2016/4/26/Az_osztalykirandulastol_is_tiltottak_a_roma_1ZNWD0.

[73]Origo, 'Balog Zoltán: A Roma Holokauszt Magyarország Tragédiája [Zoltán Balog: The Roma Holocaust Is the Tragedy of Hungary]', *Origo.hu*, 8 February 2016, http://www.origo.hu/itthon/20160802-roma-holokauszt-balog-zoltan.html.

historian, MP and minister from the interwar period with anti-Semitic views. The plan came under harsh criticism by aJewish organisation, intellectuals, international organisations and foreign countries including the US, which led to the idea being abandoned.

In 2016, the main topic concerning the Jewish community was the government's harsh campaign against the Hungarian-American billionaire philanthropist of Jewish descent, George Soros. As described above in this chapter, the government portrays Mr. Soros as a machinator and conspirator, part of the 'background power', and accuses him of supporting, financing and organising migration to Europe in order to spread his utopic vision of a world free of all kind of borders and sovereignty and to destroy nation states so that the interests of global business would triumph over those of nations and people.According to the leader of Fidesz parliamentary group Lajos Kósa, Mr Soros wants to destabilise Europe through mass immigration because he has more manoeuvring space for financial machinations while chaotic circumstances paralyse the continent.[74] According to Tamás Lánczi, chief analyst at Századvég, a government-funded think-tank, George Soros and his associates want to establish a world government and have exact plans on how to create a world state with homogeneous culture and free of borders, countries and nations.[75]The rhetoric used against Mr Soros resembles the narrative of anti-Semitic conspiracy theories that accuse Jews of attempting to rule the world, controlling global financial institutions, subjugating economic and political leaders and acting secretly. These arguments have been a core element of anti-Semitic far-right narratives in Hungary for long.[76]By using the same arguments against George Soros, which for some might have anti-Semitic overtones, the government may inadvertently evoke anti-Semitic feelings among those who are prone to these.

Although government officials tend to deny that their criticism has anything to do with anti-Semitism, there are signs that the second meaning of these messages is also understood. In January 2016, László Toroczkai commented on a post about research on French Jews moving to Israel. In the post, he blamed the Jews for supporting illegal migration. In August, the Forum against anti-Semitism shared a photo of a bench in Budapest with writing on its back that reads: "George Soros and the migrant Mohamed should be in gas chambers where they belong".

[74]'Fidesz: A Kiszivárgott Dokumentumok Miatt Már Biztos, Hogy Soros György Destabilizálni Akarja Európát [Fidesz: Due to the Leaked Documents It's Now a Fact That George Soros Wants to Destabilise Europe]', *PestiSrácok*, 18 August 2016, http://pestisracok.hu/fidesz-kiszivargott-dokumentumok-miatt-mar-biztos-hogy-soros-gyorgy-destabilizalni-akarja-europat/.

[75]'Soros Milliárdokkal ösztönzi a Migrációt [Soros Supports Migration with Billions]', *Magyar Idők*, accessed 13 June 2017, http://magyaridok.hu/belfold/soros-milliardokkal-osztonzi-migraciot-928885/.

[76] For more on the structure anti-Semitism in Hungary see Chapter 4.

6. Image Images of the bench with anti-Semitic writings. ***Source: The Forum against anti-Semitism***



Another key issue relevant to the Jewish community was that President János Áder awarded columnist József Bayer the Order of Merit of the Knight's Cross. Just a few months before the awarding ceremony, Mr Bayer published a series of articles in the pro-government daily Magyar Hírlap that included countless anti-Semitic elements. In the articles, he demonised Jews by presenting them as members of a secret society who rule the world, or as agents who determine Hungarian people's historical remembrance. On another occasion, he claimed that crimes that were committed against Jews are always overemphasised, while the misdeeds done by them are easily forgiven. Furthermore, many thoughts relativizing the Holocaust appeared in his texts.[77] Within a week after the ceremony, almost 90 previous recipients of Hungary's third highest state honour pledgedthat they would return the award. These individuals argued that the works of Bayer are belligerent, openly racist, and obscene. András Heisler, the president of Hungary's Alliance of Jewish Religious Organizations, was one of the individuals handing the award back. Furthermore, the Washington Holocaust Museum has openly called on President Áder to rescind the award.[78]

The government's rhetoric concerning the LGBTQ community

While the Hungarian state officially acknowledges the principle of non-discrimination based on gender identity and sexual orientation, the government is clearly biased against LGBTQ people. Fidesz politicians and government officials often engage in homophobic comments under the pretext of praisingthe „traditional" family model.

In March 2016, the representatives of Hungary vetoed a draft agreement at the Council of the European Union, which called on the European Commission to tackle homophobic and transphobic discrimination, promote measures to advance LGBTQequality, and step up efforts to collect data on the treatment of LGBTQcitizens. The agreement was drafted by the Dutch government holding the EU Presidency at that time. The draft stated the importance of fully respecting "the Member States' national identities and constitutional traditions as well as the competence of the Member States in the field of family law… [while] paying attention to the

[77] Róna, Dániel (2017): *Anti-Semitic Hate Crimes and Incidents in Hungary 2016. Annual Report.* Budapest: Brussels Institute. (http://tev.hu/wp-content/uploads/2017/06/2016_eves_jelentes_ENG.pdf)
[78]'Pugnacious Fidesz Publicist Awarded Order of Merit', *The Budapest Beacon*, 19 August 2016, http://budapestbeacon.com/featured-articles/pugnacious-fidesz-publicist-awarded-order-of-merit/37879.

fundamental rights of LGBTI persons." The Hungarian government's argument for blocking the agreement was that "Hungary is not in the position to agree with the list of actions to advance LGBTI equality."[79]

In an interview with the Portuguese newspaper Expresso in May, PM Orbán reinforced his conviction that a nation's foundation is the family, which must be protected, and that only a man and a woman can marry and build a family. According to him, homosexuals "can do whatever they want, but they cannot make a marriage recognised by the state" based on the Hungarian CivicCode. For him, it is "not a human rights issue; it is a matter of naming things". "If a man lives with another and does not want children, he does not cherish the thousands of years of Hungarian tradition under which men and women marry."[80]

In June, Máté Kocsis, mayor of Budapest's 8th District and the president of Fidesz's Budapest branch launched a homophobic tirade after a court had ruled that a liberal politician's suggestion that Mr Kocsis was gay did not qualify as defamation. According to the court, the Fidesz politician failed to explain why being considered gay is in any way defamatory, nor could he prove that this claim caused him any harm. A day after the verdict, Mr Kocsis reacted on Facebook by callingMs Ungár, a lesbian, "Uncle Klári," and referred toan article in Magyar Idők, a daily indirectly controlled by the government. According to the article, "it is insulting for a man to be called a homosexual"because a man "who is naturally attracted to women, establishes a family and raises children (…) can rightfully find it hurtful, if someone questions his values or if someone accuses him of having a sexually deviant lifestyle." In his post, Mr Kocsis called the Pride march "a celebration of homophobia". He ended his post with the statement: "Long live hetero pride!"[81]

One of Viktor Orbán's speech in 2016 shed light on the cynical approach and double standards regarding the government's stance towards the LGBTQ community. In his state of the nation address in February, he noted: "We do not want to – and we shall not – import crime, terrorism, homophobia and anti-Semitism to Hungary."[82]While Fidesz emphasises the 1000-year-old tradition of families defined as aunion between man and woman and blocksactions to advance LGBTQequality and tackle discrimination, the government at the same time portrays itself as human rights advocate and defender of minorities when it comes in handyto argue against immigration and incite fears.

[79]'Hungary Blocks European Agreement on LGBT Rights', *PinkNews*, 8 March 2016, http://www.pinknews.co.uk/2016/03/08/hungary-blocks-european-agreement-on-lgbt-rights/.

[80]'Orbán: Csak Egy Férfi és Egy Nő Alapíthat Családot fOrbán: Only a Man and Woman Can Build a Fmaily]', *Hvg.hu*, 1 May 2016, http://hvg.hu/itthon/20160501_Orban_Csak_egy_ferfi_es_egy_no_alapithat_csaladot.

[81]'Fidesz Budapest President Declares: Long Live Heterosexual Pride!', *Hungarian Free Press*, 18 June 2016, http://hungarianfreepress.com/2016/06/18/fidesz-budapest-president-declares-long-live-heterosexual-pride/;
'Kocsis Máté Egy Körúti Tojásdobáló Szintjén Buzizott a Facebookon [Máté Kocsis Used Homophobic Language on Facebook]', *Hvg.hu*, 8 July 2016, http://hvg.hu/itthon/20160708_kocsis_mate_buzizas_nehez_posony_marton.

[82]'Prime Minister Viktor Orbán's State of the Nation Address', *Government*, 28 February 2016, http://www.kormany.hu/en/the-prime-minister/the-prime-minister-s-speeches/prime-minister-viktor-orban-s-state-of-the-nation-address.

4. Public opinion toward minorities

The Hungarian society can be described by an overall high level of the rejection of "otherness". The majority of the Hungarianpublic have traditionally had negative attitudes towards certain ethnic groups and foreigners. In this chapter, we discuss Hungarian public opinion concerning different minorities based on nationally representative surveys. According to a survey carried out at the end of 2016, 83% of respondents would not give consent for a migrant to move into their neighbourhood. The rejection of Arabs (73%) and blacks (62%), who are associated with migrants, are also high and it increased considerably in the past few years. 73% of the Hungarian population oppose a Roma, 55% a homosexual, and 30% a Jew moving into their neighbourhood.[83]

Prejudice against the Roma

Prejudice was always the strongest against the Roma, however, since the launch of the government's anti-immigration campaignanti-immigrant sentiment has increased to a similarly high level.The prevalence of anti-Roma prejudice has been remarkably stable over the past two decades. According to the latest extensive poll conducted in 2011, 82% of the Hungarian population thought that "the problems of the Roma would be solved if they started to work at last", 60% agreed with the statement that "the inclination to criminality is in the blood of Gypsies", and 42% considered that "it is only right that there are still pubs, clubs and discos thatGypsies are not allowed to enter"[84].

Anti-Semitism

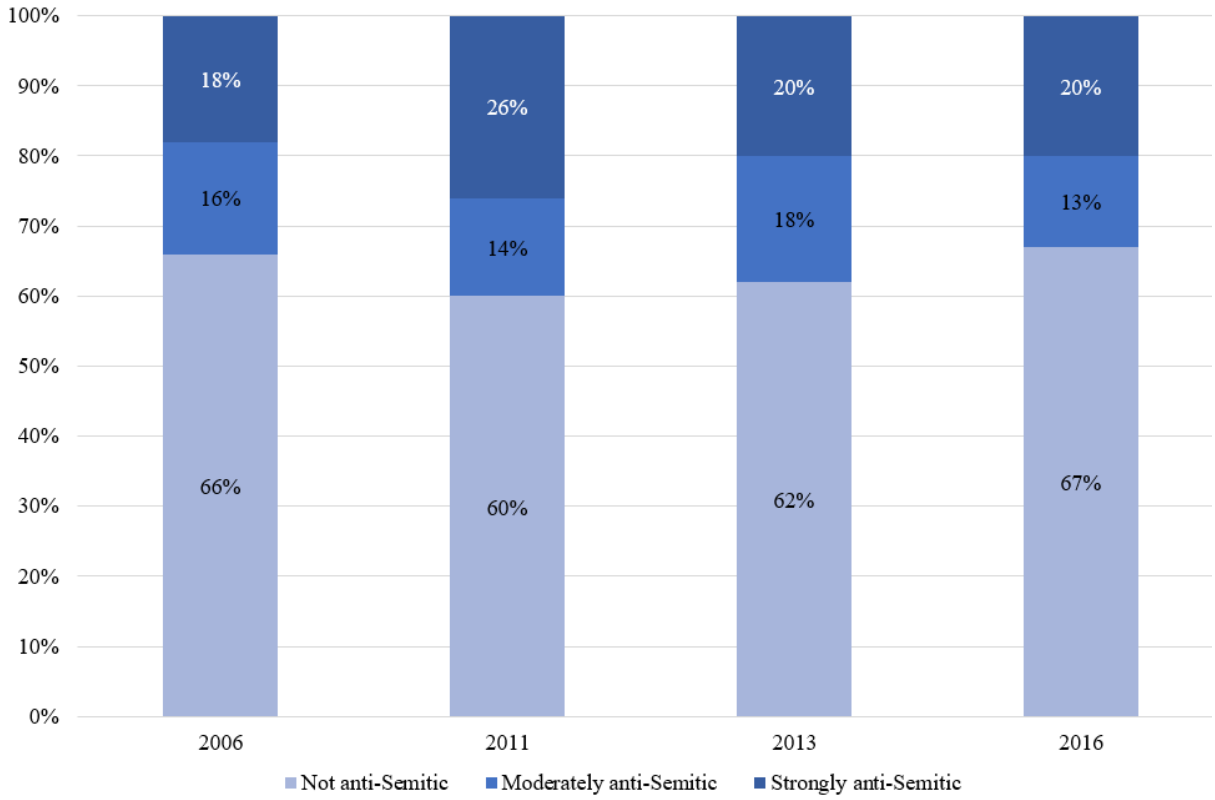
At the end of 2016, the Hungarian polling institute Medián conducted a public opinion survey at the behest of the Action and Protection Foundation.[85] According to its findings, 67% of the population were not anti-Semitic, 13% were moderately anti-Semitic,and 20% were strongly anti-Semitic. Antisemitism grew significantly between 2006 and 2011, but it seems to have been decreasing since then. Among anti-Semites, however, people with extreme prejudices outnumber those with moderate views.

[83] Hann, Endre and Róna, Dániel (2017): *Anti-Semitic Prejudice in Contemporary Hungarian Society Research Report.* Budapest: Medián, Action and Protection Foundation. p. 4–5. (http://tev.hu/wp-content/uploads/2017/05/TEV_Antisemitism-research_2016.pdf)

[84]Bernát, Anikó, Juhász, Attila, Krekó Péter, and Molnár, Csaba (2012): A radikalizmus és a cigányellenesség gyökerei a szélsőjobboldal szimpatizánsai körben. [The Roots of Radicalism and Anti-Roma Attitudes on the Far Right] In Tamás Kolosi and István György Tóth (eds.): *Társadalmi Riport 2012 [Social Report 2012]*, Budapest: TÁRKI, pp. 355–376.

[85] Hann, Endre and Róna, Dániel (2017): *Anti-Semitic Prejudice in Contemporary Hungarian Society Research Report.* Budapest: Medián, Action and Protection Foundation. (http://tev.hu/wp-content/uploads/2017/05/TEV_Antisemitism-research_2016.pdf)

1. Figure Proportion of anti-Semites in the Hungarian society, 2006—2016 (%).
Source: Action and Protection Foundation, Medián



When analysing the substance of anti-Semitic views, it is clear that agreement with statements about the excessive influence of Jews,[86] including the existence of a secret Jewish conspiracy,[87] is higher than agreement with statements reflecting traditional Christian Judeophobia.[88] Moreover, agreement with statements about Jewish influence has increased over the years.Statements connected to new anti-Semitism[89]were also included in the survey. Thirty percent of Hungarians believed that "Hungarian Jews would rather support Israel in a match between Hungary and Israel", 29% believed that "Israel is an aggressor and commits genocide against the Palestinians", and 31% believed that "Jews living here are more loyal to Israel than to this country".[90]

Anti-Jewish attitudes are closely related to party preferences.[91]The ratio of non-antiSemites is the same among the supporters of the governing Fidesz-KDNP and Hungarian

[86]Such statements in the survey included the following: "Intellectuals of Jewish origin keep media and culture under their influence" (acceptance rate in 2016: 32%), and "Jewish influence is too broad today in Hungary" (acceptance rate in 2016: 37%).

[87]"There is a secret Jewish conspiracy that determines political and economic processes." (acceptance rate in 2016: 36%).

[88]"The crucifixion of Jesus is the unpardonable sin of the Jews" (acceptance rate in 2016: 25%); "The sufferings of the Jews were God's punishment" (acceptance rate in 2015: 21%).

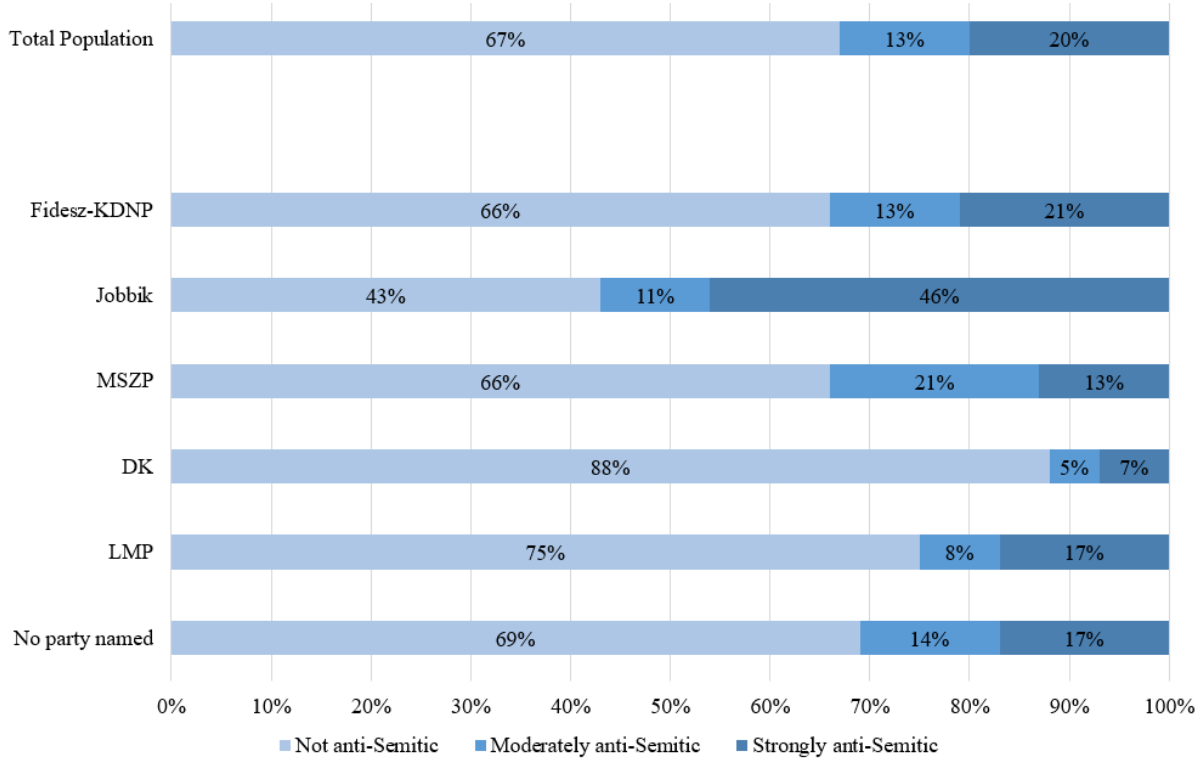
[89] The use of double standards towards the State of Israel, demonizing its acts as well as questioning the country's raison d'être.

[90] For more on new anti-Semitism: Barna, Ildikó (2017): Hungary. In Ildikó Barna and Anikó Félix (eds.): *Modern Antisemitism in the Visegrád Countries*, Budapest: Tom Lantos Institute, pp. 49–80.

[91] Fidesz (*Fidesz – Magyar Polgári Szövetség*, Fidesz – Hungarian Civic Alliance) and its partner (rather satellite), the KDNP (*Keresztény Demokrata Néppárt,* Christian Democratic People's Party) form a national conservative alliance currently in power in Hungary. The support of the alliance was stable in 2016, ranging

Socialist Party (MSZP). However, there are considerable differences in the structure of anti-Semites. While 13%of Fidesz-KDNP supporters holds moderate and 21% of them strong anti-Semitic views, the ratios of these groups among MSZP-supporters are exactly the opposite. Typically, anti-Semitism is exceptionally high among Jobbik supporters. 46% of them are strongly and 11% moderately anti-Semitic. These numbers rightly raise the question whether there is any substantive change behind the rebranding strategy of Jobbik detailed in the next chapter.

