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# RADICAL CHANGE



A guide to Jobbik's parliamentary electoral manifesto  
for national self-determination and social justice



**JOBBIK**  
THE MOVEMENT FOR  
A BETTER HUNGARY

2010

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### *A guide to Jobbik's parliamentary electoral manifesto*

**JOBBIK, the Movement for a Better Hungary**, held a General Assembly on the 16<sup>th</sup> of January 2010, at which it introduced both its election manifesto, and its 176 individual parliamentary candidates, to an audience of some two thousand party members and sympathizers. The complete text of the manifesto may be found [*in Hungarian*] at the following web address: [http://www.jobbik.hu/sites/down/Jobbik-program 2010OGY.pdf](http://www.jobbik.hu/sites/down/Jobbik-program%202010OGY.pdf)

The key points of the manifesto are outlined below.

**Presidential nominee Krisztina Morvai** begins her foreword to the manifesto, by declaring her conviction that it represents a roadmap towards both the hope, and sense of national unity, that has been eagerly awaited by so many Hungarians, given the singular disappointments they have suffered since the regime change of 1989. She goes on to state that the manifesto has been authored by experts whose hearts, as well as minds, are in the right place. Hungary, our communal home, is in crisis. And though it may be possible to list the symptoms of this crisis, it is now also necessary to finally endeavour to apply those remedies, which politicians would like to have us believe simply do not exist, “there being no alternative to the present system.”

This lie can now be maintained no longer.

There *is* an alternative. Hungary, and the Hungarian nation, is not only possessed of a past, but a future also. The time has come: The moment has arrived when people seeking justice no longer await the arrival of change from politics, but rather, themselves effect change within politics itself! The 2010 parliamentary elections represent the long sought-after moment when this change can finally take place. And for this reason, Jobbik's presidential nominee finishes by commending the manifesto to all individuals, given that the document represents a way out from division, and towards a system of values capable of uniting the well meaning people of the Hungarian nation; rather than turning such people, a people yearning for both justice and self-determination, against each other.

**Prime Ministerial nominee Gábor Vona**, in his introduction to the manifesto, expresses the hope that its publication will result, in reassuring those who had so far trusted in Jobbik, in convincing those who had so far lacked the courage to listen to their better judgement, and in disheartening those who viewed neither Hungary as their homeland nor looked on the Hungarian nation as their people. Everyone was now able to read, in black and white, what it was that Jobbik desired: an end to criminality in politics; a respectable economic policy committed to job creation; a state supportive of national producers and businesses; an agriculture founded on family enterprise; a collective safety built on a reformed police force and an established Gendarmerie; a media, cultural and educational policy serving national interests and values; a responsible health service and pension system; a genuine policy for the *whole* nation; and a youth programme designed to promote national wellbeing.

In short, the return of national autonomy. In a word: a brighter future!

Jobbik's manifesto is a document for every sensible, respectable and fair-minded Hungarian. It does not chase the impossible. It simply seeks the achievement of fundamentals such as order, productivity, justice and self-determination. The more that people become aware of Jobbik's conceptions, the more they end up discovering that they have always been Jobbik supporters, and have simply not realized this fact beforehand. The Jobbik leader finally concludes with the wish that God grant the manifesto, sooner rather than later, the achievement of its ultimate goal, namely, Hungary's revival.

## **Jobbik's economic philosophy: Eco-Social National Economics**

Across the world a global capitalism based on the free movement of multinational capital has broken down. Billions have been made destitute, and ever widening gulfs have grown in societies. In Hungary the effects of this crisis have been greatly magnified, given an environment made noxious by the workings of a politics that has been both nefarious and corrupt.

Jobbik believes that what is required is an eco-social national economy, which means tailoring the economy, through controls which lead it to serve the interests of Hungarians, so as to provide both the environment and the living standards that people deserve; this requires a state that is capable of promoting national economic actors in order to place them on a level competitive playing field, so as to create more just relationships within society through the redistribution of wealth. However a state more willing to play its part, cannot be permitted to become an overgrown and overbearing entity. Instead economic policy must endeavour to defend Hungarian industry, Hungarian farmers, Hungarian businesses, Hungarian produce and Hungarian markets; strategic national assets must also be protected, meaning our land, water, natural gas, and forests; while national wealth that has been frittered away must be reclaimed.

Jobbik thinks in terms of a Hungarian economic policy for the Carpathian basin as a whole, and considers Hungarian populated territories beyond the border to be part of a unified protected Hungarian economic zone. While at the same time it believes in orienting our external economic trade eastwards, thereby decreasing our homeland's dependence on the West.

Calling a halt to our population decline is of vital importance not only in terms of national survival, but also from the point of view of our economic capabilities. A threatening demographic catastrophe is also being exacerbated by an ethnic proportional shift. Given that a nation's supporting foundations are formed from upstanding, hard-working, multi-child families; their promotion is a defined strategic objective.

Job creation is central to Jobbik's economic policy. In concert with the Hungarian people's industriousness, politics must – both financial and morally – re-establish the position of decency that work should hold, while also developing an economic and taxation climate which both stimulates and facilitates job creation.

**A potent, active and capable state:** The previous two decades have seen a significant proportion of national assets coming into private hands for implausibly low prices, while at the same time the state has also been granting discounts to multinational corporations, thereby constraining Hungarian businesses into a competitive disadvantage. Jobbik will initiate legislation designed to protect state assets, which will result in those seeking to disown the nation of its property facing punishments of up to life imprisonment.

**A state both restrained and refocused:** For the last twenty years an unjust and irrational taxation policy has dismantled society's moral imperative with respect to the paying of tax, with respectable labour effectively being punished by being subject to an enormous burden of taxes and charges; this has only lead to the widening of the black and grey economies. Jobbik's goal is the cutting of those taxes and contributions which stifle labour, while at the same time widening those liable to taxation; in addition to making tax avoidance the subject of strict sanctions.

**Decreasing the national debt burden:** The politics of the preceding decades has sent our homeland into a downward spiral of national indebtedness. We will re-examine both the prevailing policy with respect to the national debt, and the terms and conditions under which existing credit was obtained; and in doing so we will identify those responsible for this state of affairs. We will initiate negotiations aimed at redrawing repayment conditions. And in addition will initiate legislation, preventing government from obtaining credit in order to meet its operational expenditure, confining such loan-taking to only those development projects whose benefits can be proven to serve the national economic interest.

**Turning our foreign trade orientation eastwards:** The last twenty years saw the collapse of the purchasing markets of the Comecon and the former Soviet Union, which led Hungarian governments to turn their trade orientation westwards; yet the opportunities now presented by the strengthening countries of the East (China, India, Russia, Turkey, Kazakhstan, Indonesia) have not been sufficiently determined. We will turn foreign trade relations in an easterly direction, in doing so we would guarantee such eastern economies the opportunity of a 'bridgehead' towards the markets of the European Union.

**Potential growth areas of the Hungarian economy:** In previous years the prestige of both agricultural and manufacturing trades has waned. With the arrival of multinational corporations complete branches of manufacturing have effectively ceased. We intend using the apparatus of the state to support the Hungarian processing and food industries, in addition to the underlying agricultural sector which provides those preceding two industries with their required raw materials. We will also promote the reach and extent of information technology out towards the country as a whole, and will also reinvigorate domestic scientific research and education. Furthermore, state infrastructure projects would be supported too. And we will guarantee conditions for the continued growth of tourism, in addition to making holiday-vouchers tax exempt once more. By encouraging the development of alternative energy resources, we may also permit a decrease in our dependence on energy importation.

**Supporting domestic businesses:** Unrealistic tax burdens, unworkable regulatory conditions, and allowances made for foreign capital, have brought domestic businesses into a state of unfair competitive disadvantage: leading countless numbers into bankruptcy. By decreasing the deductions made on salaries, we intend to achieve both the growth of the entrepreneurial sector, and the legitimization of economic activity [away from the black and grey economies]. We will begin by ceasing to make VAT payable at the point of invoice. Taxation regulations will be greatly simplified and penalties for non-compliance would be toughened.

**A Hungarian banking system:** Our banking system has almost completely been transferred into the hands of multinational commercial banks, in the process totally withering Hungary's rural banking network of Savings Unions. By reforming the Hungarian Development Bank, which still remains under state ownership, we will bring a genuine "Bank of Hungary" into being, by freeing it from the constraint of having to serve a narrow group of interests; as a result its sphere of activities could be significantly broadened. We will also strengthen those Cooperative Savings and Credit Unions already under the combined ownership of Hungarian citizens.

**Job creation:** The respectability of jobs in the manufacturing and production sectors has, at the present time, been lost; entire branches of industry have collapsed. We intend decreasing unemployment through the establishment of public works schemes, by which the costs of infrastructure projects can also be decreased. Solutions to rural unemployment can be found by reinvigorating the processing and foodstuff industry, and an agricultural sector providing the raw materials for these industries; where opportunities exist in organic methods, requiring an intensive human resources element.

**Promotion of homebuilding:** Homebuilding at both the national and municipal level has effectively ceased, given that the defining priority of homebuilding contractors has been the exportation of profits out of the country in the service of foreign capital. Young people are finding it progressively harder to meet the preconditions necessary to get them into their own homes. We will commence a national construction program of rented accommodation, which would provide opportunities to Hungarian SMEs. Hungarian families will also be able to obtain mortgage credit through the Bank of Hungary under preferential long-term conditions.

