



Stakeholders of (De-) Radicalisation in Hungary

D3.1 Country Report

April 2021

Daniel Gyollai – Glasgow Caledonian University



© Daniel Gyollai

Reference: D.RAD D3.1

This research was conducted under the Horizon 2020 project 'De-Radicalisation in Europe and Beyond: Detect, Resolve, Re-integrate' (959198).

The sole responsibility of this publication lies with the author. The European Union is not responsible for any use that may be made of the information contained therein

Any enquiries regarding this publication should be sent to us at: Daniel.gyollai@gcu.ac.uk

This document is available for download at <https://dradproject.com/>.

Table of Contents

List of abbreviations	4
About the Project	6
Executive summary/Abstract	7
1. Introduction	8
2. Contextual background	8
3. Structures of radicalisation	11
3.1. Political violence in Hungary.....	11
3.2. Perception of radicalisation by the political elite.....	13
3.3. Perception of threat by the general public	16
4. Agents and channels of radicalisation	16
4.1. Collective agents accountable for violent incidents.....	16
4.2. State agents contributing to radicalisation	18
5. Stakeholders and channels of de-radicalisation	21
6. Conclusion	24
Appendices	25
Appendix 1. Main radicalisation events in Hungary since 2001	25
Appendix 2. Discourses of radicalisation in Hungary	27
Appendix 3. Network of the main agents of radicalisation in Hungary.....	32
Appendix 4. Main de-radicalisation programmes in Hungary	33
References and sources	34

List of abbreviations

CEJI	A Jewish Contribution to an Inclusive Europe
CEU	Central European University
CFCF	Chance for Children Foundation
DEREX	Demand for Right-wing Extremism
ECtHR	European Court of Human Rights
EP	European Parliament
EPP	European People's Party
FIDESZ	Fiatalk Demokraták Szövetség (Alliance of Young Democrats)
FKgP	Független Kisgazdapárt (Independent Smallholder's Party)
GTD	Global Terrorism Database
HHC	Hungarian Helsinki Committee
HVIM	Hatvannégy Vármegye Ifjúsági Mozgalom (Sixty-four Counties Youth Movement)
KDNP	Keresztény Demokrata Néppárt (Christian Democratic People's Party)
KESMA	Közép-Európai Sajtó és Média Alapítvány (Central European Press and Media Foundation)
LGBTQI	lesbian-gay-bisexual-transgender-queer-intersex
MDF	Magyar Demokrata Fórum (Hungarian Democratic Forum)
MEP	Member of the European Parliament
MEREPS	Mediation and Restorative Justice in Prison Settings
MIÉP	Magyar Igazság és Élet Pártja (Hungarian Justice and Life Party)

MIJE	Magyar Iszlám Jogvédő Egyesület (Hungarian Islam Advocacy Association)
MIK	Magyar Iszlám Közösség (Hungarian Islamic Community)
MIT	Magyarországi Iszlám Tanács (Islamic Council of Hungary)
MME	Magyarországi Muszlimok Egyháza (Organisation of Muslims in Hungary)
NGO	Non-governmental Organisation
NKE	Nemzeti Közszolgálati Egyetem (National University of Public Service)
PM	Prime Minister
SZFE	Színház- és Filmművészeti Egyetem (University of Theatre and Film Arts)
TASZ	Társaság a Szabadságjogokért (Hungarian Civil Liberties Union)
TMRSZ	Tettrekész Magyar Rendőrszakszervezet (Ever Ready Hungarian Police Union)

About the Project

D.Rad is a comparative study of radicalisation and polarisation in Europe and beyond. It aims to identify the actors, networks, and wider social contexts driving radicalisation, particularly among young people in urban and peri-urban areas. D.Rad conceptualises this through the I-GAP spectrum (injustice-grievance-alienation-polarisation) with the goal of moving towards measurable evaluations of de-radicalisation programmes. Our intention is to identify the building blocks of radicalisation, which include a sense of being victimised; a sense of being thwarted or lacking agency in established legal and political structures; and coming under the influence of “us vs them” identity formulations.

D.Rad benefits from an exceptional breadth of backgrounds. The project spans national contexts including the UK, France, Italy, Germany, Poland, Hungary, Finland, Slovenia, Bosnia, Serbia, Kosovo, Israel, Iraq, Jordan, Turkey, Georgia, Austria, and several minority nationalisms. It bridges academic disciplines ranging from political science and cultural studies to social psychology and artificial intelligence. Dissemination methods include D.Rad labs, D.Rad hubs, policy papers, academic workshops, visual outputs and digital galleries. As such, D.Rad establishes a rigorous foundation to test practical interventions geared to prevention, inclusion and de-radicalisation.

With the possibility of capturing the trajectories of seventeen nations and several minority nations, the project will provide a unique evidence base for the comparative analysis of law and policy as nation states adapt to new security challenges. The process of mapping these varieties and their link to national contexts will be crucial in uncovering strengths and weaknesses in existing interventions. Furthermore, D.Rad accounts for the problem that processes of radicalisation often occur in circumstances that escape the control and scrutiny of traditional national frameworks of justice. The participation of AI professionals in modelling, analysing and devising solutions to online radicalisation will be central to the project’s aims.

Executive summary/Abstract

This report provides a brief presentation of the context, structures and stakeholders of (de-)radicalisation in contemporary Hungary. The prevalent form of radicalisation in present-day Hungary is right-wing extremism mixed with ethno-nationalist, anti-establishment and religious elements, shaped by the legacy of Trianon, the Horthy-era¹ and the fascist Arrow Cross Party (Nyilaskeresztes Párt).² The most significant events that prompted radicalisation were party politics right after the collapse of the one-party system in 1989; the socio-economic situation and subsequent crisis of the socialist-liberal government in 2006; and the so-called “refugee crisis” in 2015. Right-wing polarisation led to the most shocking events in contemporary Hungary, the Roma murders in 2008-2009. Besides Roma, the usual targets of violence are Jews, migrants and the LGBTQI community. There have been several far-right group formations since the collapse of the communist regime in 1989. However, the Fidesz-KDNP³ party alliance currently in power has systematically taken over the platform and narratives of Jobbik.⁴ While the latter has been moving to the centre, the former has become gradually more radical both in terms of political discourse and social policy. Fidesz has essentially closed the political space and monopolised right-wing radicalisation in Hungary; social-liberal values, the Roma, migrants and LGBTQI communities have been under constant attack by the government. As a consequence, efforts of de-radicalisation and reducing hate crime remain with stakeholders, such as NGOs, charities and religious organisations.

¹ Miklós Horthy was the regent of Hungary between 1920-1944.

² The Arrow Cross Party was the Hungarian Nazi Party founded in 1935 and in power between October 1944 and March 1945.

³ ‘Fidesz’ is the abbreviation for ‘Fiatal Demokraták Szövetség’ (Alliance of Young Democrats); KDNP is the abbreviation for ‘Keresztény Demokrata Néppárt’ (Christian Democratic People’s Party).

⁴ The name ‘Jobbik’ is an untranslatable play on words. ‘Jobb’ means both ‘right’ and ‘better’; ‘jobbik’ indicates the better one between two alternatives.

1. Introduction

This report is part of the Work Package “Mapping Stakeholders and Situations of Radicalisation” of the D-Rad project. Its objective is to introduce the context, the patterns, and the most prominent agents and stakeholders of (de-)radicalisation in Hungary. By *radicalisation* we mean a process involving the increasing rejection of established law, order, and politics and the active pursuit of alternatives, in the form of politically-driven violence or justification of violence. Conversely, by *de-radicalisation* we mean processes countering such rejection at individual (micro), organisational (meso), or societal (macro) levels resulting in a shift from violent to nonviolent strategies and tactics. The *cases of radicalisation* the project focuses on are ethnonationalist, separatist, jihadist, right-wing, and left-wing radicalism. Concerning Hungary, however, the only relevant form of radicalisation is right-wing extremism; jihadist, separatist or left-wing radicalism are not applicable, at least not in the period in question.

The report is based on secondary sources. In setting the scene, section 2 describes the overall historical and macro-political context in which radicalisation unfolds and the most important events that prompted radicalisation in the past 20 years. Section 3 outlines the most violent acts attributable to extremism; how that is perceived and amplified by the political elite; and the perception of threat by the general public. Section 4 introduces the most important agents of radicalisation, and their links to political parties and state agents. The section also explains how these agents communicate with their supporters and mainstream their agenda in public. Finally, section 5 introduces the most important of the very few stakeholders, all of which are dedicated to fighting and preventing radicalisation, their objectives and activities, and the programmes they have been involved where applicable. The report is short, especially compared to how extensive it could be given the plethora of issues at stake and the sources available. However, its aim is only to provide a snapshot of radicalisation in Hungary as an introduction to future work package reports that will look into and analyse the issues outlined below separately and at length.

2. Contextual background

The first radical right party that falls within the scope of this report was MIÉP. Although no longer in parliament, the circumstances of MIÉP’s establishment highlights the significance of the irredentist and revisionist Horthy-regime of the interwar period to understand the manifesto of present-day far-right movements in Hungary. MIÉP was established by István Csurka in 1993, who was also founding member of MDF.⁵ Csurka was expelled from MDF because of his critical stance towards its politics (cf. Fabry 2015). Among other issues, he problematised the failure of the Antall-government to initiate the revision of the Treaty of Trianon.⁶ As we

⁵ Following the collapse of the one-party rule, the centre-right Magyar Demokrata Fórum (Hungarian Democratic Forum) formed Hungary’s first democratically elected government in 1990, led by József Antall.

⁶ ‘The Small Catechism of MIEP’, Online: http://www.eredetimiép.hu/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=47&Itemid=56. [Accessed 01 February 2021]; The text of the Catechism refers to the treaty on “good

shall see later, the grievance caused by Hungary losing 2/3rd of its territory, the “Trianon trauma”, is one of the root causes behind the popularity of right-wing parties and groups to date (cf. Kondor and Littler 2020; Molnár 2016).

However, not only was the Horthy-regime irredentist, but also anti-Communist and anti-Semitic. It is the incitement against leftist sympathizers and the Jews as enemies of the Hungarians that led to the rapes, tortures and mass executions of the “White Terror” between 1919-1920.⁷ In Jobbik’s interpretation, the violence and killings under Horthy only served the restoration of order in the country, following the bloodshed of the 1919 Hungarian Soviet Republic (“Red Terror”). Thus, to Jobbik, Horthy represents a strong, “law and order” leader, which is why Horthy’s figure has played a central role in legitimising Jobbik’s identity politics and platform (Turbucz 2014). Jobbik has drawn a parallel between the atmosphere in the country right after WWI and contemporary issues of public order, for which the party predominantly blamed the Roma, the largest ethnic minority group in Hungary. Roma communities form the largest ethnic minority group in Hungary making up the 8 % of the population (Hera 2017). Public attitude towards Roma is notoriously aversive and hostile in Hungary; the vast majority of the non-Roma population would avoid social interaction with the Roma (Váradi 2014, ch. 3; Hera 2017). The Roma are stigmatised, discriminated against and are often highly segregated, and live with all the disadvantages this entails (Kállai, Papp and Vízi 2017; Gimes, Juhász, Kiss, Krekó and Somogyi 2008). The term “cigánybűnöző”, i.e. Gypsy-criminal has been openly and frequently used by far-right groups, such as Jobbik, blaming Roma for crime rates. Jobbik mainstreamed anti-Roma sentiments in Hungarian public discourse and claimed that the only solution to the “Gypsy-question” (Cigánykérdés) and “Gypsy-crime” (Cigánybűnözés) would be the restoration of the interwar leadership model (Turbucz 2014). Karácsony and Róna argue, it was not some kind of grievance or frustration per se, but the increasing anti-Roma sentiments among the Hungarian public that lied behind the success of Jobbik (Karácsony and Róna 2010). The Jobbik only amplified these attitudes by further polarising its audience and picking on some especially serious crimes at that time committed by people with Roma background; such was the murder of Marian Cozma, a handball player in Veszprém and the lynching and murder of a teacher in Olaszliszka in 2009. As a result, the majority of Hungarians found these murders a more important issue at that time than the 2009 EP election (Karácsony and Róna 2010; Vidra and Fox 2014).