2. Figure Anti-Semitism and party choices, 2016 (%).
Source: Action and Protection Foundation, Medián



Xenophobia and prejudice against migrants

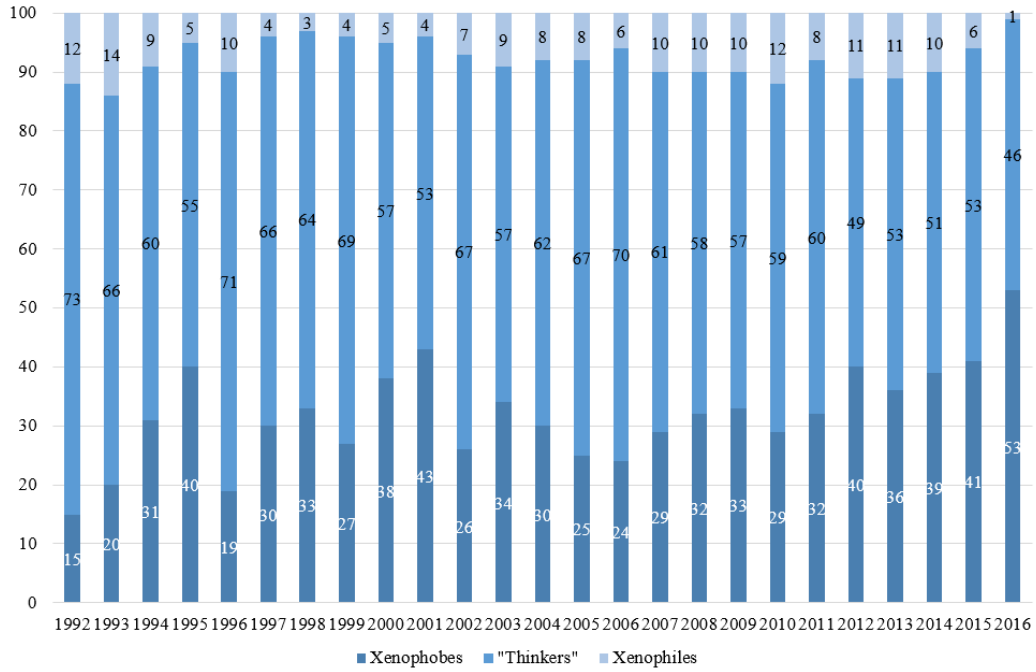
Despite the low levels of immigration (especially from culturally distant countries), xenophobia and anti-immigration sentiments are extremely strong in the Hungarian society. In the absence of relevant political discourse and concrete experience with migrant populations, social attitudes about immigration are shapedmainly by three factors: the fear of the unknown, the abstract image of the immigrants presented by the media, and most importantly the extremely strong anti-immigrant political rhetoric.

According to research conducted by Hungarian polling institute TÁRKI, the proportion of xenophobes increased by 12 percentage points to 53percent between 2015 and

from 34 to 37percentthroughout 2016.Jobbik *(Jobbik Magyarországért Mozgalom*, Jobbik, the Movement for a Better Hungary) is a far-right, radical party. Support in 2016: 10–16 percent. MSZP *(Magyar Szocialista Párt*, Hungarian Socialist Party) is a social-democratic party. Support in 2016: 9–10percent. DK (*Demokratikus Koalíció*, Democratic Coalition) is a centre-left political party. Support in 2016: 4–6 percent. LMP *(Lehet Más a Politika*, Politics Can Be Different) is a green-liberal political party. Support in 2016: 2–4 percent. For more on the popularity of Jobbik see Chapter 7.

2016, while the group of xenophiles (i.e. those who think that asylum seekers should be admitted unconditionally) practically disappeared. The rate of those who express the need for more information before making their decision of admitting an asylum-seeker decreased from 53 to 46 percent. The fact that openly-admitted xenophobia reached a record high in 2016 clearly shows the effect of the government's anti-migrant[92] campaign.[93]

3. Figure Ratio of xenophobes, xenophiles and 'thinkers', 1992–2016 (%). ***Source: TÁRKI***



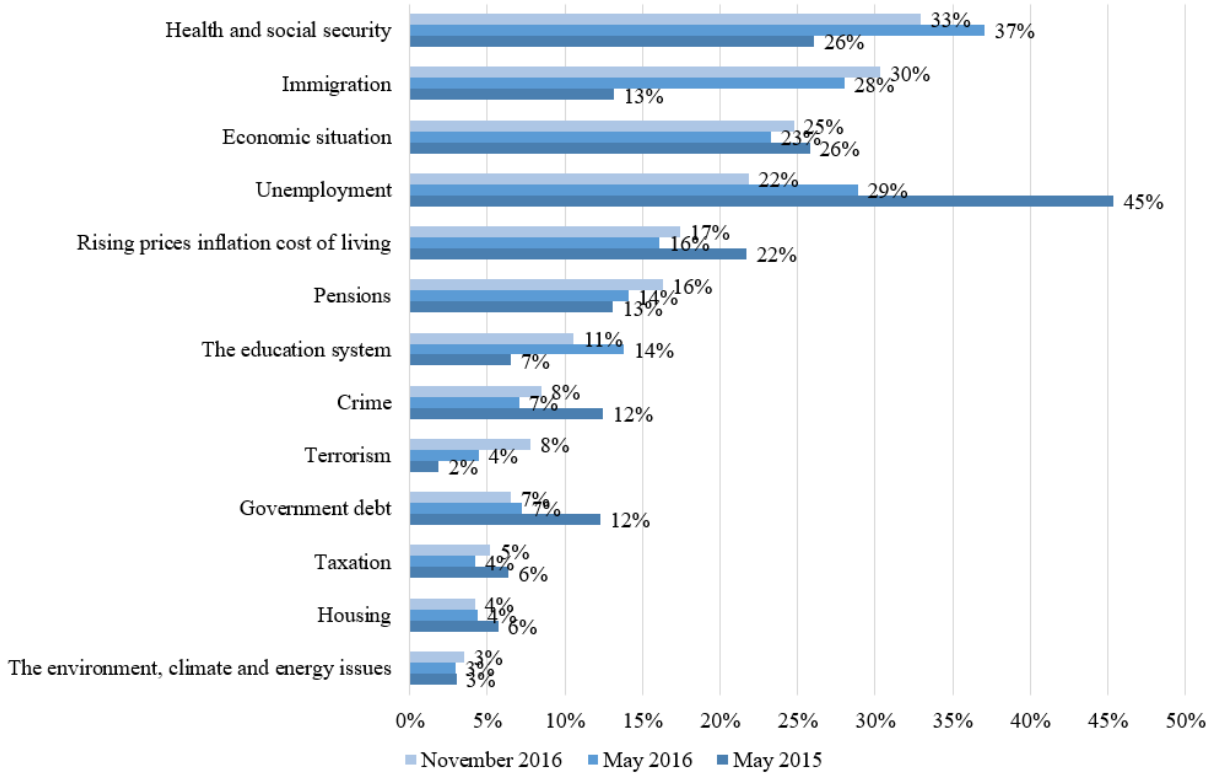
According to Eurobarometer's surveys, the number of those thinking that migration is one of the most important issues in Hungary quadrupled between November 2014 and May 2015 and further increased by 2.3 times until November 2016, becoming the second in the list. While in November 2014, only 3% of the population listed immigration as one of the two most important domestic problems, in the Eurobarometer survey conducted in May 2015 their proportion already increased to 13% and in November 2016 it reached 30%. The share of those mentioning terrorism, often connected to the issue of migration, also increased from 2 to 8% between May 2015 and November 2016.[94]

[92] For the origin of the use of the word "migrant" see Chapter 3.

[93] Sik, Endre (2016) "The Socio-Demographic Bases of Xenophobia in Contemporary Hungary." In Simonovits, Bori and Bernát, Anikó (eds.): *The Social Aspects of the 2015 Migration Crisis in Hungary.* Budapest: TÁRKI.

[94] The sharp decrease from 45 to 22 percent of those thinking that unemployment is one of the two most important issues in Hungary is in accordance with the recently experienced shortage of labour.

4. Figure What do you think are the two most important issues facing Hungary at the moment? (max. 2 answers possible, %). Source: *Standard Eurobarometer*[95]



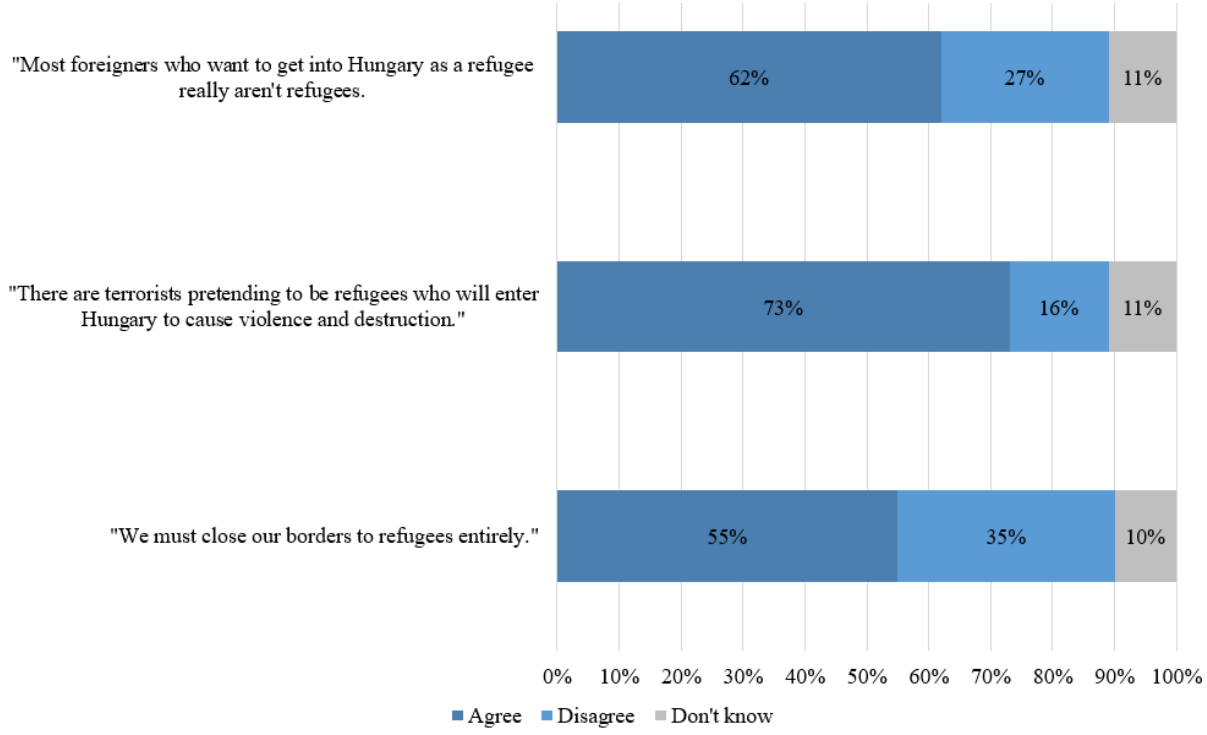
In 2016, Ipsos carried out a survey on the attitudes to immigration and the refugee crisis across 22 countries worldwide.[96] 55% of Hungarian respondents thought that immigration had increased a lot in Hungary and further 30% that it has increased a little over the past five years. 55% of Hungarians thinks that there are too many immigrants in Hungary. This number is striking given the fact that asylum-seekers for the most part cannot enter Hungary,and the number of immigrants admitted to the country is also exceptionally low as it was described in details in Chapter 2.

62% of Hungarians agree with the statement that "most foreigners who want to get into Hungary as a refugee really aren't refugees." Moreover, 73% of them thinks that there are even terrorists among the asylum-seekers. In accordance with these attitudes, the support for closing borders is very high: 55% of Hungarians agree with these measures. These numbers are one of the highest among the 22 countries and the highest in Europe.

[95]http://ec.europa.eu/commfrontoffice/publicopinion/index.cfm/Chart/index

[96] Ipsos (2016) "Global views on Immigration and the Refugee Crisis" https://www.ipsos.com/sites/default/files/migrations/en-uk/files/Assets/Docs/Polls/ipsos-global-advisor-immigration-and-refugees-2016-charts.pdf

5. Figure Attitudes to the refugee crisis. *Source: Ipsos*

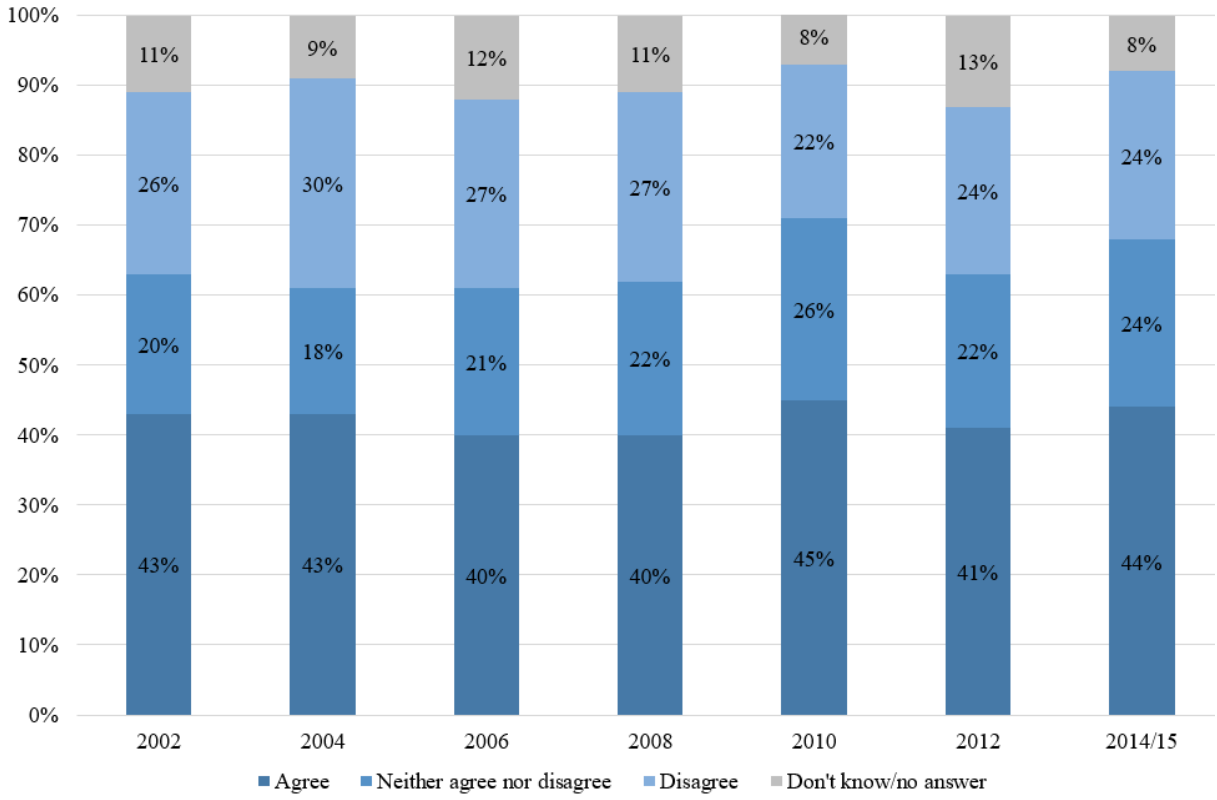


Homophobia

Unfortunately, there is no detailed survey about homophobia in Hungary. The European Social Survey (ESS)[97] uses one question to assess homophobia. Respondents use a five-point scale to show the extent of their agreement or disagreement with the following statement: "Gay men and lesbians should be free to live their ownlives as they wish." In the 2014/2015 wave, 24 percent of the Hungarian population expressed disagreement, while 44 percent agreement with it. These proportions have stayed more or less stable throughout the different ESS waves since 2002.

[97] „The European Social Survey (ESS) is an academically driven cross-national survey that has been conducted across Europe since 2001. Every two years, face-to-face interviews are conducted with newly selected, cross-sectional samples." http://www.europeansocialsurvey.org/about/

6. Figure The extent of agreement with the statement: "Gay men and lesbians should be free to live their ownlives as they wish." (%)
Source: ESS



Islamophobia

As we have discussed in the previous chapters, Fidesz constantly portrays migration as a struggle between Christianity and Islam. For example, in July 2016 László Kövér, speaker of the Hungarian parliament asked young people in a summer camp organised by the youth section of Fidesz the following question: "Shall we be slaves or free men, Muslims or Christians?"[98]Although the Muslim community is very small in Hungary with only about 5,000 members, the constant anti-Islam propaganda connecting immigration and Muslims turns the prevalence of Islamophobia in Hungarian society into an important issue. A Pew Research Center survey in 2016 showed that among ten EU Member States[99] Hungarians have the least favourable views of Muslims: 72% of the Hungarian people hold negative opinions on them. It seems that the rhetoric of the Hungarian government works well. 76% of Hungarians think that refugees in Hungary will increase the likelihood of terrorism in the country. 82 percent agree with the statement that refugees are a burden on Hungary because they take away jobs and social benefits.[100]

[98] Pall, Zoltan and Sayf, Omar (2016) "Why an anti-Islam campaign has taken root in Hungary, a country with few Muslims." *Visegrád Revue*http://visegradrevue.eu/why-an-anti-islam-campaign-has-taken-root-in-hungary-a-country-with-few-muslims/
[99] Participating countries: France, Germany, Greece, Hungary, Italy, Netherlands, Poland, Spain, Sweden, UK.
[100] Wike, Richard, Stokes, Bruce and Simmons, Katie (2016) "Europeans Fear Wave of Refugees Will Mean More Terrorism and Fewer Jobs. http://www.pewglobal.org/2016/07/11/europeans-fear-wave-of-refugees-will-mean-more-terrorism-fewer-jobs/

5. How do radical parties and groups use the new realities to incite hatred?

Overview of the main playerson the far-right scene

In Hungary, the traditional targets of radical parties, organisations and groups are the Roma and members of the Jewish and LGBTQ community. However, since the issue of migration overshadowed all other topics in 2015, refugees and migrants have primarily come into the crosshairs of radical forces.

The biggest and politically most significant actor of the right-wing radical scene is the far-right party Jobbik, which was the second strongest political force behind the governing party Fidesz throughout 2016. While earlier the party was known for its harsh anti-Roma and anti-Semitic statements, since 2013 Jobbik has been pursuing a repositioning and rebranding strategy. The aim of that is to move the party from the far-right edge of the political spectrum into the centre in order to attract more moderate voters including former left-wing voters who are disappointed with both the governing Fidesz party and the discredited left-wing opposition parties. That is why Jobbik has abandoned its earlier topics and hate-inciting comments and is now focusingmore on pragmatic issues (e.g., wage increase) and especially on corruption. In accordance with the rebranding efforts and to tighten his control over the party, party chairman Gábor Vona reshuffled the party's leadership in May 2016. He banned the most committed and extremist frontline politician from the party's board. However, at the same time, he included László Toroczkai as a member of the party's board, who is the mayor of a small town situated right at the Hungarian-Serbian border.Mr Toroczkai has been the most vocal opponent of migration within Jobbik and a core figure in the right-wing extremist scene for decades.

Besides pragmatic issues, Mr Vona also engages in symbolic issues to 'build bridges' to more moderate, centrist and left-wing voters, and to make Jobbik acceptable for them. These efforts reached a new high at the end of 2016 when Mr Vona and party's spokesperson Ádám Mirkóczki sent Hanukkah greetings to Hungarian Jewish leaders.[101] However, the letter had counterproductive effects: the majority of Jewish leaders strongly rejected the greetings, and the issue created strong opposition within the party too. While the party's messages have become softer at the national level as a consequence of the repositioning strategy, Jobbik had not changed at the local level by the end of 2016. The party's membership, core voter base, activists, and local representatives largely remained just as radical as they used to be, and hold the same extremist beliefs and values as before. The growing tensions between the pragmatic leadership and those who are committed to the far-right ideology (mainly local representatives and members) became more and more apparent in 2016. After Mr Vona'sHanukkah greetings a series of local organisations (according to media sources, more than 50) expressed their opposition and protested the move.[102]Besides the growing conflicts within the party, the close connections between the party and paramilitary organisations alsoindicate the continued

[101]'Vona Gábor Túl Akar Jutni a „keresztény-Zsidó Ellentéten" [Gábor Vona Wants to Overcome the Antagonims between Christians and Jews]', *24.hu*, 28 December 2016, http://24.hu/belfold/2016/12/28/vona-gabor-tul-akar-jutni-a-magyar-zsido-ellenteten/.

[102]'Több Mint ötven Jobbikos Alapszervezet Is Tiltakozik Vona Irányváltása Ellen [More than Fifty Jobbik Local Branches Protested against Vona's Turn]', *PestiSrácok*, 29 January 2017, http://pestisracok.hu/huszonot-jobbikos-alapszervezet-tiltakozik-vona-iranyvaltasa-ellen/.

presence of extremist conviction within Jobbik. Although Mr Vona denies the phenomenon, many members of Jobbik are at the same time engaged in the extremist organisations presented below.