**Strengthening domestic economies:** Local businesses, and domestic industries, have found themselves the victims of a dramatic decline; the lion's share of municipal subsidies and procurements now find their way exclusively to multinational companies. We will strengthen those organizations which lobby for domestic manufacturers, and will open markets which will allow producers to reach consumers directly, thereby bypassing commercial chains; we will also introduce a "Social Card" [comparable to 'food stamps'] system nationwide.

**“Buy Hungarian!” movement:** We intend starting a nationwide scheme under the slogan: “Buy Hungarian!”, enabling indigenous firms to utilize the prefix “Hungarian” in their names before their type of company, once that is, they possess a planned Certification of Hungarian Corporation status, which will be rolled out as part of the system.

**Eliminating corruption:** Today, public sector purchases that are free of corruption simply do not exist, be the matter in question about motorways, bridge maintenance, parking or the health service. A key objective of the Movement for a Better Hungary is the comprehensive reform of regulations governing public procurement. We will require both, the investigation of several significant public sector projects and investments, in addition to, a probe into the documentation of those companies whose classification come under an ‘off-shore’ heading. We will also radically toughen up those punishments which are incurred as a result of acts of corruption.

**Itemizing the negative effects of privatization:** Following the regime change of 1989, a significant proportion of the nation’s wealth has ended up under the control of an elite, that has effectively remained in power since the days of the one-party state; moreover a sizeable part of our agricultural, financial and public service sectors have fallen into foreign hands, which have chosen to close down our own domestic production plants, and flood the country with their own produce. During the course of the Liberal-Left free-for-all of the last eight years, the majority of those companies which were still operating profitably have also ended up being sold off. Our aims are a comprehensive review of privatization contracts, the punishment of the felonious, and the prevention and removal of secrecy over issues that concern national assets.

**Re-evaluating the presence of multinational corporations:** Multinationals came into Hungary in order to take advantage of cheap labour and exploit the potential presented by our consumer markets, in many sectors they have ended up terminating twice as many jobs as they have created. While abiding by those accepted protocols governing the operation of multinationals within OECD member states, we plan on uprooting those accounting and taxation barriers negatively impacting the Hungarian economy; and through a series of measures in several areas we intend making Hungarian businesses competitive.

**Income Tax, family taxation, VAT and National Insurance contributions:** An unmanageably complicated and convoluted system of taxation and National Insurance [*US English: “Social Security”*] has practically made the law-abiding earning of a living virtually impossible in Hungary. We will greatly simplify taxation, and would retain a banded tax system, while also increasing its progressive component; in addition we would also raise the current tax band limits. Furthermore, Jobbik will introduce a voluntary scheme of family taxation, while removing all VAT on goods and services essential to child rearing.

We will reform the pensions’ system, and will review certain age allowances, as well as specific disproportionately high pensions originating as rewards for service to the single-party state. We will support an increase in both the base- and minimum- pension. Furthermore we would facilitate the enabling of people’s choice of private pension schemes too.

**The role of the Hungarian National Bank:** Today our central bank, the Hungarian National Bank, uses the unique independence that has been granted to it by legislation as a pretext for operating in an entirely unrestricted and unsupervised manner: at the moment it does not bother to deliver substantive technical reports even to parliament itself. Only if the current situation in which the central bank operates above the law ceases, is a resolution of this state of affairs ever likely to be possible; so that the central bank may return to the carrying out of its primary undertaking, namely the generation of fiscal stability.

For the central bank to be capable of starting on the road to operating in the national interest, it will be necessary to conduct a rigorous and comprehensive audit, dating back to the introduction of the dual-banking system in 1987. An inventory must be made of all the relevant conflicts of interest that arose, in order to name, and hold to account the responsible leaders and directors who profited from them.

## **Agriculture and Rural Renewal**

As long as the domination of profit does not rob it of the opportunity of doing so, the Hungarian nation is quite capable of thriving on the produce of its own homeland; provided of course that relations between countries are also permitted to be ruled by considerations of cooperation, equality, and solidarity, rather than a rule of acquisition that demands that one subjugates the other.

The fundamental principles of our rural development program are: population preservation, the development of an agricultural model designed to serve the common good, the production of high-quality foodstuffs, the strengthening of tourism, and the retention of land and water-resource ownership in national hands. In this spirit we also intend to review our treaty of accession to the EU in addition to other international undertakings.

**Our arable land: a priceless commodity.** The land privatisation legislation passed in the 1990s prepared the ground for arable land speculation, and the spectacle of foreign nationals obtaining Hungarian land, through the use of proxy ownership “fronting” agreements. By initiating legislative changes to land law, we will prevent foreign nationals from obtaining ownership of farmland even after the current moratorium expires; and will guarantee a purchasing right of first refusal to young local farmers, we will also ensure the destitute have the chance to use arable land via their local councils under a community farmland scheme.

**Modifying our Treaty of Accession:** Earlier governments have betrayed the welfare of rural society, in order to benefit the interests of big corporations and agribusiness concerns. We have opened up our foodstuff consumer markets in exchange for merely 25% of the subsidies received by like-for-like farmers in the EU-15. We will re-examine those clauses of the Accession Treaty which are disadvantageous to Hungary, even if doing so could end up raising questions over our continued membership of the EU; we intend to defend our national foodstuff markets, demanding that multi-national retailers abide by a compulsory proportion of domestic to international commodities of 80% to 20%.

**A Rural Affairs Bank:** We would establish such a bank, which will offer long-term low-rate credit to key rural groups. We will also encourage local municipalities to employ Complementary Currency options.

**Sustaining population levels through agriculture:** The ultimate objective of our rural restoration policy is a countryside repopulated by the young, in which they are engaged in revitalized economic activities; in effect a rural Hungary built on a new conception of agriculture.

**An agricultural model which serves the common good:** Over the last two decades agriculture has not been able to save the countryside. But, Jobbik believes, a reinvigorated countryside could indeed facilitate a new style of agriculture. For this reason we promote an agricultural methodology that combines both ecological and economic perspectives; that re-establishes a proper ratio between crop cultivation and livestock rearing, and which substitutes the use of chemical agricultural aids with alternative methods and crop rotation.

**“You are what you eat”:** In order to serve the interests of foreign capital, a feature of the last 20 years has been the selling off of our farming produce, and the importation of cheap, mass-produced, poor-quality substitutes. We will impose comparable food quality standards, to the ones currently met by domestic produce, for imported goods.

**The foodstuff market: going local.** We support a policy of people, and their communities, being able to determine their own agricultural and consumer policies; and we would also prevent the flooding of other nations’ markets through dumping practices, while requiring that the producers of other nations extend us the same courtesy. We will also foster the appreciation of local produce, using local cooperative produce-outlets, modelled on the ones which used to exist.

**A culture of self-determination at the local level:** We intend to delegate decision making powers down to those levels which feel the consequences of such decisions most keenly; we will also strengthen local decision-making institutions with the involvement of organisations representing both farmers and civil society.

**Ousting the political elite:** The end products of the last twenty years have been: a climate of speculation produced by land privatization legislation, corrupt profiteering from state-owned land, the toleration of illegal foreign “fronting” agreements, the fundamental undermining of rural Hungary’s capacity for population retention, and the fraudulent distribution of state funding. Jobbik maintains that development resources must be distributed while under local society supervision and control, and that we must remain vigilant, to ensure that a useful function which serves the common good, can be proven to lie behind the receipt of every such subsidy.

### **Environmental policy**

The protection and defence of the environment is not some abstract scientific notion, but is, and should be treated as, a conscious and active component of our everyday lives. In order to realize our brighter future, radical changes will be required. Environmental protection must be a consideration taken into account in the making of every political decision.

**An environmentally conscious society:** The population shrinkage of rural Hungary and the Hungarian countryside has led to the uncontrolled spreading of invasive flora (e.g. Ragweed), while a number of animals and plants native to our country find themselves on the brink of extinction. We will establish a scheme of public works whose objective will be to reverse the damaging effects of certain environmental tendencies, furthermore we will foster the restoration of environmentally sympathetic homes, and would promote environmentally friendly developments and purchases; we will also radically stand up against those who engage in environmental damage.

**Animal welfare:** We will establish an independent animal welfare directorate within the Ministry for the Environment, and will introduce a “produced according to animal welfare sympathetic methods” form of food certification; we will also promote traditional [as opposed to intensive] forms of livestock rearing. We would approve of the finding of alternative substitutes to animal experimentation. Also, we would make the creation of sufficient numbers of animal refuges a duty of government.

**Halting illegal waste-dumping:** Today “rings” of refuse have grown up around, and surround populated areas. We will endorse the prevention of rubbish pollution; and will promote recycling technologies, in addition to selective citizen recycling initiatives. We will develop a new regulatory framework for the recycling of both non-ferrous metals, and other materials; and will also foster the supervision of the boundaries of populated areas in order to prevent dumping.

**Wholesome domestic food:** The irresponsible overuse of artificial fertilizers has resulted in an increase both, in the numbers of poisoned waterways, and in the extent of arable territory that has been ruined and rendered unusable. We will strengthen official supervision of this issue, and also use it for the purpose of market protection. We will prioritize the use of natural fertilizers. In addition we will promote foodstuffs manufactured from locally sourced GM- and additive-free produce.