Following the 2006 crisis of the Gyurcsány-led socialist-liberal government, left-liberal values and opposition parties have been disenfranchised, leaving no real alternatives for voters. As opposed to Karácsony and Róna (2010), both Fabry (2015) and Varga (2014) underline that Jobbik’s success is not attributable simply to the high level of anti-Roma, but predominantly to anti-establishment sentiments and the overall decline of liberal values. Between 2002 and 2009, anti-establishment sentiments among voters changed from 12% to 46% (Juhász, Krekó and Molnár 2014). Jobbik (and Fidesz for that matter) had blamed the socialist-liberal government (and neoliberalism, globalisation, multinational companies, and, of course, the Jews, in general) for poverty, unemployment and the intensification of social and economic

neighbourhood and cooperation” with Ukraine: See Act XLV of 1995 on the announcement of the treaty: <https://net.jogtar.hu/jogszabaly?docid=99500045.tv>.

⁷ Horthy’s personal responsibility in all this and in the subsequent rehabilitation of militia members as “patriots” is well-documented (Bodo 2011, 2019), as well as his consent to the discrimination and “assimilation” of Jews during the interwar period, and eventually their deportation to Nazi concentration camps (Romsics 2016; Kerekes 2018, pp. 211-229; Ungváry 2016).

inequalities in the country. This highly charged atmosphere of dissatisfaction reached its climax with Ferenc Gyurcsány's infamous Őszöd speech⁸ which instantly ignited massive-scale demonstrations. As Varga notes, Jobbik only linked these anti-establishment sentiments with the Roma by problematising the economic situation in the country from an ethnonationalist perspective. Jobbik argued that the root causes of "Gypsy crime" is the economic deprivation in the society which triggers ethnic tension between the Roma and Hungarians (Varga 2014; cf. Molnár 2016).

Besides the Roma, the most targeted ethnic minority group in Hungary that has been affected by racial hatred are the Jews (Kovács 2010; Gimes et al. 2008). According to a CNN poll on anti-Semitism in Europe, about one in five people in Hungary has "unfavourable attitude" toward Jews.⁹ A 2019 global survey shows that Hungary is among the most anti-Semitic countries.¹⁰ While anti-Semitism is predominantly right-wing ideology, aversion towards the Roma is not party-specific (Gimes et al. 2008). It has been argued that xenophobia, in general, does not necessarily presuppose right-wing political inclination in Hungary for that matter (Enyedi, Erős and Fábíán 2001). Stereotypes of the Roma and the Jews are, however, interrelated. According to Jobbik, the Jews control world politics and economy, and Roma are only a tool or "biological weapon" of the Jews to undermine and overtake state control (Krekó 2018, pp. 175-178; Thorleifsson 2017). The anti-Semitism of the Horthy-era, blaming the Jews for the misery of Hungarians, has still been present in contemporary political discourse. In 2008, Krisztina Morvai, later MEP for Jobbik, warned the "liberal-Bolshevik Zionists" to start thinking about "where to flee and where to hide".¹¹ In 2012, MP Márton Gyöngyösi, then deputy of Jobbik urged the registration of Jewish members of the parliament, who, according to Gyöngyösi, "pose a risk to national security" (See Appendix 2). The phenomenon of mass migration is no exception in this regard. The government's "Stop Soros" campaign and its impact on public opinions provides a solid proof to this argument. The covert anti-Semitism is palpable in narratives scapegoating George Soros for anything of which Orbán disapproves, especially irregular migration. Anti-Semitism seemingly serves as a bridge between anti-Roma and anti-immigrant sentiments (Thorleifsson 2017). In other words, anti-Semitic conspiracy theories relating to the Roma are a catalyst for anti-immigrant sentiments. Analogously to conspiracy theories which portray the Roma as the tool of the Jews to overtake Hungary and Europe, it is now Soros who is accused of masterminding irregular migration. Accordingly, the vocabulary of threat has been transferred from Roma to migrants: the term "Roma-criminal" as "genetic-waste" has now been transformed into "migrant-criminal" as "human waste". Instead of the Roma, it is now the migrants who are perceived to be the "biological weapon" of the Jews in right-wing circles (Thorleifsson 2017; cf. Vidra and Fox 2014). Jobbik essentially used the same recipe and appealed to the legacy of Horthy when inciting their supporters against asylum seekers at the outbreak of the so-called "refugee crisis" in 2015 (cf. Thorleifsson 2017).

⁸ At a congress in Balatonőszöd, Gyurcsány criticised his party (MSZP) for lying to the people. The speech was leaked and broadcasted in the national radio.

⁹ See CNN: <https://edition.cnn.com/interactive/2018/11/europe/antisemitism-poll-2018-intl/>.

¹⁰ See ADL: <https://www.adl.org/news/press-releases/adl-global-survey-of-18-countries-finds-hardcore-anti-semitic-attitudes-remain>.

¹¹ 'Europe's Capital of Anti-Semitism: Budapest Experiences a New Wave of Hate': Der Spiegel, Online: <https://www.spiegel.de/international/europe/europe-s-capital-of-anti-semitism-budapest-experiences-a-new-wave-of-hate-a-722880.html>.

The reason why the refugee crisis could be exploited by right-wing groups is also resulted from a *lack* of certain factors. Hungary has been a relatively closed society in the sense that immigrants make up only a fragment of the total population as opposed to Western Member States (Krekó, Juhász and Molnár 2011). There has been an increasing lack of tolerance towards immigrants and ethnic minorities coupled with a growing welfare chauvinism and prejudices (Csepeli, Fábián and Sik, 2001; Krekó et al. 2011; Simonovits and Bernát 2016; Juhász and Molnár 2016).¹² One could argue that the Hungarian society was predisposed to buy into the anti-immigrant narratives of Jobbik and Fidesz-KDNP. This is precisely why Fidesz campaigned with the promise to preserve the “ethnic homogeneity” of Hungary and later successfully dismantled the entire asylum system with the consent of the public (Gyollai 2018).

3. Structures of radicalisation

3.1. Political violence in Hungary

Jihadist, separatist or left-wing terrorism is not applicable in the Hungarian context, at least not in the period in question. Again, the only (relevant) form of radicalisation is right-wing extremism. By violence we not only mean terrorist attacks, but also e.g. violent attacks against members of minority groups, violent extremist demonstrations or desecration of cemeteries of minority groups. These events, however, must be linked to, or explicitly influenced by, radicalised groups. “Lone wolf” perpetrators without such connections fall outside the scope of this report. It has to be noted that the data available in the Global Terrorism Database (GTD) is misleading in this regard. The Database lists eight cases from the past 20 years, only two of which satisfies the above criteria. Conversely, while the attack in Tatárszentgyörgy (see below) is listed, the Database is silent on the other cases of the series. According to its incident summary, “it has not been known if the attack was racially motivated”.¹³ Nor does the list include the siege of the Hungarian Television by the right-wing (an event similar to the Capitol riot) during the 2006 riots, where over 100 police officer were injured.¹⁴ In what follows, I will provide a brief summary of the major violent acts against the Roma and Jewish ethnic minorities, migrants, and the LGBTQI community.

The public atmosphere discussed earlier and its amplification by Jobbik set the scene for one of the most appalling events in recent Hungarian history: the 2008-2009 Roma Murders. Four men killed six people leaving many others seriously injured at nine different scenes: Galgagyörk, Pircse, Nyíradony-Tamásipuszta, Tarnabod, Nagycsécs, Alsózsolca, Tatárszentgyörgy, Tiszalök and Kisléta. At most of the scenes the killers set the building on fire by throwing Molotov cocktails on it, while the victims were sleeping, and opened fire at them when escaping. In Tatárszentgyörgy, they shot a father and his five-year-old son dead. The five-year-old daughter got shot but managed to run back in the burning house, this is how

¹² Also see DEREKX (Demand for Right-wing Extremism) Index:

<http://derexindex.eu/countries/Hungary#Hungary>. [Accessed 08 February 2021]

¹³ Online <https://www.start.umd.edu/gtd/search/IncidentSummary.aspx?gtdid=200106180003>. [Accessed 26 March 2021].

¹⁴ Hungarian Spectrum: <https://hungarianspectrum.wordpress.com/2012/12/29/the-siege-of-the-hungarian-television-station-september-18-2006/>.

she survived. The subsequent criminal investigation was biased, prolonged and full of procedural misconduct and/or failures. The suspects were initially not charged with hate crime, nor did the charges specifically mention the racial motives of the crimes. The killers' specific motivation was, however, to resolve the issue of "Gypsy crime" themselves because they found the marches, harassment and intimidation of the Hungarian Guard insufficient; prior to the killings, the Guard first marched in Tatárszentgyörgy (Subert 2019; Feischmidt and Hervik 2015; Vidra and Fox 2014).¹⁵ One would assume that such grave consequences of politically fuelled racial hatred against an ethnic minority group would result in a drastic change of public discourse, at least in a ban on anti-Roma rallies. Jobbik and the Hungarian Guards, however, kept organising marches e.g. in Gyöngyöspata in March 2011, where members of the Guard patrolled the village harassing and abusing the Roma community for almost a whole month without impunity (Amnesty 2012). The 2008-2009 case has recently been reopened by the police because one of the perpetrators confessed that they received financial and other support from Jobbik circles.¹⁶

According to the reports of the Brussels Institute,¹⁷ an anti-Semitic hate crime monitoring group, the average annual number of incidents was 39 in the past seven years. Most of the incidents were hate speech, but there were also vandalism, threats and assaults among the identified cases. The majority of the cases are committed spontaneously.¹⁸ The latest organised incident attributable to a right-wing group (also listed by GTD) is the raid of a community centre in Budapest called Auróra in October 2019. Several dozens of members of Légión Hungária (Legion Hungary) raided Auróra, which was closed at the time, and put Neo-Nazi stickers all over the place. They also removed a rainbow flag from the entrance and set it on fire.¹⁹

Concerning violence against migrants by the far-right, one of the major events is attributable to László Toroczkai (see below), mayor of Ásotthalom, a village in the Hungarian-Serbian border region. The mayor organised a civil militia to capture irregular migrants in the vicinity of the village. Migrants were being photographed on their knees or lying on the ground, face down, with hands tied behind their back. The mayor later posted the photos on his Facebook page and referred to these activities as "migrant-hunting".²⁰

Regarding attacks against the LGBTQI community, the far-right frequently and notoriously disrupted Budapest Pride and abused (verbally and physically) the participants. In summer 2008, a gay bar and a gay sauna were hit by a Molotov cocktail. Although no organisation claimed the attacks, they were attributed to Hunnia, a far-right movement established by György Budaházy and Toroczkai to carry out armed attacks against members of the Gyurcsány government.²¹ In 2019, a group led by Budaházy disrupted an LGBTQI awareness

¹⁵ On the case, trial and aftermath in Hungarian see: <https://444.hu/tag/romagyilkossagok>.

¹⁶ See Pesti Srácok.hu: <https://pestisracok.hu/ujra-keresi-a-rendorseg-a-romagyilkossagok-felbujtoit-a-halalbrigad-vezetoje-allitja-jobbikos-korok-tamogattak-oke/>.

¹⁷ Founded by TEV Foundation (Tett és Védelem Alapítvány): <https://tev.hu/en/>.

¹⁸ See TEV: <https://tev.hu/en/annual-report/>.

¹⁹ See TEV: https://tev.hu/wp-content/uploads/2020/04/APL_monthly_2019OCT_72dpiKESZ.pdf.