The biggest and most significant far-right organisation is Hatvannégy Vármegye Ifjúsági Mozgalom (HVIM, Sixty-Four Counties Youth Movement), which wasfounded in 2001 by László Toroczkai, mayor of Ásotthalom and deputy chair of Jobbik. HVIM is a revisionist organisation fighting for the restoration of "Greater Hungary" that had constituted the Kingdom of Hungarybefore the Trianon peace treaty signed in 1920. The organisation's name stands for the revision of the peace treaty and the re-unification of all ethnic Hungarians living in the neighbouring countries. Additionally, HVIM follows an extremely racist, anti-Semitic, chauvinist ideology. Besides organising some major activities, the movement is mainly active at the local level, includingnon-Hungarian territories and especiallyin the parts of Slovakia, Romania, Serbia and Ukraine populated by ethnic Hungarians.HVIM unofficially functions as the extremist wing of Jobbik. HVIM spreads anti-Roma, anti-Semitic and nationalist propaganda, and organises charity actions, demonstrations, and intimidation campaigns against the Hungarian Roma community. During 2016, HVIM became more and more active and engaged in closer co-operation with other radical right organisations. While there is no official data on HVIM's size, according to László Toroczkai, the organisation had almost 1000 members in 2015.[103]

The second most significant and probably the most violent organisation is Betyársereg (Army of Outlaws or Army of Highwaymen), which was founded by László Toroczkai in 2008. The current leader of the organisation is Zsolt Tyirityán, who earlier served a prison sentence for causing grievous bodily harm with a racist motive. According to Mr Tyirityán, the army currently has around four hundred members, including former officers of the security forces (e.g., former officers of the police, army and intelligence agencies and mercenaries).[104] Many members of the organisation have close ties to the underworld as well. The Outlaws are an openly racist and anti-Semitic organisation, which does not accept Roma as members and whose members believe in white supremacy. According to Mr. Tyirityán's characterisation,the organisation is a sport organisation of friends who care for their physical well-being and take physical activities seriously. In reality, the Army of the Outlaws functions as an arbitrary security force whose services might be purchased upon request in any settlement in which inhabitants are not satisfied with public security. The Outlaws organise marches through settlements, mainly to intimidate the local Roma community. They call such activities "healthy walks". Their aim is to re-establish public security through intimidation rather than the use of force or violence. However, they are probably trained in theuse violence as well. In 2009, Mr Tyirityán called upon the members to go through military training,

[103]'„Ajánlja Fel Adója 1%-át, és Mi Akár Robbantunk Is Ön Helyett" [Give Us 1% of Your Tax and We May Even Plant a Bomb for You]', *Vigyázó!*, 3 September 2015, http://vigyazo.blog.hu/2015/03/09/_ajanlja_fel_adoja_1_-at_es_mi_akar_robbantunk_is_on_helyett.

[104]'Tyirityán Zsolt a Magyar Időkben – "A Betyársereg Nem Haragszik a Jobbikra!" [Zsolt Tyirityán to Magyar Idők: "The Army of Outlaws Is Not Angry with Jobbik"]', Betyársereg, 22 December 2016, http://betyarsereg.hu/tyirityan-zsolt-a-magyar-idokben-a-betyarsereg-nem-haragszik-a-jobbikra/.

practice the use of weapons and prepare for guerrilla warfare.At the beginning of 2016, deputy leader of Jobbik János Volner paid a visit to the yearly meeting of the Outlaws.[105]

Probably the third most significant radical right organisation is Magyar Önvédelmi Mozgalom (Hungarian Self-Defence Movement, MÖM), which was founded in 2014 by Attila László, who is at the same time the chairperson of one of Jobbik's local branches. MÖM is the successor of an organisation calledFor a Better Future Hungarian Self-Defence, which was outlawed by a court in 2014. MÖM is active at the local level, mainly in the countryside, in smaller towns and villages, especially in the Eastern part of the country. According to Mr László, the movement had a presence in 60 or 70 communities in December 2016.[106]MÖM is hardly ever engaged in major events at the national level. MÖM organises paramilitary training, patrols and marches to intimidate local Roma communities, cultural events (e.g., commemorations), charity actions and local patriotic events. The organisation's main objective is to set up deployable self-defence groups in localities. MÖM is a nationalist, xenophobic, racist and revisionist organisation with anti-Roma, anti-Semitic and anti-immigration views.

A new far-right group called Identitesz emerged in the second half of 2016. The predecessor of the organisation, the Conservative Student Unionwas formed at the end of 2015, then changed its name to Identitarian Student Union and finally to Identitesz. It is an identitarian group holding chauvinist, nativist, xenophobic, homophobic and anti-liberal views. The organisation's logo differs from that of the pan-European identitarian movement and resembles one of the Nazi symbols. The leader of the organisation, Balázs László spoke at an event of the neo-Nazi organisation Pax Hungarica in 2015. Other members of the leadership also have ties to neo-Nazi groups and ideology.[107] The group has strengthened its cooperation with HVIM, the Outlaws, MÖM and Knights Templar International gradually over time. The group consists of young people, mainly students and is primarilyactive in bigger university towns and cities. Even though Identitesz does not seem to have a big membership, the group has managed to gain attention by well-orchestrated actions, professional visual elements and the active use of social media.

Another identitarian group, which has existed since 2014 is Identitás Generáció (Identity Generation), the official wing of the pan-European identitarian movement in Hungary. The rather small and less visible group is opposed to immigration not for racist motives but due to cultural and identity-related considerations. They are also opposed to liberalism and the ideas and values of 1968. The group regards Christianity an important and constituting element of European identity. Akey componentof their ideology, which separates them from the organisations mentioned above is the rejection of 'chauvinism', the hatred among nationalist groups within Europe.

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[105]'Több Száz Harcos a Betyársereg 2016-Os Seregszemléjén [Hundreds of Fighters at the Yearly Meeting of the Army of Outlaws]', *Betyársereg*, 28 February 2016, http://betyarsereg.hu/tobb-szaz-harcos-a-betyarsereg-2016-os-seregszemlejen/.

[106]'A Nasty Hungarian National Mood Rejects Immigrants — and Journalists', *CBC News*, 12 November 2016, http://www.cbc.ca/news/world/hungary-racism-anti-semitism-orban-1.3887398.

[107]'Hungaristákkal és a Putyinizmussal Is Flörtölnek a Frankofón Szélsőjobboldal Hazai Képviselői, Az Identitáriusok [Domestic Representatives of the French Far-Right, the Identitarians Flirt with Hungarists and Putinism Too]', *Atlatszo.hu*, 11 July 2016, https://atlatszo.hu/2016/11/07/hungaristakkal-es-a-putyinizmussal-is-flortolnek-a-frankofon-szelsojobboldal-hazai-kepviseloi-az-identitariusok/.

Until its dissolution in October 2016, the most violent, most organised and armed extremist paramilitary group was Magyar Nemzeti Arcvonal (Hungarian National Front, MNA), which was founded in 1989. The groupfollowed a neo-Nazi ideology, organised airsoft training, survivor camps and neo-Nazi events on the international level. The group also had active relation with the Russian military intelligence agency GRU.[108] After a failed attempt by the police to search the house of MNA leader István Győrkös in Bőny, a town in Western Hungary, during which Mr Győrkös allegedly shot a police officer, the group was dismantled by Hungarian authorities.

An interesting feature of the Hungarian far-right scene is the relatively high number of foreign nationals committed to a certain branch of the extremist ideology whichhas been residing in or making frequent visits to Hungary.[109] Most of them do not seem to be actively engaging with domestic organisations with the major exception of Jim Dowson and Nick Griffin, former leading figures of the British farright. Reports on their activities in Hungary proliferated during 2016 and showed that their organisation called Knights Templar International (KTI) became more and more active in the country. The organisation, which is extremely active on social media, seems to be part of a social media network that spreads the nativist, traditionalist, pro-life and Islamophobic views of Mr Dowson and Mr Griffin. Under the flag of KTI, these individuals seem to be willing to strengthen far-right organisations and create a network of them in the CEE region. In Hungary, KTI cooperates closely with the Outlaws, MÖM,Identitesz and HVIM.[110]

An important issue in the activities of any political parties is the issue of financing of their activities. With regard to radical parties, this issue becomes particularly important.
According to official documents, the far-right party Jobbik's main source of revenue in 2016 was the state subsidy, which is paid to each party managing to collect more than 1% of the votes in the last general elections.Based on the results of the 2014 parliamentary elections, Jobbik receives the second highestlevelof public founding after the governing party Fidesz during the current term. According to Jobbik's one-page long official financial report, in 2016 82.7% of Jobbik's revenue came from the state, 16.1% came from private contributions and donations[111], 0.6% came from membership fees and another 0.6% came from other sources.[112] However, official data on party finances cannot be trusted in Hungary. According to Transparency International Hungary (TI-H), the "financial management of the parties is not transparent enough", because parties are not obliged to publish detailed reports that would "provide deeper insight into their finances". Moreover, calculations of TI-H suggest that

[108]Andrew Higgins, 'Intent on Unsettling E.U., Russia Taps Foot Soldiers From the Fringe', *The New York Times*, 24 December 2016, sec. Europe, https://www.nytimes.com/2016/12/24/world/europe/intent-on-unsettling-eu-russia-taps-foot-soldiers-from-the-fringe.html.

[109]'Far Right Homeland', *HOPE Not Hate Magazine*, April 2017, http://hopenothate.org.uk/hnh-magazine-march-april-2017-issue/far-right-homeland/.

[110]'Knights Templar International: Christian Knights or Fascist Front?', *IRBF*, 23 May 2016, http://irbf.org.uk/knights-templar-international-analysis/.

[111] Only nine private donors, who donated more than HUF 500 thousand (around EUR 1640) are named in the party's financial report. They are all party members, including MEPs, regional directors, mayors, members of local governments etc.

[112]'A Jobbik Magyarországért Mozgalom 2016. évi Pénzügyi Beszámolója a Pártok Működéséről és Gazdálkodásról Szóló Törvény Szerint [Financial Report 2016 by the Movement for a Better Hungary, as Required by the Bill on the Operation and Financial Management of Parties]', május 2017, https://jobbik.hu/sites/default/files/cikkcsatolmany/Jobbik_2016-os_beszamolo.pdf.

parties spend much more than their official revenues and spending indicated in their official financial reports.[113]However, there is no official data on the sources and amount of money that parties spend in reality. According to a wide-spread allegation against Jobbik, for instance, the party is supported by Lajos Simicska, a former close ally of PM Viktor Orbán and Fidesz's main businessman and the regime's key oligarch. However, since a quarrelbroke out between PM Orbán and Simicska in 2014, Simicska has turned against Fidesz and publicly endorsed Jobbik many times.[114]Nevertheless, no signsindicated in 2016 that Jobbik received financial support from Simicska.[115]

According to another wide-spread allegation, which was based on Jobbik's evidently pro-Russian leaning, the far-right party has been supported by the Kremlin. In the case of Jobbik there are no such obvious signs of financial support as it is the case with the French Front National, which took Russian loansin 2014. Jobbik politicians strongly deny that the party receives funds from abroad, since it is prohibited by the Hungarian law, and neither data nor investigative reports are available in this regard. However, some events indicate that the party received financial support originating from Russia. According to the hacked emails of former Putin chief strategist Vladislav Surkov,the Kremlin directly aimed to encourage political revisionism in Hungary during the Crimean crisis, especially with regards to Ukraine's Transcarpathia region.[116]According to the hacked e-mails of Alexander Usovsky, a pro-Kremlin activist, Jobbik and one paramilitary organisation could have even received financial support for organising protests in late summer 2014.[117] In fact, Jobbik and HVIM did organise a protest in front of the Ukrainian Embassy in Budapest to demand autonomy for Transcarpathia and the federalisation of Ukraine in August 2014.[118]

Another event, which seems to support the allegations about Jobbik having received financial support from Russia happened well before 2010, when Jobbik was an extraparliamentary party without state subsidies. Two years after the party's foundation, Béla Kovács and his wife, both alleged Russian spies, joined Jobbik in 2005. At a time when the party was short on funds Béla Kovács was accepted as a member because of "his foreign contacts and deep pockets," according to Jobbik sources.[119]

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[113]Transparency International HungaryTransparency International Hungary, 'Elections, Party- and Campaign Financing', *Transparency.hu*, accessed 10 August 2017, https://transparency.hu/en/kozszektor/valasztasok-part-es-kampanyfinanszirozas/.

[114] In April 2017, Simicska told Hungarian weekly HVG: "All my sympathies are with Jobbik," adding that if Jobbik does not defeat Fidesz, no one will. Lili Bayer, 'Viktor Orbán's Former BFF Vows to Take down Fidesz', *POLITICO*, 28 June 2017, http://www.politico.eu/article/viktor-orbans-former-bff-vows-to-take-down-fidesz/.

[115] The picture changed in 2017: a series of Jobbik billboards appeared on displays belonging to a billboard company owned by Simicska.

[116]Mihály Kálmán, 'Kiszivárgott Iratok: A Fidesz és a Jobbik Segítségével Akarta Megszállni Kárpátalját Putyin? [Leaked Documents: Did Putin Want to Invade Transcarpathia with the Help of Fidesz and Jobbik?]', *Kettős Mérce*, 26 October 2016, http://kettosmerce.blog.hu/2016/10/26/a_fidesz_es_a_jobbik_segitsegevel_akarta_megszallni_karpataljat_putyin.

[117]'Kremlin Is behind Anti-Ukrainian Protests in Poland: Analysis of the Hacked Correspondence', *InformNapalm.org*, 7 March 2017, https://informnapalm.org/en/kremlin-behind-anti-ukrainian-protests-poland-analysis-hacked-correspondence/.

[118]Péter Krekó, Lóránt Győri, and Edit Zgut, 'From Russia with Hate - The Activity of pro-Russian Extremist Groups in Central-Eastern Europe' (Political Capital, 2017), http://politicalcapital.hu/pc-admin/source/documents/PC_NED_summary_analysis_EN_20170428.pdf.

[119]Attila Juhász et al., '"I Am Eurasian" - The Kremlin Connections of the Hungarian Far-Right' (Political Capital, 2015), http://www.politicalcapital.hu/wp-content/uploads/PC_SDI_Boll_study_IamEurasian.pdf.

As far as the financing of other far-right organisations is concerned, Jobbik is the most significant source of their revenues. The party's parliamentary group and foundation, which receives public subsidy annually, play a major role in providing organisations (e.g., HVIM) and individuals close to Jobbik with funds. According to an investigative research conducted in 2015, Jobbik's party foundation provided significant financial support for several years to radical individuals, events and organisations, including for instance the Sixty-Four Counties Foundation, a backer of the HVIM.[120]

Offences against refugees and migrants

As described in previous chapters, migration remained the top issue and anti-immigration sentiments not only remained high but strengthened in 2016, even thoughthe refugee flow significantly decreased and the vast majority of refugees were not allowed to stay in or travel across the country due to the physical and legal closure of the southern borders and the harsh measures of the police.The position of right-wing radical parties and groups regarding migration also remained the same.Most of the organisations described above were very vocal about the issue and used it tospread their ideology and extend their networks and presence. Refugees and migrants remained the top target of the rhetoric and actions of the far-right in 2016, with Jobbik being somewhat of an exception.

Due to political circumstances, mainly Fidesz's harsh anti-immigration stance with which the far-right party could not compete, Jobbik tried to shift the political agenda and concentrate on other issues. Even though the party's position remained the same, they changed the focus of the issue and tried to turn the topic against the government by opposing "any form of migration". Besides refugees and migrants, Jobbik also rejected the residency bond programme of the government that allowed purchasing the right to reside in Hungary and thus gain legal access to the EU.The ambivalent nature of Jobbik's stance became evidently clear in the run-up to the referendum on the EU's mandatory migrant relocation plan in October. While the party expressed its support for the referendum and rejected the quotas, Jobbik did not mobilise its voters enthusiastically and rather emphasised the hazardousness of the referendum by saying that an invalid vote due to low turnout would significantly weaken Hungary's position in the dispute.After the referendum, Jobbik called for the termination of the residency bond programme in exchange for their MPs' support for the government's motion to amend the constitution to prohibit the "forced settlement of migrants".

Nevertheless, Jobbik engaged in various anti-immigration activities throughout the year. For instance, the party demanded the closure of the refugee reception centres, and in Körmend Jobbik's local organisation and an MP even organised a demonstration after residents of the local reception centres had allegedly harassed members of the women's handballteam of a local sports club.Even though the police did not confirm the allegations, Jobbik tried to exploit the situation and gathered around 150–200 people who chanted

[120]Tibor Sepsi, 'Wass Albert Rovásírással: Itt a Jobbik Pártalapítványának Szerződéslistája [Albert Wass in Runes: Read the Jobbik Party Foundation's List of Contracts]', *Atlatszo.hu*, 22 May 2015, https://atlatszo.hu/2015/05/22/wass-albert-rovasirassal-itt-a-jobbik-partalapitvanyanak-szerzodeslistaja/.

"Körmend won't be Cologne".[121] However, the main figure of Jobbik's anti-immigration campaign was the Mayor of Ásotthalom László Toroczkai, who has been focusing on this topic since 2014. Mr Toroczkai was featured in Jobbik's referendum campaign spotlisting the party's policy proposals and achievements regarding migration.[122] In August, Mr Toroczkai sued UNHCR for illegally supporting and helping migrants to come to Hungary. In November, the local government of the town of Ásotthalom led by Mayor Toroczkai passed a local decree which prohibited any public activities related to Islam,including wearing Muslim clothing, the construction of mosques and the construction of any minarets in the town.[123]

While Jobbik took anambivalent stance on migration, far-right paramilitary organisations were very vocal about their attitude and used the topic to widen their activities and outreach. While the Hungarian farright, in contrast to their fellows in Western Europe, had not focused on migration earlier, the topic has become one of the most important ones for them since 2015. As a consequence, Hungarian far-right organisations have extended their relations and cooperation with far-right organisations of other countries and become better integrated intointernational and pan-European networks. In May, for instance, parallel to similar events in Athens, Roma and Madrid, an anti-EU and anti-Muslim demonstration took place in Budapest "against the invasion of the alien masses". The event, which was organised by a group of Hungarian right-wing extremists called Alternative Europe, was attended by Polish, Slovakian and Czech participants alongside the Outlaws and members of the neo-Nazi Pax Hungarica Movement and MNA.[124]

Furthermore, the fight against immigration and the "defence" of Hungary and Europe have also brought Hungarian organisations closer together. The topic mobilised each organisation listed above, with the Outlaws and the identitarian groups being perhaps the most active.For instance, just one day before the referendum in October, the Army of Outlaws organised a demonstration against immigration and liberals under the slogan "We don't want any foreigners". Participants came from French and Swiss right-wing extremist organisations as well and from foreign branches of the Blood and Honour movement.[125] At the end of October, a group of Identiteszmembers visited Mr Toroczkai in Ásotthalom to study the

[121]'Felcsútra küldték a migránsokat a körmendiek [Residents of Körmend sent the migrants to Felcsút]', Text, *Jobbik.hu*, (7 May 2016), https://jobbik.hu/hireink/felcsutra-kuldtek-migransokat-kormendiek.

[122]Jobbik Magyarországért Mozgalom, 'Jobbik's Campaign Spot for the Referendum', *Facebook*, accessed 15 June 2017, https://www.facebook.com/JobbikMagyarorszagertMozgalom/videos/10154369728906405/.

[123]'Ásotthalom--the Hungarian Town That Banned Muslims and Gays in Public', *Hungarian Free Press*, 29 November 2016, http://hungarianfreepress.com/2016/11/29/asotthalom-the-hungarian-town-that-banned-muslims-and-gays-in-public/.

[124]'Alternatív Európa: Egységben Tüntetett Az Európai Ifjúság Az Idegen áradat Ellen [Alternative Europe: The European Youth Demonstrated in Unity against the Alien Masses]', *Harcunk.info*, accessed 15 June 2017, http://harcunk.info/index.php/82-esemenyek/1633-alternativ-europa-egysegben-tuentetett-az-europai-ifjusag-az-idegen-aradat-ellen; 'Demonstráció Az Idegen áradat Térhódítása Ellen [Demonstration against the Invasion of the Alien Masses]', *Betyarsereg.hu*, accessed 15 June 2017, http://betyarsereg.hu/demonstracio-az-idegen-aradat-terhoditasa-ellen/.

[125]'"Nem Akarunk Idegeneket", Zengett a Kossuth Téren ["We Don't Want Any Foreigners" Was Chanted in Kossuth Quare]', *Kepek*, 1 October 2016, http://kepek.444.hu/2016/10/01/nem-akarunk-idegeneket-zengett-a-kossuth-teren.

border control and the border fence.[126]Identitesz also organised flash mobs against immigration ahead of the referendum.