**The protection of our precious water-resources:** Foreign interest groups are endeavouring to acquire command and control of our fresh-water assets; while river water that enters our territory is being regularly polluted and poisoned. We will preserve the national treasure that is our water resources, through the passing of new water-utility legislation and by further water protection measures; existing water works that have been privatised will be returned to state ownership. We will endeavour to restore the ecology of our waterways, and will bring an end to poaching.

**The urban environment:** A resident of a big city can expect their life expectancy to be two years shorter than that of a rural resident. We will increase the proportion of green spaces in our big cities, and will preserve historic city layouts; in addition we would promote the utilization of energy efficient and environmentally conscious building methods.

### **Energy policy**

In the energy sector in our country, seemingly everything has already been capitalized. However, the result of such extremist privatization has never, in a single area, ever amounted to a reduction in prices; in this regard the neo-liberal model has clearly proven itself a failure. The gas supply crisis of January 2009 made Hungary's helplessness on the energy front an incontrovertible fact. Given that we have little say in the shaping of global events, the goal of our national energy policy, is to strive to boost our local potency within the realities of a globalised world. For Jobbik, energy policy is one of those strategic branches of the national interest, where we believe that the state may validly behave in a robust and interventionist manner.

**Energy independence and energy conservation:** Over the last twenty years the majority of our energy sector has been privatised with the assurance of guaranteed profits; our gas stores and oil refineries have ended up in foreign hands, and our energy dependency has grown, while improvements in energy conservation have been abandoned. We will bring a significant proportion of our energy sector back into community, that is national, ownership. In addition to extending the lifespan of the Paks Nuclear Power Plant, we also intend subsidising its expansion with the construction of an additional fifth reactor block. With respect to national coal, gas, and petroleum mining we will raise the current level of payable mineral royalties. We would promote the insulation of buildings. And we would also endeavour to use renewable energies for climate control in addition to using them for heating. Through the use of fuel efficient vehicles, and promoting the timely maintenance of buses and lorries, we intend to decrease automotive fuel consumption. And we plan on making resource and material efficiency of all kinds a common attitude nationwide. (e.g. superfluous advertising material, junk mail, and packaging etc.)

**Alternative-energy policy:** The insignificant efforts made so far towards alternative energy generation amply demonstrate the current political establishment's insensitivity towards the reality of changing circumstances. In the interests of supply-security we plan on re-examining promises previously made by Hungary to the European Union, and will only accept rational and realistic targets for: reductions in consumption, increases in the ratio of renewable energy generation, decreases in greenhouse gas emissions, and the proportional growth of biofuel use. We plan on decreasing greenhouse gas emissions through the increased use of atomic energy, in such a way that will also result in a significant fall in current residential electricity prices; given that the realities of the accident risk represented by contemporary nuclear power stations are in fact comparable to those of fossil fuel burning plants. We will promote the building of local small-scale energy generation facilities that use renewable methods. And will initiate developments in the field of geothermal energy utilization. Bearing environmental concerns in mind we also plan on better identifying those opportunities represented by hydroelectric energy generation. We will establish a functioning energy market whose consumer protection component is truly effective, and in achieving this we will incorporate both consumer interest groups, and environmentally concerned civic organisations.

### **Transport policy**

Preceding governments have looked upon the matter of transport as if it were merely an economic issue and nothing more. Travel on the roads these days is both regularly gridlocked and plainly intolerable. Due to the rather skilful dismantling, over the last decades, of the twin practises of shipping freight by either rail or river, even the ferrying of people on our transport network now finds itself in a state of jeopardy. According to Jobbik,



transport policy is not simply a profit-oriented economic issue, but is rather a great deal more than that: it is a strategic, political, and environmental matter that also touches on national wellbeing; it is for this reason that any further deterioration or privatization in the transport sector is simply unacceptable. Our most important principles in terms of transport are: remedying the transport issue for communities in general, developing the railways, and reinvigorating transport on both the rivers and in the air; making environmental perspectives heard in the consideration of transport policy, and ending corruption in nationally owned businesses concerned with transport.

**Improving the competitiveness of the railways:** The modernization of our railways is long overdue, with the carriage of passengers in outdated rolling stock being combined with a decrepit track and station network; both personal travel and the ferrying of commercial freight by rail have now become prohibitively expensive. Our rail infrastructure must be re-developed, not only, so that our country can fulfil the potential it has to be a bridging nation that is represented by its unique geographical location, but also, so that it can remain a decent competitor to road traffic which has now swollen to unacceptable levels.

**Travel by road, river and air:** The extravagant and wasteful construction of motorways has gone hand in hand with a reduction in the updating of lower-level roads, the abandonment of making the passage of river craft possible on the Hungarian stretch of the Danube; the manufacture of vehicles has ground to a halt, and government has also neglected air travel. Our objective is to repair the Danube's navigability in line with our international responsibilities, and also to develop a direct connection between water transport and water related economics. We will begin the construction of a channel connecting the Danube and Tisza rivers, which will not only solve issues concerning both flooding and ground water, but will also be open to boating too.

The maintenance and renewal of the "A"- and "B"-road networks will be prioritized ahead of motorway construction. By improving parking schemes and updating the various means of public transport we will relieve the strain on city traffic. We will also promote the bringing about of settlement-avoiding bypasses. By supporting national research and development, we will assist in the realization of competitive automobile manufacturing. And we will also conduct enquiries into the circumstances of the privatization and franchising of Malév and Budapest Airport.

**Transport issues in Budapest:** Budapest is now incapable of providing people with the opportunity of clean, safe and speedy travel. It is necessary that the standard of both personal and public transport be reformed, that transport infrastructure be renewed, and that an optimal transport network and route frequency be developed. We shall specifically support the development of an integrated transport policy. and will bring about rapid links between the city's outer districts and outlying settlements, and the centre of city. We also propose to divert the route of the planned Buda portion of the M0 motorway, so that it avoids the city's protected green belt. We will also extend the existing Metro lines towards the city limits, through the use of surface or close-to-surface track.

### **Information Technology policy**

Information and communication technology (ICT) has become the driving motor of the 21st century, and its effects can be felt through every part of life: public safety, the civil service, health, the economy, environmental protection, transport, energy, agriculture, sport, education, culture and so on. Given that over the last eight years this sector has provided 25% of our economic growth, it is clearly a strategically important branch of the Hungarian economy; and its economic impact is growing steadily: it now represents almost 10% of GDP. However there is a significant human resources shortage in the Hungarian ICT economy, which is putting a break on future growth. For this reason we will develop the ICT infrastructure of schools, and would in addition secure the provision of high-speed broadband to all educational institutions; we will also guarantee that every school leaver will have had the opportunity of sitting for the European Computer Driving Licence (ECDL). Through the spread of internet-based distance learning we shall bring the disadvantaged into contact with further and higher education. We will also use distance learning to promote lifelong learning. Additionally we will

introduce the use of ICT resources in the teaching of subjects other than IT alone; the further training of teachers will be carried out to accomplish this, as will the development of varied digital teaching materials and resources.

We shall also support digital freedom of information. All citizens will be permitted the same level of access under the same conditions. We will introduce open government and open document access. State information will primarily be stored digitally, shifting government bureaucracy away from the current paper based system; with as much information as possible being viewable through standardized channels of open public access. In the same spirit we will bring about an open and structured interface which will facilitate communication between public bodies e.g. municipal authorities, the Tax Office, banking and other public sector organizations; and the citizen.

### **Family policy and Population issues**

Hungary's population levels are at crisis point, the chief reason for this being drastic population shrinkage, coupled with an ageing populace. We also occupy the bottom rungs of Europe from the point of view of life-expectancy. The causes for this may be found in society's general poor state of health, the plummeting levels of health service provision, and the growth in unhealthy lifestyles.

This population crisis has been exacerbated by the destructive behaviour of the political establishment. Jobbik's goal is to slow, then halt, then gradually reverse the rate of population decline, through the use of a coherent family and social policy; so that the nation grows. To achieve this will first and foremost require the promotion and protection of the institution of the family, particularly from attacks by a liberalism whose objective is to put the family unit on an equal footing with every conceivable alternative living arrangement or deviant lifestyle.

For this reason Jobbik plans the introduction of "family taxation," and the formation of an institute for stay-at-home mothers; while also making it easier for those women who chose to be mothers to return to work if they so decide. Our reform of the pensions' system will place pension provision on a more secure foundation, and it will promote the having of children, while also directly facilitating mutual responsibility between generations.

**Supporting families, and family taxation:** By means of an eligibility-determined family taxation scheme, the state will be able to alleviate the financial strain of child rearing by decreasing the combined income tax burden of the wage earners within a household; in direct proportion to the number of dependents in that household. Our objective is that the convoluted and non-transparent child-benefit /child-support / child-premium system be eventually replaced by a Stay-at-Home Mothers' Subsidy; for which entitlement would be determined in accordance with a proven history of employment, for a specific period prior to the child's birth.

**Employment conditions for working mothers:** We would promote child-friendly workplaces and the removal of the obstacles that exist for mothers who wish to work. The Movement for a Better Hungary also intends on stimulating the employment prospects of working mothers, and the re-employment of women after they have had children, by introducing a 20% reduction-per-child in the tax due from job providers in the form of the "Employer's Contribution." We also plan on increasing nursery places so they are capable of meeting demand.

