

**WE NAME IT.
WE SOLVE IT.**

Jobbik Movement for
a Better Hungary - Election
Programme on welfare, order and
anti-corruption measures

2014

Brief summary of the programme

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The statements we made in our Y2010 programme still apply today, since Fidesz could not find the way out of the situation brought about by the 8 years of Socialist destruction, in fact, they made it even worse in certain aspects. We are offering an alternative for those who have had enough of both the Fidesz and the Socialist governments, and they feel deceived, humiliated and deprived.

We have lost our factories, business enterprises and jobs, towns are run down, our once booming agriculture has disappeared, half a million Hungarians have emigrated, people complain about public security, healthcare, education, administration, although society could only be blamed for being too gullible and lenient.

Not only do we want to replace the past four years, but the past twenty-four as well. It is time for people not to choose the lesser evil but to choose Jobbik. We promised a radical change in 2010, but we were not given the mandate. Now we are standing here again and asking the Hungarian people to give us a chance to prove that there is a solution.

1. The Seven Leaders Plan

The Seven Leaders Plan consists of seven major concepts to create jobs: from restarting the food industry through improving the construction industry to building a Danube-Tisza canal. In order to successfully pursue these goals, we need to achieve a breakthrough in the following three areas:

1. Hungary's bondage to the EU. There are two options: renegotiate our relations with the EU or quit the EU and implement a Central European cooperation alternative.

2. Hungary's indebtedness. The only possibility is to renegotiate the debt, partially cancel government debts and reduce their interests, while concluding fair loan contracts for private businesses.

3. The threat to the Hungarian land and water treasure. Even at the price of a disagreement and conflict with the EU, our land and water must remain in Hungarian ownership, and we will provide a constitutional protection for them.

The most important challenge is to overcome the three major obstacles. We aim to restore the honour of labour, increase the number and quality of jobs, since European labourers deserve European wages.

1.1. Development Plan for Food Industry Independence and Exportability

The structure of agriculture has changed and disintegrated due to the "reorganization" of cooperative farms and the redistribution of land, which enabled party commissars and cooperative farm directors to pass the property of the cooperative farms and the nation into the hands of foreign speculators. Most of the food industry was transferred into foreign ownership, while the output of our food industry dropped by 30%. Now Hungarian agriculture primarily produces raw materials, most of which is exported,

then some of the processed products are imported. We need a real economic freedom fight in this area as well. The key for villages to keep their population is to offer employment, social and economic cohesion, public security, sufficient living standards and a proper environment. We must ensure independent food supply as well as find the export markets available for us after our food industry production has been restarted. In order to do so, we need to review our relations with the EU and multinational capital, which promises to be a huge confrontation. We must eliminate the dumping of foreign goods and ensure that 80% of Hungarian store shelves be supplied with Hungarian products, thus breaking the monopoly of multinational supermarket chains. This will enable Hungarian agriculture, food industry, processing industry and mechanical engineering to thrive. Given that commercial banks, the majority of which are in foreign ownership, refuse to finance Hungarian agriculture we must establish a rural bank in the form of a credit union bank (agricultural bank).

1.2. Development Plan for Water Management, Inland Navigation and Energetics

In the past century, our water management activities mainly focussed on draining floods and inland waters. On annual average, five thousand billion litres more water leaves our country than enters it by way of our rivers. Consequently, riverbeds sink, the Sand Table-Land between the Rivers Danube and Tisza undergoes a desertification and the loess walls drop along the River Danube. In addition, the impending climate change causes an increasingly extreme distribution of water supplied by precipitation and rivers.

The Bős (Gabcikovo)-Nagymaros Syndrome

The barrage of our waters by dams, and the implementation of waterways and water power plants have been on the agenda for a hundred years. The first assignment to design a dam system on the River Danube was issued by Governor Miklós Horthy, but the project was not implemented because of World War II.

During the Communist rule, an inter-government treaty was signed with Czechoslovakia to build a dam at Bős (Gabcikovo, now Slovakia) and in Nagymaros (Hungary) based on the pre-war plans. However, a

wave of demonstrations began against the project, which had been falsely presented as a symbol of Communism to be brought down.

After the change of the political system, the Antall government terminated the international contract, which resulted in a lengthy international lawsuit. In response to our unilateral termination, which was judged unlawful by the International Court of Justice, Slovakia diverted the Danube, which had a disastrous impact on the Szigetköz area in Hungary. None of our governments has dared to face the political legacy of the matter, river regulation had been considered a taboo subject before Jobbik appeared in Parliament. We say that the political filth must be scraped off this professional issue and the whole matter must be reconsidered in view of Hungary's real interests.