7. Image Participants of the demonstration organised by the Army of Outlaws on October 1, 2016.
Source: 444.hu



The Knights Templar International (KTI) allegedly played a crucial role in creating closer cooperation among the different groups, supplying them with social media expertise, equipment, and most probably financial support as well.In December, a few members of Identity Generation flying flags similar to that of KTI demonstrated against the migration policy of Germany and the EU at the German embassy in Budapest. They lit a candle paying tribute to "all the victims of migrant invasion."[127] MÖM, which entered into an alliance with the KTI in October[128],organised charity actions to collect donations for soldiers at the border, establish local branches and organise self-defensetraining and camps to prepare for the fight to defend the "Lebensraum" throughout the year.[129]

Right-wing extremist paramilitary organisations have many times claimed that they do their bit to control the southern borders and fight against "illegal border crossings". Members of these organisations have boasted in public or on Facebook about patrolling missions along the border, including the area around Ásotthalom, the town led by Mr Toroczkai. In a speech at MÖM's self-defence camp in July 2016, the leader of the Army of Outlaws, Zsolt Tyirityán claimed the authorities had approached his organisationwith a request to contribute to the defence ofthe border. However, both the Ministry of Defence and the Ministry of Interior rejected the allegations.[130]

[126]'Identitesz Csoport Toroczkai Lászlóval, a Déli Határon! [Identitesz Group with László Toroczkay at the Southern Border]', *Instagram*, 29 October 2016, http://www.thepicta.com/media/1372025144059218109_3537466744.
[127]Identitás Generáció, 'Budapesti Csoportunk Akciója [Action of Our Local Budapest Group]', Generacio.eu, 7 December 2016, http://generacio.eu/2016/12/07/budapesti-csoportunk-akcioja/.
[128]Magyar Önvédelmi Mozgalom, 'A MÖM Szövetségre Lépett a Nemzetközi Templomos Lovagok Szervezettel [MÖM Entered into an Alliance with KTI]', *Facebook*, 22 October 2016, https://www.facebook.com/magyaronvedelem/posts/1088034477917635.
[129]'2017-Ben Is Közösen Az életterünk Védelmében! – Interjú László Attilával [Together to Defend Our Lebensraum Also in 2017 - Interview with Attila László]', *Betyársereg*, 1 December 2017, http://betyarsereg.hu/2017-ben-is-kozosen-az-eletterunk-vedelmeben-interju-laszlo-attilaval-a-mom-vezetojevel/.
[130]'Tyirityán: A Rendszer a Betyársereget Is Megkereste [Tyirityán: The System Approached the Outlaws' Army Too]', *ATV.hu*, 20 July 2016, http://www.atv.hu/belfold/20160720-tyirityan-a-rendszer-a-betyarsereget-is-megkereste-a-migransvalsag-megoldasara.

Offences against the Roma

Although far-right organisations focused mainly on migration in their communication, the traditional anti-Roma, anti-Semitic and homophobic rhetoric and activities were also visible throughout the year.

Despite Jobbik's "mainstreaming" approach, in the frames of which hate-inciting narratives disappeared from the party's mainstream communication activities, Jobbik's representatives did not refrain from anti-Roma messages and actions in 2016. The most blatant example was the law-and-order programme called "Order and Integrity Programme" introduced by the local government of Tiszavasvári, a town in North-eastern Hungary led by the Jobbik-affiliated Mayor Erik Fülöp, who has been the deputy chairman of the party since May 2016.[131]

Even though Jobbik refrained from using the term "Gipsy crime" in its mainstream communication in 2016, which had been introduced by the party earlier and had contributed to the rapid increase of Jobbik'selectoralsupport before 2010, the party still framed the Roma as individuals who disobey the law. In February, for instance, Jobbik claimed that "all the money spent on Roma integration is a waste as long as there are no decent Gipsy leaders"[132]. The statement, which came as a reaction to the corruption scandals within the National Roma Self-government, aimed at delegitimizing the help provided to the Roma community and extending the accusations to the whole community. Alfahir, a news portal with close links to Jobbik, continuously published articles throughout the year which depicted the Roma in Hungary as criminals. One of the articles, for instance, claimed that no-go zones exist in some parts of Hungary due to the presence of the Roma and that the Roma "steal streets" by intimidating the people living there.[133]

Just like in the years before, right-wing extremist paramilitary organisations organised marches through neighbourhoods in smaller towns and villages with a significant Roma population. However, while earlier these organisations proudly stated that their aim is to patrol the streets and intimidate the Roma, nowadays they refer to these activities as sports activities, as "healthy walks". MÖM organised field trips to "improve the well-being and safety" of numerous localities, usually upon the invitation of residents who claimed to have been scared by the Roma. Furthermore, the Army of Outlaws organised "well-being improvement visits" in 2016 upon theinvitationoftheir "comrades" ("brothers-in-nation") who claimed to have been "harassed" by the Roma. While MÖMexecutes these actions in smaller groups,usually consisting of only a few people, the Outlaws tend to appear in a locality in a bigger group of a few dozen members. In September, for instance, approximately 60–80

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132 'Minden roma integrációra költött forint kidobott pénz, ameddig nem lesznek tisztességes cigány vezetők [All the money spent on Roma integration is a waste as long as there are no decent Gypsy leaders]', Text, *Jobbik.hu*, (15 February 2016), https://jobbik.hu/hireink/minden-roma-integraciora-koltott-forint-kidobott-penz-ameddig-nem-lesznek-tisztesseges.

133 'Egész Utcákat Lopnak El a Cigányok [Gypsies Steal Complete Streets]', *Alfahír*, 12 August 2016, https://alfahir.hu/egesz_utcakat_lopnak_el_a_ciganyok.

Outlaws visited Tótkomlós, a town in south-east Hungary to intimidate the local Roma.[134] In their reports, they usually do not mention the term Roma and also use "Gipsy" less frequently, they refer to their targets as a 'horde', 'mob' or 'antisocial' individuals instead. The strategy of these organisations does not only aim at "improving public safety" by intimidating the Roma through their presence. They also count on the increased presence of the police during as well as after theirmarches, which they can communicate as their success.

8. Image Members of MÖM (on the left) and the Outlaws' Army (onthe right) on their patrolling mission.
Sources: Magyar Önvédelmi Mozgalom[135] and Szent Korona Rádió[136]





In March, the third National Demographic Conference took place, organised by Edda Budaházy, a significant pro-life activist and sister of György Budaházy, founder and former leader of the Army of Outlaws. The speakers of the conference included a Jobbik MP, the former leader of the British National Party (BNP) Nick Griffin, a former leading BNP figure,the founder of Britain First James (Jim) Dowson, and the mayor of Ásotthalom László Toroczkai. The conference featured racist, anti-Roma, anti-abortion, white supremacist and anti-immigration statements.[137]

In April, a pro-life demonstration took place at the Polish embassy in Budapest to support the Polish government's motion to tighten the abortion law. The event was organised by Alfa Alliance, a Hungarian pro-life movement led by Imre Téglássy, a close associate of

[134]'Betyársereg: A Létező Magyar Sorsközösség – Beszámoló a Tótkomlósi Látogatásunkról [Outlaws' Army: The Existing Common Hungarian Destiny - Report on Our Visit to Tótkomlós]', *Szent Korona Rádió*, 30 September 2016, http://szentkoronaradio.com/blog/2016/09/30/betyarsereg-a-letezo-magyar-sorskozosseg-beszamolo-a-totkomlosi-latogatasunkrol/.
[135]'Záhonyban Is Hódított a Séta! [The Walk Was Welcomed to Záhony Too]', *Magyar Önvédelmi Mozgalom*, accessed 17 June 2017, http://www.magyaronvedelmimozgalom.com/index.php?q=hireink/bejegyzes/Zahonyban_is_hoditott_a_seta_.
[136]'Betyársereg'.
[137]'A Fehér Faj Kiirtása a Cél [The Goal Is to Eliminate the White Race]', 5 March 2016, http://index.hu/belfold/2016/03/05/nemzeti_nepesedesi_konferencia_jobbik_nick_griffin/.

Edda Budaházy and co-leader of the KTI along with James Dowson and Nick Griffin. Members of the Army of Outlaws attended the gathering along with 50 others participants.[138]

Offences against the Jews

While refugees and migrants and the Roma were the main targets of far-right organisations both rhetorically and regarding their activities, offences against the Jews also took place. However, unlike offences against refugees, migrants and the Roma, which physically targeted individuals or communities, offences against the Jews consisted largely of cases of hate speech.[139]The nature of anti-Semitism in Hungary is mainly political, and it is especially related to conspiracy theories as it was described in Chapter 4. The term "Jew" has become a swear word used to harass different-minded people verbally. Usually, liberals and the opponents of the government and Jobbik are labelled as Jews (and communists).

While anti-Semitic thoughts and messages did not appear in Jobbik's mainstream communication in 2016, members of the party (even leading politicians) were involved in anti-Semitic offences. In April, a former member of the far-right party MIÉP, Lóránd Schuster was invited to a public discussion organised by a local Jobbik branch and its prominent member, MP Előd Novák, one of the most extremist politicians of the party. During his speech, Mr Schuster continuously used anti-Semitic hate speech.[140] In July, the mayor of Ásotthalom and the deputy chairman of Jobbik László Toroczkai,lashed out at a staff member of the Hungarian Helsinki Committee on Facebook and called him a Jew and homosexual because the staff member legally requested information regarding the field guard of Ásotthalom.[141]In December, Jobbik chairman Gábor Vona sent Hanukkah greetings to the leading Rabbis of the Hungarian Jewish community, a symbolic move within the framework of the party's rebranding and repositioning strategy. However, the caserevealed that despite the image-change of Jobbik anti-Semitism is still present in the party. After his greeting had been publicly rejected by one of the Jewish leaders,Mr Vona's rejoinderconsisted of a number of anti-Semitic elements. For instance, he accused Hungary's Jewish community of a series of misdeeds in history, used anti-Semitic topoi (e.g., that the 1919 Hungarian Soviet Republic was a Jewish project), referred to the Holocaust as another moment, in which "we drifted ever further apart in terms of Hungarian and Jewish co-existence and from the idea of building a common homeland together."[142] Vona's greeting also backfired in terms ofhow his move was

[138]'Szemben a Sátánizmussal – Szimpátiatüntetés a Lengyel Nagykövetség Előtt [Face to Face with Satanism - Sympathy Demonstration at the Polish Embassy]', *Betyársereg*, 22 April 2016, http://betyarsereg.hu/szemben-a-satanizmussal-szimpatiatuntetes-a-lengyel-nagykovetseg-elott-video/.

[139] Nevertheless, some physical actions with anti-Semitic motive occurred in 2016, which were directed against Jewish objects and premises (e.g., synagogue, cemetery, monument). These offences are presented in Chapter 8.

[140]ATV, '„Itt Még Az Albán Is Zsidó" Novák Vendégeként Zsidózott Schuster ["Even an Albanian Is a Jew Here"] Schuster Used Anti-Semitic Hate Speech as a Guest of Novák]', *ATV.hu*, 21 April 2016, http://www.atv.hu/belfold/20160421-itt-meg-az-alban-is-zsido-schuster-lorant-novak-elod-vendegekent-zsidozott.

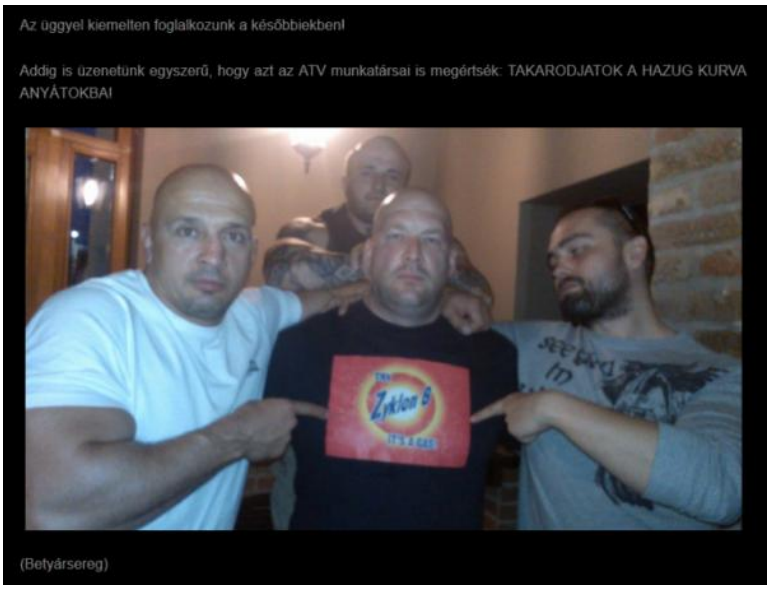
[141]'Ez Történik, Ha Meleg Zsidóként Kérdezni Mersz Az ásotthalmi Mezőőrségről [This Is What Happens If You You as a Jew and Gay Dare to Ask Questions about the Filed Guard in Ásotthalom]', *444*, 22 July 2016, http://444.hu/2016/07/22/ez-tortenik-ha-meleg-zsidokent-kerdezni-mersz-az-asotthalmi-mezoorsegrol.

[142]'Jobbik's Gábor Vona Wishes Happy Hanukkah to Hungarian Jews and Sparks Controversy', *Hungarian Free Press*, 30 December 2016, http://hungarianfreepress.com/2016/12/30/jobbiks-gabor-vona-wishes-happy-hanukkah-to-hungarian-jews-and-sparks-controversy/.

perceived by the party's membership. The party's local branch in Vecsés[143] reacted to Vona's letter with an anti-Semitic statement on Facebook as follows: "Jobbik of Vecsés does not send any greetings to the Jewry on the occasion of Hanukkah (or whatever the f-ck). If anyone ever gets such an idea, our organisation will distance itself from them."[144]

The Army of Outlaws committed two major offences against the Jews in 2016. In July, the organisation posted a picture with four of its members, including the Outlaws' leader Zsolt Tyirityán, as they pointed to one of the member's t-shirts that featured the text "The Zyklon-B, It's a gas" on its website. The reason for the image was, according to the Outlaws, that "the Zionist television channel accused members of Betyársereg of committing murder andviolent crime." (One day before, ATV had run a news story claiming that the Outlaws had participated in the abuse of refugees.)[145]

9. Image Members of the Army of Outlaws send a message to the television channel ATV. ***Source: gepnarancs.hu[146]***



In an interview with the pro-government daily Magyar Idők, Mr Tyirityán repeated his statement in 2016 once again that neither Roma nor Jews are allowed to join Betyársereg. He claimed that the Jewish religion bears the hallmark of tribal chauvinism.[147]

In February, threeevents commemorating the so-called "Outbreak Day" or "Day of Honour"[148] took place in Székesfehérvár, Budapest, and Veszprém.[149]

[143]Vecsés is a town of approximately 21,000 residents and it is situated in the Budapest metropolitan area.
[144]'Jobbik's Gábor Vona Wishes Happy Hanukkah to Hungarian Jews and Sparks Controversy', *Hungarian Free Press*, 30 December 2016, http://hungarianfreepress.com/2016/12/30/jobbiks-gabor-vona-wishes-happy-hanukkah-to-hungarian-jews-and-sparks-controversy/.
[145]'A Betyársereg a Gázkamrákra Utaló Felirattal üzent Az ATV-Nek [The Army of Outlaws Send a Message to ATV with a Text Referring to the Gas Chambers]', *Gépnarancs*, 22 July 2016, http://gepnarancs.hu/2016/07/a-betyarsereg-a-gazkamrakra-utalo-felirattal-uzent-az-atv-nek/.
[146]Ibid.
[147]'Tyirityán Zsolt a Magyar Időkben – "A Betyársereg Nem Haragszik a Jobbikra!" [Zsolt Tyirityán to Magyar Idők: "The Army of Outlaws Is Not Angry with Jobbik"]'.
[148] On 11 February 1945, German armies, Waffen SS, and Hungarian troopsattempted to break through Soviet lines encircling Budapest and escape. This day is remembered every year as the "Outbreak Day" or "Day of Honour" by neo-Nazi organizations from various countries.

In April, neo-Nazi and other right-wing extremist organisations gathered in Tiszaeszlár, a village in East Hungary to commemorate the "Tiszaeszlár Blood Libel affair", the alleged ritual murder committed by Jews, which led to the arrest, imprisonment, interrogation and eventual trial of 13 Jewish defendants in 1882–1883. Since then, the topic has been a central element of Hungarian anti-Semitic tradition, and it is still alive today. The event was organised by the Hungarian National Front and was attended by MÖM, the Army of Outlaws, several local organisations of Jobbik and other smaller neo-Nazi groups.[150]

Offences against the LGBTQ community

While 2015 was rather quiet regarding anti-LGBTQ actions and rhetoric, even though there were some protests against the yearly Pride in that year, 2016 brought a significant increase in anti-LGBTQ and pro-life activities. This is mainly the consequence of the surge of new radical groups such as the identitarian groups and KTI, for whom these topics have a central role in their traditionalist, Christian, anti-liberal and anti-mainstream cultural agenda.

Even though the yearly Pride festival was not interrupted by any protests in 2016, Jobbik's Budapest branch issued a statement promising that once in government, the party would ban the march. According to the statement, the organisation was "deeply indignant about the fact that sick, deviant people could march in the capital, complemented by their violent directors. The repellent and anti-family event are accompanied by scandals every year, with the participation of perverted elements and the presence of anti-religious attitudes, and the authorities are idly looking at the crime-filled march."[151]However, the lack of actual actions against the Pride caused some frustration within the far-right scene. The website of the Outlaws' Army published a lengthy article in July, whose author called members of the LGBTQ community "creatures from a different world who want to impose their illness on the majority society and carry out disruptive activities against the institution of the family" and promote violence. The author argued that it is a huge mistake that "the counteraction of healthy people, the reaction of normal people, has lagged behind," because from this point on, they [LGBTQ people] believe that open spaces are safe, so they are encouraged to continue their satanic activity. There is a need for a parallel demonstration for a classical family model based on the laws of nature, which should react violently to the provocation of extremists."[152]

In November, the local government of Ásotthalom, a village led by the mayor Toroczkai who is at the same time the deputy leader of Jobbik, passed a local decree that prohibited anyone from "promoting gay propaganda including same-sex marriage in public in Ásotthalom". A court has since abolished the decree.[153]

Identitesz (or Identitarian Student Union, the former Conservative Student Union), which is the more visible out of the two identitarian groups, organised three activities

[149] For details see Chapter 11.
[150] Róna, Dániel (2017): *Anti-Semitic Hate Crimes and Incidents in Hungary 2016. Annual Report.* Budapest: Brussels Institute. (http://tev.hu/wp-content/uploads/2017/06/2016_eves_jelentes_ENG.pdf)
[151]'Budapest Pride – a Jobbik Nem Hazudtolta Meg Magát [Budapest Pride - Jobbik Hasn't Belied Itself]', *Hvg.hu*, 2 July 2016, http://hvg.hu/itthon/20160702_Budapest_Pride__a_Jobbik_nem_hazudtolta_meg_magat.
[152]'A Homoszexuális Felvonulás Közösség Elleni Izgatás! [Homosexual March Is a Provocation against the Public]', *Betyársereg*, 7 March 2016, http://betyarsereg.hu/a-homoszexualis-felvonulas-kozosseg-elleni-izgatas/.
[153]'Ásotthalom--the Hungarian Town That Banned Muslims and Gays in Public'.

regarding the topic in 2016. In March, they organised the first Student Forum, where they discussed "gender ideology" with around a dozen participants. In April, the Szeged local branch of the group put anti-1968 stickers on apro-LGBTQ bar. In May, they organised a counter-protest against a lesbian flashmob after a preceding anti-gay scandal at one of Budapest's main universities. Identitesz's protesters chanted "Sodomy, sodomy" and used flyers that read "Aberration is not normal".[154]The other, less visible identitarian group, Identity Generation together with the practically non-existent far-right party MIÉP (Party of Hungarian Justice and Life) organised an indoor protest at a conference on equal marriage in Budapest. Two activists of the organisations held up a banner saying "We would definitely ban the Pride!" According to their statement issued later, the ban is needed because "homosexual, feminist and abortion propaganda is genocide".[155]

Portraits of far-right leaders

(in alphabetic order)

Gábor BARCSA-TURNER

Gábor Barcsa-Turner is also a key figure of the Hungarian far-right scene. He has been the co-leader of HVIM since 2014, founder of Szent Korona Rádió (Saint Crown Radio), a far-right online news portal and radio channel, and Farkasok (Wolfes), a paramilitary organisation.

Barcsa-Turner was born in 1988, his commitment to far-right ideas originates from his family. He has been a member of HVIM since 2005 and a member of HVIM's leadership since 2009. Together with György Gyula Zagyva, they took over the leadership from László Toroczkai in 2014. In 2006, he founded Szent Korona Rádió, which has since become a key platform of the far-right scene. In 2011, he founded the paramilitary organisation Farkasok, which is closely linked to HVIM and organises military trainings. He was also a key figure of the far-right demonstrations in 2006, took part in each activity every day, and participated in each demonstration until 2010. He considers these times as the best period of his life.