**Restructuring the pension system:** We will abolish compulsory private pensions and lead the pension' system back towards a state arrangement, in which individual account-holding would nevertheless remain. Both the pension supplements received by individuals for their service as senior officials under the one-party state, and baseless disability payments and early-retirement allowances, will be reformed in order raise the level of the basic state pension. We will also recommend the introduction of parental support annuities, which would mean, a portion of the income-tax deducted from working adults going towards their parents', or guardians', pension provision. The state must also recognize the sacrifices made by women who raise children whether they choose to work or not, which is why we would always guarantee early-retirement options for mothers.

## Social Welfare policy

Jobbik's attitude towards social welfare is based on a Christian social foundation: namely, that the state should only intervene once individual, and family, opportunities have been exhausted. Our principles are: the state's acceptance of its social function, the support of homebuilding, the tying of the receipt of benefits and allowances to work and other conditions, and the improvement of the circumstances of the disabled and the homeless. However the state recognizing its duty of care does not equate to its unconditional and unilateral support of the entire social service system, rather it means that the state should ensure the reliable functioning of social institutions, through the provision of systematic support to municipalities, established churches and non-governmental organizations.

**Unemployment benefits:** Solving the inadequacies of the current system is a key objective. We must be endeavouring to guarantee work opportunities rather than access to benefits. Those capable of labour, should only be entitled to receive state support, through the completion of some form of work. With the nationwide introduction of a "Social Card"\* scheme: we shall provide those individuals and families living under difficult circumstances, who both genuinely wish to improve their prospects and possess the willingness to accept employment when it is offered to them, with every possible opportunity for improving their living conditions; in addition to this such a Social Card scheme would bring to an end the epidemic of criminal usury [loan-sharking] that exists amongst those on welfare in Hungary.

**Homebuilding:** Tens of thousands of Hungarian families have ended up the victims of both foreign banks, and foreign construction companies, due to financing drawn on currencies such as the Swiss Franc, the Euro, and the Yen. Jobbik's aim is the creation, in conjunction with the town and country municipalities, of a nationwide homebuilding program; whose primary objective will be the creation of significantly more family houses. We shall also commence an apartment-building program, for which rental rates will be determined by government. The fate of those living in housing estates, has been systematically ignored by the current parliamentary parties, except at election time. Jobbik will in contrast make the improvement, rehabilitation and integration of housing estates a reality. We intend creating communal works programs for the upkeep of communal estate areas; while the problems of crime and disorder in estates shall be handled by a reformed police service possessed of new objectives.

**Those living with disability:** Jobbik promises the disabled a helpful and cooperative state, which will both guarantee safe living conditions and preserve their self-respect. We will accelerate and complete the provision of disabled access to public buildings, and will raise both care and support payments; we will also assure specific funding mechanisms to people who assist the re-integration into society of those made unable to work by their disability.

**Improving the welfare of the homeless:** The previous years have seen a significant decrease in the resources allotted to the matter of the homeless; beggar-gangs have developed, which have turned the destitution of others into a way of making money. Jobbik's aim, is to get the homeless into homes sooner rather than later, but at the very least, to give them the opportunity of achieving some form of accommodation. We will urge those living on the streets to move to homeless shelters, where we would also extend them the opportunity of employment.

## Employment policy

People are not units of profit-creation, or objects; they are individuals who possess intrinsic dignity; in such individuals' lives, in their vocations, work plays a vital role. This is why we must strive to ensure, that a person's

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\* A cash substitute through which benefit credit can be received but not spent on items such as alcohol and tobacco.

occupation doesn't merely serve the function of providing the foundations for financial survival; in addition it should ideally be a source of dignity, gratification and feelings of self-satisfaction. During the course of the dissolution and privatization of the domestic manufacturing and processing industries: one million places of work were terminated; while at the same time a large portion of union assets were wiped out. Our objective is increasing employment levels as much as possible, and as a result we deem it necessary that: European Union employment directives come under critical scrutiny, the influence and independence of unions be increased, illicit employment arrangements be abolished, and employee's legal protection be reinforced.

We will reform training subsidies, which are now synonymous with wastage and misuse. Jobbik will oppose abuses committed in contravention of equal treatment legislation, and will promote equal pay for men and women, as well as equal conditions of preferment, for those given work in a self-employed capacity, as those received by regular employees. We will oppose short-term working contracts, which are being deliberately utilize, in order to permit the sacking of employees, without either notice periods or redundancy payments, should demand for the relevant goods and services wane. We oppose the fact that through the cynical use of on-call, overtime, and seasonal-work pre-conditions, collective contracts are now compulsorily requiring 65 hour working weeks. We also oppose those EU directives, which are facilitating the exclusion of unions, from agreements drawn up with multinational corporations. We endorse the compulsory awarding of Sunday as a rest-day, in all those spheres of employment where its imposition is not contrary to basic operating requirements. We will guarantee employees Legal Aid, in the case of employment disputes; while we will also strengthening those institutions which assist in employer–employee arbitration.

### **Gypsy issues**

The coexistence and cohesion of Magyar and Gypsy\* is one of the severest problems facing Hungarian society. On the occasion of 1989's regime change, great swathes of the Gypsy people lost their jobs; who subsequently found themselves unable, and in many cases unfortunately unwilling, to adapt to the new realities. Astonishing rates of unemployment were produced, which the absence or low-level of education merely exacerbated. In certain parts of the country over the last decades the situation has deteriorated to truly deplorable levels. Generations have now grown up, having never once seen their parents in work. The continuation of the Gypsy people's circumstances along their current course is nothing short of a potential time-bomb, and if it is not subject to concerted intervention, our mutual home could sink into a state of virtual civil war. At the present time a segment of the Gypsy community strive for neither integration, nor employment, nor education; and wish only that society maintain them through the unconditional provision of state benefits.

If we wish to return the Gypsy people to a world of work, education and lawfulness it will be necessary to: deliver a truthful and accurate assessment of the realities we face, fundamentally reform social benefit provision, bolster the education of the Gypsy young, bring an end to the phenomena of gypsy crime, and achieve the greater engagement of the churches and civil society institutions in the remedying of the Gypsy people's circumstances.

The most pressing of these issues is undeniably the halting of gypsy crime, for which the strengthening of the established police, and the foundation of a dedicated rural police service, or Gendarmerie, is required. Naturally gypsy crime does not mean that all Gypsy people are criminals, and it is an absurdity to suggest that it equates to the collective labelling of an entire community, as frequently the main victims of gypsy crime are Gypsy people themselves. What is however simply beyond dispute, is that certain specific criminological phenomena are predominantly and overwhelmingly associated with this minority, and that as a result such phenomena require the application of fitting and appropriate remedies. Law enforcement initiatives therefore, must go hand in hand with the reform of social, educational and employment policy, given that Gypsy integration [as opposed to

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\* *Correct translation into English of the endonym "Cigány," used self-referentially by the Roma of Hungary.*

alienation] means assimilation into society-at-large, and that this process must commence at school, even in nursery school; which is why we would allocate both churches and civic and social institutions a specific role in this endeavour, given their ability to more quickly engage the Gypsy people in the necessary dialogue.

Instead of the unconditional receipt of benefits, everyone in the country who is capable of work and who is not in employment, must be offered work; if required through a public works project: in order to receive public assistance. Such assistance must not be paid to the recipient in cash, but rather through the Social Card scheme. [see *Social Welfare policy, above*] In the interests of restricting the regrettable practise of the bearing of children for the purposes of economic subsistence through the state benefits receivable: child benefit will be reformed nationally, so as to only be receivable after the third child, in the form of tax relief; and it is vital that all child benefits be conditional on that child's attendance in education.

### **Healthcare policy**

A nation's most fundamental resource is the health of its people, and it is the prerequisite for the achievement of any national aim. Our objectives are: the remedying of our nation's deteriorated state of health, halting population shrinkage, addressing the chief causes of mortality, and ensuring respectable living standards for those working in the health service. Making sure that people are health consciousness, is also a vital component of our health policy. However, we support neither the functional privatization of healthcare institutions, nor their profit-centred operational management. Nevertheless, we do consider it acceptable that the National Insurance fund compensate for missing capacities, by utilizing private sector hospitals, or other diagnostic and therapeutic institutions; provided that this takes places under financial and operational public-service regulations.

We concertedly reject the privatisation of the National Insurance system, and any efforts to accomplish this by stealth. By improving outpatient services we hope to better the direction of care for the non-bedridden. We would also include same-day surgery and daytime hospital provision in such an endeavour, so a smaller number of treatments would necessitate overnight stays. We would enhance basic treatment, and we hope to steer it into the direction of improvement, by increasing the amount of genuine contact time each patient spends with a doctor. So that the supply of medications is secured well into the future, we will bring a halt to the privatisation of Pharmacies. We will also create an appropriate financial and functional division between healthcare and social-care provisions. In the interests of both medical and Christian ethical concerns, we intend formulating such legislation for the protection of the foetus, that is deemed acceptable to society. And to that end we hope to begin a national debate into why abortion levels are so high in this country that they considerably exceed international rates; so that we may find ways in which to halt and reverse this trend.

Both the Office for National Health and the Chief Medical Officer's Office shall be returned to their original function and spheres of influence. The National Ambulance Service should be able to carry out its work with an organisational- and service-approach that will allow it to once again live up to its good name. We also hope to introduce a national IT network capable of managing the input, storage and administration of the data coming from all segments of the health service. Moreover, we intend increasing the ability of the financial rewards of health sector occupations to attract and retain individuals, in a way that not only guarantees their living standards, but also puts an end to the vast exodus abroad of our healthcare professionals. Those professional bodies representing healthcare experts must have their former authority returned to them, especially with respect to their jurisdiction regarding issues of medical ethics.