The *Danube* has lost its natural river quality due to the fact that the 40 waterworks built to our north and south have sediment withholding effects. The sediment arriving at the Hungarian section is scarce, while, in lack of a barrage, the river carries away almost all of what is there. Thus the riverbed continues to degrade, it is now more than 12 meters deep. The solution cannot be delayed any longer. The water of the Danube river must be barred by weirs and we must establish reservoirs at the dams, which can be emptied before the flooding and be used for storing some of the water brought by the flood. Floods are followed by drought each year. The withheld water can be used for watering the land and minimizing drought damage while barrage will cause the soil water level to rise, which in turn can reverse the dehydration of soil.

Inland navigation on the Hungarian section of the Danube river is limited in half of the season. Since water transportation is the most cost-effective method, common sense says that a failure to utilize this opportunity would be an enormous mistake. Besides, a significant share of polluting and accident-prone road freight transport could be replaced by ships. Dams can also help road traffic, since they can function as bridges connecting the two riverbanks.

The situation could be further improved by a Danube-Tisza canal since it would allow for shipping agricultural goods towards the east, which would open such new markets for us that cannot currently be supplied due to high transport costs. The development of inland navigation is of major significance in tourism as well.

The ports along the canal would allow for the establishment of hotels,

shopping, entertainment, health tourism and cultural centres as well. Since the dams will need to be built anyway, it is reasonable to utilize them as water power plants, which will also reduce the time necessary for the return on the investment. The implementation of an electric capacity of 1000 MW (half of what the Paks nuclear power plant can generate), coming from a renewable energy source, is definitely very important for Hungary's energy independence and environmental protection. Due to the fluctuating performance of wind and solar power stations, hydropower will always have a key role in balancing electric energy systems.

The Hungarian section of the *Tisza* river has a slow current and a low slope angle. Before it was regulated, the river used to flood two million hectares regularly. In addition to the floods in the spring and early summer, there usually is a minor autumn flood as well. The lowest water level is typically in winter. Due to the features mentioned above, the area is highly suitable for restoring floodplain farming, which dates back to a thousand years in the region. This method is a natural way to manage floods, since most of the water can be stored in the soil.

If the *Development Plan for Water Management, Inland Navigation and Energetics* is realized, the projects will help to create 100 thousand new jobs in 10 years, then another ten thousand jobs for permanent operation, in addition to the production of 1000 MW renewable electric energy. Water loss will be minimized, desertification will be stopped, the ecological situation of the Szigetköz area will be greatly improved, floods and drought damages will be reduced, while inland navigation and tourism will also get a boost.

1.3. Development Programme for National Energy Security

In terms of national sovereignty, the key resources include energy sources as well as the infrastructure for energy production, distribution and consumption. The extreme privatization of the past failed to generate a price decrease and, in fact, prices even increased, clearly demonstrating the failure of the Neoliberal economic model. The liberalization of energy markets gave rise to international monopolies with a huge potential for enforcing their interests. Although the interconnection of energy systems and the diversification of supply lines do increase the energy security of a country, it is

also strategically important to boost energy production built on domestic, local resources. In the 1980s, over half of our energy needs were supplied from Hungarian sources whereas by now import has exceeded 70% and, in the case of hydrocarbons, it is now over 80%. Meanwhile, a much larger percentage of people's income is spent on energy than in the EU countries, even though we consume less energy per capita. The increased utilization of local resources is significantly impaired by EU regulations and the prejudiced political propaganda of extreme green groups. Jobbik aims to reduce Hungary's vulnerability by relying more on our own energy sources, increasing energy efficiency, banning the privatization of local suppliers and by reviewing the existing energy contracts. In the area of energetics, new jobs can be created through the enhancement and renewal of power plant capacities as well as through increasing the production of local energy sources.

The Paks nuclear power plant needs to be enhanced so that it can provide at least 50% of our domestic electric energy consumption. The Russian reactor, which has a high operational safety, ensures that Hungarian experts with extensive experience can be engaged in the project, while the rate of local suppliers can also be increased. Depending on price changes in the world market we can also consider restarting uranium mining. In order to replace aging power plant capacities, we must consider establishing carbon based thermal power plants, using our existing carbon dioxide emission quotas instead of selling them. That would justify the mining of the Hungarian coal and lignite assets, which would create tens of thousands of jobs. The hydroelectric power provided by our rivers must be utilized to the greatest possible extent; it is a cost-effective and renewable energy source, easy to regulate, and could cover 10-12% of our domestic energy consumption. These power plants will be the additional benefits of building the dams that are necessary for ecological, navigational, flood prevention and water management reasons as well. This government-managed national project will also play a key role in job creation. Besides, the instability caused by the fluctuating, weather-dependent performance of wind power plants must be compensated by building easy-to-control, modern power plants as well as pumped-storage power stations. Improvement of energy-efficiency may play a significant role in creating new jobs in the energy sector, while the insulation and mechanical modernization of buildings and the spread of passive houses boosts the construction industry.