²⁰ 'A Hungarian mayor makes a show of "migrant-hunting"', The Observers, 08 February 2016, Online: <https://observers.france24.com/en/20160802-hungary-mayor-migrant-hunting-asotthalom>. [Accessed on 10 February 2021].

²¹ See Háttér: <https://hatter.hu/hirszolgalat/hungarista-terrorcsoport-robbantott-a-magnum-szaunaban>.

event in Auróra in the presence of the police.²² Very recently, a children's book has been published which retells popular stories but with LGBTQI characters. Dóra Dúró, deputy leader of Our Homeland Movement, simply shredded the book in public.²³

3.2. Perception of radicalisation by the political elite

In Hungary, not only has the government downplayed right-wing radicalism but monopolised it. Although initiated by MIÉP and MDF,²⁴ and maintained by Jobbik, the Horthy-cult and the nostalgia for the Christian-nationalist sentiments of the Horthy-regime has been continued by the Fidesz-KDNP government (Palonen 2018; Miklóssy and Nyssönen 2018; Turbucz 2013, 2014). It is precisely the legacy of the interwar period that forms the ideological foundation of the political and legal order established by Fidesz. The Christian-nationalist value system of the Fundamental Law of Hungary²⁵ represents the manifestation of the Fidesz' efforts to filter history and re-establish collective memory, mainstreaming an idealised and false interpretation of the cultural heritage of the Horthy-era (Kis 2012; Fabry 2015; Miklóssy and Nyssönen 2018; cf. Foley, Gyollai, and Szalanska (Forthcoming)).²⁶ In 2019, the Fidesz-KDNP government symbolically removed the iconic statue of Imre Nagy, leader of the 1956 Revolution, to replace it by the monument that stood there before WWII, erected by Horthy to the victims of the 1919 communist regime.²⁷ Prior to that, in 2014, the government erected a monument to the victims of the Nazi occupation. The monument depicts Hungary as Gabriel the Archangel attacked by the German imperial eagle, whitewashing the role of the Horthy-regime in the Holocaust.²⁸ Fidesz remains silent and shows no condemnation when far-right groups commemorating the SS breakout attempt during the siege of Budapest in 1945 as "the Day of Honour" (Becsület Napja) and when right-wing groups marching in the capital chanting "Mocskos zsidók!" (dirty Jews!).²⁹ Zoltán Pokorni, long-standing Fidesz mayor of District XII of Budapest has long refused to remove the infamous Turul Monument from the district. The monument has already been controversial due to its association with far-right groups. Recent research found that Pokorni's grandfather, whose name is on the list of "heroes" of WWII on the monument, had a significant role in the torture and execution of Jews in the district in 1944-45 as an Arrow Cross member (Rab 2019). Dániel Ács' groundbreaking documentary *A Gyilkosok Emlékműve* (2021) has revealed that the place where the monument stands was

²² See 444: <https://444.hu/2019/09/26/budahazyek-megzavartak-egy-lmtb-tematikaju-rendezvenyt-az-auroraban>.

²³ 'Another Hungarian book shredded because of "homosexual propaganda"' Online: <https://dailynewshungary.com/another-hungarian-book-shredded-because-of-homosexual-propaganda-which-one-will-be-next/>.

²⁴ Horthy's ceremonial reburial in 1993 was organised by MDF, and Antall referred to him as a "Hungarian patriot" (Fabry 2015).

²⁵ The new constitution of Hungary passed by the Fidesz-KDNP majority Parliament in 2011.

²⁶ Though this reinterpretation of collective memory by the Hungarian right-wing to conceptualise contemporary issues is not merely restricted to the Horthy-era only (cf. Korkut 2017).

²⁷ The statue was originally at Martyr's Square (Vértanúk tere, Budapest) and has been moved to Jászai Mari Square. See 'Hungary removes statue of anti-Soviet hero Imre Nagy' BBC, 28 December 2018, Online: <https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-europe-46704111>.

²⁸ 'Hungarian nationalist rock opera to retell 1920s grievances: Treaty that sliced up territory after first world war remains a source of anti-liberal sentiment' 22 June 2018, The Guardian, Online: <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2018/jun/22/hungarian-nationalist-rock-opera-to-retell-1920s-grievances>. [Accessed 04 February 2021]

²⁹ 'Amikor a Fidesz még távol akarta tartania a neonácikat Budapesttől'. 10 February 2020. 444. Online: <https://444.hu/2020/02/10/amikor-a-fidesz-meg-tavol-akarta-tartani-a-neonacikat-budapesttol>.

the scene of a mass murder in which not only Pokorni's grandfather, but at least 21 others on the list were active participants. Between October 1944 and March 1945, over 1600 Jews were raped, tortured and executed in District XII by their own neighbours and fellow-citizens.³⁰ At the time of writing, the monument still has not been removed and neither the council nor the mayor himself, as opposed to his earlier statements, wish to remove, or, at least, rename it.³¹

Fidesz has taken on a leading role in polarisation and threat construction. In his article in Magyar Hírlap, Zsolt Bayer, close friend of Viktor Orbán, argued that the "vast majority of Roma" are "animals" and are "incapable of living with human beings" in 2013 (see Appendix 2). Bayer is a founding member of Fidesz and leading voice of pro-government media. In the same year, on the anniversary of the murders in Tatárszentgyörgy, the State Secretariat for Social Inclusion of the Orbán Cabinet blurred the events of Olaszliszka and Tatárszentgyörgy in its commemorating statement and essentially declared that *All Lives Matter* because "these victims are victims of the same hatred and deserve justice equally".³² In 2016, remembering the murders in Kisléta, Zoltán Balog,³³ the Minister himself said: "We here in Europe fight to avoid that the external challenges of migration overshadow the issues of the poor and those falling behind in Europe" (Balog quoted in Subert 2019). In 2020, the government refused to pay financial compensation to Roma children ordered by court, who had been segregated in the public school of Gyöngyöspata between 2004 and 2017. According to PM Orbán, such compensation would be unacceptable for Hungarians who "slog all day" for their living (See Appendix 2).

Regarding the refugee crisis, the government argued that the migration crisis had been unleashed by the Hungarian-American investor and philanthropist George Soros, who is of Jewish descent, and whose plan is to "settle one million migrants in Europe".³⁴ Conversely, Orbán portrayed himself as the protector of Hungary and the European Christianity in erecting a barbed wire fence at the Southern borders of Hungary in 2015 to keep the mainly Muslim migrants out of territory. Fidesz implied that PM Orbán should be compared to none other than János Hunyadi himself, commander and hero of the Ottoman wars.³⁵ The government envisioned hordes of Muslim "invaders" whose purpose, besides Islamisation and destroying Western civilisation, was to abuse Hungarian women (Mendelski 2019; Vidra 2017). The campaign has been overwhelming. It has been channelled through public media outlets and

³⁰ *A Gyilkosok Emlékműve* (Monument to the Murderers) (2021). [Online] Directed by Dániel Ács. Budapest: 444. Available with English subtitle from: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=4ygZB1MTRR4&ab_channel=444.hu.

³¹ 'Pokorni Zoltán újabb fordulata: nem lesz I. világháborús emlékmű a turulszobor' 444.hu, Online: <https://444.hu/2021/02/01/pokorni-zoltan-ujabb-fordulata-maradhat-ii-vilaghaborus-emlekmu-a-turulszobor>.

³² 'Rasszista gyilkosságok: Balog Zoltán minisztériuma kiverte a biztosítékot' nol.hu Online: http://nol.hu/belfold/rasszista-gyilkosságok_balog_zoltan_miniszteriuma_kiverte_a_biztositekot-1369145.

³³ Zoltan Balog is now Bishop of the Reformed Church.

³⁴ See *national consultation* on the "Soros Plan": <https://theorangefiles.hu/?s=stop+soros&submit=Search>.

³⁵ 'Hunyadi János = Orbán Viktor: nem csak a rezsit vágja, Német Szilárd otthon van a történelemben is' Magyar Narancs, 22 July 2018, Online: <https://magyarnarancs.hu/belpol/nemeth-szilard-minden-alkalmat-megragad-arra-hogy-az-europat-fenyegeto-veszelyrol-beszelen-112540>; 'Viktor Orbán's claims of historical antecedents', Hungarian Spectrum, 27 September, 2015, Online: <http://hungarianspectrum.org/2015/09/27/viktor-orbans-claims-of-historical-antecedents/>.

other pro-government media, billboards, campaign events held nationwide by members of the government and/or government appointed security experts, as well as “national consultations” (propaganda leaflets sent to every household). The billboard campaign displayed messages, such as “If you come to Hungary, you have to respect our culture” or “If you come to Hungary, you can’t take the jobs of the Hungarian” (cf. Szalai and Göbl 2015; Gyollai 2018). The government launched an “information campaign” with statements such as “Did you know? More than 300 people were killed in terrorist attacks in Europe since the start of the migrant crisis” or “Did you know? Since the start of the immigrant crisis, sexual harassment of women has increased in Europe” (Sereghy 2017). Orbán declared that Hungarians do not want to be a “nation of migrants”; migration brings “terror” and “public insecurities”. He maintained that Hungary has the right to preserve its “ethnic homogeneity” and “cultural composition”; mass migration represents a threat to the Hungarian “way of life”, culture, customs and traditions (Mendelski 2019; cf. Annexes 7.2). The PM has declared that anyone against his efforts is against the nation. The government claimed that migration is accelerated by the left-liberal lobby and put EU institutions and NGOs that stood up against Orbán’s exclusionary politics under attack.

Threat construction is the driving principle of Orbán’s politics (Palonen 2018; Antal 2016). Identifying new enemies is a never-ending quest for Fidesz; though LGBTQI communities have long been under attack (Gyollai and Korkut 2020). The parliament has recently passed the ninth amendment to the constitution to further curtail the rights of LGBTQI people.³⁶ According to the new amendment, “the mother is a woman, the father is a man” and children now have the constitutional right to be raised “in line with Hungary’s constitutional identity and Christian culture”. To Orbán, the term “Christian” is a multi-purpose ingroup attribute which served as identifier for voters in opposition to Ferenc Gyurcsány’s socialist-liberal government, then as the synonym of “Islamophobic”, and has now become a cue for “homophobic”. In his weekly radio interview, reflecting on the earlier mentioned children’s book as “provocation”, Orbán’s message to LGBTQ communities was: “the Hungarians are patient with the phenomenon (homosexuality)...but there is a red line not to cross...leave our children alone!” (See Appendix 2). Members of the government simply refer to the struggle of the LGBTQ community for rights and recognition as “gay-lobby” (meleglobbi).³⁷

There is a lack of consistent counter-narratives or disapproval from the left-liberal Opposition and any such attempts, mainly by NGOs, are discredited by Fidesz (cf. Sereghy 2017). “Liberalism” has essentially become a swear word in political discourse. Opposition parties predominantly frame their agenda around the corruption and authoritarianism of the Orbán government. Due to the proliferation of right-wing sentiments, concepts such as “diversity”, “solidarity” and “human rights” are hardly competitive in contemporary Hungarian politics. Thus, the Opposition try to avoid topics of migration or LGBTQI rights rather than embrace

³⁶ Ironically, just a few weeks *before* the parliament passed the amendment, former MEP József Szájer, founding member of Fidesz, made headlines worldwide after his arrest fleeing along a gutter to escape Belgian police following a raid on a “gay sex orgy”. Not only was Szájer personally responsible for laying down the constitutional basis of LGBTQ discrimination in Hungary as co-author of the new constitution in 2011, but his sexual orientation has apparently been well-known in the Fidesz for 30 years. See 444 “Ennek a kockázatát harminc éve tudja mindenki a Jóskával kapcsolatban” Online: <https://444.hu/2020/12/04/ennek-a-kockazatat-harminc-eve-tudja-mindenki-a-joskaval-kapcsolatban>.