### **Sport policy**

Since 1989's regime-change sport has become a runt of the political litter, which government has hardly ever been interested in financing. The representation of sport in government has become ineffectual, sports centres

have disappeared, and sports facilities for the masses have been privatized. Jobbik does not think of sport as a superfluous luxury, but rather an elemental and inseparable component of people's lives, to which everyone should have the right of access. We affirm the truth of the classical maxim, according to which, a sound mind resides in a sound body. The parlous state of sports' policy is amply demonstrated by the dearth of exercise classes and the absence of hygienic facilities. Given that sports funding has preventative benefits with respect to illness, it also has consequences for national health; which is why we desire the emphasising of sport in education also.

Funding sport represents the kind of investment which improves society's wellbeing, benefits community cohesion, and makes the individual both healthier and stronger. Achievements in competitive sport at the international level also improve national pride, by permitting the nation to form a positive self-image. Hand in hand with improving sport provision for the masses, Jobbik desires the reacquisition of Hungary's sporting reputation on the international stage. We also consider it our duty to fund disabled sporting efforts. Furthermore, to develop closer relationships between young Hungarians beyond our borders, and those in the mother country, we intend starting a Youth Olympics of the Carpathian basin. We hope to assist pensioners in the pursuit of senior sporting activities be they followed alone, in groups or in the great outdoors; doing so will promote both physical and emotional health.

### **Education policy**

We have built our educational perspective on the firm foundations of a traditional Hungarian approach, an approach which the liberal educational policy of the last twenty years has systematically mocked as outmoded, and done everything in its power to destroy. Young people emerging from education today are faced with a bleak future. Opportunities do not await them in their own country, and their knowledge and qualifications are deemed not fit for purpose in the job market; while their time in school leaves them possessed of neither moral imperatives nor familiarity with their national heritage. Many end up departing their homeland. Jobbik would like to see young people leaving school equipped with germane and competitively relevant knowledge, and possessed of an unapologetic love of their nation; people who can then rely on their country to provide them with the opportunities for prosperity and satisfaction they seek. To achieve this however, Hungarian education must be returned back to a course based on its own priorities, away from a first Communist, and then twenty-year Liberal-Left educational course, on which it has been diverted.

Our fundamental principles are: knowledge- and value-centred education based on time-honoured Hungarian traditions, a compulsory curriculum-for-all combined with a school-discipline framework, an education providing genuine post-schooling opportunities, the return of authority and respect to teaching staff; and the obviation of excessive student numbers and falling standards, in Higher education.

We will bring about a Hungarian National Nursery Scheme, whose goal will be the inculcation of children with an appreciation that their country's traditions are their own. We will establish a Hungarian National Curriculum to replace the current National Core Curriculum and syllabus guides. In response to the veritable pandemonium produced by the neo-liberal educational approach Jobbik will promote both streaming [*US English: "tracking"*] and holding pupils back a year if necessary. In the syllabi for Hungarian [language], History and Music/Song sufficient emphasis will be placed on Hungarian heritage; while Religious Education (or optional Ethics) classes will be made compulsory. The National Educational-Textbook Publisher will be restored to state ownership, and we will promote the passing down and sharing of textbooks between academic years, so the serious financial demands currently placed on parents can be relieved.

The 6 [primary] + 6 [secondary] year schooling system will be abolished, and the 8 + 4 year system will be reinforced; while the 4 + 8 year system will be maintained according to individual need. We will also stop the two-tier baccalaureate. And shall re-establish a combined high-school and vocational-school baccalaureate system: with the goal of raising baccalaureate standards as well as making them subject to greater scrutiny. We shall remove Hungary from the Bologna Process, and will reintroduce the 8 semester [half-year] High School and 10

semester University degree system; so that adequate separation can occur between the different natures of Secondary and Higher education.

We will promote village schools and nurseries. By guaranteeing the necessary institutional conditions and professional empowerment within schools, we will eliminate both the abusiveness and the violence which now exist there. We will also bring an end to the state of powerlessness educators find themselves in, and they will receive greater freedom and rights of action, to ensure the maintenance of order in school and in the classroom. Acts of disruption or violence committed by pupils will be met by much more resolute sanctions, and those who commit deliberately recidivistic or brutal acts will find themselves subject to expulsion. We will create a National Institute of Gypsy Methodology, whose purpose will be to develop and realize educational methods designed to alleviate the unique educational situation of Hungary's Roma.

We will promote cooperation between Hungarian higher-educational institutions within and beyond the border. Moreover we also wish to promote sporting opportunities for students within institutions, and intend connecting the accreditation of newer universities and high schools to the presence of sports facilities.

### **Cultural issues and Media policy**

Culture is not an antiquated or defunct entity, it is rather the wisdom of the centuries, and millennia. Seeking to protect one's national culture is not indicative of some sort of reactionary dwelling in the past, it is instead, going into the future while remaining conscious of one's responsibilities to the past. Today Hungary practically exists under a form of Liberal dictatorship. When it comes to the fundamental issue of cultural awareness therefore, Jobbik considers it its duty to overturn this unhealthy, virtual autocracy, of opinion; so as to give an opportunity for the creation of a cultural life which finally allows national values, Hungarian society's values, to be taken into account. The last decades' intentional Liberal destruction of our national consciousness,\* has proven itself incapable of creating anything other than an emotionally damaged, even physically injured, society; given its inability to provide lasting values (only their denigration) to either individuals or communities.

Jobbik's most important principles with respect to culture are: the strengthening of Hungarian national self-knowledge, the acceptance by the state of a greater responsibility in the dissemination of culture, the abolition of the Liberal cultural-dictatorship, the reinvigoration of rural cultural life, an increase of the cultural contribution of civic organisations in society, the formulation of new legislation in the interests of creating principled public-service media outlets, the termination of the existing franchise agreements of the current commercial television stations, the development of balanced news reporting, and the start of the introduction of modern and effective media regulation beginning with the taxation of advertising.

In the interests of reinvigorating village cultural life we consider it important to establish a Hungarian National Touring Theatre Company. While the functional remit of village schools will be broadened, in line with the exiting Austrian model, so that they may perform the role of being a centre for villages' cultural, IT, adult educational, and home- and handicraft-industry related activities. We will constitutionally protect ancient national symbols that have been the victim of baseless attacks: the Holy Crown, our historic flags and the Turul-bird emblem. It is also important that we remove those statues which originate from negative periods in history, and cease the use of the names of individuals from the same period, for the naming of public locations.

To increase the accurate understanding of our [prior to 896 AD] pre-history, and to promote research in this direction, we will establish an Institute of Hungarian Pre-History. We will start a state and government initiative designed to promote the creation of motion pictures celebrating the great moments of our past. Through the cooperation of the state and civil organizations, we hope to promote talent searches and competitions, for

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\* *By deliberately striving to prevent citizens from knowing and appreciating their heritage, culture and traditions.*

proposals and artistic endeavours that foster Hungarian cultural self-awareness and promote social cohesion and understanding across generations. We shall fortify and encourage, the Hungarian-to-Hungarian initiatives that have appeared through the work of civic organisations, in addition to those organizations whose membership and activities span the border.

The legislation governing copyright regulations must be modified, given that it does not currently adequately protect the combined rights of authors, distributors and consumers. At the present time only a narrow group of interests is being protected by the law, a group of interests whose transmission of revenue to creative originators, is opaque. Jobbik's goal is to promote legal file-sharing that does not infringe copyright, alongside the banning of downloading for commercial gain; we would also endeavour to decriminalize downloading for personal use.

Jobbik will pass media legislation, which will create new principled public-service broadcasting, whose operations will be anchored in key criteria such as: the development of national identity, the provision of a variety of contrasting opinions, and balanced news reporting. In the production of unseemly programming in the cynical pursuit of ever greater viewing figures and excessive profits, a significant portion of the media has totally lost its ethical and professional respectability. Jobbik will however support the continued independence of the Duna TV channel, given that this Hungarian language channel fulfils a strategically important role for the benefit of Hungarians living in neighbouring states. Furthermore, we would also urge the greater coverage and reporting, of issues that concern Hungarian communities beyond the border. Extravagant wastage and abuse in public sector broadcasting will be investigated, documented, and brought to an end.

### ***Hungarians beyond the border***

Jobbik's political horizons are not defined by the borders of our country but by the borders of our nation. These latter borders do not coincide with the geographical boundaries of the Hungarian Republic, given that our nation,\* had its contiguity dismembered by the imposition of the Trianon peace diktat; to this day, the fate of those living in these fractured territories remain connected with each other by a thousand different threads.

Our fundamental principles are: thinking in terms of a nation of 15 million souls, establishing "protective power" status for the motherland vis-à-vis Hungarian communities beyond the border, the cultural and economic reunification of the Hungarian nation, the granting of Hungarian citizenry to every Hungarian, the establishment of a Ministry of National Affairs, the promotion of efforts for self-determination, the reincorporation of beyond-the-border communities and émigrés into active Hungarian life, the promotion and development of border-transcending regional cooperation; and the coordinated development of domestic relationships between disparate nationalities. Of course we are perfectly aware, that before all this can be achieved, the affairs of the territorially-maimed mother-country must first be put right; that the Hungarian state must be restored to the prominence its history demands; and, most crucially of all, that the plight of our disjointed nation – the Hungarian question – finally become widely known and discussed both at the EU and on the international stage.