László TOROCZKAI

László Toroczkai is one of the best-known, most influential and active far-right politicians, organisers and activists in Hungary. He has been the mayor of Ásotthalom, a municipality at the Serbian-Hungarian border since 2013. He has been a vice-chairman of Jobbik since 2016.

László Toroczkai was born in 1978 in Szeged, a county seat in southern Hungary, 20 kilometres away from Ásotthalom, where he now lives. He comes from a conservative middle-class family with a far-right leaning. He went to a well-respected Catholic high school

[154]'Elmúlt Egy évünk Képekben [Our Last Year in Pictures]', *Identitesz*, 25 July 2016, http://identitesz.blog.hu/2016/07/25/elmult_egy_evunk_kepekben.
[155]'MIÉP-Esek Zavartak Meg Egy Melegházasságról Szóló Konferenciát [Activists of MIÉP Interrupt a Conference on Gay Marriage]', *24.hu*, 20 October 2016, http://24.hu/kozelet/2016/10/20/miep-esek-zavartak-meg-egy-meleg-hazassagrol-szolo-konferenciat/.

and then studied communications at the university in his hometown. He is marriedto his second wife, who comes from the Romanian region of Moldavia, they have three children.

Toroczkai's political career started in the mid-1990s. In 1998, he was a local candidate of the far-right Hungarian Truth and Life Party (MIÉP), which has since faded into insignificance. In the same year, his father became the chair of the party's local branch in Szeged. He contributed to and edited a number of far-right publications and newspapers, and founded various far-right movements. In 2001, he founded Sixty-Four County Youth Movement (HVIM), which has been one of the most important far-right organisations ever since.Toroczkai was the chair of HVIM until 2014. He also founded the Army of Outlaws (Betyársereg), which is considered the most dangerous paramilitary organisation today. In 2006, Toroczkai was one of the leaders of the far-right demonstrations and was responsible for the mob's attack against the public television's building. He has been a close friend of György Budaházy, another iconic figure of the Hungarian farright, who was the leader of the terror organisation Arrows of Hungarians (Magyarok Nyilai). He has been convicted several times for offences against the right to freedom of assembly and using of force. For his extremist and revisionist activities, Toroczkai was banned from entering Canada, Romania, Serbia and Slovakia several times.

ZsoltTYIRITYÁN

Zsolt Tyirityán has long been a known figure in the far-right subculture. He is the leader of the extremist hate group, the Army of Outlaws (Betyársereg). He has a key role in reorganising the extreme farright in Hungary after Jobbik's attempt to become a more moderate "people's party".

Tyirityán was born in 1978. He was a member of the Hungarian National Front which was one of the first neo-Nazi groups in Hungary formed already in 1989. He was also a member of the Blood and Honour Hungary. In 2008, László Toroczkai founded the Army of the Outlaws. Later Zsolt Tyirityán became its leader, who earlier served a prison sentence for causing grievous bodily harm with a racist motive. The Army of Outlaws is an openly racist and anti-Semitic organisation, which does not accept Roma or Jews as members and whose members believe in white supremacy. According to Mr Tyirityán's characterisation, the organisation is a sports organisation of friends who care for their physical well-being and take physical activities seriously. In reality, the Army of Outlaws functions as an arbitrary security force whose services might be purchased upon request in any settlement in which inhabitants are not satisfied with public security. The Outlaws organise marches through settlements, mainly to intimidate the local Roma community. Tyirityán is known for his extremist and violent views which he has never concealed. During several demonstrations, he even called for future violence against different minority groups which he finds unavoidable in the "racial war". He has constantly been using Nazi language, and he is proud to be Nazi himself. He describes himself as someone with racial consciousness who believe in autocracy and the hierarchy of races.

Gábor VONA

Gábor Vona is the founding member of Jobbik, and since 2006 he has been the chairman of the far-right party. It was under his presidency that from a small, mostly unknown organisation the party became one of the key agents of the Hungarian political scene.

Vona was born in 1978. His ancestorswere smallholders on both sides. He originates his anti-communist views and his love for the land from his background. His other decisive family story is that his grandfather died in Transylvania during World War II while fighting against the Soviets.

After completing the primary and the secondary school, Vona attended Eötvös Loránd University in Budapest, studied history and psychology, and graduated from the former course. During his studies, he participated in the activities of the Student Union of the University which was the political socialising scene for many on the farright. After his graduation, he worked as a history teacher for a short time but soon turned to politics. In 2001, he became an active member of Fidesz. He left the party when in 2003 Jobbik transformed into a party from the former student organisation and became the deputy chairman of the party. In 2006, he became the chairman of Jobbik, and he has been leading the party since then. In 2007, he founded the radical nationalist Hungarian Guard Movement and became its first leader. The Hungarian Guard served as a paramilitary wing of Jobbik until its dissolution in 2008. He was Jobbik's candidate for the position of prime minister both in 2010 and 2014. In 2010, when Jobbik first got into parliament, Vona also became the leader of the party's parliamentary group. He has described his politics as national radical, which is characterised by a focus on lawandorder. He is the key figure in turning Jobbik from a radical, far-right party into a – at least seemingly – modern conservative people's party.

György GyulaZAGYVA

György Gyula Zagyva, a former skinhead, is a leading figure of the Hungarian far-right scene. He is the co-leader of HVIM and the head of the public works programme and an "integration expert" [meaning the integration of the Roma] at the local government of Tiszavasvári, a town in Eastern Hungary, led by a Jobbik-affiliated mayor since 2010.

Zagyva was born into a right-wing family in 1976. His commitment to nationalism, revisionism and far-right ideas originates from his parents and grandparents. After being member of various smaller right-wing organisations, Zagyva joined MIÉP in 1999 but soon quit and joined HVIM in 2002. He was HVIM's leader from 2006 until 2010 when he became an MP of Jobbik without being a party member. After leaving the National Assembly in 2014, he returned to the leadership of HVIM. In 2014, he was convicted of harassment for threatening journalists at a far-right event. He was banned from entering Serbia and Romania in numerous instances.

6. The government's rhetoric regarding radical/extremist groups

Since the government took a very harsh anti-immigration stance and started its massive campaign at the beginning of 2015, the relationship between the government, whose stance is identical with that of the governing party Fidesz, and the actors of the far-right scene has been completely transformed. As described in Chapter 3,the government has taken a position on migration which is traditionally represented by far-right parties and organisations in Western-European countries. The Hungarian government's rhetoric consists of the core elements and characteristics of far-right ideology. Besides transforming the complete political landscape and creating a new division by overwriting the old left-right cleavage, the government has also successfully stolen the show from Jobbik with its move and prevented the far-right party from capitalising on the issue. Practically, there has been no room left for Jobbik regarding migration. The far-right party could not compete with the governing party for a more radical position because Fidesz has had all the means to implement policies and dominate the agenda by running campaigns. That is partly the reason why Jobbik has gradually abandoned the topic of migration and rather tried to turn to other topics to shift the focus of the political agenda.

The relation between Jobbik and Fidesz became very tense in autumn as a consequence of the referendum and the parliamentary vote on Fidesz's motion to amend the constitution. While PM Orbán expected Jobbik to support the amendment, Mr Vona imposed certain conditions ahead of the vote, to which PM Orbán did not want to give in. Instead, the government and media outlets close to Fidesz launched a massive campaign to discredit Jobbik and Mr Vona personally. Fidesz's politician accused Jobbik of corruption scandals, betraying the national interests, joining and cooperating with the left, being financed by foreign countries, and being directed from the background by an oligarch called Lajos Simicska, who used to bePM Orbán's closest allyuntil 2014. While, on the one hand, Fidesz politicians and pro-Fidesz media have accused Jobbik of having lost its credibility due togiving up the party's traditional radical positions, on the other hand, they have attacked Jobbik for maintaining close links to paramilitary organisations and having extremist members.Accusations and attacks against Mr Vona and other Jobbik politicians became more and more personal and offensive throughout the year. At the same time, the media controlled and directed by Fidesz published orchestrated stories about the dubious affairs of Jobbik politicians on almost a daily basis to discredit them personally and to force them to make political mistakes. Unpleasant stories on their private lives were published; they and their family members were followed by paparazzi. Probably the most remarkable effort to discredit Mr Vona was when a transvestiteperformer claimedhe had had homosexual affairs. Fidesz hoped to undermine Jobbik's support among the party's traditional electorate made up of conservative, white, middle-aged men living in rural municipalities.[156]

In 2016, the government took a harsh stance against one particular right-wing extremist organisation, the Hungarian National Front (MNA). This neo-Nazi group, which

[156]'Orbán így Jelölte Ki Fő Ellenfelét: Vona Gábort [That's How Orbán Appointed His Main Opponent Gábor Vona]', 8 December 2016, http://index.hu/belfold/2016/12/08/orban_viktor_vona_gabor_fidesz_jobbik_nepszavazas_letelepedesi_kotveny/.

had existed since 1989 and whose leader, István Győrkös had been well-known to authorities, created domestic and international headlines in October when Mr Győrkös allegedly shot a police officer during a failed attempt by the police to search his house. After the incident, the press revealed that the MNA had had active relations with the Russian military intelligence agency GRU, whose officers had participated in several paramilitary training sessions organised by the group.[157]However, other right-wing extremist organisations besides MNA seem to have maintained relations with the Kremlin and function as a multiplicator and intermediary of Russian interests and propaganda.[158]Fidesz attempted to connect the extremist group to Jobbik and rejected all criticism regarding the responsibility of the government.[159]Within two months after the incident, by the end of the year, MNA was dismantled by Hungarian authorities, and some of the group's members were detained.

Other far-right organisations or right-wing extremist paramilitary organisations were not particularly addressed by the government in 2016. While the authorities monitor the activities of the groups and police are present at the events of these organisations, including marches and patrolling missions, neither the government nor the intelligence services apply harsh measures or rhetoric against these organisations. The lack of action is especially interesting becausethe governing party Fidesz heavily attacked Jobbik for maintaining close relations withright-wing extremist organisations and supporting extremism.This sheds light on Fidesz's strategy towards right-wing extremist organisations. The governing party uses the topic of extremism and the risk of extremist organisations depending on its political interests. According to the fundamental element of Fidesz's political strategy called "central power field", the governing party should be the only party in the centre of the political spectrum, surrounded by smaller and divided left-wing and right-wing parties (often called "extremists" or "extreme" by Fidesz politicians). Therefore, Fidesz needs the existence of extremist organisations to argue that the government is a bastion against the surge of extremists and to blame them as the "bad" (or "worse") guys.

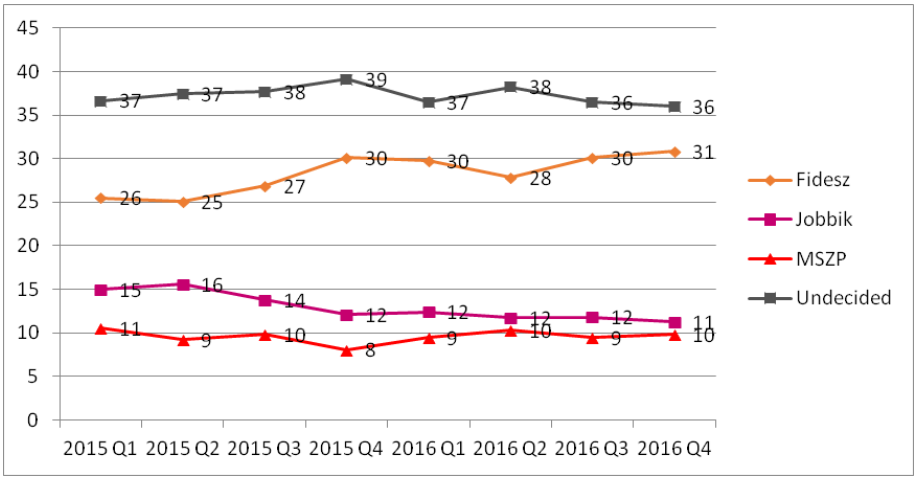
The other reason for the lack of harsher actions against right-wing extremist organisations became clear after the tragic murder of a police officer by MNA leader Győrkös in Bőny in October. Even though the authorities had had information on MNA and their connections to Russian secret services, no action had been takenbefore the incident. The case has made it clear that the political leadership obstructs intelligence activities countering the Kremlin's influence in Hungary because of domestic political interests and avoiding disrupting bilateral relations with Russia. The fact that the Hungarian government has become increasingly dependent on the Russian regime both politically and economically seems to limit the scope of actions against right-wing extremist organisations domestically, too.[160]

[157]Higgins, 'Intent on Unsettling E.U., Russia Taps Foot Soldiers From the Fringe'.
[158]Attila Juhász et al., '"The Truth Today Is What Putin Says It Is". The Activity of Pro-Russian Extremist Groups in Hungary' (Political Capital, 2017), http://politicalcapital.hu/pc-admin/source/documents/PC_NED_country_study_HU_20170428.pdf.
[159]Dezső András, 'A Bőnyi Rendőrgyilkosság Hazavágta a Hungaristákat [The Killing of a Police Officer in Bőny Has Brought the End for the Hungarists]', 16 November 2016, http://index.hu/belfold/2016/11/16/az_arcvonalosoknak_ezzel_befellegzett/.
[160]Bulcsú Hunyadi, Csaba Molnár, and Patrik Szicherle, 'Vulnerability Index: Hungary - Subversive Russian Influence in Hungary' (Political Capital, 2017), http://politicalcapital.hu/pc-admin/source/documents/PC_Globsec_Vulnerability_Index_Hungary.pdf.

7. Popularity of radical parties and groups

Jobbik's electoral support was stable throughout 2016. After an increase in the party's popularity at the beginning of 2015, Jobbik's support decreased to 12percentat the end of 2015 and practically remained at this level throughout 2016 with a decrease of only one percentage point at the end of the year. The increasing popularity at the beginning of 2015 was part of a trend that had already started at the end of 2014, reaching its peak in the second quarter of 2015. The decrease that followed is related to the increase of Fidesz's popularity, which was the consequence of the governing party's anti-immigration campaign starting at the beginning of 2015. The fact that support for Jobbik decreased between the second and fourth quarter of 2015 and then remained stable throughout 2016 shows how successful Fidesz's anti-immigration campaign was. The governing party reached its goals and managed to gain support and, at the same time, prevented its opponents, mainly Jobbik,from capitalising on the migration situation.In relation to Jobbik, the year 2016 was mostly about the redefinition of internal power relations (reshuffling the party's board) and the intensification of the struggle between Fidesz and Jobbik, as described in Chapter 6. The main reasonwhy Jobbik was unable to gain more support during 2016 is that Fidesz successfully dominated the political agenda and any other party, including Jobbik, was incapableof shifting the focus of public discussion away from Fidesz's key issue, migration. However, the minor decrease of Jobbik's popularity at the end of 2016 also shows that Fidesz's massive anti-Jobbik campaign presented in the previous chapter had little effect on the voters. Moreover, it shows that Jobbik could resist the challenge posed by Fidesz's harsh anti-immigration rhetoric which left no room for a distinctive position forJobbik. Even though the far-right party could not compete with Fidesz's anti-immigration stance and Jobbik campaigned only half-heartedly ahead of the referendum, the party survived without any major losses.

10. Image Average popularity of Fidesz, Jobbik and the social democratic MSZP among all eligible voters, and the ratio of undecided voters (in%).[161]



[161] Calculations of Political Capital. Data are based on the average results of surveys conducted by Medián, Nézőpont, Publicus, Republikon, Századvég, Tárki and Ipsos/Závecz Research.

8. Hate crimes and incidents

Hungarian criminal law identifies two forms of hate crimes: violent offences committed against a member of a group and incitement ofhatred against a community. In the case of the latter, a very important modification came into effect in October 2016. The Criminal Code was modified and separated two different forms of this behaviour: the incitement ofhate and of violence. Although previous directives of the European Union declared the importance to differentiate between the two, the juridical practice in Hungary had not separated them, and this practice impeded judgements in most of these cases.

In thecase of other types of crime, it is considered an aggravating circumstance if they were committed with a racist motivation. In that case, the court has to hand downa more serious sentence.[162]In addition, the Civil Code addressesthe crime of the public denial of the crimes of National Socialism (and also that of Communism), and also the distribution, public use and public exhibition of symbols of totalitarianism (such as the swastika, the insignia of the SS, the arrow cross, but also the five-pointed red star, or the hammer and sickle) in a way offending the dignity of the victims of totalitarian regimes and their right to sanctity or when it is capable of breaching public peace in any way.[163]

In addition, in March 2014 a new Civil Code came into effect penalizing hate speech, stating that "any member of a community shall be entitled to enforce his personality rights in the event of any false and malicious statement made in front of the wider public for being part of the Hungarian nation or of a national, ethnic, racial or religious group, which is recognized as an essential part of his personality, manifested in a conduct constituting a serious violation in an attempt to damage that community's reputation, by bringing action within a thirty-day preclusive period" including the obligation to pay restitution.[164] Moreover, the Fourth Amendment of the Hungarian Constitution declares that the right to free speech is restrained by the dignity of communities and created the possibility for members of the violated communities to turn to the legal system to enforce their claims.[165]

It is impossible to give afull account of all the hate speech and incitement to religious and ethnic hatred. Firstly, government and, in most of the cases, any other statistics are unavailable onthese crimes[166]. Secondly, suchhate crimes and incidents largely remain unreported.[167] And thirdly, internet – including social media – is used extensively to spread prejudiced views, and the comprehensive monitoring of the internet is impossible. It needs to

[162]Hungarian 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.

[163] Barna, Ildikó (2015): *Anti-Semitic Hate Crimes and Incidents in Hungary 2014. Annual Report.* Budapest: Brussels Institution. pp. 41–42. (http://tev.hu/wp-content/uploads/2015/02/TEV_%C3%A9ves_jelent%C3%A9s_2014.pdf)

[164] Ibid. p. 42.

[165] Ibid. p. 15.

[166]The European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights (FRA) classified EU countries according to their official data collection mechanisms pertaining hate crime. Hungary was described as a country where few and a narrow range of bias motivations are recorded, and data are usually not published. (FRA (2012): *Making Hate Crime Visible in the European Union: acknowledging victims' rights.* Luxembourg: Publication Office of the European Union. pp. 7–9.) http://fra.europa.eu/sites/default/files/fra-2012_hate-crime.pdf

[167] FRA (2009): European Union Minorities and Discrimination Survey (EU-MIDIS). Data in Focus Report 01: Roma. Luxembourg: Publication Office of the European Union. pp. 4–6.

be emphasised that due to all reasons mentioned above exact numbers ofhate crimes and incidents are only partly available for Hungary.[168]

Hate crimes and incidents against the Roma

In the case of anti-Roma hate crimes and incidents, the lack of comprehensive monitoring is striking. Although it is well known that Roma people are severely discriminated, latency is very high.According to the Second European Union Minorities and Discrimination Survey carried out by the European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights (FRA) 32% of the Roma in Hungary perceived discrimination in the five years preceding the study and 21% of them in the last12 months before the survey. These rates are close to the average of nine Member States[169]participating in the survey. Hungarian Roma experienced discrimination mostly in public and private services, in housing, and when looking for a job. The fact that only 6% of Hungarian Roma who experienced discrimination in the year before the survey reported it or filed complaint proves the high latency of such cases.[170]

The decisions of the Equal Treatment Authority (Egyenlő Bánásmód Hatóság, EBH) shed light on the everyday discrimination Roma people face in Hungary. In 2016, EBH (only) took fifteen decisions where the complainant was a Roma. In most of the cases, these people were discriminated in pubs, restaurants orat work. One of the cases became widely known: the case of the mayor of Mezőkeresztes which we discussed in Chapter 1.

As we discussed in Chapter 5, right-wing extremist paramilitary organisations continued to organise marches through neighbourhoods in smaller towns and villages with a significant Roma population calling these marches "healthy walks". The main goal of these marches is to intimidate the local Roma community.

In February 2016, in a preparatory course of one of Hungary's biggest universities two racist gipsy jokes about Gipsies appeared in a test to "entertain" those taking the exam. The preparatory course was offered for high school graduates and was organised by a student organisation. A Hungarian daily informed the officials of the organisation, who were shocked and initiated an investigation immediately.[171]

Anti-Semitic hate crimes and incidents

Anti-Semitic cases are discussed based on two sources. Primarily, the monitoring activity of Action and Protection Foundation (*Tett és Védelem Alapítvány*, TEV)[172].[173] Their monitoring system is largely based on press monitoring. Therefore, their figures chiefly reflect

[168] In Chapter 5, we already discussed the hate crimes committed by radical parties and groups, therefore in this chapter we will only make mention of them.

[169]Participating member states: Bulgaria, Croatia, Czech Republic, Greece, Hungary, Portugal, Romania, Slovakia, and Spain.

[170] FRA (2016):Second European Union Minorities and Discrimination Survey (EU-MIDIS II). Roma – Selected Findings. Luxembourg: Publication Office of the European Union. pp. 36–40.