³⁷ Most recently the State Secretary for Family and Youth Affairs, see 444: <https://telex.hu/kulfold/2021/03/26/novak-katalin-fidesz-epp-kilepes-interju>.

them. This tendency is well exemplified by the former PM, current leader of DK (Democratic Coalition), Ferenc Gyurcsány's comment on Orbán's reaction to the children's book with LGBTQI characters (see Appendix 2).

3.3. Perception of threat by the general public

The Fidesz-KDNP coalition won a landslide victory in the 2018 election with no platform other than the anti-immigrant hate campaign. The overwhelming majority of the Hungarians perceive irregular migrants as a physical and civilisational threat (Simonovits and Szeidl 2019; Simonovits 2020). As we elsewhere discussed, people have been abused for supporting migrants, and others have been reported to the police because of their skin colour or simply because of covering their head with a scarf (Gyollai and Korkut 2019). According to the latest poll, 54% of the voters would vote for Fidesz and the second most popular party within the Opposition coalition is Jobbik with 14%.³⁸ It is authoritarian right-wing politics that appeal to the majority of Hungarian voters. Thus, it is perhaps not surprising why the Opposition have failed to vehemently oppose e.g. the Fidesz' asylum policy.

4. Agents and channels of radicalisation

4.1. Collective agents accountable for violent incidents

According to Varga (2014), another reason behind Jobbik's popularity was a radical and immediate answer to the crime rate issues attributed to the Roma by many: the establishment of the Hungarian Guard Movement in August 2007. It was established as a response and solution to "Gypsy crime" with individuals from the inner circle of Fidesz among its members, such as András Bencsik, Fidesz party member and journalist. The movements essentially manifested in an openly anti-Roma and anti-Semitic, paramilitaristic group, registered personally by Gábor Vona, then leader of Jobbik. Initially 56 people joined the Guard which never had more than a few hundred members. Between 2007 and 2009 the Guard held several marches in Budapest and in villages, such as Tatárszentgyörgy, Kerepes, Nyírkáta, Vásárosnamény, Pátka and Sarkad, harassing and insulting the predominantly Roma population (Varga 2014; Fabry 2015). On 16 November 2009, commemorating Horthy's 1919 entry to Budapest at the head of the National Army, Jobbik politicians were talking about "Gypsy-terror" to their audience. One of the speakers at the event declared "Hands off from those who have a leading role in the rat-killing, the New Hungarian Guard";³⁹ successor of the Hungarian Guard.⁴⁰ Both of which have used Árpád-stripes on their flags and badges, just like the Arrow Cross Party did, whose members persecuted, tortured and executed thousands of Jews and Roma between 1944-1945. The Guard was eventually banned by the court in July 2009. Gábor Vona filed an application to the ECtHR against the ban which was unanimously rejected by the Court. Jobbik re-established the Guard as "New Hungarian Guard", and although they were never again able to hold public rallies in Budapest, but carried on with its

³⁸ See 444: <https://444.hu/2021/03/27/egy-friss-kutatas-szerint-ujra-a-jobbik-a-legnepszerubb-ellenzeki-part>.

³⁹ 'Horthy emlékére patkányirtással fenyegetett a Jobbik'. Online: http://nol.hu/belfold/20091123-horthy_emlekere_patkanyirtással_fenyegetett_a_jobbik-439871. [Accessed 03 February 2021]

⁴⁰ The Hungarian Guard was dissolved by the court in July 2009.

propaganda activities, vigilante patrols and marches in villages, such as Gyöngyöspata or Hajdúhadháza (Amnesty 2012).

Taking advantage of the governmental crisis coupled with the increasing anti-Roma attitudes in the country, Jobbik received 427,773 votes in the 2009 EP election. One year later, in the 2010 general election, Jobbik doubled this number and became the third major political party by securing 855,436 votes and 47 seats in the Hungarian parliament (Fabry 2015). The party has since maintained its popularity and received 1,020,476 (>20% of the votes) and 1,092,806 votes in the 2014 and 2018 elections respectively. Two-thirds of Jobbik voters are men and, in 2014 and before, were either former Fidesz-KDNP or MIÉP voters. They come from various age groups, although predominantly young (18-29) and, relatively, educated. The majority of the voters live in North-East Hungary which overlaps with the territorial distribution of Hungary's Roma population. This data was corroborated by mapping the Facebook-followers of Jobbik (Demos 2013). Additionally, the research found that only 16% of the voters were party members, but 35% have participated in at least one demonstration or event organised by Jobbik. For most of the voters, Roma-integration represented the biggest issue in Hungary, and were pessimistic both regarding their own and the country's future. Anti-EU sentiments and an overall perception of threat to national identity were also prevalent.

There have been several right-wing media outlets in Hungary. The most important online platforms that have served as a communication channel between Jobbik and its voters are Kuruc.info and Alfahír (Juhász et al. 2017). Kuruc.info's popularity started with the 2006 demonstrations; by 2009, it was the third most visited news site in Hungary (Molnar 2016).

As Fabry (2015) notes, in parallel with the rise of Jobbik and the establishment of the Hungarian Guard, a plethora of similar groups emerged with more or less identical missions; some already disappeared or were banned by the authorities. One of the still active movements is HVIM (Hatvannégy Vármegye Ifjúsági Mozgalom – Sixty-four Counties Youth Movement) established by László Toroczkai and György Gyula Zagyva (Jobbik MP between 2010 and 2014) in 2001. HVIM's central objective has been the pursuit of irredentist and revisionist sentiments of the Horthy-era, hence the name "Sixty-four Counties".⁴¹ The group has held several protests and events in the neighbouring countries demanding autonomy for the former Hungarian territories, such as Transylvania in Romania (cf. Kondor 2018). Toroczkai was banned from Serbia, Romania, Slovakia and from Canada for the atrocities he and his group had caused.⁴² Both Toroczkai and Zagyva participated in the 2006 riots and in the siege of the Hungarian Television (Toroczkai had a leading role). Toroczkai is a prominent figure in right-wing circles who started his career in MIÉP and, besides HVIM, established several right-wing movements. He has been mayor of Ásotthalom since 2013, before joining Jobbik as Vona's vice-president.⁴³

Toroczkai has recently established the party Mi Hazánk (Our Homeland) with Dóra Dúró, former Jobbik MP. Following Jobbik's failure in the 2018 election, Gábor Vona resigned from

⁴¹ Prior to Trianon, the Kingdom of Hungary had 63 counties + Fiume with a special legal status as "corpus separatum".

⁴² 'Tények és homály Toroczkai László különös pályáján: Az út Orbánig' Magyar Narancs, Online: <https://magyarnarancs.hu/belpol/az-ut-orbanig-111638>.

⁴³ 'László Toroczkai: Quite a career from the siege of MTV to the mayor of a small town' Hungarian Spectrum, Online: <https://hungarianspectrum.org/2013/12/17/laszlo-toroczkai-quite-a-career-from-the-siege-of-mtv-to-the-mayor-of-a-small-town/>.

his position as president. Toroczkai and Dúró, leaders of the radical wing of Jobbik, had condemned Vona's previous attempt of transforming the party into a less radical formation to become a people's party. However, the two failed, and the national board of the party decided in favour of the less radical, conservative wing by electing Tamás Sneider as president and Márton Gyöngyösi as vice-president. Shortly thereafter, when Toroczkai was expelled from the party, both Dúró and his husband, Előd Novák left, followed by many others.⁴⁴ Because it will be its first, it is yet hard to foresee the long-term consequences of Jobbik's internal struggle and how successful Mi Hazánk will be in the 2022 general election. However, it is certainly an interesting aspect of the Jobbik-Mi Hazánk conflict, that, as has been argued, Fidesz has seemingly taken advantage of and used the conflict for its own electoral purposes. Unlike other opposition parties, Mi Hazánk is often given voice, and is widely and actively supported by pro-government media. On local level, there has already been actual operative collaboration between Fidesz and Mi Hazánk.⁴⁵

Another notable movement is Betyársereg (Army of Outlaws) established in 2008. The group operates informally with a clan-like structure led by Zsolt Tyirityán. The clan-like structure is perhaps not accidental and is widely used by organised crime groups. It makes the mapping of the organisational structure more difficult for the authorities; probably basic knowledge to 'Army' members, who, at least some, are former law-enforcement and intelligence officers.⁴⁶ The group only recruits "real warriors", "well-built" individuals, "preferably with martial art skills". Criminal conviction is not a bar to membership; in fact, "most of the members have criminal records".⁴⁷

4.2. State agents contributing to radicalisation

The above movements and parties (and the far-right in general) have had several links to, and collaborations with, each other (see Appendix 3). They co-participated in a myriad of events and protested together against either "Gypsy-crime", migration or Budapest Pride (Juhász et al. 2017).⁴⁸ On one known occasion in 2004, HVIM and Jobbik held a roundtable discussion on autonomy in Nagyvárad (Oradea, Romania) co-organised with Fidelitas, the youth

⁴⁴ 'Dúró Dóra kilép a Jobbikból és követik is páran' index.hu Online: https://index.hu/belfold/2018/06/08/duro_dora_kilep_a_jobbikbol/.

⁴⁵ 'Nekünk kedvez a Fidesz radikalizálódása: a Mi Hazánk Mozgalom és a Fidesz kapcsolata' Index.hu Online: https://index.hu/belfold/2020/04/02/mi_hazank_mozgalom_nemzeti_radikalis_fidesz/.

⁴⁶ 'Náci vagyok, vállalom! Vona meg a barátom' Index.hu Online: https://index.hu/belfold/2015/06/15/naci_vagyok_vallalom_vona_meg_a_baratom/.; 'A TEK-be is beépülnének a szélsőjobboldali nehézfiúk' index.hu Online: https://index.hu/belfold/2014/08/25/nehezfiuk_a_szelsojobboldal/.; Tyirityán Zsolt a Magyar Időkben – "A Betyársereg nem haragszik a Jobbikra! Online: <http://betyarsereg.hu/tyirityan-zsolt-a-magyar-idokban-a-betyarsereg-nem-haragszik-a-jobbikra/>.

⁴⁷ 'A betyárok életre keltek, de Budaházy bilincsben van..' Hunhir. Info, Online: <http://hunhir.info/hirek/anyaország/2009/12/22/A-betyarok-eletre-keltek-de-Budahazy-bilincsben-van/>.