It is our inescapable duty to guarantee Hungarian citizenship, unconditional on residence within the Hungarian Republic, to all those Hungarians residing in both the Carpathian basin and the wider world. Countless neighbouring and European nations have granted similar status to national compatriots that have been subject to a comparable fate. In no way however, will the obtaining of Hungarian citizenship be inevitably accompanied with permanent domicile in Hungary: it is not going to incite re-location. Health benefits, social welfare payments and family services, in the same way as pension provision, are only receivable as a consequence of both residency and the requisite National Insurance [*US English: "Social Security"*] status; the obtaining of citizenship in no way brings any entitlement in these respects.

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\* *Which has resided in the Carpathian basin since before the turn of the last millennium.*



The strengthening of contact with Hungarians beyond the border, has until now, been treated by the politics of the mother country as nothing more than a financial burden. We will reverse this attitude, as we believe that economic reunification instead of being a burden, constitutes a positive economic benefit; even an obligation. Which is why Jobbik will assist in the development of relationships between settlements that have been “twinned” on either side of the border; and will strengthen those which already exist. We desire the mandating of the Hungarian Republic as having protective power status – in exactly the same way that Austria noteworthy enjoys vis-à-vis the Austrians of the Italian province of Bolzano-Bozen, following the South Tyrol Package of 1969; this would make it possible for Hungarian communities living beyond the border, who find themselves subject to rights violations, to have the requisite legal foundation to take the matter concerned before international bodies. We will also develop a legal defence network, which will extend assistance to Hungarians living in cleaved territories, should their individual or collective rights be abused.

We shall, in the most resolute manner, stand up against any and all activities by neighbouring countries whose purpose, is either restricting the use by Hungarian people of their own language, or disadvantaging them in the exercising of their rights. We will also encourage investment by domestic businesses in projects which result in job creation for Hungarian populated territories beyond the border. We shall furthermore fund the creation, and assist in the maintenance, of a Hungarian-language library-network beyond the border. We also believe that the umbrella organization for many worldwide young-Hungarian associations, namely the Hungarian Youth Conference; and the World Federation of Hungarians; can both play important roles. We will in addition pay particular attention to the maintenance and protection of Hungarian cultural institutions and museums, historically important monuments and locations, beyond the border.

At the same time within the Republic, Jobbik will promote the continued successful operation of education in the languages of the disparate national minorities that live here, and will continue to support, into the long-term, the exercising by such minorities of their individual and collective rights.

### ***Religious Affairs policy***

Our principles and objectives are: a comprehensive religious affairs policy rooted in an awareness of the entire nation, a recognition of the Christian moral value system, ensuring that the country’s historic religious communities and denominations can continue their charitable functions, renegotiating religious funding, making good on the state’s contractual obligations to religious communities, a re-examination of the regulations governing registration of new religious bodies and the operation of sects, improving the Gypsy people’s integration through the assistance of religious institutions, and the making of religious (or ethical) education compulsory in school.

Religious conviction, and the establishment of new religious bodies in Hungary, should not be seen as a way to make money; which is why we intend to both tighten up the process of registration for newly arrived religious sects, and investigate their operations. We intend to count on the cooperation of religious institutions in the effort to integrate the Gypsy people. Because we ascribe the greatest importance to services that can assist in integration, we wish to bring about a Gypsy Assistance Foundation whose purpose would be to fund, through competitive tendering, schemes by religious institutions that have this integrationist objective. Supporting children’s homes will be another part of our religious affairs policy. We also consider it necessary to strengthen the pre-conditions for abortion-on-demand; and we are opposed to euthanasia. The established [historic] religions of Hungary enjoy prerogatives, which we would not only recognize, but strengthen through agreements drawn up between them and the state. We feel very supportive towards the churches’ efforts in education, benevolent charity, and in community building.

In order to return the institution of marriage to its rightfully unique status, we would commence the dissolution of the legal recognition of civil partnerships. We would increase pastoral activity in the prison system. In addition to ensuring the appointment of sufficient numbers of chaplains in the army, and in hospitals also. Furthermore,

we would bring about a restoration and preservation program for the benefit and protection of church properties and monuments, and we would hope to spread this program to similar historic religious constructions beyond the border.

### **Youth policy**

A combination of social injustice and hopelessness is making young people who wish to work, study or prosper, leave the country in droves; consequently it is no surprise that population shrinkage has become one of Hungary's greatest problems. Hungarian young people are not in need of loans, handouts or charity: they need prospects; so as to be able to use their talents and abilities to achieve contentment in their homeland. Jobbik wants to provide the youth of Hungary with opportunities and lifelong goals. We must also provide those young compatriots of ours who have felt constrained to go abroad to capitalize on their intellectual, financial and interpersonal potential, with every possible chance of doing so in the country of their birth.

That healthy families have healthy children, is Jobbik's goal, and our aim is that a greater number of such families have more children than they do at present. That Hungary's children be raised in a sound and upright manner is an important aim. The kind of generation the country is in need of, is one which considers the route to prosperity to be found through education and respectable labour; a generation which feels a sufficient bond between themselves and their national identity and heritage. We remain convinced, that every young Hungarian is possessed of a talent in some area, which is why we will endeavour to assure them of a high standard of education, a certain and reliable future, a safe society, and opportunities for their own self-reliance and fulfilment.

We will improve the safety and integrity of property and the person through the provision of compulsory religious education, or optional ethics classes, in school. Through institutions for voluntary work we will nourish both social and community feelings of responsibility, and active citizenship. We will give central importance to the health of the young, and will dam the spread of drug use. Additionally, we will make the house-building subsidy system more just, transparent and accessible; and will initiate a national home-building initiative.

### **Crime policy and Policing issues**

Besides the fateful state of the national and international economy over the previous years, the second most severe problem affecting people's lives has been the crisis over crime. In Hungary, an overlapping and repressive network of political crime, gypsy crime and economic crime, has terrorized the citizen. Jobbik's law and order objective, is to free the citizens of our country from all three.

Our aims may be summarized in the following way: making the law apply equally to all persons, eliminating political crime, bringing about a Police force that enjoys the citizens' trust and support, substantive measures in law enforcement, the establishment of a Gendarmerie, a determined fight against corruption, the creation of self-sustaining prisons, and the realisation of the zero tolerance approach in both the creation and application of legislation. In this spirit we also wish to guarantee, the equal application of all laws to everybody; as a result there should be no place in the police's enforcement of the law for any form of either positive, or negative, discrimination. We will therefore bring an end to the practises, according to which, criminal perpetrators have received extenuation because they happen to come from certain minorities, and by which, the committers of both political and economic crimes have managed to escape scot-free.

Jobbik is a believer in the deterrent power of tough punishment and long sentencing, and we are also of the opinion, that laws should be a reflection of the moral convictions of society. As a consequence, repeat offenders should be met with severe penalties. The principles outlined in the agreement made between Jobbik and the

Capable Hungarian Police Officers union, also form part of our law and order policy. We intend standing-up decisively against organized crime, due to the great damage it causes to society through drug dealing and organizing prostitution; crimes which end up leaving young people powerless and dependent, and making women sexual slaves in the maintenance of the soul-destroying sex industry.

**Bringing political crime to an end:** The image of the political professions have been almost irreparably damaged by the past decades. In Hungary the word “politician” is now synonymous with the word “scoundrel.” A fish rots from the head down; which is why circumstances of decency must first be produced in the country’s leadership. Our goal is not merely the abolition of corruption, it is rather the cessation of the existence of politicians – as lawmakers – as being above the law. Politicians have surrounded themselves, and now defend themselves, with the protection afforded by the use of laws, communication [the media] and state and private security, to such an extent, that they have made themselves almost untouchable. As a result the process of holding them to account – with a few very rare exceptions – has always been left undone. Jobbik wants the holding to account\* of politicians to be all-encompassing. Neither the political crimes of the carnation [the emblem of the MSZP], nor the orange [the emblem of Fidesz], nor any other party can continue to remain unanswered any longer. We shall dissolve the secrecy legislation these parties have deliberately passed in order to conceal their wrongdoing; and will at long last bring into the public eye the names on the single-party state’s lists of former agents and informants [many of whom entered or remained in politics following 1989’s regime change]. It is high time that political crimes finally become classified under the Hungarian penal code!

**Fashioning a strong and trustworthy police force:** We will rationalize the Police’s existing organizational structure, and will abolish divisions which needlessly operate parallel to, or competitive with, others. We will introduce a straightforward system of financial progression and professional advancement in the career paths of those working in law enforcement. We shall strive to earn back for the policing profession, the society-wide respect and appreciation it enjoyed before the war. Being part of the police force must in future provide officers with a secure standard of living, and fitting social prestige. At the same time however we would also begin to require transparency from senior officers.

**Establishing a Gendarmerie:** The straightforward issue of creating a Gendarmerie [a stringently selected, dedicated service tasked with re-establishing law and order, and charged with maintaining public safety] has been turned into a political football; with the undignified rush to allege fascism, for utterly baseless party-political motives, wilfully and cynically preventing the conducting of a debate on the compelling technical and substantive reasons justifying its establishment. As a tool in the fight against our ever-swelling crime wave, we will establish a Gendarmerie: along the lines of both our own appropriate historical traditions, and the functional example of comparable organizations operating in other countries; it shall work alongside the existing police force and be under the supervision of the Interior Minister.