[171] 'Cigányvicekkel "dekorálták" a matek feladatsort [Math test was "decorated" with Gypsy jokes]', *nol.hu*, 2 February 2016, 2016, http://nol.hu/belfold/ciganyviccek-az-erettsegi-elokesziton-1599403

[172]The Action and Protection Foundation (TEV) is a registered civil organization founded in 2012. The three main pillars of its activity: legal aid, monitoring and research, as well as education and training.

[173] The descriptions of the cases are based on their monthly and annual reports. (http://tev.hu/en/publikaciok-2/ and http://tev.hu/en/eves-jelentes/)

hatecrimesand incidents that became public and had media attention. And secondly, the monitoring activity of the Forum against anti-Semitism (*Fórum az antiszemitizmus ellen*)[174]

Action and Protection Foundation registered 48 anti-Semitic hate crimes and incidents in 2016, includingzero attacks, one threat and ten cases of vandalism. The remaining 37 cases can be categorised as hate speech. The threat was the case already mentioned in Chapter 5, involving the Army of Outlaws posting a picture on its website with four of its members as they pointed to one of the member's t-shirt that featured the text "The Zyklon-B, It's a gas".

The cases of vandalism mostly concerned graffitis. For example, swastikas were found on houses, onthe Great Church of Debrecen andat a hiking spot. In another case, a gallows with the Star of David hung wasdrawn on a viewpoint near Budapest.

1. Picture: Gallows with a hung Star of David. Source: Action and Protection Foundation



[174] https://www.facebook.com/antiszemitizmus/?hc_ref=SEARCH&fref=nf and https://twitter.com/FAA_Bp

In June, a stone was thrown through the window of the synagogue in Gyöngyös[175].

2. Picture: The stone thrown through the window and the broken window of the synagogue in Gyöngyös
Source: Action and Protection Foundation



Hate speech registered by the Foundation mostly included Holocaust denial and relativisation.[176]Besidesthese, the most important one was the series of anti-Semitic articles written by Zsolt Bayer already mentioned in Chapter 3. In February 2016, Fidesz deputy chairmen Gergely Gulyás and former prime minister Péter Boross were to officiate at the unveiling of the statue erected in honour of Hungarian wartime racist politician György Donáth, a convicted anti-Semite.[177] In the end, a street protest prevented the planned unveiling and the bust was later removed. In connection to this case, Bayer started publishing the articles in a Hungarian daily titled "Intolerable". "The writings contain numerous anti-Semitic expressions, the majority of which reappear a number of times in the series. For instance, Bayer demonises Jewish people, he identifies the offenders of the Red Terror during the Hungarian Soviet Republic with Jews and refers to them as Jews. His anti-Semitic prejudice is exacerbated by claiming that Jews rule the world from the background, and they have control over Hungarian collective memory as well. He says Jews »magnify« the crimes committed against Jewish people and they »pardon« »Jewish crimes«. Bayer relativizes the Holocaust on multiple occasions."[178]

We have already discussed in Chapter 5 that while anti-Semitic thoughts and messages did not appear in Jobbik's mainstream communication in 2016, members of the party (even leading politicians) were involved in anti-Semitic offences.Those cases were discussed there.

[175]Gyöngyösis a town of approximately 34,000 residents situated in the north-eastern part of Hungary.
[176] Holocaust denial and relativization is discussed in Chapter 8.
[177] 'Statue to anti-Semitic Hungarian wartime politician to be unveiled near Holocaust Memorial Center'*Budapest Beacon*, 23 February 2016, http://budapestbeacon.com/politics/statue-to-anti-semitic-hungarian-wartime-politician-to-be-unveiled-near-holocaust-memorial-center/32430
[178] Róna, Dániel (2017): *Anti-Semitic Hate Crimes and Incidents Report. March 2016.*Budapest: Brussels Institute. (http://tev.hu/wp-content/uploads/2013/02/TEV_May_Eng_2016.pdf)

Hate crimes and incidents against the members of the LGBTQ community

As we already discussed in Chapter 5, that although the yearly Pride festival was not interrupted by any protests in 2016, Jobbik's Budapest branch issued a statement promising that, once in government, the party would ban the march. In July, the website of the Army of Outlaws published a lengthy article whose author called members of the LGBTQ community "sick creatures" who want to impose their illness on the majority to disrupt the institution of the family.

In June 2016, at the 27th Bálványos Summer Free University and Student Camp, Pastor József Paizs in his presentation used statements such as "Nobody is born to be a homosexual. Like it or not, that's the case!" or "I think it [homosexuality] is an illness. But I have good new, like all illnesses, it is also curable, treatable." He advised fathers: "hug your 3–5 years old sons because if you don't, a stranger man will do it".

In Chapter 5, we already mentioned that in November 2016, the local government of Ásotthalom led by Jobbik mayor László Toroczkai passed a local decree that prohibited anyone from "promoting gay propaganda including same-sex marriage in public in Ásotthalom". The decree was later overturned by acourt.[179]

In 2016, the EBH took two decisions for discrimination against an individual based on their sexual orientation, and another one for gender identification.

Islamophobia

In our 2015 Report, we discussed that in 2015 the Muslim community in Hungary experienced a sharp increase in Islamophobia. Our statements were primarily based on the first national report on Islamophobia in Hungary,which was published in 2016, as part of the European Islamophobia Report.[180] Since there was no newreport was published and no official data is available on anti-Muslim hate crimes and incidents, the number of these instances is unknown. However, as we have seen in Chapter 4, public opinion on Islam is very negative not only in itself but also in comparison to other European countries.

As we mentioned before, in November 2016 the local government of the Ásotthalom passed a local decree which prohibited any public activities related to Islam, including wearing Muslim clothing, the construction of mosques and the construction of any minarets in the town.The decree was later overturned by a court.[181]

We have also discussed that right-wing extremist paramilitary organisations and civil militias took upon themselves to aid border police in catching illegal migrant in Hungary. The best known of these groups was founded by László Toroczkai, the mayor of Ásotthalom

[179] 'Ásotthalom--the Hungarian Town That Banned Muslims and Gays in Public', *Hungarian Free Press*, 29 November 2016, http://hungarianfreepress.com/2016/11/29/asotthalom-the-hungarian-town-that-banned-muslims-and-gays-in-public/.

[180] Enes Bayrakli and Farid Hafez (2015): *European Islamophobia Report 2015*, Istambul: SETA.

[181] 'Ásotthalom--the Hungarian Town That Banned Muslims and Gays in Public', *Hungarian Free Press*, 29 November 2016, http://hungarianfreepress.com/2016/11/29/asotthalom-the-hungarian-town-that-banned-muslims-and-gays-in-public/.

andthe deputy chairman of Jobbik. Many of the migrants claimed that they had been severely beaten by “men in uniforms”.[182]

[182]'Civil militias might be abusing illegal immigrants at Hungarian border', *The Budapest Beacon*, 5 August 2016, http://budapestbeacon.com/civil-society/civil-militias-abusing-illegal-immigrants-at-hungarian-border/37192

9. Interethnic or religious clashes

Neither interethnic nor religious clashes occurred in Hungary in 2016. However, there were some cases that suggest tensions in the relations between the Roma and non-Roma and Muslim and non-Muslim.

Traditionally, the majority of the Hungarian society is prejudiced against the Roma and the anti-Roma rhetoric has increasingly become part of the mainstream since the second half of the 2000s. Although anti-Roma sentiments were already present its clear manifestations became much more frequent. The most blatant signs of interethnic clashes between the Roma and non-Roma were the serial murders targeting the Roma community in 2008 and 2009 and marchesthrough Roma-majorityparts of various Hungarian towns organised by different far-right groups in the late 2000s and early 2010s. Since then, anti-Roma rhetoric and actions have almost disappeared from the political agenda at the national level.However, the topic is still alive at the local level, and right-wing extremist groups such as MÖM and the Army of Outlaws still organise "patrolling marches" to intimidate the local Roma population and incite hatred against them, mainly in smaller localities, as described in Chapter 5.

Another sign of tensions between the Roma and non-Roma, and the willingness of some actors to politically exploit such sentiments is the case of Tiszavasvári, a town in north-eastern Hungary led by the Jobbik-affiliated Mayor Erik Fülöp, who has been the deputy chairman of the party since May 2016. The local government of Tiszavasvári signed a cooperation agreement with the right-wing extremist mayor of Érpatak, a village in North Hungary, and introduced the "Order and Integrity Programme", which is based on the model of Érpatak,a lawandorder programme mainly targeting the local Roma population.

Another sign of high tensions between the Roma and non-Roma are small-scale physical atrocities between members of the two communities. Even though such incidents were not reported in 2016, two court rulings took place in cases that had happened in previous years. Roma perpetrators weresentencedto imprisonment for committing a hate crime against members of the community of Hungarians and a far-right organisation called Hungarian National Guard because theyhad attackedtwo persons in 2013 who had organised a far-right march through the Roma-majority part of the town a few days earlier.[183]In a case of a group of non-Roma men armed with baseball bats, knives, gas spray, who had seriously assaulted a small group of Romani public workers in 2014, the regional court in its first instance ruling in May 2016 rejected the racist motive and declared that the reason was a personal conflict between one of the victims and the perpetrators despite the fact that the perpetrators attacked the victims by shouting "Filthy gypsies, you'll die!".[184]

Relations between Muslims and non-Muslims have traditionally been good in Hungary, probably for the reason that thereis only a minor Muslim community living in the country. However, several signs showed during 2016 that tensions against Muslims are rising

[183]Jovánovics, 'Az ítélőtábla Szerint a Gárdát Utálni Rasszizmus [Hating the Guard Is Racism, according to the Court]'.
[184]Erdélyi, 'Símaszkban Verték össze a Közmunkásokat, Rendőr Adott Tippeket Hozzá [Public Workers Beaten up by Some Wearing Ski Masks with a Police Officer Giving Recommendations How to Do It]'.

in Hungary. The Hungarian Helsinki Committee reported a growing (but still low) number of cases in which members of the Muslim community were harassed or assaulted.[185]

In the rhetoric of the government and far-right groups, anti-immigration sentiments were linked to Islamophobia and migration was framed as an element of the conflict between Muslims and Christians. In this rhetoric, terrorist attacks werealso portrayed as parts of the war between Christianity and Islam.According to PM Orbán, Brussels's migration policy leads to the catastrophe of a civilisation, and we will not be able to recognise Europe anymore due to the steadily increasing Muslim population.[186]According to László Kövér, speaker of the Parliament, Hungarians have to decide whether they want to remain Christians or become Muslims.[187] This rhetoric was applied for domestic political reasons to mobilise the electorate for Fidesz's purposes. At other occasions governmentrepresentatives stroke a much more rational tone, which clearlyreveals the government's double-speak strategy. At the centenary of the acknowledgement of Islam as an official religion in Hungary, leading government politicians talked about the peaceful coexistence of Islam and Christianity, which has a long tradition in Europe and Hungary. They also added that Islam increasingly belongs to the daily life of the continent. Furthermore, Speaker of the House László Kövér stated that Islamic religion, culture and politics cannot be equated with Islamist terror – comments, which otherwise cannot be heard from Fidesz politicians in public events.[188]

There was one minor attempt in 2016 that was suitable to incite hatred between the Roma and refugees. At a campaign gathering ahead of the referendum Tamás Szabó, a member of Fidesz and mayor of Jászberény, a town in Eastern Hungary, warned the Roma that if migrants were settled in Hungary, the aid provided to them would have to be taken away from the Roma. According to the report, the mayor essentially asked the Roma to persuade each other that the arrival of migrants would mean less aid for them.[189]

However, the creation of such tensions between the Roma and refugees was not unheard of at the time. In 2015, Minister of Justice László Trócsányistated in Berlin that "Hungary cannot accommodate economic refugees because it also has to take care of 800,000 gipsies who still need to catch up".[190]

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[185]'Lehet Itt Még Gyűlöletet Szítani, a Buszon Már Fejbe Akarták Lőni a Magyarul Beszélő Muszlim Nőt [More Hatred Can Be Incited but Someone Already Wanted to Shoot a Native Hungarian Muslim Woman.]', *NOL.hu*, 24 July 2016, http://nol.hu/belfold/lehet-itt-meg-gyuloletet-szitani-a-buszon-mar-fejbe-akartak-loni-a-magyarul-beszelo-muszlim-not-1624897.

[186]'Ne Kockáztassuk Magyarország Jövőjét! [Don't Put Hungary's Future at Risk!]'.

[187]'Kövér'.

[188]'Balog Zoltán: Párbeszédre van Szükség Az Iszlámmal, Ehhez Partnerség Kell [Zoltán Balog: Discussion Is Needed with Islam, and for This Partnership Is Required]', *Magyarhirlap.hu*, 30 March 2016, http://magyarhirlap.hu/cikk/51213/Balog_Zoltan_Parbeszedre_van_szukseg_az_iszlammal_ehhez_partnerseg_kell.

[189]'A Fidesz Azt üzeni a Cigányoknak, Hogy a Migránsok Elveszik a Segélyüket [Fidesz's Message to the Roma Is That Migrants Would Take Their Social Benefits]'.

[190]'Trócsányi: A Balkánról érkező Menekültáradat a Prioritásunk [Trócsányi: Refugee Flow Coming from the Balkans Is Our Priority]', *Inforadio.hu*, 22 May 2015, http://inforadio.hu/belfold/2015/05/22/trocsanyi_a_balkanrol_erkezo_menekultaradat_a_prioritasunk-728248/.

10. Sport-related xenophobia

In our 2015 Report, we wrote about the Hungarian far-right football fan group, the Ultras Liberi. We also discussed that in July 2015, Facebook, after receiving a large number of complaints about a post that said members had given food and drink containing laxatives to refugees was promptedto delete the page with 76,000 members.[191] Although it seemed that the group completely disappeared, it returned to Facebook with a weaker following on the page called "From father to son" with almost 10,500 followers.

In May 2016, during a Tatabánya–MTK[192] match, supporters of the former were shouting "Filthy Jews!". After the incident, a fight began between some of the Tatabánya and MTK supporters, but it was soon stopped by the organisers. The Discipline Committee of the Hungarian Football Federation (*Magyar Labdarúgó Szövetsége,* MLSZ)fined MTK HUF 50,000 and Tatabánya HUF 300,000.[193]

In June 2016, Hungarian ultra-nationalist football fans were accused of making Nazi salutes[194] during UEFA Euro 2016 Championships. Although UEFA has issued a EUR 65,000 fine on the Hungarian Football Federation, it was imposed not for the Nazi salute butcrowd disturbances, setting off of fireworks and throwing objects.

3. Picture: Hungarian ultra-nationalist football fans allegedly made Nazi salutes. Source: Reuters



[191] 'Hungary: A Grim Way Station for Asylum Seekers', *IRIN*, 8 July 2015, http://www.irinnews.org/analysis/2015/07/08.
'Eltűnt a Facebookról a Legnagyobb Szélsőjobboldali Ultracsoport' ['The largest right-wing ultra group has disappeared from Facebook'], *444*, 6 July 2015, http://444.hu/2015/07/06/eltunt-a-facebookrol-a-legnagyobb-szelsojobboldali-ultracsoport.

[192] Due to historical reasons MTK has a reputation of being a „Jewish team".

[193] Róna, Dániel (2017): *Anti-Semitic Hate Crimes and Incidents Report. May 2016.*Budapest: Brussels Institute. (http://tev.hu/wp-content/uploads/2013/02/TEV_May_Eng_2016.pdf)

[194] The Hungarian daily, *Magyar Nemzet* argued that the fans of the well-known Fradi (FTC) have been using the salute from the 1990s to illustrate their slogan saying "from the heart to the sky". Moreover, since 2015 the club has been suggesting a new form of the salute using both hands to avoid misunderstandings.
'Íme a négy legcsúnyább antifasiszta öngól a lelátón [Here there are the four ugliest antifascist own-goal on the grandstand]', *Magyar Nemzet*, 28 June 2016, https://mno.hu/foci_eb/ime-a-negy-legcsunyabb-antifasiszta-ongol-a-lelaton-1349393
Nevertheless, having known all the racist incidents connected to the ultras of this football club, the original meaning of the salute is dubious, to say the least.

Also at the UEFA Euro 2016 Championships, some ultranationalist football fans were pictured with swastika tattoos on them. The pictures appeared in several European newspapers.[195]

4. Picture: Hungarian footballsupporter is wearing tattoos of theswastika.
Source: 444.hu and Action and Protection Foundation



[195] Ibid.

11. Glorification of German national-socialism and Nazi Germany collaborators, Holocaust denial

The glorification of German National Socialism and its collaborators in the mainstream media, and the glorification of German National Socialism and/or its collaborators in the decisions made by the authorities are practically absent in Hungary. However, extreme hategroups following neo-Nazi ideology exist in Hungary. We have already addressed them at length in Chapter 5.

The most important event of these hate groups and their followers is the so-called "Outbreak Day" or "Day of Honour" on February 11 every year. On this day in 1945 "some 28,000 German armies, Waffen SS and Hungarian troops accompanied by a large number of civilians attempted to break through Soviet lines encircling the city and escape to the wooded hills to the north-west. Most were captured, killed, or wounded by the Soviet army. Two days later the city surrendered."[196]In February, three events were organised to commemoratethis day.On February 6, HVIM, the Army of Outlaws and other smaller groups organised an event commemorating the 40,000 Hungarian and German soldiers who died during the siege of Budapest in 1944–45 in Székesfehérvár, a city in Western Hungary. In his speech at the event, Mr Tyirityán praised Waffen SS and the Hungarian Nazi leader Szálasi who seized power after Hungary had been occupied by Germany in 1944. Klaus Grotjahn, a former member of the Waffen SS, was expected to hold a speech at the event, but it was cancelled due to his poor health. However, he then gave his speech in a closed session after the demonstration.[197]On February 11, the HVIM held a commemoration ceremony in Veszprém. On February 13, a similar commemoration took place in Budapest, which was organised by the Hungarian National Front, Pax Hungarica Movement and Hungaria Skins.[198]

Although the government and the authorities did not glorify National Socialism, however in some cases their failed to distance themselves from its collaborators. These cases included naming organisations and public places after these people. There are two particular names that played important roles: Bálint Hóman and József Nyírő. The registration rules and procedures in Hungary prohibitnamingorganisations and public places after someone "who played a leading role in the establishment or maintenance of an autocratic political regime in the 20th century"[199]. In 2016, the Action and Protection Foundation initiated several actions to make local governments change the names streets named after these persons, and in most of the cases,they succeeded. However, in the case of the Bálint Hóman Foundation which

[196] Neo-Nazis commemorate German attempt to "break out" of Budapest in 1945. 8 February, 2014. http://budapestbeacon.com/public-policy/neo-nazis-commemorate-german-attempt-to-break-out-of-budapest-in-1945/4750

[197] „Dicsőség a Waffen SS-Nek, Dicsőség Szálasi Ferencnek" – a Kitörés Napjára Emlékeztek ["Honour to the Waffen SS, Honour to Ferenc Szálasi" - Day of Honour Commemoration]', Budapest Beacon, 7 February 2016, http://hu.budapestbeacon.com/kiemelt-cikkek/dicsoseg-a-waffen-ss-nek-dicsoseg-szalasi-ferencnek-a-kitores-napjara-emlekeztek/.

[198] 'Náci és Nyilas Egyenruhákban Tartottak Kitörés Napi Megemlékezést a Várban a Neonácik [Neo-Nazi Commemorated the Day of Break out in the Castle Dressed in Nazi and Arrow-Cross Uniforms]', *444*, 13 February 2016, http://444.hu/2016/02/13/naci-es-nyilas-egyenruhakban-tartottak-kitores-napi-megemlekezest-a-varban-a-neonacik.

[199] Róna, Dániel (2017): *Anti-Semitic Hate Crimes and Incidents in Hungary 2016. Annual Report.* Budapest: Brussels Institute. (http://tev.hu/wp-content/uploads/2017/06/2016_eves_jelentes_ENG.pdf)

initiated the erection of the Hóman statue in Székesfehérvár, they did not. In our previous report, we discussed the case of the statue of Bálint Hóman. Although the Hungarian government originally supported the idea of erecting the statue, PM Orbán later abandoned and condemned the plan. It turned out that the Bálint Hóman Foundation's name is illegal for the reason mentioned above. Although the Action and Protection Foundation took legal action, and despite the fact that it became clear that the Bálint Hóman Foundation violates the law, the organisation did not comply with the obligation to change its name by the end of 2016.