If the *Development Programme for National Energy Security* is implemented, hundreds of thousands of jobs will be created in the energy and the construction sector, thus ensuring higher energy security and independence for the nation, as well as stability for our electric energy system.

1.4. Development Plan for the Utilization of Mineral Assets

The past 24 years have seen Hungarian mining cities become ghost towns, and the false statement that we are a country poor in minerals has also become generally accepted, even though the findings of geological research do not support such notion. Considering the prices in the world market, the exploitation of Hungarian lignite, crude oil, natural gas, non-metal minerals and construction raw materials is competitive. The greatest potential lies in boosting coal mining and we should consider restarting uranium mining as well. We also believe that the exploitation of the gas fields in Makó and reserving national rights over it are important. Hungary's economically exploitable coal treasure is estimated around 8.5 bn tons, of which 2 bn tons are anthracite coal, 2.2 bn tons are bituminous coal and 4.3 bn tons are lignite. Over 60 thousand people were employed in the mining industry in 1990 and their numbers used to be even higher before. By reopening coal, bauxite and uranium mines, we could create a minimum of 30 thousand jobs. Since each mining job entails the creation of at least three more jobs due to the necessary services of constructional engineering, lumber industry, building construction and so on, we may create as many as 120 thousand new jobs.

By investing a few hundred billion HUF, we could restart the mining of millions of tons of coal, which would create tens of thousands of new jobs, and entire regions could have a chance for economic prosperity. Hungarian mining cannot be restarted without employing private capital, but the government must play a major role in this domain as well.

Back to "Planet Uranium"!

Uranium ore mining began in the Mecsek mountains in 1957, and was ceased in 1989, on account of being uneconomical. The volume of metallic uranium mined is estimated around 21 thousand tons. While in operation, these mines were employing 8 thousand people, providing thousands of additional jobs in related industries nearby. Since the market price of

uranium ore increased in the mid-2000s, uranium mining has once again become profitable, and an Australian mining company has been conducting geological research in the former mining area since 2007. The analysis of earlier data and the findings of new prospecting activities can help us to assess whether it would be profitable to relaunch mining.

If the *Development Plan for the Utilization of Mineral Assets* is realized, 30 thousand new mining jobs can be created, while the indirect effects will also help to establish nearly 100 thousand additional jobs. It would also enable us to mine 13-15 thousand tons of coal per year, certain power plants can be restored to operate and the government can also launch the social coal programme.

1.5. National Development Plan for the Construction of Homes

The astounding wave of youth emigration is fuelled by three factors:

- 1) Education and related costs prompt many students to try their luck abroad.
- 2) Lack of jobs, especially in the age group of 15-24 years, whose unemployment rate is worrying.
- 3) Having their own homes is an unattainable goal.

"Home-building allowances" and the subsidization of social housing were the key means for young people to have their own homes. However, "home-building allowances" were only offered by two-three banks, with nonsensical restrictive conditions, so only a fraction of our young people could even consider taking the allowance. Even though housing subsidies were part of consecutive national budgets, most of this money has been spent on alleviating the symptoms of the foreign-currency loan crisis, no new homes have been built and financed from this sum. Jobbik's programme for the construction of homes contains a system of building and potentially purchasing government-owned rental homes that would be available for all Hungarian families working or willing to work. The participants of the system could even rent a flat at one third of the market price, and then, having rented it for a few years, they could purchase it at cost price, using a favourable HUF loan. This system would boost our construction industry as well. It would enable us to assess all vacant real estates, to clarify who owns the hundreds of thousands of vacant flats and

houses in Hungary, what portion of these properties could be turned into real homes again, thus allowing bank loan victims having lost their homes to attain a new flat. Jobbik's system would employ certified domestic enterprises to build and renovate these homes. The "favouritism" for local suppliers may arouse EU resistance, but it can be fended off, since there have been examples of local providers being preferred within the EU.

The benefits of the programme for the construction of homes and rental flats can only be fully realized if we can restore public security, so the appropriate budgetary funding can no longer be withheld. We also support the modernization of high-rise blocks in several areas, our programme enables participants to upgrade their doors and windows, insulate their houses and install heat measuring devices on their radiators as well. We aim to improve energy efficiency by way of solar panels as well as to ameliorate district heating pipelines, since they are easier to make more environment-friendly than standalone systems and they run a lower risk of accidents as well.

If Jobbik's *National Development Plan for the Construction of Homes* is realized, there will be over 10 thousand new jobs in the construction industry, a significant share of Hungary's housing problems will be solved by 2020, and we can enable foreign-currency debtors having lost their homes to have housing worthy for human beings.