**Prisons which are financially self-sustaining:** Liberal practise has guaranteed the legally sentenced criminal, with establishments that not only allow them to pass the time without the need to work, but are frequently beginning to resemble health spas more than they do prisons. Prisons now practically function as further education colleges for the criminal fraternity; to say nothing of the fact that the upkeep of prisoners represents a great burden on the pockets of law-abiding tax-payers. Jobbik will end current prison practise, and instead will strengthen internal prison discipline, while requiring prisoners to conduct revenue-generating labour; so that they will at least be able to contribute to the cost of their own upkeep. At the same time loss of liberty, should also provide the imprisoned with an opportunity to fundamentally change their attitudes, and develop an understanding of human dignity, as well as dignified behaviour towards other human beings. For this reason Jobbik will support in every possible way, the endeavours of the established churches within corrective

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\* The “holding to account” expression or “számonkérés” refers to a process by which politicians are to be held, and identified, as responsible for misdeeds reaching right back to the single-party state era. Such a process has never taken place in Hungary.

institutions, as well as their efforts in assisting the released.

### **National Security policy**

Hungary's National Security [intelligence] agencies were purportedly subject to transformation as a result of 1989's regime change, and yet today they have once again come under a sphere of political influence, becoming the instruments of political interests rather than the country's. The changes that have followed on from 1990, increasingly different security risks, new challenges, and an altered global balance of power, all demand a national security infrastructure that is more suited to modern demands. Recent experience too, has amply demonstrated, that maintaining five different intelligence agencies not only results in much unnecessary operational overlap, it is also an extremely costly exercise. We will overhaul the entire national security system, and will structurally reform the country's national security agencies.

Events leading up to the present day have made the Office of National Security (NBH), one of the most shameful entities extant in Hungarian democracy; it has turned into a completely independently-operating organization totally bereft of any form of supervision, which is now so utterly beyond repair: that it requires complete dissolution and the development of an entirely new structure. We will bring about a new, contemporary and effective civilian intelligence agency, which truly operates in the interest of national security; and we will also form a united agency in the military intelligence realm.

We also wish that national security legislation be reformulated so as to outline, in detail, those circumstances of covert intelligence gathering which require either written judicial approval, or the consent of the Justice Minister; and through the activity of appropriate committees in parliament we hope to increase levels of civilian control and oversight. In the interests of creating a national climate of social justice, we will make one of the agencies' primary assignments: the investigation of those privatisation related, and other politico-economic crimes, which have wrought such tremendous damage to the country over the past twenty years; in order to formulate charges against those responsible.

### **Defence policy**

The ravages endured over the last twenty years have not missed the subject of national defence either. Our capacity to defend our homeland has been devastated, and both the operational structure and leadership hierarchies of our armed services have been completely shattered; financial support has also effectively ceased. Jobbik's objective is re-establishing our ability to defend ourselves, a sentiment that originates in the most understandable human impulses for self-preservation; indeed the creation of a nation's security is the most robust guarantor of its peacetime prosperity. Our goal is the establishment of the kind of armed forces, which will be capable of delivering the appropriate type of defensive response to external attacks that may be predicted from our geo-strategic circumstances, in short, an army that is capable of protecting the Hungarian people.

Our fundamental principles are: the rebuilding of our national capacity for self-defence in line with Hungary's strategic circumstances, making our land and air forces capable of dealing with the realities of a potential defensive engagement, the establishment of the Hungarian National Guard in the interests of territorial defence, and the making of the financial background to national defence more secure through the use of legislation. Our homeland, situated in the very centre of Europe and at a strategic point of impact, requires a fighting force consisting of a standing army 40,000 strong, increasable as necessary by a reserve fighting force of 10,000; in addition to which, the protection of the country's hinterland necessitates the creation of a territorial defence entity some 20,000 – 22,000 persons strong.

Soldiering has today completely lost its allure to every young person planning for the long term; because of the absence of both a discernible life-path for recruits, and the deterioration of a non-bureaucratic comprehensible system of advancement through the ranks. Nevertheless, even a highly trained army could only complete their mission, if the realisation of patriotic citizens becomes a reality, if they are adequately equipped, and if national sentiment is sufficiently redeveloped. Jobbik considers it its duty, to get the widest possible group of young people to appreciate the rudimentary realities and attractions of service life.

Following our joining of NATO, our armed forces have concentrated exclusively on technical development, and peace-keeping: completely to the detriment of national defence. Companies equipped only with small arms however, can do little to provide an adequate level of national defence. We will reappraise the necessity of our involvement in current NATO operations, and we would also make the calling out of the army on similar assignments to be subject to parliamentary consent beforehand.

Moreover, we would pass into the law, the requirement to dedicate a specific portion of GDP to the armed services, which we would use to raise the current pay of servicemen and women, in addition to helping establish the military reserve, and upgrading existing weaponry. We would complete a public investigation into the financial transparency of the armed forces, in order to assess and eliminate corruption.

The army's administration and the cessation of its territorial regiments, has made the defence of Hungary's hinterland impossible, which has caused a significant deficiency in both civil defence [catastrophe management] and the maintenance of order. The Hungarian Guard, established by civilians, and brought into existence entirely in accordance with the law; has been abolished as a result of government pressure. And yet the members of the Hungarian Guard have proved themselves willing and able to come to the country's defence even under the most difficult circumstances. We will establish a state sanctioned reservist force, the Hungarian National Guard, which will be capable of supporting the armed forces, securing reinforcement and supply, and defending strategically important objectives in the country's hinterland. The Hungarian National Guard will operate according to the internationally utilized model of, "soldiers in war time, citizens in peacetime."

### **Foreign Affairs policy**

In the post-regime change era, Hungarian foreign policy has set itself three objectives: the improvement of the circumstances of Hungarians living in neighbouring countries, the development of good relations with our neighbours, and effective integration into the strategic European and North Atlantic communities. The last twenty years has proven, that these three objectives have only partially been achieved. Jobbik's objectives are: the reincorporation into the national body of both Western and Carpathian-basin Hungarians, a resolute and independent Central and Eastern European foreign policy, an active policy towards the Balkans, closer relationships with those nations related to us by culture and descent, a balanced economic and political cooperation with all the great powers on the international stage, the development and support of a Hungarian-to-Hungarian institutional network, and political and economic openness towards the East.

Jobbik considers its most important task to be the reunification of a Hungarian nation unjustly torn apart during the course of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. It is our most fundamental moral duty to represent the interests and defend the rights of Hungarian communities. We will strive, perpetually, for the collective rights of the Hungarians of the Carpathian basin, and for the realisation of their territorial, economic and cultural self-determination. In contrast to the foreign policy carried out beforehand towards the EU and the North Atlantic region, we will operate a policy that promotes our interests with both decisiveness and determination. Jobbik also considers it important to welcome those American Hungarians, who have preserved their awareness of their national origins, back into Hungarian public life.

We will develop a partner relationship with Russia, which should bring our homeland positive economic and national-political benefits. We shall pursue cooperation with the Far-East and the South-East Asian region, in the

interests of our mutual benefit, through the utilization of advantages which originate in our capacity to be a geographical bridgehead. With the United States we intend developing the kind of bilateral relationship, which consistently and transparently promotes our national interests. We shall also widen diplomatic relations with Arab nations, and will promote the creation of an independent Palestinian state, moreover, we shall accept a greater role in promoting the continued existence of Christian communities in the Middle-East. In the case of Central Asian nations, we shall reinforce the development of political and economic relations on the basis of cultural relationships, given our ancient kinship with the peoples of that region. Considering their geopolitical status and influence, our diplomatic efforts are predominantly aimed at China, Japan, Kazakhstan and Turkey.

We will guarantee every Hungarian the right to Hungarian citizenship, and thus, to have their voices heard in matters concerning the national interest. We will review the treaties agreed with our neighbouring countries, and reposition them onto more sound foundations. And with every single political instrument at our disposal we shall promote and support the efforts of Hungarians beyond the border to achieve self-determination. Jobbik will diligently strive in its foreign policy, for the closer cooperation of Central-European states, on the pre-condition that the rights of the Hungarian minorities living in those states are resolved.

### **The European Union**

Europe and the European Union are not one and the same. Hungary is not a part of Europe because of its entry into the EU, it is so through the right of its history; and neither shall we in the future be rightfully termed Europeans, because we may chose to remain a member state of the Union, but rather, because we have resolved to remain true to Europe's fundamental principles.

European culture has been constructed on three pillars: Greek thinking, Roman law, and Christian morality. As *jobbikosok* [supporters and members of Jobbik], we believe, not only that Europe's past has been founded on these values, but also that its future should continue to be. This is precisely why we believe the all-encompassing integration outlined in the Lisbon Treaty to be so wrongheaded. Jobbik's objectives are: the rejection of the Lisbon Treaty and of a United States of Europe which the treaty is designed to facilitate, the promotion with allies of the concept of a Europe of the Nations, the achievement of Hungarian interests without compromise, the use of the European Union's already established and promoted regional policy as a tool to achieve economic and cultural national unity between the Republic and Hungarians beyond the border.