It is also important to mention, that although government officials and politicians of Fidesz use every opportunity to condemn anti-Semitism and Nazism, it does not mean condemning all those who took part in the Holocaust. As we discussed in Chapter 8, Fidesz deputy chairmen Gergely Gulyás and former prime minister Péter Boross were to officiate at the unveiling of the statue erected in honour of Hungarian wartime racist politician György Donáth, a convicted anti-Semite. Eventually, protesters prevented the unveiling of a statue.[200]

Holocaust denial is present in the Hungarian society. A survey, carried out at the end of 2016 revealed that 10 to 20% of the Hungarian population deny the Holocaust[201], while 24 percent of the respondents relativize it[202]. These rates increased significantly from 2006 and 2015 while remaining more or less stable since then.[203]

On far-right portals, Holocaust denial and relativization are constantly present.Action and Protection Foundation took legal actions in many cases concerning Holocaust denial or relativisation, and final decisions were reached in some of their previous cases.[204]

In January 2016, a 68-year-old Facebook user wrote on Facebook that the Holocaust had in fact not been planned and decided on by representatives of the National Socialist regime, but rather the Jewish leaders. In conclusion, the Holocaust, as genocide committed by the Nazis, never happened. Action and Protection Foundation pressed charged, and in December the prosecutor's office found grounds for an indictment. In February 2016, the Foundation pressed charges against an unknown defendant for using the expression "Holohoax". There are court decisions stating that the use of this term clearly doubts the Holocaust, and it is considered as Holocaust denial. Also in February, thefinal decision was made in a long case going back to 2014. The defendant posted in 2014 that "Holocaust did not happen!!!!!!!!!!!" After many rounds of legal procedures, the court reached a final decision and fined the defendant HUF 150,000. Action and Protection Foundation filed charges against Tibor Ágoston, a Jobbik representative of the Municipality of Debrecen for Holocaust denial in February 2014. In March 2016, the Debrecen Tribunal reached a final decision and fined

[200] 'Statue to anti-Semitic Hungarian wartime politician to be unveiled near Holocaust Memorial Center'*Budapest Beacon*, 23 February 2016, http://budapestbeacon.com/politics/statue-to-anti-semitic-hungarian-wartime-politician-to-be-unveiled-near-holocaust-memorial-center/32430

[201] Based on the rates of agreement to the following statements: "There weren't any gas chambers in the concentration camps." and "A large part of the horrors was invented by the Jews after the events."

[202] Based on the rate of agreement to the following statement: "The number of Jewish victims was much lower than usually stated."

[203] Hann, Endre and Róna, Dániel (2017): *Anti-Semitic Prejudice in Contemporary Hungarian Society Research Report.* Budapest: Medián, Action and Protection Foundation. pp. 23–25.

[204] The descriptions of the cases are based on their monthly and annual reports. (http://tev.hu/en/publikaciok-2/and http://tev.hu/en/eves-jelentes/)

Ágoston HUF 750,000. In April 2016, the chairman of Jobbik' branch in Üllés[205]was sentencedto 100 hours of community service for denying the Holocaust. He is also obliged to visit the Holocaust Memorial Centre in Páva Street and write a report about it.

[205] Üllés is a village of approximately 3,000 residents situated in the southern part of Hungary.

12. Persecution of human rights activists

The government has been waging a campaign against human rights NGOs since 2013. The targets of the campaign have mainly been watchdogs, human rights and transparency NGOs which criticise the government's policies in various fields. The war on NGOs fits into the pattern of anti-democratic developments in Hungary and, in many aspects, resembles the Kremlin's measures in Russia. The main objective of the Hungarian government is to strengthen its grip on power and silence independent and critical voices. Since 2013, the campaign against NGOs has consisted of various measures and waves including legal and administrative steps, criminal investigations and communication campaigns.[206] The goal of the actions against NGOs is to discredit the organisations, intimidate them and hamper their operation.

As the UN Special Rapporteur on the situation of human rights defenders pointed out in his end of mission statement issued on February 16, 2016, after his visit to Hungary, human rights defenders in Hungary "are increasingly working in a rather polarised and politicised environment." The Special Rapporteur criticised attempts to de-legitimize human rights defenders and undermine their peaceful and legitimate activities through criminal defamation and excessive administrative and financial pressure. According to the report, "human rights defenders who criticize the Government or raise human rights concerns are quickly intimidated and portrayed as 'political' or 'foreign agents'. They face enormous pressure through public criticism, stigmatization in the media, unwarranted inspections and reduction of state funding." The Special Rapporteur called on the government to refrain from stigmatising and intimidating human rights defenders, and ensure that they can conduct their work in an enabling legal and administrative environment.[207]

While in 2014 and 2015 a series of legal and administrative measures including police raids, investigations by the police and various authorities, and court cases were aimed against NGOs, 2016 was the year of smear campaigns and verbal assaults. By January and February 2016, the procedure which the National Tax and Customs Administration (NAV) had launched againstNGOs earlier wasclosed without any results. NAV stated in the written closing protocols, which all had the same wording, that no further official proceedings would be launched based on the investigations.[208]What followed in the rest of the year were smear campaigns in multiple waves using different elements, in the frames ofwhich the main target was George Soros and organisations supported by the Soros-foundedOpen Society Foundations. Since Hungary has beencloseddown for refugees and migrants due to the physical and legal closure of the border and the population was no longeraffected by mass migration, the government needed a new symbolic enemy linked to the topic of migration to keep up with the anti-immigration rhetoric. This new enemy has become George Soros, who

[206]A detailed summary of the attacks against NGOs by the government between August 2013 and February 2017 can be found here:Eötvös Károly Policy Institute et al., 'Timeline of Governmental Attacks against the Hungarian NGO Sphere', 2017, http://www.helsinki.hu/wp-content/uploads/Timeline_of_gov_attacks_against_HU_NGOs_22022017.pdf.

[207]'End of Mission Statement by Special Rapporteur on the Situation of Human Rights Defenders, Visit to Hungary 8-16 February 2016', 16 February 2016, http://www.ohchr.org/EN/NewsEvents/Pages/DisplayNews.aspx?NewsID=17048&LangID=E.

[208]Eötvös Károly Policy Institute et al., 'Timeline of Governmental Attacks against the Hungarian NGO Sphere'.

was accused by the Hungarian government of supporting and organising migration to the EU to weaken nation-states, eliminate traditional and conservative values and create a multicultural and multi-ethnic supranational political entity. According to this conspiracy theory, Hungarian NGOs supported by Mr. Soros have been criticising the government because they endorse migration to Hungary for the reasons mentioned above.NGOs were attacked by the government for various reasons under the pretext that they would pose a risk to national security. In May, PM Orbán stated in an interview that organisations sponsored by Mr. Soros are a "background power," who "constantly aim to gain political influence".[209] In the same month, a news portal controlled indirectly by the government published a list of NGOs, which constitute a "loud but minor human rights and civil activist network", the so-called "Soros-network". The article expressed concerns about the transparency of the listed NGOs' financing.[210] On the same day, János Lázár, head of the Prime Minister's Office stated that the "entire domestic pro-migrant civil sector belongs to the sphere of influence of Soros," and stated that his opinion is based on reports prepared by national security services.[211] Due to this statement, Mr. Lázár later had to clarify before the Parliament's National Security Committee whether Mr. Soros and NGOs allegedly linked to him was under surveillance. Mr. Lázár stated that no NGOs were under surveillance by national security services.[212] In June, Eötvös Károly Policy Institute, one of the organisations under the constant attacks of the government, reported to have found an electronic deviceattached to telephone and internet cablesin its office. According to an expert opinion, the device was suitable for data transmission and probably used for wiretapping the organisation's communication.[213]In June, a court ruled against Fidesz in a lawsuit launched by the Hungarian Helsinki Committee (HHC) because in 2015 the governing party had violated HHC's right to a good reputation by stating that HHC is a "fake" NGO, which "executes the political orders" of international actors and tampers with data concerning asylum-seekers. According to the court's ruling, Fidesz was obliged to pay HUF 1 million worth of damages to the organisation.[214]In September, vice presidentof Fidesz andcice-chairmanof the National Assembly's national security committee Szilárd Németh announced that he requested the committee and national security services to inspect the organizations "cooperating with the Soros-network". Mr. Németh stated that he identified 22 such organizations and claimed that these organizations openly violate Hungarian and European laws, and participate in politics unlawfully, using

[209]'Orbán Viktor Interjúja a Kossuth Rádió „180 Perc' Című Műsorában [viktor Orbán's Interview in the Programme of Kossuth Radio "180 Minutes"]', *Miniszterelnok.hu*, accessed 20 June 2017, http://www.miniszterelnok.hu/orban-viktor-interjuja-a-kossuth-radio-180-perc-cimu-musoraban-20160525/.

[210]'A Lista: A Soros-Hálózat Hazai Kitartottjai [The List: Domestic Servents of the Soros-Network]', 25 May 2016, https://888.hu/article-a-lista-a-soros-halozat-hazai-kitartottjai.

[211]'Lázár: Titkosszolgálati Jelentések Bizonyítják Soros Magyarországi Befolyását [Lázár: Intelligence Reports Prove the Influence of Soros in Hungary]', *ATV.hu*, 25 May 2016, http://www.atv.hu/belfold/20160525-lazar-titkosszolgalati-jelentesek-bizonyitjak-soros-magyarorszagi-befolyasat.

[212]'Lázár: Nem Figyelik Soros Tevékenységét a Titkosszolgálatok [Lázár: Activities of Soros Are Not under Surveillance by the Intelligence Services]', *Hvg.hu*, 26 May 2016, http://hvg.hu/itthon/20160526_lazar_janos_soros_gyorgy_menekultek.

[213]'Professzionális Poloskát Találtak Az Eötvös Intézet Irodájában [A Professional Bug Was Found in the Office of Eötvös Institute]', 8 June 2016, http://index.hu/belfold/2016/06/08/professzionalis_poloskat_talaltak_az_eotvos_intezet_irodajaban/.

[214]Eötvös Károly Policy Institute et al., 'Timeline of Governmental Attacks against the Hungarian NGO Sphere'.

"black money".[215]In October, the Hungarian Civil Liberties Union disclosed documents obtained by the organisation after a public enquiry procedure, which proved that the state audit of the Government Control Office into NGOs was launched in 2014 on the instruction of the prime minister himself.[216]In November, Donald Trump was elected as the next president of the US which had a significant impact on the Hungarian government's campaign against George Soros and independent human rights NGOs. Since Mr. Trump has also often criticised the political activities and the liberal world view of Mr. Soros and because both Mr. Trump and Mr. Orbán have a similarly harsh stance on immigration and the 'liberal mainstream', Mr. Orbán saw a great opportunity in Trump's election. According to the likely assessment of Mr. Orbán, Mr. Trump's election has created a favourable situation at the international stage for harsher anti-democratic measures in Hungary, including measures against human rights NGOs. Mr.Orbán probably hoped that the new US president would have a more positive stance towards the Hungarian government and would be less critical of human rights abuses and anti-democratic tendencies. The change in the White House was probably one of the reasons why the government has finally decided to go beyond the rhetoric and take legislative steps, which have been on the political agenda for long, against NGOs. In the middle of December, the legislative agenda of the National Assembly for the Spring 2017 session was submitted to the Parliament. The agenda included the amendment of the law on civil organizations and the scope of those obliged to submit a declaration of assets. According to the document,furtherregulation on NGOs and widening the scope of those obliged to submit a declaration of assets would be necessary to ensure the transparent operation of NGOs.[217] In January 2017, Mr. Németh stated that "the Soros empire's fake civil organizations are maintained so that global capital and the world of political correctness can be imposed on national governments. These organizations have to be rolled back by every means, and I think they have to be swept out of here." He added that the "international possibility" to do that had just emerged with the election of Mr. Trump.[218]

[215]'Németh Szilárd Ráküldené a Titkosszolgálatokat a Sorossal Együttműködő Szervezetekre [Szilárd Németh Would Order the Inspection of Organisations Coopreating with Soros by the Intelligence Services]', *444*, 26 September 2016, http://444.hu/2016/09/26/nemeth-szilard-rakuldene-a-titkosszolgalatokat-a-sorossal-egyuttmukodo-szervezetekre.

[216]'Kiderítettük, Hogy Orbán Viktor Személyesen Rendelte El a Civilek Vegzálását [We Have Found out That the Unnecessary Inspection into NGOs Was Order by PM Orbán Personally]', *Tasz.hu*, 10 June 2016, https://tasz.hu/informacioszabadsag/kideritettuk-hogy-orban-viktor-szemelyesen-rendelte-el-civilek-vegzalasat.

[217]Eötvös Károly Policy Institute et al., 'Timeline of Governmental Attacks against the Hungarian NGO Sphere'.

[218]'Németh Szilárd: Minden Eszközzel El Kell Innen Takarítani a Civil Szervezeteket [Szilárd Németh: NGOs Have to Be Swept out of Here by All Means]', *444.hu*, 1 October 2017, https://444.hu/2017/01/10/nemeth-szilard-minden-eszkozzel-el-kell-innen-takaritani-a-civil-szervezeteket.

13. Conclusions

In 2016, the practice of far-reaching decrees of local governments continued, and some local governments used these to apply discriminatory measures. The most blatant example was the law-and-order programme called “Order and Integrity Programme” introduced by the local government of Tiszavasvári, led by the Jobbik-affiliated Mayor Erik Fülöp. The programme targeted the local Roma population and aimed at policing and intimidating them. According to the co-operation agreement signed by Tiszavasvári and the paramilitary organisation of the infamous, racist Érpatak MayorMr Orosz, the Legion of Honour, the latter patrolled Roma majority areas in the town. The harassment and the intimidation of Miskolc residents still living in the “Numbered Streets” area continued despite acourt ruling stating that the treatment of mainly Roma residents of Miskolc violated the principle of non-discrimination.

Despite the government’s official stance on condemning school segregation, it continued at full pace. In the last days of 2015, the government changed Hungary’s public education law to permit segregation in specific instances, for example in the case of private schools operated by recognised churches. Although some courts ruled that Roma students were unlawfully segregated, in most of the cases nothing happened after the ruling. However, it had a consequence in the international political arena: in March 2016, the European Commission launched an infringement proceeding against Hungary due to the segregation of Roma children in schools.

Legislation concerning asylum-seekers was further tightened in 2016. Hungary terminated the monthly cash allowance available for asylum-seekers, as well as the school-enrolment benefit previously provided to child asylum-seekers. A modification to the asylum and border legislation was approved making it legal to detainrefugees caught within up to eight kilometres from the border, and to take them back to the transit zone between Serbia and Hungary. As a result, these people could only submit their asylum applications in the transit zones.

The discriminatory practices of law enforcement bodies mainly targeted refugees and migrants as well as members of the Roma community in 2016. Discriminatory law enforcement practices against members of the Jewish communitywere not observed in 2016.

The practices of law enforcement bodies regarding asylum-seekers in 2016 fit the government’s political strategy aiming at preventing immigration to and migration through Hungary. While legislative changes and the closure of the Southern border ensured that asylum-seekers couldnot enter the country physically or they can be forced out of the country easily, law enforcement practices ensured that asylum-seekers face serious practical challenges even if they manage to enter the country. Law enforcement bodies’ approach to asylum-seekers was the practical realisation of the government’s harsh anti-immigration rhetoric. The attitude of law enforcement authorities towards asylum-seekers mirrors the hostility of the government’s anti-immigration policies and rhetoric.This became apparent by the limitations on the number of people who are allowed through at the gate of the transit zones, by the shortened “opening hours” of the immigration authority’s office in the transit zones, by the lack of aid provided by the authorities to asylum-seekers outside the transit zones and by the circumstances in transit zones, reception and detention centres.Besides

insufficient legal, practical and financial support, the disproportionate detention regime and the rejection of asylum applications without any substantial examination, the most blatant measure used by law enforcement bodies against asylum-seekers was the violent treatment offered by people in uniform, allegedly including police officers and members of legal local paramilitary units, the so-called 'field guards'.

While practices against asylum-seekers received major attention from both national and international watchdog and aid organisations in 2015 and 2016, the main target of discriminatory law enforcement practices in Hungary are traditionally the members of the Roma community.The Roma constitute the most vulnerable group in Hungary, prone to discriminatory practices in housing, education, employment and law enforcement processes. However, the latency is very high with regard to practices against the Roma. The most typical form of discrimination against the Roma by law enforcement bodies is the ethnic profiling practice of police officers. Several such cases were reported in 2016. Another typical discriminatory practice of both the police and the courts is that verbal or physical offences against members of the Roma community (and also against other minority communities such as Jews and LGBT people) are not classified as hate crimes, and the racist or ideological motives of the offences are not examined. However, the act designed to defend minority groups seem to be turned upside down by the courts. Roma perpetrators are more often convicted of inciting hatred against a member of a community (against the community of Hungarians or even the community of racist hate groups) than perpetrators belonging to the majority group. Institutionalised, comprehensive discrimination against the Roma at the local level occurred in two major cases in Hungary in 2016. The local government of Tiszavasvári, a town in North-eastern Hungary led by a mayor of the far-right Jobbik party, implemented a clearly discriminatory law-and-order policy model, which mainly aimed at the continuous harassment and intimidation of Roma citizens by the strictest actions of the authorities for every alleged deviation from the rules.The other case is that of Miskolc, a city in North-eastern Hungary, where inhabitants of the Roma settlement called "Numbered Streets"have been subject to continuous raids and forced evictions without being offered alternative housing options.

Just like in the previous year, the government's rhetoric was mainly targeted against asylum-seekers in 2016 and apart from some individual cases paid little attention to other minority groups. The rhetorical toolkit of the government regarding asylum-seekers in 2016 followed the same pattern as in 2015, including every element of right-wing populist, xenophobic and anti-establishment narratives that are otherwise the characteristics of far-right parties elsewhere in Europe.The key element of the toolkit is the incitement of fears and hatred of asylum-seekers. Within the framework of the securitisation approach, government and Fidesz party officials have linked migration to terrorism and crime. Furthermore, Fidesz applied a nativist narrativeand portrayed migration as part of a global power struggle, a war between 'Europeans' and 'migrants'. Moreover, cultural and religious confrontationappeared in the government's vision. depicting migration as a struggle between Christian Europe and Muslim intruders. To dehumanise asylum-seekers and to quiet down the feeling of solidarity, government officials carefully choose their words and only used the terms 'illegal immigrants' or 'illegal migrants' instead of 'refugees' or 'asylum-seekers'. Anti-establishment and Eurosceptic elements and conspiracy theories became the central element

ofFidesz's rhetorical toolkit in 2016. The EU and certain EU leaders were blamed for being too weak on migration, while it was suggested that migration was supported, financed and organised by some background actors, especially George Soros, the Hungarian-American billionaire philanthropist of Jewish descent.This was the consequence of the fact that due to the physical and legal closure of the borders, the government needed new symbolic enemies instead of actual migrants as drivers of the anti-immigration campaign. It was vital for the government to keep up the campaign in order to create polarisation, divide the political field into "national" and "anti-national" camps and to unite and mobilise Fidesz's voter base against a 'common enemy'. The communication framework in 2016 was created by a national referendum on the EU's relocation quota plan. The referendum, which took place in October, provided the government with the opportunity to prolong the presence of the topic of migration for almost an entire year, and to name the EU as the main scapegoat.

Because Hungarian society has traditionally been prejudiced against Roma and the far-right Jobbik party has long been running an anti-Roma course, the governing Fidesz party has rather abandoned the topic. At the same time, the harsh anti-refugee rhetoric diverted attention from the Roma, who received a breathing space because refugees and migrants have taken over the status of the mostdisliked minority group in the country. However, many are concerned that the hate incited deliberately against one group might easily turn against another group, and the most vulnerable in this regard are traditionally the Roma.In 2016, the Roma received special public attention in the frames of three topics. There were attempts by Fidesz to turn the Roma against refugees by threatening the Roma that the admission of refugees to Hungary would lead to a decrease inthe volume of social benefits for them. Another topic that directed attention to the Roma was education. First, government officials including Minister of Human Capacities Zoltán Balog blamed the low performance of deprived children, e.g. the poor and the Roma, for the disastrous results of the OECD's PISA tests. Second, government representatives criticised the infringement procedure launched by the European Commission against Hungary for the segregation of Roma pupils in schools by cynically claiming Brussels cannot know who is Roma and who is not because compiling a register based on ethnicity is prohibited in Hungary.Another case that focused attention on the Roma was when President János Áder awarded the infamous columnist József Bayer, who has a long track record of hate-inciting articles against the Roma, Jews, migrants and liberals and at the same time is one of Fidesz's earliest members and a key supporter of PM Orbán, with the Order of Merit of the Knight's Cross.