⁴⁸ Also see e.g. 'A Hungarian Nazi group: the Army of Outlaws (Betyársereg) and friends.' Hungarian Spectrum, Online <https://hungarianspectrum.org/2011/08/11/a-hungarian-nazi-group-the-army-of-outlaws-betyarsereg/>.; 'Visszatérnek a vonulások Magyarországra: Mi Hazánk-Betyársereg-menet jön a "cigányterror" ellen', 444.hu Online: <https://444.hu/2019/05/08/visszaternek-a-vonulasok-magyarorszagra-mi-hazank-betyarsereg-menet-jon-a-ciganyterror-ellen/>.; 'Ha a Jobbik lesz hatalmon, a bajtársiasság napja lesz Pride helyett' 444.hu Online: <https://444.hu/2014/07/05/ha-a-jobbik-lesz-hatalmon-a-bajtarsiassag-napja-lesz-pride-helyett>.

organisation of Fidesz.⁴⁹ Besides the cobweb-like network of the far-right, there has been an alleged cooperation between Betyársereg and the authorities during the “refugee crisis”. According to Tyirityán, they were approached by the authorities with a request the Outlaws “proudly” took on and “massively took part” in “resolving the migrant crisis”.⁵⁰ As noted earlier, some members of the Betyársereg are former members of Hungarian law-enforcement and the Armed Forces; presumably with still active contacts. Hundreds of asylum seekers complained at that time about being beaten up by uniformed individuals (cf. Gyollai and Korkut 2019). As already mentioned, Toroczkai himself posted photos on his Facebook page of people on their knees or lying on the ground, face down, with hands tied behind their back.⁵¹ Although with close ties to Betyársereg, at that particular time, the mayor was said to be less cooperative when Betyársereg turned up in Ásotthalom offering their “assistance”.⁵² Abused by members of Betyársereg or not, it is yet unclear why there was no criminal investigation launched by the police regarding the migrants in Toroczkai’s photos,⁵³ unless what Tyirityán said was true. Let alone that irregular migrants have reported serious injuries by police as well (Gyollai and Korkut 2019). It is also notable that following the atrocities by Magyar Gárda in Roma communities, a new criminal offence, “uniformed crime”, was introduced to the Criminal Code in May 2011. However, this new criminal offence, to my knowledge, as of the time of writing, has never been applied by the authorities.⁵⁴ In one way or another, Tyirityán once said in an interview that “there are people in Fidesz in the parliament, not only one or two, who acknowledge and respect our work. Not only that, but there are some who helped us and whom we helped”.⁵⁵ Collaboration between the far-right and the Police is not as far-fetched as it sounds: Tettrekész Magyar Rendőrszakszervezet, TMRSZ, the biggest police union in Hungary, (Ever Ready Hungarian Police Union) made an official cooperation agreement with Jobbik in 2009. According to the agreement, the TMRSZ offered help with the development of Jobbik’s law-enforcement plan and agreed in promoting it among its members. TMRSZ further agreed that it would provide some of its well-known members at Jobbik’s disposal to promote the party’s platform.⁵⁶

However, as already demonstrated in section 3, the most prominent agent with radical right-wing platform is now Fidesz. As Mudde, early on, emphasised when reflecting on Orbán’s latest political shift: “we devote far too much attention to relatively irrelevant groups and often ignore more significant phenomena” (Mudde 2015). From 2010 onward, Fidesz has considered Jobbik as its real competitor, rather than the left-liberals, and increasingly started

⁴⁹ See HVIM’s website: <https://www.hvim.hu/a-mozgalomrol-2004>.

⁵⁰ ‘Tyirityán: A rendszer a Betyársereget is megkereste’ ATV, Online: <http://www.atv.hu/belfold/20160720-tyirityan-a-rendszer-a-betyarsereget-is-megkereste-a-migransvalsag-megoldasara/hirkereso>.

⁵¹ See supra note 30.

⁵² ‘Berágott Toroczkaira a Betyársereg a menekültvadászat miatt’ index.hu Online: https://index.hu/belfold/2015/07/13/beragott_a_betyarsereg_toroczkaira/.

⁵³ ‘Vizsgálja a rendőrség az ásotthalmi mezőőrök akcióját’ HVG Online: https://hvg.hu/itthon/20170628_asonthalom_mezoorok_toroczkai_laszlo_menekultek.

⁵⁴ Cf. ‘The New Hungarian Guard/For a Better Future Hungarian Self-Defense’, The Orangefiles, Online: <https://theorangefiles.hu/the-new-hungarian-guardfor-a-better-future-self-defense/>.

⁵⁵ ‘Tyirityán: nem tartjuk Orbánt közellenségnek’ 24.hu Online: <https://24.hu/kozelet/2016/11/23/tyirityan-nem-tartjuk-orbant-kozellensegnek/>.

⁵⁶ ‘Radikalizálódó rendőrök – Szabad a gazda’ Magyar Narancs, Online: https://magyarnarancs.hu/belpol/radikalizalodo_rendorok_-_szabad_a_gazda-71497. In English see Open Society Foundation: <https://www.opensocietyfoundations.org/voices/hairline-cracks-scrambling-power-within-jobbik>.

focusing on Jobbik voters, blurring the line between conservatism and right-wing radicalism (Krekó et al. 2011). By systematically taking over the narrative of Jobbik and delegitimizing its leader,⁵⁷ it has essentially accomplished the platform of its predecessor. Thus, there is an increasing view that Fidesz, both in terms of its rhetoric and policy, has to date become an openly authoritarian, xenophobic, Islamophobic and anti-gay radical right party (Karsai 2020; Fabry 2019; Krekó, Hunyadi and Szicherle 2019; Özdamar and Ceydilek 2019; Kondor 2018; Juhász, Hunyadi, Galgóczi, Róna, Szicherle and Zgut 2017; Bozóki 2016; Mudde 2015; Bíró Nagy, Boros and Varga 2012). This transformation of Fidesz and its position swap with Jobbik in the political spectrum is perhaps the most visible in the European Parliament (EP). On the one hand, Fidesz has been expelled by European People's Party (EPP) and its members are now welcome by far-right party groups,⁵⁸ and Jobbik has launched negotiations about filling the vacant seats and joining EPP, on the other.

In the past ten years, to mainstream radical right-wing nationalism, Fidesz has monopolised and gained almost total control over media in Hungary (including the national broadcaster MTVA); the vast majority of which now belong to the umbrella organisation, KESMA,⁵⁹ managed by individuals loyal to Orbán.⁶⁰ Those few representing dissent are under constant threat of closure or takeover, such as e. g. Origo, Népszabadság, Index, and most recently Klub Rádió. To broadcast and disseminate its agenda, besides its media empire, Fidesz has also used giant billboard (hate) campaigns, rallies such as the 'Békemenet' (Peace March) co-organised by Zsolt Bayer and András Bencsik, and the already mentioned national consultations.

A relatively new pro-government media outlet, outside the domain of KESMA, is Vadhajtások, run by the openly racist and radical right blogger Zsolt Bede, whose interviewing skills are merely limited to verbal and physical abuse. His interviewing style has however received acknowledgment and wide support by dominant Fidesz media platforms. In his own Sunday night show on Echo Tv, Bayer himself commented on his performances: "I love the guy...this is the right way, this is how you do it".⁶¹

However, not only the media have served as a platform to channel or disseminate Fidesz' narratives. The Fidesz-KDNP has been consistently reshaping the entire cultural sphere, including education, mainstreaming its own Christian-nationalist, "illiberal" worldview. This has been well exemplified by the ousting of CEU (Central European University), and, most recently, the overtake of SZFE (University of Theatre and Film Arts). SZFE was the only university, so far, whose management, teachers, and more importantly, the students themselves, but also a wide range of international actors and institutions, stood up against the government to preserve the autonomy of the university; none of which seemed to be enough

⁵⁷ 'Orbán kicsit lebuizta Vonát' Index:

https://index.hu/mindekozben/poszt/2017/02/20/orban_viktor_kicsit_buzizott_a_szakertok_szerint/.

⁵⁸ See Hungary Today: <https://hungarytoday.hu/radicals-would-welcome-fidesz-but-party-undecided-on-ep-future/>.

⁵⁹ Közép-Európai Sajtó és Média Alapítvány (Central European Press and Media Foundation).

⁶⁰ 'Demise of Hungary's media exposes Brussel's weakness' Politico, Online: <https://www.politico.eu/article/brussels-looks-on-powerless-at-hungarian-media-demise-viktor-orban/>.

⁶¹ 'Tüntetőket fenyeget veréssel, ellenzékiekkel balhézik a NER kedvenc újságírója.' 444.hu Online: <https://444.hu/2019/01/09/tuntetoket-fenyeget-veressel-ellenzekiekkel-balhezik-a-ner-uj-kedvenc-ujsgiroja>.

and have the desired effect after all.⁶² Not only that, the Fidesz media launched immediate hate campaign against the protesters; Attila Vidnyánszky, Orbán's appointee to lead SZFE, in, again, Bayer's show, compared the protesting students to Szamuely-soldiers and Lenin-boys, the killing brigades of the Red Terror.⁶³ Perhaps some clarification is needed as to how all this directly relates to radicalisation, let alone the long-term consequences of the appointment. At the time of writing, a woman was attacked on the bus in Budapest apparently for wearing a "Free SZFE" mask, which has earlier become the symbol of solidarity with the students. The attacker slashed her cheek open with a knife while trying to cut off the mask.⁶⁴ Prior to that, a woman escorting her friend with a dislocated knee, was refused entry to the waiting room of a GP for wearing the same mask.⁶⁵ Vidnyánszky, who has already, essentially, controlled theatre profession in Hungary, was appointed to direct the National Theatre by the government in 2012, replacing the very successful, but openly gay Róbert Alföldi for that matter.

5. Stakeholders and channels of de-radicalisation

Because the main agent of radicalism is the government itself, it is perhaps not surprising that efforts of de-radicalisation in Hungary remain with non-state actors, such as civil society organisations, charities and research groups (cf. Vékony 2016). This chapter very briefly introduces the most important of the very few stakeholders of de-radicalisation, their initiatives and programmes. The discussion more or less follows the structures of radicalisation as outlined above, i.e. the focus is on agents seeking to prevent and reduce a) anti-Roma b) anti-immigrant / Islamophobic, c) anti-LGBTQ hate crime. It is difficult to measure how successful these agencies are, given that the government has curtailed migrants/LGBTQ rights on policy and constitutional level and is supported by nearly the entire media. The section ends with programmes conducted with the aim to prevent radicalisation in prisons.

In the aforementioned case where the court ordered the government to pay financial compensation for the children in Gyöngyöspata for their years-long segregation at school, the children were represented at the court by the Chance for Children Foundation (CFCF). The Foundation especially focuses on the fight for equal rights and opportunities for Roma children in education in Hungary. Not only does it provide legal support for them, but also organises community activities to pursue its goal and counter segregation. CFCF was founded in 2004.⁶⁶ Társaság a Szabadságjogokért (TASZ – Hungarian Civil Liberties Union) is one of the biggest NGOs for human rights protection in Hungary. It was founded in 1994 and since has been

⁶² 'Hungary: Protesters rally against university takeover in Budapest' BBC Online: <https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-europe-54052182>.

⁶³ 'Vidnyánszky: ha a mostani vezetés nem képes elindítani az oktatást, akkor mi elindítjuk.' 444.hu Online: <https://444.hu/2020/09/14/vidnyanszky-ha-a-mostani-vezetes-nem-kepes-arra-hogy-elinditsa-az-oktatast-akkor-mi-elinditjuk>.

⁶⁴ 'Mégvágta egy nő arcát a csepeli buszon, feltehetőleg az SZFE-s maszkja miatt' <https://telex.hu/belfold/2021/02/25/megkeseltek-egy-not-egy-csepeli-buszon-mert-szfe-s-maszk-volt-rajta>.

⁶⁵ 'Nem engedtek be egy nőt az orvosi rendelőbe, mert „#free-SZFE” maszk volt rajta' <https://magyarnarancs.hu/belpol/nem-engedtek-be-egy-not-az-orvosi-rendelobe-mert-free-szfe-maszk-volt-rajta-134713>.

⁶⁶ See <http://www.cfcf.hu/en/about-us>.

providing legal aid for anybody who have been discriminated or become victim of abuse of power. TASZ has about 2500 legal cases per year, but they also provide awareness training and are involved in advocacy through media campaigns and presentations nationwide.⁶⁷

The Muslim population in Hungary was 5,579 according to the 2011 census (cf. Jones-Gailani and Göbl 2019); a number unlikely changed extensively after 2015, given that Hungary has been a transit country. The most important organisations for Hungary's Muslim community, are the Organisation of Muslims in Hungary (Magyarországi Muszlimok Egyháza – MME) and the Hungarian Islamic Community (Magyar Iszlám Közösség – MIK). Both institutions play crucial role in the support of the Muslim community, in their integration, as well as religious education to prevent radicalisation (Szentágotay 2011). Their joint organisation, the Islamic Council of Hungary (Magyarországi Iszlám Tanács – MIT) was established in 2011 and officially recognised as church in 2012. To prevent Islamophobic hate crime, the Hungarian Islam Advocacy Association (Magyar Iszlám Jogvédő Egyesület - MIJE) was established in 2016. The Association registers hate crime incidents, provides legal aid for victims (cf. Jones-Gailani and Göbl 2019).