1.6. Strategic Development Plan for Infocommunication

The development of infocommunication technologies (ICT), the appearance of tablets and smart phones, the integration of IT systems with household appliances, transport vehicles and simple tools have become very common, so we have great windows of opportunity if we use these technologies in a reasonable way. The ICT sector forms a significant part of Hungary's economy, and it was capable of growing in the years of regression as well. The sector employs 70 thousand people, excluding IT professionals working in other sectors or experts employed by computer hardware manufacturers. The annual tax paid is over HUF 300 billion, and the sector also provides 10 per cent of the total amount of sales tax collected each year. The international labour market shows a significant shortage of IT experts. Even though the National Curriculum prescribes

the increase in the number of IT lessons at school, the curriculum framework has cut IT education by half. Since the ICT sector is a flagship industry in the Hungarian economy, Jobbik aims to maintain the growth and develop Hungary into a major player in the ICT area. In European comparison, corporate Internet penetration places Hungary 20th while website penetration shows even worse figures. We also lag behind in terms of using electronic billing systems. In fact, Hungary is ranked last in international comparison. Another key indicator of international competitiveness is flexible, efficient and user-friendly electronic public administration, in terms of which Hungary is placed 30th of the 32 European countries. Home internet penetration also affects people's chances of getting a job. A grave factor of unemployment is that there are no potential applicants over 50 for vacancies since most people in this age group have no computer skills. Infocommunication skills and experience are indispensable for teleworking as well, which may be especially important for handicapped employees. Internet usage is no longer a luxury, it has become a fundamental need by now. Internet access is a basic right, which must be ensured for all Hungarian citizens, free of charge if need be. Let 2014 be the year of free Internet!

If the *Strategic Development Plan for Infocommunication* is realized, it will double the number of people working in the ICT sector, diminish the emigration of competent intellectuals, create ten thousand new jobs, and free Internet core service will be granted for all Hungarian citizens. Hungary will catch up with Europe's leading countries in terms of ICT applications in public administration and the corporate sector. All high school students will have a free ECDL exam integrated in their curricula. There will be government-subsidized training courses for the unemployed, while handicapped employees will have free computers and Internet access available.

1.7. Development Plan for Health Tourism

Life expectancy is constantly increasing in the developed world, health-care systems are under more and more pressure and health tourism is also showing growth, but Hungary has only a little share of it - in spite of the country's excellent potential. Governmental health tourism concepts have

almost exclusively been focussing on spa projects targeting domestic tourism, while the development of therapeutic health tourism has been hindered by several factors. The potential growth of tourism for recreational and health preservation purposes primarily lies in attracting foreign tourists rather than offering seasonal services. Although our internationally renowned health spas are doing well, there is still a significant potential, which could be utilized by widening the service portfolio and offering complex medical packages. While an average spa visitor spends HUF 10-20 thousand, typical spendings on tourism-related medical services may amount to millions of HUF. Due to fierce regional competition, the applicability and medical effects of Hungarian spas must be supported by certified balneological studies. The proactive, partially government-subsidized development of Hungarian health tourism may create tens of thousands of jobs for Hungarian people within a short time. We aim to develop Hungary into a globally renowned health tourism centre and destination.

The Development Plan for Health Tourism enables us to create tens of thousands of jobs, to keep home or bring back Hungarian doctors and nurses working or planning to work abroad, to ensure better funding for the Hungarian healthcare system by reinvesting governmental health tourism revenues, to support Hungarian-owned health industry companies as suppliers, and to boost the country's image.

2. The "60 steps" programme

The job creation agenda defined in the Seven Leaders Plan must be implemented in a country destroyed and maimed by 40 years of communism and 24 years of Neoliberal globalism. After 24 years, we are now in the 24th hour and in need of immediate intervention. In order to do so, we must solve six major social issues by implementing 10 measures in six key areas, which are: the protection of the land, the crisis of foreign-currency debtors, the negative demographic trends, the sustainable reduction of utility costs, Gypsy-Hungarian co-habitation and the national debt.

2.1. Protection of the land

Our land (along with our water and energy sources) is our fundamental treasure which should not be a subject of any business discussion. However, land is now a capital asset in Hungary, so it can be bought and sold and even taken away from us. We believe that the protection of our land, our Motherland, is of paramount importance. Hungary was allowed to impose a temporary ban on land sales to foreigners so that our land prices could catch up with the EU average. However, Hungarian land prices are still a fraction of those in Western Europe and the temporary ban, which has already been extended by three years, will finally expire in May 2014. In addition to preventing foreigners from buying up our land, we believe we must also prevent the establishment of monocultural megafarms owned by oligarchs and employing very few people. We consider competitive family farms to be the desirable goal as the dominant form of land ownership. 10 steps to solve this issue:

- 1) Gain time by extending the ban with our without Brussels' agreement.
- 2) Stipulate in the Constitution that Hungarian land may only be owned by the Hungarian state, Hungarian municipalities or Hungarian natural persons.
- 3.) The amendment of the Constitution must be accepted by Brussels, and

the accession treaty must also be modified, even at the cost of leaving the European Union.