The Hungarian government has proclaimed many times since 2010 that it applies zero tolerance towards anti-Semitism.However, the government is very vocal in certain symbolic and historical issues and engages in identity politics in a way that is suitable to evoke anti-Semitic echoes among those who are receptive and prone to such views.In 2016, there were two main topics concerning the Jewish community. One was the government's harsh campaign against George Soros.The government has portrayedMr Soros as a machinator and conspirator, part of the 'background power', and accused him of supporting, financing and organising migration to Europe.The rhetoric used against Mr Soros resembles the narrative of anti-Semitic conspiracy theories that have been a core element of anti-Semitic far-right narratives in Hungary for long. While most certainly the government's anti-Soros campaign has not been based on anti-Semitic views, the rhetoric might inadvertently evoke anti-Semitic

feelings among those who are prone to these. The other key issue relevant to the Jewish community in 2016 was that President János Áder awarded József Bayer with the Order of Merit of the Knight's Cross. The act created a huge scandal both domestically and internationally because Mr Bayer's articles often consist of anti-Semitic elements including relativisation of the Holocaust.

While the Hungarian state officially acknowledges the principle of non-discrimination based on gender identity and sexual orientation, the government is clearly biased against LGBTQ people. Fidesz politicians and government officials often engage in homophobic comments under the pretext of praising the traditional family model. This rhetoric was used when representatives of Hungary vetoed a draft agreement at the Council of the European Unionto tackle homophobic and transphobic discrimination and promote measures to advance LGBTQ equality. For PM Orbán gay marriage is "not a human rights issue" but "a matter of naming things", and he rejects the idea because gay couples do not "cherish the thousands of years of Hungarian tradition under which men and women marry." However, the government portrays itself as human rights advocate and defender of minorities when it comes in handy to argue against immigration and incite fears. For instance, among other reasons, PM Orbán refuses to take Muslim refugees to Hungary under the pretext of defending the LGBTQ community against homophobia.

The Hungarian society can be described by an overall high level of the rejection of "otherness". Prejudice was always the strongest against the Roma. However, anti-immigrant sentiment has increased to a similarly high level. The prevalence of anti-Roma prejudice has been remarkably stable in the past two decades. According to the latest extensive poll conducted in 2011, 82% of the Hungarian population thought that "the problems of the Roma would be solved if they started to work at last", 60% agreed with the statement that "the inclination to criminality is in the blood of Gypsies", and 42% considered that "it is only right that there are still pubs, clubs and discos Gypsies are not allowed to enter".

According to a survey carried out at the end of 2016, 67% of society was not anti-Semitic, 13% hold moderate and 20% extreme anti-Semitic views. When analysing the content of anti-Semitism, it can be clearly seen that the agreement with statements about the excessive influence of Jews or even about a secret Jewish conspiracy is higher than with those about traditional Christian anti-Jewish sentiments. New anti-Semitism is also present in Hungarian society to a certain extent.

Despite the low levels of immigration (especially from culturally distant countries), xenophobia and anti-immigration sentiments are extremely strong in Hungarian society. The ratio of xenophobes increased from 41 to 53 percent between 2015 and 2016, while the group of xenophiles (i.e. those who think that asylum seekers should be admitted unconditionally) practically disappeared. The fact that openly-admitted xenophobia reached a record high in 2016 shows the effect of the government's anti-migrant campaign.

Hungarians increasingly think that immigration is one of the major issues in Hungary. While in November 2014 only 3% of the population listed immigration as one of the two most important domestic problems, in the Eurobarometer survey conducted in May 2015 their proportion already increased to 13% and in November 2016 it reached 30%. According to another survey: 85% of Hungarian respondents thought that immigration had increased a lot in Hungary over the past five years and 55% of Hungarians think that there are too many

immigrants in Hungary. This number is striking given the fact that asylum seekers mostly cannot get into Hungary and the very low number of immigrants admitted to the country.

Unfortunately, there is no detailed survey about homophobia in Hungary. In the 2014/2015 wave of the European Social Survey (ESS), 24% of the Hungarian population expressed disagreement with the statement that "Gay men and lesbians should be free to live their life as they wish", while 44%agreed with it. These proportions have stayed more or less stable throughout the different ESS waves since 2002.

A Pew Research Center survey of 2016 showed that among ten EU member states Hungarians have the least favourable view of Muslims: 72% of the Hungarian people hold negative feelings about them.

In Hungary, the traditional targets of radical parties, organisations and groups are the Roma and members of the Jewish and LGBTQ communities. However, since the issue of migration overshadowed all other topics in 2015, refugees and migrants have primarily come into the crosshairs of radical forces. However, significant changes happened within the far-right scene, affecting the strategies of these organisation to incite hatred.

The biggest and politically most significant actor of the right-wing radical scene is the far-right party Jobbik, which continued its repositioning and rebranding strategy starting in late 2013. The aim of that is to move the party from the far-right edge of the political spectrum into the centre and to acquire a more moderate image in order to attract voters from the centre, including former left-wing voters too. Therefore, in its mainstream communication at the national level Jobbik has abandoned its earlier topics and hate-inciting comments and the party is now focusing more on pragmatic issues (e.g., wage increase) and especially on corruption. Instead of anti-Roma and anti-Semitic messages, party leader Gábor Vona engages in symbolic issuesto 'build bridges'.These efforts reached a new high at the end of 2016 whenMr Vonasent Hanukkah greetings to Hungarian Jewish leaders. The move backfired: the majority of Jewish leaders strongly rejected the greetings, and the issue created strong opposition within the party too. Despite such efforts at the national level, Jobbik hasnot changed at the local level: the party's membership, core voter base, activists and local representatives largely remain just as radical as they used to be, and hold the same extremist beliefs and values as before.This has led to growing tensions between the pragmatic leadership and the radical-extremist base.

While the party's position has not changed regarding migration, Jobbik tried to change the focus of the issue and turn the topic against the government by focusing on the residency bond programme, which allowed purchasing the right to reside in Hungary and thus gain legal access to the EU.The ambivalent nature of Jobbik's stance became evidently clear in the run-up to the referendum on the EU's mandatory migrant relocation plan in October. While the party expressed its support for the referendum, Jobbik did not mobilise its voters enthusiastically. Nevertheless, Jobbik engaged in various anti-immigration activities throughout the year (e.g., ademonstration against refugee reception centres). The main figure of Jobbik's anti-immigration campaign was the Ásotthalom Mayor László Toroczkai, who has been deputy chair of the party since May 2016. A key event of the year was when the local government of Ásotthalom passed a decree that prohibited any public activities related to Islam in the town.

In contrast to Jobbik's ambivalent stance on migration, far-right paramilitary organisations were very vocal about their attitude and used the topic to widen their activities and outreach. While migration was practically non-existent for the Hungarian far-right before 2015, thetopic has become one of the most important ones since then. The fight against immigrationand the "defence" of Hungary and Europe have brought Hungarian organisations closer together and increased their co-operation with international and pan-European networks and far-right organisations of other countries. All significant Hungarian far-right organisations such as Sixty-Four Counties Youth Movement (HVIM), Army of Outlaws, Hungarian Self-Defence Movement (MÖM) and the two separate identitarian organisations, Identitesz and Identity Generation, organised activities against migration including demonstrations, flash mobs, study visits to the border and charity events for soldiersand police officers serving at the border.Knights Templar International (KTI), the far-right organisation of two British nationals, James Dowson and Nick Griffin,allegedly played a crucial role in creating closer cooperation among the different Hungarian groups, supplying them with social media expertise, equipment and most probably financial support as well. Even though right-wing extremist paramilitary organisations have many times claimed that they do their bit to control the Southern border and fight against "illegal border crossings", both the Ministry of Defence and the Ministry of Interior rejected allegations that authorities cooperated with far-right groups.

Despite Jobbik's "mainstreaming" approach, the party's representatives did not refrain from anti-Roma messages and actions in 2016. Jobbik politicians still framed the Roma as individuals who disobey the law, although in their official mainstream communication they abandoned the term "Gipsy crime", which had been introduced by the party earlier. The most blatant example of offences against the Roma was the law-and-order programme called "Order and Integrity Programme" introduced by the local government of Tiszavasvári, a town in North-eastern Hungary led by the Jobbik-affiliated Mayor Erik Fülöp, who has been the deputy chairman of the party since May 2016. The programme targeted the local Roma population and aimed at policing and intimidating them.

Just like in the years before, right-wing extremist paramilitary organisations organised marches through neighbourhoods in smaller towns and villages with a significant Roma population. However, while earlier these organisations proudly stated that their aim is to patrol the streets and intimidate the Roma, nowadays they refer to these activities as sports activities, as "healthy walks".

Unlike offences against refugees, migrants and the Roma, which physically targeted individuals or communities, offences against the Jews consisted largely of cases of hate speech. The nature of anti-Semitism in Hungary is mainly political, and it is especially related to conspiracy theories. The term "Jew" has become a swear word used to verbally harass different-minded people. Usually, liberals and the opponents of the government and Jobbik are labelled as Jews (and/or communists).While anti-Semitic thoughts and messages did not appear in Jobbik's mainstream communication in 2016, members of the party (even leading politicians) were involved in anti-Semitic offences.

Right-wing extremist organisations were involved in several offences against the Jews in 2016. Among the most significant was a picture published in July, on which some members of the Army of Outlawspointed to one of the member's t-shirts that featured the text "The

Zyklon-B, It's a gas". In February, two events organised by right-wing extremist and neo-Nazi groups took place, commemorating the so-called "Day of Honour", when German and Hungarian soldiers broke out of Budapest castle, which had been encircled by the Soviets in 1944.

While 2015 was rather quiet in terms of anti-LGBTQ actions and rhetoric, even though there were some protests against the yearly Pride in that year, 2016 brought a significant increase in anti-LGBTQ and pro-life activities. This is mainly the consequence of the surge of new radical groups such as the identitarian groups and KTI, for whom these topics have a central role in their traditionalist, Christian, anti-liberal and anti-mainstream cultural agenda.In 2016, several conferences, demonstrations and flash mobs took place, and a number of press releases were issued, linked mainly to the Army of Outlaws, Jobbik, Alfa Alliance, a Hungarian pro-life movement led by Imre Téglássy, who is also a key member of KTI, and the two identitarian groups Identitesz and Identity Generation.

The governing party uses the topic of extremism and the risk posedby extremist organisations depending on its political interests. According to the fundamental element of Fidesz's political strategy called "central power field", the governing party should be the only party in the centre of the political spectrum, surrounded by smaller and divided left-wing and right-wing parties (often called "extremists" or "extreme" by Fidesz politicians). Therefore, Fidesz needs the existence of extremist organisations to argue that the government is a bastion against the surge of extremists. The other probable reason for the lack of harsher actions against right-wing extremist organisations is the fact that many of these organisations have maintained relations with the Kremlin and functioned as a multiplicator and intermediary of Russian interests and propaganda. The fact that the Hungarian government has become increasingly dependent on the Russian regime both politically and economically seems to limit the scope of actions against right-wing extremist organisations domestically, too.

Due to the government'smassive anti-immigration campaign, which consists of the core elements and characteristics of the far-right narrative,its relationship with the actors of the far-right scene has changed since 2015. The relation between Jobbik and Fidesz became very tense in the autumn after Fidesz had launched a massive campaign to discredit Jobbik and Mr Vona personally. While on the one hand, Fidesz accused Jobbik of having lost its credibility due to giving up the party's traditional radical positions, on the other hand, they have attacked Jobbik for maintaining close links to paramilitary organisations and having extremist members.

In October, the government took a harsh stance against one particular right-wing extremist organisation, the Hungarian National Front (MNA), a neo-Nazi group, which had existed since 1989 and whose leader, István Győrkös had been well-known to authorities. By the end of the year, MNA was dismantledafter Mr Győrkös had allegedly shot a police officer during a failed attempt by the police to search his house in October. After the incident, the press revealed that the MNA had had active relations with the Russian military intelligence agency GRU, whose officers had participated in several paramilitary training sessions organised by the group.

Other far-right organisations or right-wing extremist paramilitary organisations were not particularly addressed by the government in 2016. While the authorities monitor the

activities of the groups and police are present at their events, neither the government nor the intelligence services apply harsh measures or rhetoric against these organisations.

Jobbik's electoral support was stable throughout 2016. After an increase in the party's popularity at the beginning of 2015, Jobbik's support decreased to 12% at the end of 2015 and practically remained at this level throughout 2016 with a decrease of only one percentage point at the end of the year. The main reason of Jobbik's stagnating popularity in 2016 was Fidesz's successful strategy to dominate the political agenda by focusing on the issue of migration. However, Jobbik's stable support also shows that Fidesz's massive anti-Jobbik campaign had little effect on the voters.

It is impossible to give afull account of all the hate speech and incitement to religious and ethnic hatred. First, government or, in most of the cases, any other statistics are not available about these crimes. Second, these hate crimes and incidents are largely unreported.[219] And third, internet – including social media – is used extensively to spread prejudiced views, and the comprehensive monitoring of the internet is impossible. It needs to be emphasised that due to the reasons mentioned above the exact numbers for hate crimes and incidents are unavailable inHungary.

There were only a fewincidents that came to light in the case of anti-Roma hate crimes and incidents. The mayor of a small town was fined by the Hungarian Equal Treatment Authority (EBH) because in the previous year he published a letter asking the residents not to sell their properties to Roma arriving from other villages. Paramilitary groups continued their marches in neighbourhoods with significant Roma populations.

Anti-Semitic hate crimes mostly fell into the category of hate speech, especially Holocaust denial and relativisation. Physical attacks, as in previous year, were practically absent. In 2016, the Pride was not interrupted by any protests, however after the event numerous far right organisation articulated their opinion on homosexuality.

Neither interethnic nor religious clashes occurred in Hungary in 2016. However, there were some cases that suggest tensions in the relations between the Roma and non-Roma and Muslim and non-Muslim. Regarding the relation between the Roma and the non-Roma, a sign of tensions were, for instance, the "patrolling marches" through Roma-majority areas organised by extremist groups such as MÖM and the Army of Outlaws. Another sign was the law-and-order programme introduced by the local government in Tiszavasvári.

Even though relations between Muslims and non-Muslims have traditionally been good in Hungary, probably for the reason that there is only a minor Muslim community living in the country, there are signs of growing tensions against Muslims. The reason of this is the anti-immigration rhetoric of the government, which evokes Islamophobic echoes.

In June, some Hungarian ultranationalist football fans were caught making Nazi salutes during UEFA Euro 2016 Championships. Moreover, some other fans were pictured with swastika tattoos on them.

Far-rightorganisations following neo-Nazi ideology celebrated the so-called "Outbreak Day" or "Day of Honour" as in the previous years. In February, three events were organised to commemoratethis day. Although the government and the authorities did not glorify

[219] FRA (2009): European Union Minorities and Discrimination Survey (EU-MIDIS). Data in Focus Report 01: Roma. Luxembourg: Publication Office of the European Union. pp. 4–6.

National Socialism, however, in some cases their failed to distance themselves from its collaborators.These cases included the naming organisations and public places after these people. Moreover, Fidesz deputy chairmen Gergely Gulyás and former prime minister Péter Boross were to officiate at the unveiling of the statue erected in honour of Hungarian wartime racist politician György Donáth, a convicted anti-Semite.

Holocaust denial is present in the Hungarian society. A survey carried out at the end of 2016 revealed that 10 to 20% of the Hungarian population deny the Holocaust, while 24% of the respondents relativize it. On far-right portals, Holocaust denial and relativization are constantly present.The Action and Protection Foundation took legal actions in many cases concerning Holocaust denial or relativisation, and final decisions were handed down in some of their previous cases.[220]

The government's harsh campaign against civil society organisations continued in 2016. The targets of the campaign were mainly watchdogs, human rights and transparency NGOs which criticise the government's policies, especially regarding corruption and migration. The war on NGOs fits into the pattern of anti-democratic developments in Hungary and, in many aspects, resembles the Kremlin's measures in Russia. The main objective of the Hungarian government is to strengthen its grip on power and silence independent and critical voices by discrediting and intimidating NGOs and hamper their operation.While in 2014 and 2015 a series of legal and administrative measures including police raids, investigations by the police and various authorities, and court cases were aimed against NGOs, 2016 was the year of smear campaigns and verbal assaults mainly targeting organisations supported by the Open Society Foundations, founded by George Soros. NGOs were accused of posing a threat to Hungary's security, serving foreign interests, and supporting and endorsing migration. Rhetoric was expected to turn into actions after Donald Trump's election as the president of the USA. According to the likely assessment of Mr Orbán, Mr Trump's election has created a favourable situation at the international stage for harsher anti-democratic measures in Hungary, including measures against human rights NGOs. Mr Orbán probably hoped that the new US president would have a more positive stance towards the Hungarian government and would be less critical of human rights abuses and anti-democratic tendencies. In the middle of December, the legislative agenda of the National Assembly for the Spring 2017 session was submitted to the Parliament. The document suggested that further regulation on NGOs and widening the scope of those obliged to submit a declaration of assets would be necessary to ensure the transparent operation of NGOs. In January 2017, Vice President of Fidesz and Vice-Chairman of the Parliament's National Security Committee Szilárd Németh stated that "the Soros empire's fake civil organisations (...) have to be swept out" of Hungary, given the "international possibility"that had just emerged with the election of Mr Trump.

[220] The descriptions of the cases are based on their monthly and annual reports. (http://tev.hu/en/publikaciok-2/and http://tev.hu/en/eves-jelentes/)

13. Recommendations

- Initiatives to enhance group and personal relations among members of minority and majority groups (e.g., Roma and non-Roma, refugees and Hungarian residents): According to the intergroup contact theory, under appropriate conditions, interpersonal contact is one of the most effective ways to reduce prejudice between majority and minority group members. Hatred incited by political actors for political purposes is based mainly on fears of the unknown strangers. The lack of contact provides fertile ground for alienation from and prejudice and hostility towards the out-group.In order to enhance intergroup and interpersonal relations and, thus, trust and understanding, initiatives that involve members of minority and majority groups (e.g., sports activities) are required.
- Additional resources should be allocated to sensitivity training for public officials, including police officers and social and family services providers to combat prejudices, discrimination and racism towards minority groups. Obviously, everyseparate form of racism and ethnic discrimination is unique: without a deep understanding of the situation of the minoritygroup, it is very hard to act constructively. The trust of the Roma community towards public officials could be enhanced by hiring Roma employees.
- Local politics must focus on the cooperation of local actors, organising communities, sustainable, realistic and practically doable urban development policies, and means of the toolkit of symbolic politics aimed at strengthening a common identity and the sense of belonging and community among the citizens of a locality.
- Media (and especially the public media) shall refrain from reporting in a way that might incite hatred and increase the level of fear of particular groups or people based on certain characteristics.
- Politically less biased reporting in the Hungarian public media, balanced representation of political and social groups in the media authority and controlling bodies of the public media.
- Political support for initiatives to develop critical thinking, thelevel of participation in public life and cooperation skills both of the young and the general population.
- A more active role for law enforcement bodies and the judiciary in combating and convicting hate crimes.
- The introduction of effective measures by law enforcement bodies to combat officers' discriminative practices (e.g., stronger education measures, ethical code, scrutiny of actions, recommendations for actions).
- Empowerment of disadvantaged groups (especially Roma) so that they are aware of their rights, possibilities to act and can represent their interest in the public.
- Introduction of anti-discrimination measures in the education agenda and teachertraining.
- Abolishment of all administrative and legislative provisions that limit the rights and scope of action of human rights defenders. Provide more financial support for NGOs fighting discrimination and hate crimes, and promoting human rights.
- The government shall refrain from any communications, administrative and legal actions that might criminalise, intimidate, and stigmatise human rights defenders.

- Strengthen the role, powers, independence and capacity of independent state institutions (e.g., Ombudsman, Prosecution) to defend human rights, and combat discrimination and hate crimes.
- "Establish an independent body to safeguard the independence of the judiciary and to supervise the appointment, promotion and regulation of the profession in accordance with international human rights standards. Judges should be ensured tenure in order to exercise their functions independently."[221]
- "Establishing a national mechanism for protecting human rights defenders, in consultation with civil society organizations."[222]
- "Mainstream human rights into the institutional and policy framework, including by adopting a national action plan on human rights with clear and specific goals and indicators, taking into account recommendations by International and European human rights mechanisms."[223]
- Human rights defenders shall be supported and empowered to develop and strengthen cooperationon the national and local level.
- Human rights defenders shall strengthen their direct connection to citizens and non-state organisations to be stronger anchored in the society, and strengthen financial independence from public actors.
- The international community shall "intensify efforts to empower and support human rights defenders and civil society organisations" in Hungary.[224]
- The "EU should review its policy on funding civil society organisations exclusively only through the state budget and develop additional and alternative sources of funding ensure free and non-politicized access to funding for all civil society organisations."[225]

[221] http://www.ohchr.org/EN/NewsEvents/Pages/DisplayNews.aspx?NewsID=17048&LangID=E
[222] http://www.ohchr.org/EN/NewsEvents/Pages/DisplayNews.aspx?NewsID=17048&LangID=E
[223] http://www.ohchr.org/EN/NewsEvents/Pages/DisplayNews.aspx?NewsID=17048&LangID=E
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