Besides fighting against Islamophobia, one of the most important NGOs in Hungary whose aim is to support and facilitate the integration of migrants, in general, is Menedék (Migránsokat Segítő Egyesület – Hungarian Association for Migrants). Within the many activities of Menedék, the NGO regularly run trainings for professional whose work involves contact with asylum seekers, such as reception centre staff, immigration (detention) officers, police, health care professionals and teachers. The trainings focus on competence-building, intercultural skills, conflict management. Menedék has conducted several (research) projects in support of their mission. Another important NGO dedicated to protecting the human rights not only of migrants but also detainees and victims of abuse of power in general is the Hungarian Helsinki Committee (HHC). Helsinki's staff includes lawyers, medical doctors, sociologists, economists and journalists. Besides legal assistance and representation they also provide professional training activities and are engaged in research.⁶⁸

The oldest and most well-known NGO who supports Hungary's LGBTQI community is Háttér Society, founded in 1995. Its primary aim is to draw attention to difficulties and problems LGBTQI people face in their everyday life in Hungary and to provide them assistance and adequate support. Háttér is dedicated to giving voice to LGBTQI people who are discriminated and to protect their human rights, as well as to mainstream their recognition in terms of social policy. They also seek to promote the well-being and health of LGBTQI people. To achieve these aims, Háttér is engaged in advocacy, research, various training activities and cultural events, and provide counselling (hotline, online and personal) and legal aid.⁶⁹

Concerning LGBTQI hate crime prevention, a relatively recent case at the National University of Public Service (NKE) exemplifies the "illiberal" transformation of (higher) education by Fidesz and is perhaps worth mentioning. In early 2019, the University participated in a hate crime awareness project and in the subsequent training called 'Facing All the Facts' coordinated by CEJI (A Jewish Contribution to an Inclusive Europe) and co-funded by the EU

⁶⁷ See <https://hclu.hu/en/about-us>.

⁶⁸ See https://www.helsinki.hu/en/about_us/.

⁶⁹ See Hatter's website: <https://en.hatter.hu/what-we-do>.

and the Open Society Foundation.⁷⁰ Later in the same year, the University was scheduled to host the closing conference of another consortium project ‘Call It Hate: Raising Awareness of Anti-LGBT Hate Crime’ with the participation of 50 partners (Háttér was participating in both projects). However, the University pulled out just a few weeks before the conference date. When the co-organiser of both projects, expert of hate crime, Andrea Kozáry, then Professor of the University, raised the issue with the management, NKE terminated her contract on 17 October after over 25 years of employment.⁷¹ What is decisive is this: László Kövér, Speaker of the House in the parliament, founding member of Fidesz and close friend of PM Orbán delivered a lecture at NKE on 22 October. In his lecture, Kövér argued that principle of checks and balances is “nonsense” and advised the students present to “forget it”. According to Kövér, a view he shared at a campaign even in January 2019: “a sound homosexual person knows what the world order is; they are aware of that they were born or have become one (gay) and try to adapt to the world by not necessarily considering themselves to be equal.” As the Speaker of the House noted, “in the moral sense there is no difference” between paedophilia and gay adoption (cf. Gyollai and Korkut 2020).

The first (and, to my knowledge, last) research on the topic in Hungary was conducted in 2017, as part of the project, ‘Prevention of radicalisation in the prison-system’ co-ordinated by Budapest Centre for the International Prevention of Genocide and Mass Atrocities and funded by the Internal Security Fund of the EU. According to the research findings, although radicalisation might be an emerging issue in Hungarian prisons, it is not prevalent, and is fundamentally distinct from the form of radicalisation known in Western Europe. In other words, radicalisation in Hungary does not relate to terrorism, in general, or to jihadist radicalisation, in particular. The risk of radicalisation in Hungarian prisons predominantly stems from the conflict between different groups in the prison, the relationship between prison staff and inmates in particular, i.e. from the treatment of prisoners. Thus, the policy proposals focus on the improvement of prison condition, the rehabilitation process, as well as the wellbeing, training, payment of staff and their workplace conditions (Hera 2018). At the time of writing, I am not aware of a significant change or innovation in this regard.

Within the above project, the Foresee Research Group provided training for prison personal to recognise and adequately respond to potential signs of radicalisation, as well as to improve their skills to facilitate the rehabilitation and reintegration of people. Prior to participating in the ‘Prevention of radicalisation in the prison-system’ project, Foresee led an international consortium project called ‘Mediation and Restorative Justice in Prison Settings’ (MEREPS) between 2009-2012. The project involved researchers, criminal justice practitioners and professionals and policy makers with the overall goal to improve mediation and restorative justice practices in prisons.⁷²

Menedék (see above) has frequently run sensitivity training for the staff in immigration detention centres, but, again, these trainings are not compulsory, only voluntary.⁷³

⁷⁰ ‘A kormányt a gyűlölet szításával vádolják, kedvenc egyetemén ez ellen harcolnak’ 24.hu Online: <https://24.hu/belfold/2019/01/04/gyulolet-buncselekmeny-nke-rendorseg/>.

⁷¹ ‘A kormány kedvenc egyeteme kirúgta a tanárt, aki a homofób gyűlöletről szervezett konferenciát’ 24.hu Online: <https://24.hu/belfold/2019/10/29/nke-tanar-kirugas-kozary-andrea-konferencia/>.

⁷² See <http://mereps.foresee.hu/en/about-mereps/>.

⁷³ See <https://menedek.hu/kepzesek/kepzesi-kinalatunk>.

6. Conclusion

The only relevant form of radicalisation in contemporary Hungary is right-wing extremism with anti-establishment, ethno-nationalist and religious elements. There have been several right-wing group and/or party formations since the collapse of the one party system in 1989, all of which, however, have nurtured themselves and their platforms from the political legacy of the interwar Horthy-regime. The denial of, and total lack of reconciliation with, history is, perhaps, one of the main reasons that underlie radicalisation in contemporary Hungary. A mixture of irredentism, Christian-nationalism, anti-communism and anti-Semitism has formed the platform of both Jobbik and Fidesz. Fusing anti-establishment and anti-Roma sentiments, the Jobbik emerged as the third political power following the 2006 crisis of the socialist-liberal government. From the 2010 onward, Fidesz has however become more and more radical than its competitor and come to dominate the (right-wing) political spectrum. Securing supermajority in three consecutive terms, Fidesz in coalition with KDNP, has reshaped the legal framework and public policy, in, essentially, all segments of public administration and established a right-wing autocracy in Hungary. Following the 2015 “refugee crisis”, as a result of the overwhelming campaign, anti-immigrant sentiments peaked in the country and Fidesz transformed the Hungarian society into one of the most xenophobic Member States. Moreover, the Orbán government has been reshaping the entire cultural sector, including education, in line with its Christian-nationalist, “illiberal” ideology by unilaterally depriving certain institutions’ autonomy and/or delegating its own appointments in their management. Because radicalisation has become a state-led process, de-radicalisation initiatives and efforts have been pursued solely by non-state actors, such as CFCF, TASZ, HHC, Menedék, Háttér, MIJE and MEREPS. With Fidesz in power, significant change in both political discourse and social policy can hardly be anticipated. Even if the Opposition coalition win in the upcoming general election in 2022, the more than a decade long polarisation has arguably caused a long-lasting damage in the society.

Appendices

Appendix 1. Main radicalisation events in Hungary since 2001

Event	Period	Description
Őszöd-Speech and subsequent protests	September - October 2006	Climax of anti-establishment sentiments: At a congress in Balatonőszöd, then PM Ferenc Gyurcsány criticised his party (MSZP) for lying to the electorate. The speech was leaked and broadcasted in the national radio igniting a series of protests.
Roma Murders	July 2008 – August 2009	Extreme right-wing violence: Six people were killed, including children, many others left seriously injured. The killers were far-right extremist whose motivation was to resolve and revenge “Gypsy crime”.
Gay bar attack	2008	In summer 2008, a gay bar and a gay sauna were hit by a Molotov cocktail. Although no organisation claimed the attacks, they were attributed to Hunnia, a far-right movement established by György Budaházy and Toroczkai to carry out armed attacks against members of the Gyurcsány government.
Refugee “Crisis”	2015 – (ongoing)	Anti-immigrant moral panic: The Fidesz-KDNP has successfully constructed threat of asylum seekers; anti-immigrant rhetoric has since been dominating political discourse.
“Migrant Hunting”	2015-2016	László Toroczkai, mayor of Ásotthalom (a village in the

		Hungarian-Serbian border region) organised a civil militia to capture irregular migrants in the vicinity of the village.
Homophobic intimidation in Auróra.	September 2019	In September 2019, a group led by Budaházy disrupted an LGBTQI awareness event in Auróra in the presence of the police.
Raid of Auróra	October 2019	in October 2019, several dozens of members of Légión Hungária (Legion Hungary) raided Auróra and put Neo-Nazi sticker all over the place. They also removed a rainbow flag from the entrance and set it on fire

Appendix 2. Discourses of radicalisation in Hungary

Quotation	Speaker/ Author	Date	Source	Comments
<p>“I know how many Hungarians live in Israel and how many Jewish from Israel live in Hungary. With respect to this incident, it is high time to clarify how many people of Jewish descent live here, and, especially, are in the Hungarian parliament and government, who pose a risk to national security.”</p>	Márton Gyöngyösi - Jobbik	November 2012	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=fQfbBW4RAp0&ab_channel=F%C3%B3rumazantiszemitzmusellen	Gyöngyösi made this comment as a reflection on the 2012 Israeli operation in the Gaza Strip.
<p>“There was a time when a large number of people immigrated in this city from outside the city. You saw the consequences. The people of Miskolc have experienced how it is if something like that happens. Let alone that those who then came, already came to Miskolc from Hungarian territory. Now, imagine when people come from abroad whose culture, traditions, lifestyle are totally different from ours (...) Migrants always move to big cities, this is where ghettos, no-go zones and parallel societies emerge and where public order start decreasing.”</p>	Viktor Orbán - Fidesz	March 2018	https://hvg.hu/itthon/20180301_Video_Orban_nyiltan_fenyveti_Miskolcot_es_migransozza_a_romakat	Orbán in a campaign event in Miskolc before the 2018 election, referring to the Roma population of Miskolc in the context of mass migration.
<p>“Heroes for us here in Hungary are those who protect and defend that which is ours, our freedom, our families, our way of life and our country. Heroes for us are those who take an oath to do this and are true to their oath. Today you have taken an oath to defend the borders of Hungary, and our wider homeland of Europe (...) If there is no border defence, if there are no brave men and women to guard our borders, there is no prosperity, there is no</p>	Viktor Orbán - Fidesz	June 2017	https://2015-2019.kormany.hu/en/the-prime-minister/the-prime-minister-s-speeches/prime-minister-	Orbán’s speech at the oath-taking ceremony for non-commissioned police officers.