- 4) Pass a land protection legislation preventing profiteering related to arable land.
- 5) Collect information on land abuse cases, hold Hungarian land profiteers accountable.
- 6) Allow land use (long-term lease) on conditions of public benefit, create conditions for family farming based on one's own work.
- 7) Stipulate the exclusion of megafarms in the Constitution.
- 8) Maximize farm sizes at the level ensuring the subsistence of an average Hungarian family, based on the "one owner, one farm" principle.
- 9) Uncover the cases where land is currently used by foreigners based on illegal contracts, prevent the registration of land transfers in the land registry, restore legal conditions.
- 10) Ban the practice of hidden land transfer, where the municipality signs a contract with a foreign buyer to transfer non-agricultural lands.

2.2. Escape the foreign-currency trap

Ferenc Gyurcsány's government "let loose" the financial colonizers, i.e. Austrian, Italian and German banks, setting them on unsuspecting Hungarian citizens. When the largest Hungarian banks realized that governmental policies have opened the gates for them as well, they also entered this business and joined foreign bankers in luring people into the trap of foreign-currency loans. The Hungarian National Bank, the leadership of the Ministry of Finance between 2004 and 2008, and all the respective Hungarian governments are responsible for this situation. 10 steps to solve this issue:

- 1) Convert foreign-currency loans into HUF at the exchange rate valid at the time of taking out the loan.
- 2) Compensate the claimants in proportion of the extra amount they were forced to pay.
- 3) Extend the temporary ban on eviction, since benevolent tenants must be ensured of their basic human rights, but we do not protect squatters.
- 4) Allow individuals who have not yet become insolvent to file personal bankruptcy.

- 5) In addition to the prepayment of loans, debtors must also be allowed partial repayment.
- 6) This solution will be provided for small and medium enterprises, financed cars indispensable for families or enterprises, as well as for the victims of utility providers.
- 7) Selling abandoned houses and sites to the victims of foreign-currency loans for a symbolic amount of 1 HUF could also be a solution.
- 8) Operation licences of banks that abuse consumer trust must be suspended.
- 9) Debt collectors' abusive practice must be stopped, collector's commission must be limited at two per cent, debt collection as a business must be controlled by the government.
- 10) Legislation must guarantee that the upper limit of debt may not be significantly higher than the value of the mortgaged property.

2.3. Demographic change

The gravest problem of the Hungarian nation is the negative demographic trend, i.e. the negative balance of births and deaths, the emigration of Hungarian youth, the depopulation of villages and the aging population. The solution of this demographic crisis requires a governmental focus, harmonious cooperation of ministries, as well as the support of the media, non-governmental organizations and society at large. 10 steps to solve this issue:

- 1) Radically reduce the sales tax on articles needed for child care.
- 2) Create homes through government-subsidized programmes of building and potentially purchasing rental homes.
- 3) Set up a direct food supply service for families, excluding profiteering trade companies.
- 4) Introduce the social card nationwide, so that the money is indeed given to the children it was intended for.
- 5) Transform the family allowance system in such a way that it prevents the abuse of social benefits and supports responsible family planning.
- 6) Create part-time, mother-friendly jobs, increase the number of places available in kindergartens and nurseries.
- 7) Pass fetal protection legislation that complies with medical and Christian ethics.

- 8) Since infertility is a common problem, young couples ready to have children in spite of all the difficulties and hindrances must be supported through a test tube baby programme.
- 9) Give land to young people, in order to repopulate the four underdeveloped regions that are suitable for farming and living a rural life.
- 10) Launch a parent allowance system, which enables grown-up children to offer a share of their income tax to complement their parents' old-age pensions.

2.4. Sustainable utility fee cuts

In Europe's developed countries, utility provider companies are considered strategically important and kept in national ownership. The conditions how our utility provider companies were privatized amount to high treason, the leftist government ensured a guaranteed profit for foreigners. The Orbán government communicates its utility fee cutting programme as its greatest success, but it is ill-considered and professionally undeveloped in many respects, since it failed to modernize the outdated utility systems, to save the existing ones and to build new capacities. Thus utility fee cuts were actually implemented by using Hungarian taxpayers' money. 10 steps to solve this issue:

- 1) Sustain the existing achievements of the utility fee cutting programme.
- 2) Eliminate the deficiencies and correct the faults of the utility fee cutting programme.
- 3) Pass a legislation to declare utility services as strategically important.
- 4) Business companies operating in this area must be taken into community ownership.
- 5) Prescribe non-profit operation for companies performing such services as electric supply, gas, central heating, chimney-sweeping, residential water and drainage, as well as communal waste disposal.
- 6) With regard to the utility providers taken into community ownership, ensure employment conditions typical of Western European companies.
- 7) Ensure the sustainability of utility fee cuts by developing and modernizing existing capacities.
- 8) Implement a 5-year action plan to reduce the rate of imported electric power to zero within the total Hungarian electricity consumption.