In stark contrast to the EU's promises and assurances, it has far from solved the matter of the concerns of national minorities living within its boundaries. We must recognize the fact that after five years of Union membership, though it is clear that the EU does indeed consider the matter of several national minorities to be important: with respect to the Hungarian question, it is indifferent. The system of EU institutions is in large part anti-democratic. The vast majority of Union subsidies to Hungary end up in the coffers of multinational corporations that operate here, while most of the remainder is lost to the bottomless pit of political corruption. Instead of an extension to the land-market moratorium due to expire in 2011, we intend to ensure our land's protection through the use of Hungarian land-legislation.

We wish to elevate the Hungarian question, within the EU, to that of a matter touched on daily in political discussions; we must accomplish the autonomy yearned for by those Hungarian communities living in dislocated territories; and we must achieve the cessation of the Beneš decrees' legality.

### **Constitutional matters**

The historical purpose of constitutions has always been to provide an equally and fairly distributed, controlled, and balanced division and exercising of power. This is precisely the function that the Doctrine of the Holy

Crown\* serves; which is ensuring, that the ultimate direction of the country be determined by laws derived from constitutional principles, and not the whim of individuals. It is a combination of the Hungarian constitutional spirit (the Holy Crown principle) and the constitutional statutes (cardinal laws) that together would provide true constitutional authority.

Jobbik's most important constitutional principles, are: the return of the Doctrine of the Holy Crown to its fitting and honourable position, the authoring of a new constitution approved by referendum, the constitutional introduction of the dissolution of parliament and calling of new elections, substantive and constructive no-confidence motions, the introduction of personal responsibility for the country's political leadership, the creation of a bicameral parliament in order that technical and professional know-how may be introduced into a tier of the legislative process, increasing the powers available to and sphere of influence of the President of the Republic, the selection of the Prime Minister through election [by the people, and not party-parliamentary selection], an enquiry into the bodies which formulate legislation, and greater professional and civilian oversight and control.

Jobbik considers it important that the practise of referring, in official documents and legal texts, to the Holy Crown as being semantically synonymous with referring to the Hungarian State, be introduced; we promote the use of direct democracy [referenda] in order to gain consent for the change and eventual acceptance of a re-authored constitution, in addition to supporting within such a constitution, conditions which call for the use of referenda in order to dissolve parliament and call fresh elections.

We also believe it important: to stress which assets – fundamental natural treasures and branches of industry – can only, and exclusively, be held to be the nation's property; to state, that our land is a part of the nation's assets, which can only be acquired under conditions and controls which exist to protect such national assets.

### **Local Government**

Jobbik desires a robust state. Which is why we want to strengthen local government: because a robust state can only be built upon firm foundations. Local government can only be considered to be strong, if it is autonomous and self-reliant, if they can provide their populace with safety, and are in balance with the natural environments that separate their population centres.

Our fundamental principles with respect to local government, are: clarifying the rights and duties possessed by the Hungarian Republic's municipalities, the reform of financing for settlements, creating transparency in municipal finances, standardizing relationships with central government, stringent controls on the selling off of municipal assets, the classification of public land and public utility works as public capital, the institution of a traditional Hungarian civil-service hierarchy and the elimination of the use of regional classifications, ecologically sustainable settlement development, restrictions on projects in green-belt land and the establishment of a Construction's Inspectorate.

Jobbik considers it important, that precise definitions of the twin conceptions of national assets, and public interest, be applied at both the central and local governmental level. Our objective is that not one single Hungarian municipality be left without its requisite number of nurses, teachers, doctors or pastors. We also hope to rely on the Gendarmerie to address the issue of community safety.

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\* *The Doctrine of the Holy Crown, or "Szentkorona-tan," was the fundamental historical underpinning of the constitution, according to which, ultimate constitutional sovereignty rests with the actual Holy Crown of St Steven, and through the crown, to the nation. Jobbik does not believe it coincidental that the resting of ultimate sovereignty in a political elite, i.e. parliament, in the constitution of 1989: has resulted in that elite's rampant corruption, incompetence and contempt for the law.*

We support the continuance into the future, of the collecting of Industry Tax by municipalities; and we hope to increase the proportion of Income Tax that remains at the local government level. We intend applying strict controls to the selling off of municipal assets. We oppose the contracting out of primary municipal functions. And we intend going about reacquiring local public works, such as water, sewage, gas and refuse companies, back under municipal ownership.

We propose to increase the Land Protection Charge, which is applied to arable land taken out of agricultural use for the purposes of development, by at least ten times its current level. Our intention being to obstruct speculative property development through the use of economic instruments. We wish to breathe life back into the Great Hungarian Plain' farmstead, as both a form of settlement and as a way of life. We also intend to make the voting records of local government representatives in their respective municipal chambers, a matter of public record, reachable through the relevant municipality's homepage. In addition we will introduce transparency in the matter of relationships between the interests of private corporations and municipalities, and will initiate reviews with respect to negatively impacting decisions, and will hold those responsible to account.

**Budapest, the chief city of the Carpathian basin:** We will open a new chapter in Budapest's history. The citizens of Budapest are in need of renovated crèches, nurseries and schools, modern doctors' surgeries and hospitals, and new public parks and squares. They require the type of apartments where they can raise their children, and the kind of old-people's homes where they can spend their old age in peace and security. We shall cut parking fees and civil service charges. We shall also develop further, the Budapest Transport Authority, brought into being through the participation of the BKV [the Budapest mass transit company], MÁV [the Hungarian railway] and Volán [the Hungarian coach network]; and we will introduce a unified pricing system, lower than today's.

We shall declare a transformation of the city's debased cultural life. And so that no one should ever attempt to have us forget the tragedy which befell our nation, we shall inaugurate a Trianon Museum.

### ***Justice policy***

The fundamental principles of Jobbik's justice policy are: creating an environment where judicial judgements are swift, workmanlike and free of both corruption and political influence; making those regulations that needlessly extend and complicate the trial process inactive, increasing the number of judges, improving their working conditions, ending restrictions which prevent the conduct of trials in open session, professional and financial transparency, making verdicts more effective, and producing timely judicial responses to well-founded motions.

The salaries of judges bear unfavourable comparison to both national and European levels. Increasing judicial salaries is therefore an important objective, given that judges pay must be able to guarantee true judicial independence, which is the most important cornerstone for impartiality within the legal system. We shall also reform the promotion process within the judiciary. We intend bringing clarity to the judicial, legal and notary public professions; and will pursue those judgements made over the past few years for nakedly political motives, in order to reverse them. And we shall narrow the circumstances under which restrictions are applied which make trials take place in closed session, as opposed to open court.

We shall create a Judicial Grievance body, to which anyone will be able to turn, should they feel, that any judge has during the course of their work transgressed relevant regulations. During training for the judiciary, sufficient emphasis must be given to the importance of abiding by those legislative ordinances designed to afford petitioners a speedy trial; furthermore, knowledge and application of the fundamental laws of international bodies, and legislation resulting from precedent made in both Hungarian and international courts, must be improved.



## ***Human Rights and the Rule of Law***

The sad and unfortunate truth is that Hungary is no longer a state which operates under the rule of law. For years now, the Socialist and Liberal exercisers of political power have instead, been using both the law and the state's police and security apparatus to vex and intimidate alternative opinion, the political opposition, anti-government protesters, and individuals or organizations who have felt the need to proclaim allegiance to national values.

The prosecutions mounted with the aim of dissolving the Hungarian Guard, have demonstrated the perverse desire of those in power to curtail Freedom of Association: yet again; such measures have once more proven their fear of, and wish to suppress, any possible initiative which might result in an awakening either of feelings of Hungarian self-awareness, or a desire for self-preservation; despite the fact that the Hungarian Guard has never once transgressed a single law, and has merely given a powerful voice to society's profound sense of dissatisfaction.

Our fundamental principles with respect to the rule of law, are: establishing that the individual is not a powerless subordinate of the state, but is rather a self-conscious entity of dignity and purpose; which is why safeguarding endeavours that secure mutual respect between the individual and the community is so vitally important. Recognizing the fact that during the course of our history, a succession of struggles to return the rule of law, and revolutions in the cause of freedom, have all fundamentally been fought in order to secure the human rights we should now enjoy. That in addition to enjoying constitutionally guaranteed laws and freedoms, the citizen also bears responsibilities. And that the most important duties of the citizen are respecting the rights of others, endeavouring to follow both the letter and the spirit of the law, paying tax, the education of their children, and fulfilling one's duty with respect to heeding the call to defend the nation. Today in both our geographically-maimed motherland; and amongst our compatriots in the Carpathian basin who fate has separated from us; the pursuit of our human, civil and political rights: has become one of the most vital elements for ensuring the actual continued survival of Hungarian communities.

We will resist all undertakings which attempt to control Freedom of Speech – and which in pretending to oppose hate speech, end up opposing the most fundamental principles of democracy – and endanger the open and free debate of questions concerning the fate of both the Hungarian nation and the world; historical events both in the present and the past, and issues relevant to the future. In parliament, we will stand up for political and civil rights in general, and for Freedom of Assembly, Association, Speech and a free press, in particular; we will promote the universal application of such rights, and will oppose the imposition of double standards.

Finally, we will commence the establishment of a legal network, which will extend legal assistance to Hungarian-populated territories in the Carpathian basin, should the Hungarians of such territories find that their rights are the subject of discrimination or abuse, or should they require help in the search for justice.