<p>security, there is no order, and there is no progress either. Then all we have will be uncertainty, fear, chaos, anger, and trucks driving into crowds of people.”</p>			<p>viktor-orban-s-speech-at-the-oath-taking-ceremony-for-non-commissioned-police-officers.</p>	
<p>“I am not from Gyöngyöspata, but if I lived there, I would definitely wonder why, for whatever reason, members of a significant ethnic group living in the same community and village I live, will get a serious amount of money without working at all, while I am slogging all day long.”</p>	<p>Viktor Orbán - Fidesz</p>	<p>January 2020</p>	<p>https://444.hu/2020/01/09/orban-szerint-igazsagtalan-hogy-karterites-t-kaptak-a-roma-gyerekek-akiket-eveken-at-elkulonitatek-az-iskolaban</p>	<p>Orbán on the court order to pay financial compensation to Roma children segregated at school between 2007 and 2014.</p>
<p>“I would be extremely glad if those who consider themselves proud Hungarian Jews played with their tiny, circumscribed willy in their spare time instead of slandering me. <i>Your kind</i> got used to all <i>our kind</i>⁷⁴ immediately stand to attention whenever you fart. Please do note: this is OVER!!!! We’ve raised our head, and we are not going to take this terror of your kind any longer. We’ll take our homeland back!”</p>	<p>Krisztina Morvai - Jobbik</p>	<p>June 2009</p>	<p>http://nol.hu/belfold/20090605-ilyent-meg-csurka-sem-irt-le-335803.</p>	<p>Morvai’s response to someone who suggested that she should be banned from politics because of her tone and rhetoric.</p>

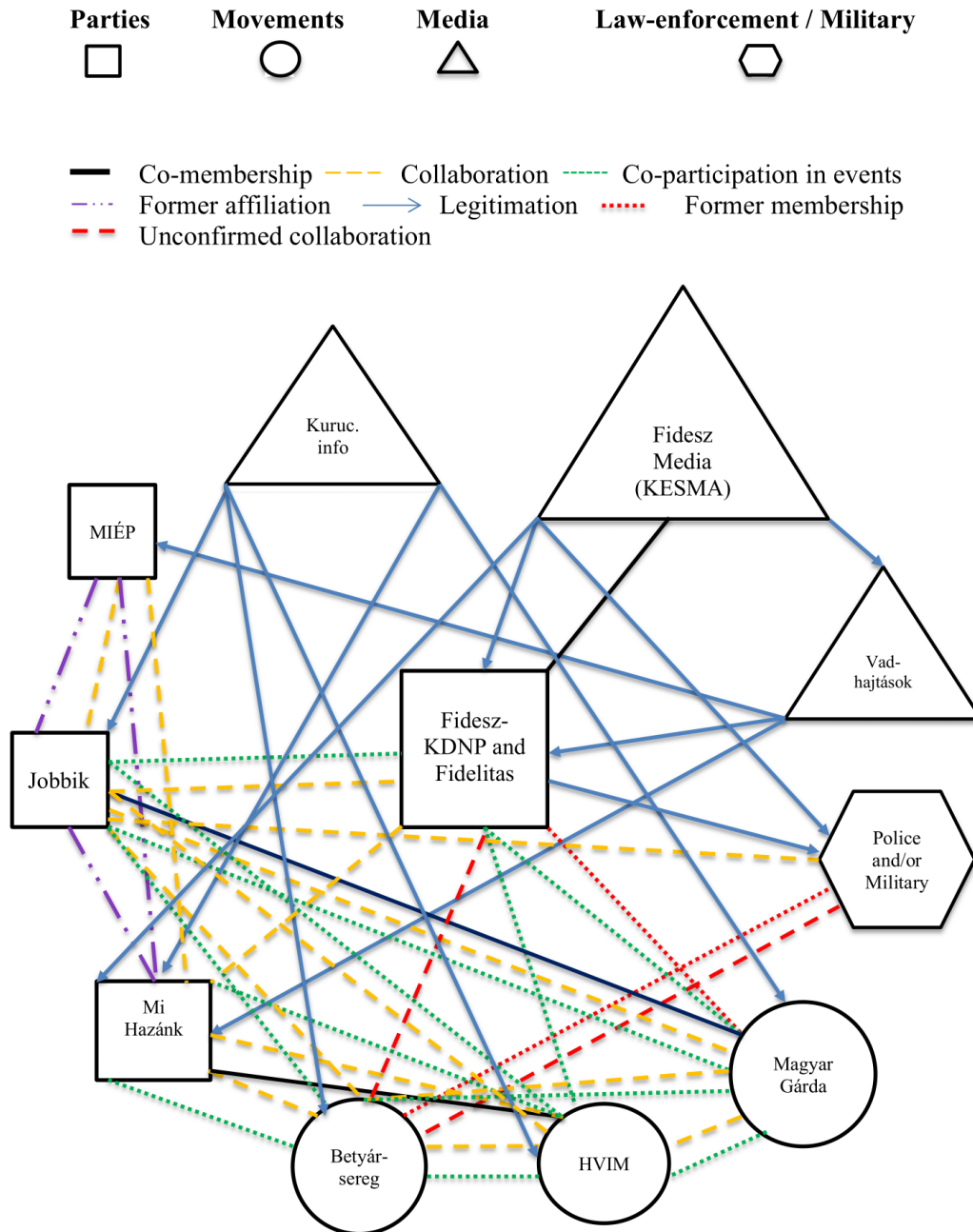
⁷⁴ The *Magukfajta* – *magunkfajta* terminology introduced by Morvai has long dominated right-wing discourse in Hungary, picked up and favoured by many politicians.

<p>“And these are the facts: the vast majority of Roma are incapable of co-existence; are incapable of living with human beings. This proportion of Roma are animals and behave like animals. They mate whenever and with whoever they want, whoever and wherever they spot. If encountering resistance, they kill. They defecate wherever and whenever they are caught short. If they feel obstructed, they kill. They want whatever they spot. If they don’t get it immediately, they take it and kill. This proportion of Roma is incapable of any kind of communication you would call human. Mainly inarticulate sounds plop out of their animalistic skull, and the only thing they can comprehend in this wretched world is violence.”</p>	<p>Zsolt Bayer - Fidesz</p>	<p>January 2013</p>	<p>https://web.archive.org/web/20130107011609/http://www.magyarhirlap.hu/ki-nelegyen.</p>	<p>Bayer reflecting on a pub stabbing.</p>
<p>“There are some forms of crime that are specifically linked to Roma ethnicity - e.g. mass brawl, stealing non-ferreous metal, stabbing, stealing timber, usury, etc. – which can only be handled with in a specific way due to the ethnic nature. It has to be declared that Gypsy-crime exists and is spreading. We should not argue about the terminology, but to solve the problem.”</p>	<p>Gábor Vona - Jobbik</p>	<p>January 2008</p>	<p>https://vasosikurir.hu/vona-gabor-uj-szine-es-regi-fonakja-raebredt-hogy-a-cigany-is-ember/.</p>	<p>The Jobbik’s creed (once on their website, now removed).</p>
<p>“When an armed horde knocks down the border fence of a sovereign country, when this horde attempts to break into a sovereign country, when this horde attacks the police defending the border, then nobody can question and can find an excuse any longer: the country is under siege. Hungary is under siege. Nothing like that has happened for 59 years (Bayer here refers to the Soviet army in 1956)...We have been real careful, both beyond and within</p>	<p>Zsolt Bayer - Fidesz</p>	<p>September 2015</p>	<p>https://bados.blogstar.hu/2015/09/16/menekultek-nem-agresszorok/20925/.</p>	<p>Bayer interpreting the event when the border crossing was sealed and asylum seekers stranded on the Serbian side clashed with the border police (in full gear).</p>

<p>border, not to experience that again. Now we are experiencing it again. We have to hold. Not only the police who have been working and now defending the country tirelessly, and not only the soldiers deployed at the border, not only the government, but all of us.”</p>				
<p>“I find any group or nation’s world-leading ambitions disgusting; that of the Jews as well. And I see precisely this arrogance in your behaviour. Because no party leader, apart from myself, would ever tell you such things, I am going to tell you. It is good if you hear some dissent opinion besides the amount of arse-licking you get. Because what I am writing you is the joint opinion of many Hungarians (...) Not everyone is afraid of you in my homeland either. I am not afraid either. Perhaps one day you will shoot me down like a dog with a missile, but not even then I’d be afraid in my own homeland. Keep that in mind! I’ll never be Israel’s dog, like all the parties in the parliament here. Do you get that? Never! Neither can you buy me, nor threaten me. And the same goes to many, and just becoming more and more.”</p>	<p>Gábor Vona - Jobbik</p>	<p>March 2013</p>	<p>https://alfahir.hu/2013/03/18-71.</p>	<p>From Vona’s letter in response to Ilan Mor’s, then Israel’s ambassador to Hungary, condemnation of Ferenc Szaniszló, an openly anti-Semitic journalist, having been awarded by the government.</p>
<p>“We have legislation in Hungary that apply to homosexuals, the basis of which is an extremely tolerant and patient approach. That is, Hungarians are patient towards this phenomenon. Moreover, Hungarians are so patient, that we take even such provocative demonstrations, I am not saying without words, but fairly well. Thus, it is safe to say that Hungary, with respect to homosexuality, is a tolerant and patient country. But there is a red</p>	<p>Viktor Orbán - Fidesz</p>	<p>October 2020</p>	<p>https://hatter.hu/hirek/a-hatter-tarsasag-allasfoglalasa-orban-viktor-nyilatkozata-kapcsan.</p>	<p>Orbán reflecting on the publishing of the children’s book (see above) with LGBTQ characters in his weekly radio interview.</p>

<p>line that cannot be crossed - to sum up: Leave our children alone!"</p>				
<p>"Orbán has long successfully forced the Opposition into fights over topics he picked. But it would not have worked without us. Us, the Opposition. We have picked up the gauntlet thousands of times. Orbán picks a target and we defend ourselves. Why? This time – based a children's book – the target are views that, according to him, corrupt our children. What Orbán says and does is clearly provocative. And we are responding to him. I disagree."</p>	<p>Ferenc Gyurcsány – DK (Democratic Coalition)</p>	<p>October 2020</p>	<p>https://index.hu/belfold/2020/10/06/gyurcsany-ferenc-a-mese-konyv-balhe-egy-provokacio/.</p>	<p>Gyurcsány on Orbán's reaction to the LGBTQ children's book.</p>

Appendix 3. Network of the main agents of radicalisation in Hungary



Appendix 4. Main de-radicalisation programmes in Hungary

Name	Dates	Agents	Approach	Scale	Targets
'Facing All the Facts'	2019-today	CEJI, NKE	hate crime awareness and monitoring	Individual, organisational	police
'Call It Hate: Raising Awareness of Anti-LGBT Hate Crime'	2018-2019	Háttér, HHC, TASZ	anti-LGBT hate crime awareness	national	general public
'Mediation and Restorative Justice in Prison Settings'	2009-2012	Foresee	integrative mediative	prison	prisoners
'Prevention of radicalisation in the prison-system'	2017-2018	Foresee, Budapest Centre for the International Prevention of Genocide and Mass Atrocities, Menedék, NKE	mediative proactive	prison	prison staff, prisoners

References and sources

A Gyilkosok Emlékműve (2021). [Online] Directed by Dániel Ács. Budapest: 444 [Viewed 09 February 2021]. Available (English) from: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=4ygZB1MTRR4&ab_channel=444.hu.

Amnesty International (2012). Hungary: Report into vigilante activities in Gyöngyöspata fails to address discrimination. April 4, Online: <https://www.amnesty.org/download/Documents/20000/eur270012012en.pdf>.

Antal, A. (2016). Politikai ellenség és identitás, In Gy. Földes and A. Antal (eds.) *Holtpont: Társadalomkritikai tanulmányok Magyarország elmúlt 25 évéről*. (pp. 131-152) Budapest: Napvilág.

Bíró Nagy, A., Boros, T. and Varga, Á. (2012). Right-wing Extremism in Hungary. Berlin: Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung. Online available: <http://library.fes.de/pdf-files/id-moe/09566.pdf>.

Bodo, B. (2011). The White Terror in Hungary, 1919-1921: The Social Worlds of Paramilitary Groups. *Austrian History Yearbook*. 42: 133-163.

Bodo, B. (2019). *The White Terror: Antisemitic and Political Violence in Hungary, 1919-1921*. Abingdon: Routledge.

Bozóki, A. (2016). Mainstreaming the Far Right: Cultural Politics in Hungary. *RECEO* 4(47): 87-116.