- 9) Establish a Utility Fee Reduction Fund with a HUF 200 billion equity in order to cover the project costs of the utility fee cutting programme.
- 10) The energy efficiency projects financed by the Utility Fee Reduction Fund must be made available for all Hungarian residential properties.

2.5. Gypsy-Hungarian co-habitation

In the past 20-24 years, Gypsy-Hungarian co-habitation has been a taboo subject swept under the carpet, while local tensions, suppressed anger and aggression continue to grow. The appearance of the Hungarian Guard and Jobbik removed the carpet hiding the problems, and this hushed-up subject has been a part of public discourse ever since. We point out that Jobbik has never had and will never have any proposals that would distinguish between Hungarian citizens based on their ethnicity. Gypsy people do not need to fear any racial discrimination. On the contrary, we want equal conditions, which means that they will need to do their share to succeed in life. Honest Gypsy people will have a better life under a Jobbik government. 10 steps to solve this issue:

- 1) Make a correct analysis of the situation of Gypsy people, including their numbers, physical, material, mental and intellectual conditions, without any taboos or data manipulation.
- 2) Conduct public discourse about the issue without any emotional hysteria.
- 3) Eliminate ethnically based affirmative action. Gypsy people must understand that nothing is due to them solely on account of being a Gypsy.
- 4) End financing development funds amounting to hundreds of billions of forints, most of which disappears in the pockets of various foundations, Gypsy organizations and civil rights activists.
- 5) Cleanse Gypsy political life from confidence tricksters, criminals and other impostors who make a living off being a Gypsy.
- 6) Gypsy crime must be eliminated. To that end, we will reinforce the police, set up a gendarmerie and promote legal self-defence organizations.
- 7) Put an end to the abuse of social benefits, so the family allowance benefits will be transformed into tax benefits for families having more than two children.
- 8) Establish a state-operated boarding school system for Gypsy

children with special education needs and adaptability problems.
9) Implement the "jobs instead of benefits" concept. After the job creation achievements of the Seven Leaders Plan, they can no longer say "I would work but there are no jobs."

10) Introduce strict measures to stop Gypsy vote buying, and revoke voting rights from persons not completing their primary education.

2.6. The national debt

The Hungarian national debt is impossible to repay, and no economy can be boosted while carrying such burden. The renegotiation of our debts is justified since we inherited them from the Communist dictatorship. Hungary has always been a good debtor, so it is now time to elect a government that is ready to face the ordeal of debt restructuring.

Our debt relief programme may generate as much as HUF 500-700 billion in savings per year. 10 steps to solve this issue:

- 1) Renegotiate our national debt based on successful international examples.
- 2) Identify our largest private creditors and their cover organizations.
- 3) Negotiate with the identified key players.
- 4) Engage new creditors by contacting eastern countries and banks as part of the opening toward the East that would ensure better conditions.
- 5) Assign individuals with excellent negotiation skills to conduct tough negotiations in order to convince counter-interested parties to cooperate.
- 6) Convince creditors to rather write off some of the debts instead of potentially losing much more money if the country files for a partial bankruptcy.
- 7) Agree with creditors on an acceptable amount of debt.
- 8) Agree with creditors on an amount of debt cancelled.
- 9) Agree with creditors on easier conditions with regard to interests, payment deadlines and grace period.
- 10) Replace any remaining bad loans by the more favourable, market-based loans from newly-engaged creditors.

3. Branch programmes

The guidelines, objectives and solutions laid out in the Seven Leaders Plan and the "60 steps" programme are detailed and explained in the branch programmes related to 23 professional areas. Please find a brief summary of them below. The entire programmes are available at Jobbik's website: www.jobbik.hu

3.1. Economic programme

During the collapse of the Communist system, each political party collaborated in the enforcement of external interests. No matter which opposition party had won the elections in 1990, the new government would have implemented basically the same economic measures. Hungary's economy has been in a permanent crisis ever since, which put our country on the verge of bankruptcy at times (1995, 2008). The permanent economic crisis was primarily caused by the fundamentally wrong economic policies, which centred around the same elements, regardless of the ideology of such political parties as the Alliance of Free Democrats, Young Democrats (Fidesz) and the Socialists. Jobbik's detailed economic programme offers a professional solution for the problems above.

3.2. Employment programme

Unemployment is extremely high, and it keeps growing; a significant share of existing jobs hardly offer any legal and health security or labour safety. In several parts of the country, average wages are lower than the subsistence level. Insecurity prompts many citizens to flee abroad. Illegal employment is enormous, legally operating companies are uncompetitive due to the high employment taxes and contributions. Due to the lack of efficient social dialogue, employers' organizations and trade unions are un-

able to function properly. Meanwhile, billions of forints are wasted on subsidizing job creation by multinational companies, which have no effect on employment figures. Small and medium enterprises are practically unable to access these subsidies, which causes further disadvantages in competition, thus losing more and more jobs. Jobbik's employment programme solves these issues.

3.3. Social programme

Hungary's demographic situation is deteriorating: we are lagging behind Europe in terms of life expectancy, the number of marriages is declining drastically, 30% of babies conceived are never born and emigration aggravates the situation even further. Hungary's population has dropped by nearly 1 million since 1990. We need a social change as a maimed community is unable to develop. Consistent social and family policies can stop the population decrease and initiate a growth. To do so, we need to protect families from the liberal, anti-family attacks promoting deviant behaviour. Families need more financial support, protection and a conscious family planning programme instead of irresponsible childbirth; inter-generational responsibilities must be assumed and our youth need to be kept from emigrating abroad.

3.4. Consumer protection programme

Consumer protection has an increasingly important role all over the world. Global capitalism and material, profit-centred economies build channels of exploitation between the world's countries and regions, while the circulating virtual capital is many times larger than the real economy. In the meantime however, another opposing concept also rises: instead of production, consumption and profit, it attributes the highest value to the human being, with its dignity and creation by God, even if consumer protection organizations are not fully aware of it. Hungarian consumer protection is in an embryonic state now, it has no penetration yet, civilian courage is low and the country is highly vulnerable to external forces. Contemporary governments have failed to empower the society, they con-

sidered consumer protection efforts as some sort of protest movement that was a threat to their power. Jobbik's programmes and proposals offer a solution for that.

3.5. Rural economy programme

The programme aims to provide the necessary clean water and food for all Hungarians to satisfy their vital needs. Its other goal is to ensure that rural landscapes are well-preserved while our agricultural and food industry surplus is exported. Hungary lies in one of the few regions of the world which are capable of complete self-sustenance due to their incredible features and qualities. This means that we have a sufficient amount of water and land, and we have enough energy sources to sustain our existence. We do not wish to close from the rest of the world, our goal is to preserve and utilize our natural treasures in order to ensure the physical and intellectual enrichment of the people living here.

3.6. Healthcare programme

Hungary's medical condition is terrible, the nation is sick, the mortality rate is 1.5 times higher than the EU average. Circulatory system diseases cause twice as many deaths here as the EU average, while oncological diseases are 43 per cent higher than the above mentioned average. Smoking and alcohol are the leading mortality factors while our suicide rate figures are among the worst all over the world. Hypertension, chronic heart diseases, diabetes, high blood fat levels, asthma, allergy, osteoporosis, panic disorder and depression are common diseases in our country. The number of the disabled is growing drastically. Are all the above caused solely by the problems of the Hungarian healthcare system? The Hungarian nation is not sickly, it's been made sick. The health problems of the Hungarian nation are mostly rooted in mental-spiritual reasons. A nation that does not feel good, that has been mutilated, invaded, oppressed, whose wish for freedom is suppressed, and which is misled will sooner or later show physical deterioration as well.

In order to solve the problem, we must stop mental and spiritual poi-

soning as well as cope with the critical status of our healthcare system. We must eliminate this disastrous healthcare situation by way of the nation's mental-spiritual empowerment and by rescuing our healthcare system.

3.7. Energy programme

Global political processes are characterized by the struggle for the control of energy sources and carriers, even through military conflicts. It is of strategic importance that energy production and distribution be controlled by the government. Hungary has nearly sold out the entire energy sector in the past two decades. The coalition of Socialists and Free Democrats privatized the sector in 1995 in return for a one-off budgetary income. Foreign companies have increased their efficiency by way of reducing service quality, and their enormous profit was based on the 8% capital-proportionate profit guaranteed by the Hungarian government. The second, eight-year term of the Socialist government did its best to serve the interests of foreign companies. The first Orbán government decided to deregulate the energy sector, and the government spectacularly withdrew from the energy sector on the grounds of deregulation. We must stop selling our carbon dioxide quota, eliminating arable lands and forests for bioenergetic purposes, and listening to unscientific, "dark green" propaganda. Instead, we must increase the role of nuclear energy, make use of our coal reserves and unexploited hydroelectric capacities.