Csepeli, Gy., Fábrián, Z. and Sik, E. (2001). Determinants of denial and acceptance of refugees in Hungary. In K. Phalet & A. Örkény (Eds.) *Ethnic Minorities and Inter-ethnic Relations in Context: A Dutch-Hungarian Comparison*. (pp. 217-228) Aldershot: Ashgate.

Demos – Political Capital Institute – Open Society Institute (2013) Digitális populizmus Magyarországon: A Jobbik Facebook-követői (kutatási zárójelentés).

Enyedi, Zs., Erős, F. and Fábrián, Z. (2001). Authoritarianism and Prejudice in Present-day Hungary. In K. Phalet & A. Örkény (eds.) *Ethnic Minorities and Inter-ethnic Relations in Context: A Dutch-Hungarian Comparison*. (pp. 201-215) Aldershot: Ashgate.

Fabry, A. (2015). The far right in Hungary. In F. Leplat (ed) *The Far Right in Europe* (pp. 202–247) London: Resistance Books.

Fabry, A. (2019). Neoliberalism, crisis and authoritarian-ethnicist reaction: The ascendancy of the Orbán regime. *Competition & Change* 23(2): 165-191.

Feischmidt, M. and Hervik, P. (2015). Mainstreaming the extreme: intersecting challenges from the far right in Europe, *Intersections*, 1(1): 3–17.

Foley, J., Gyollai, D. and Szalanska, J. (2021, forthcoming): "Revising Humanitarianism and Solidarity: the UK, Poland and Hungary", in J. Foley and U. Korkut (eds.): *Contesting Cosmopolitan Europe*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press.

Gimes, G., Juhász, A., Kiss, K., Krekó, P., and Somogyi, Z. (2008). *Láttelek 2008: Kutatási összefoglaló az előítéletesség és intolerancia hazai helyzetéről*. Budapest: Political Capital. Available online at: https://euroastra.hu/files/20081016_eloiteletesseg_tanulmany_081016.pdf

Gyollai, D. (2018). Hungary – Country Report: Legal and Policy Framework of Migration Governance, RESPOND Working Papers, May 2018.

Gyollai, D. and Korkut, U. (2019). Border Management and Migration Controls: Hungary Report, RESPOND Working Papers, July 2019, [Online] Available at: <https://www.diva-portal.org/smash/get/diva2:1334555/FULLTEXT01.pdf>.

Gyollai, D. and Korkut, U. (2020). LGBTQI Intolerance: The Curtailment of Academic Freedom in Hungary, *Discover Society*, Online: <https://discoversociety.org/2020/03/04/lgbtqi-intolerance-the-curtailement-of-academic-freedom-in-hungary/>.

Héra, G. (2017). The relationship between the Roma and the police: a Roma perspective. *Policing and Society*, 27(4): 393-407.

Héra, G. (2018). "A radikalizáció megelőzése a büntetés-végrehajtási intézményekben" című projekt zárótanulmánya. Budapest Centre for Mass Atrocities Prevention.

Jones-Gailani, N. and Göbl, G. (2019). Islamophobia in Hungary: National Report 2018. In E. Bayrakli and F. Hafez (eds.) *European Islamophobia Report 2018*, SETA.

Juhász, A.; Krekó, P. and Molnár, Cs. (2014). A szélsőjobboldal iránti társadalmi kereslet változása Magyarországon. Socio.hu DOI: 10.18030/socio.hu.2014.4.25.

Juhász, A. and Molnár, Cs. (2016). Keleti extrémek. 11 August. HVG, Online: http://derexindex.eu/images/download/HVG1633_1_dosszie.pdf.

Juhász, A., Hunyadi, B., Galgóczi, E., Róna, D., Szicherle, P. and Zgut, E. (2017). Az átrendeződés éve: A populista jobb és a szélsőjobb a mai Magyarországon. Political Capital - Heinrich-Böll-Stiftung. Budapest: Political Capital – Social Development Institute.

Kállai, E., Papp Z, A. and Vízi, B. (2017). Túlélés vagy Remény? Pillanatképek a Roma Közösségek Jelenéből. In A. Jakab and L. Urbán (Eds.) *Hegymenet: Társadalmi és politikai kihívások Magyarországon*. (pp. 156-176) Budapest: Osiris.

Karácsony, G. and Róna, D. (2010). „A Jobbik titka. A szélsőjobb magyarországi megerősödésének lehetséges okairól”. *Politikatudományi Szemle*, XIX/1: 94–123.

Karsai, L. (2020). Mítoszok, tények és pártpropaganda. *Élet és Irodalom* LXIV/5.

Kerekes, J. (2018). *Álarcosbál a Fehér Keresztben: A zsidó asszimiláció*. Budapest: L'Harmattan.

Kis, J. (2012). Introduction: From the 1989 Constitution to the 2011 Fundamental Law, In: G.A. Tóth (Ed.) *Constitution for a Disunited Nation: On Hungary's 2011 Fundamental Law*, (pp. 1-22) Budapest: CEUP.

Kondor, K. (2018). Mapping the Radical Right in Hungary. Commentary, October 02, EuropeNow Online: <https://www.europenowjournal.org/2018/10/01/mapping-the-radical-right-in-hungary/>.

Kondor, K. and Littler, M. (2020). Invented Nostalgia: The Search for Identity Among the Hungarian Far-Right. In O. C. Norocel, A. Hellström and M. B. Jørgensen (eds.) *Nostalgia and Hope: Intersections between Politics of Culture, Welfare, and Migration in Europe*, (pp. 119-134) IMISCOE Research Series. Springer, Cham. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-41694-2_8.

- Korkut, U. (2017). Resentment and Reorganization: Anti-Western Discourse and the Making of Eurasianism in Hungary. *Acta Slavica Iaponica* 38: 71-90.
- Kovács, A. (2010). *The Stranger at Hand: Antisemitic Prejudices in Post-Communist Hungary*. Leiden: Brill.
- Kovács, É. (2016). Overcoming history through trauma: The Hungarian Historikerstreit. *European Review*, 24(4): 523-534.
- Krekó, P. (2018). *Tömegparanoia: Az összeesküvés-elméletek és álhírek szociálpszichológiája*. Budapest: Athenaeum.
- Krekó, P., Juhász, A. and Molnár, Cs. (2011). A szélsőjobboldal iránti társadalmi kereslet növekedése Magyarországon. *Politikatudományi Szemle* XX/2. 53-79.
- Krekó, P., Hunyadi, B. and Szicherle, P. (2019). Anti-Muslim populism in Hungary: From the margins to the mainstream. Brookings Report, Online: <https://www.brookings.edu/research/anti-muslim-populism-in-hungary-from-the-margins-to-the-mainstream/>.
- Mendelski, B. (2019). The Rhetoric of Hungarian Premier Victor Orban: Inside X Outside in the Context of Immigration Crisis. In S. Ratuva (Ed.) *The Palgrave Handbook of Ethnicity*. (pp. 1829-1852) Singapore: Palgrave.
- Miklóssy, K. and Nyssönen, H. (2018). Defining the new polity: constitutional memory in Hungary and beyond. *Journal of Contemporary European Studies*, 26(3): 322-333.
- Molnár, V. (2016). Civil Society, Radicalism and the Rediscovery of Mythic Nationalism. *Nations and Nationalism*, 22 (1): 165-185.
- Mudde, C. (2015). The Hungary PM made a 'rivers of blood' speech...and no one cares. *The Guardian*, July 2015 Online: <https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2015/jul/30/viktor-orban-fidesz-hungary-prime-minister-europe-neo-nazi>.
- Özdamar, Ö. and Ceydilek, E. (2019). European populist radical right leaders' foreign policy beliefs: An operational code analysis. *European Journal of International Relations* DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1177/1354066119850254>.
- Palonen, E. (2018). Performing the nation: the Janus-faced populist foundations of illiberalism in Hungary. *Journal of Contemporary European Studies*, 26(3): 308-321.
- Rab, L. (2019). Pokorni József kabátja - tanulmány. 18 October 2019 Mozgó Világ, Online: <https://mozgovilag.hu/2019/10/18/rab-laszlo-pokorni-jozsef-kabatja-tanulmany/>.
- Romsics, I. (2016). The Antisemitism of István Bethlen and Jewish Policy in the Horthy Era. In R.L. Braham and A. Kovács (Eds.) *The Holocaust in Hungary: Seventy Years Later*. (pp. 27-36) Budapest: CEUP.
- Sereghy, Z. (2017). Islamophobia in Hungary: National Report 2016. In E. Bayrakli and F. Hafez (eds) *European Islamophobia Report 2016* (pp. 257-272) SETA.
- Simonovits, B. (2020). The Public perception of the migration crisis from the Hungarian point of view: Evidence from the field. In B. Glorius and J. Doomernik (eds.) *Geographies of Asylum in Europe and the Role of European Localities*, (pp. 155-176) Cham: Springer.

- Simonovits, B. and Bernát, A. (2016). The Social Aspects of the 2015 Migration Crisis in Hungary, Budapest: TÁRKI. Online Available at: http://www.tarki.hu/hu/news/2016/kitekint/20160330_refugees.pdf.
- Simonovits, B. and Szeidl, B. (2019). Attitudes towards migration and migration policies in Hungary and Europe (2014-2018). In T. Kolosi and I. Gy. Tóth (eds.) *Social Report 2018*. (pp. 295-313) TÁRKI: Budapest.
- Subert, M. (2019). Motives and legacies behind 2008-2009 Hungarian Roma murders and apologies. *Contemporary Justice Review* 22(1): 3-22.
- Szalai, A. and Góbl, G. (2015). Securitizing Migration in Contemporary Hungary, CEU Centre for EU Enlargement Studies Working paper. November 2015, Online: <https://cens.ceu.edu/sites/cens.ceu.edu/files/attachment/event/573/szalai-goblmigrationpaper.final.pdf>.
- Szentágotay, R. (2011). Magyarországi Szunnita Muszlim közösségek az ideológia, integrációs politika, és a radikalizáció megelőzésének tükrében. *Kultúra és Közösség*. IV/II(1): 85-92.
- Thorleifsson, C. (2017). Disposable strangers: far-right securitisation of forced migration in Hungary, *Social Anthropology*, 25(3): 318-334.
- Turbucz, D. (2013). Antall József miniszterelnök Horthy-képe. In *Búvópatakozétekintés. Évkönyv XIX*. (pp. 177-199) Budapest: OSZK-1956-os Intézet Alapítvány.
- Turbucz, D. (2014). A jobboldali radikálisok Horthy-képe a Rendszerváltozás után. In R. M. János (ed) *Búvópatakok, mélyfúrások. Évkönyv XX. 2014: Magyar jobboldal - 1945 után*. (pp. 249-273) Budapest: OSZK-1956-os Intézet Alapítvány.
- Ungváry, K. (2016). Master plan? The decision-making process behind the deportations. In R.L. Braham and A. Kovács (eds.) *The Holocaust in Hungary: Seventy Years Later*. (pp. 105-146) Budapest: CEUP.
- Várad, L. (2014). *Youth Trapped in Prejudice: Hungarian Adolescents' Attitudes towards the Roma*. Dissertation. Springer.
- Varga, M. (2014). Hungary's "Anti-Capitalist" Far Right: Jobbik and the Hungarian Guard. *Nationalities Papers* 42(5): 791-807.
- Vékony, D. (2019). Country Report: Hungary. October 2019. GREASE Religion, Diversity and Radicalisation.
- Vidra, Zs. (2017). Countering Islamophobia through the Development of Best Practice in the use of Counter-Narratives in EU Member States, Working Paper 7 - CERS, University of Leeds.
- Vidra, Zs. and Fox, J. (2014). Mainstreaming of racist anti-Roma discourses in the media in Hungary, *Journal of Immigrant and Refugee Studies*, 12(4): 437–55.