3.8. Environment protection programme

It is time to part with the lie that the issue of environment protection is a privilege of leftist-liberal parties, and reveal the superficial nature, hypocrisy and drastic ideas of leftist-liberal green movements. We, Jobbik supporters, love the Carpathian basin, we love our homeland and our nation. We are the most fervent champions of environmental protection, since only the communities with a sane and healthy mindset are able to conduct efficient green policies. We must eliminate illegal garbage dumps, impotent hydro-diplomacy and corruption in environment protection. We

must also ensure selective waste collection, develop the country's water retention capability, preserve our rich water wildlife, conduct a strong animal protection and a more conscious energy management.

3.9. Traffic programme

While certain major highway construction projects were implemented in the past 24 years, lower-priority roads were not modernized even though most people use them. Inland navigation is not ensured in the Hungarian section of the Danube river, vehicle production and the modernization of our vehicle park has been halted, and modern parking systems have not been developed, either. We are significantly lagging behind in terms of public transport. We must put an end to the overcrowded and dangerous public roads, daring drivers running amok, as well as to the criminal acts undermining the security of railroad traffic. The government must assume a larger role in traffic management, as well as the maintenance and development of our railway network. We must restart vehicle production, rail freight transport and the education of railway professionals. We must also restore the military-strategic infrastructure of the railways, free our cities from the burden of heavy traffic, and improve inland navigation and freighting as well.

3.10. Tourism programme

Even though Hungary has no high mountains or any seas, it could still be a stronghold of European tourism, providing jobs for hundreds of thousands of people. In order to achieve that, we need a clean, neat and smiling Hungary. By cutting the sales tax, tourism enterprises could keep more of their revenues, whereas reduced taxes would entail lower consumer prices, which would in turn increase turnovers. We aim to intensify domestic tourism while also developing Hungary into one of the most popular destinations of international tourism. We must put an end to the unscrupulous practices of Artisjus taking its toll on tourism and hospitality enterprises, the unjustified application of the HACCP system which was originally developed by NASA for the food safety of astronauts,

the high certification fees, the unjustified strict fining practices, and we must guarantee that the collected tourism tax is reinvested into tourism. In addition, we must simplify employment regulations in the hospitality industry, subsidize health tourism, and ensure that local products are used more extensively in hospitality.

3.11. Sports programme

State-owned sports facilities were first allowed to degrade and then privatized at a low price, thus depriving amateur and professional athletes of their training grounds and the nation of some of its real estates. The number of professional athletes decreases year by year, and the situation is even worse in the case of children's sports. The current financing system does not serve the global interest of Hungarian sports. Oligarchs, who serve the current political regime, were given state-owned or city-owned sports facilities free of charge to operate and manage as they please. The government introduced a new system, the corporate tax subsidy of the so-called spectacular team sports. The initiative itself is useful for Hungarian youth development - but it is limited to five team sports. They failed to extend the financing system to fund kindergarten sports, competitive youth sports projects and amateur sports programmes at colleges and universities. We must put an end to the negative representation of sports in the media, cancel fan registration, create a development programme, organize Carpathian Youth Olympic Games, cleanse the financing system from disproportionate funding and corruption, modernize physical education at schools, improve the sports healthcare system, and provide opportunities for handicapped individuals to do sports.

3.12. Youth programme

Hungarian youth do not need loans, benefits or dole, what they need is opportunities and goals so that they can utilize their own potential in their own motherland. We need a radical change and a new mindset if we want to live in a country where dealing with youth issues is not simply another "political agenda". We need generations that consider education and hon-

est work as the only way for advancement in their community. We must solve employment and housing problems so that young people do not get indebted. In addition, we must pass a youth legislation to help students to better prepare for their careers and support young entrepreneurs. Students need legal part-time work opportunities while they are still at school, they also need modern language teaching, prestigious cultural programmes and entertainment. We must support scout movements and organize local youth clubs and councils.

3.13. IT programme

Information technology and telecommunication have a major influence on our daily lives. Due to the bad decisions made in the past decades, Hungary has become a market for multinational IT companies.

We are spending tens of billions of HUF on the procurement of IT systems that we could develop ourselves by using and upgrading available systems with an open source code. The preservation of national sovereignty and the minimization of foreign dependence are largely based on the existence of a local IT research and development centre and an independent Hungarian IT industry that serve our national interests. We must eliminate our vulnerability in the area of infocommunication, stop the aggressive distribution of software products, the unreasonable utility line tax, the binding of mobile phone users to service providers, the royalty fee on blank data carriers, the abusive practices of service providers, the manipulation and monitoring of data traffic and internet censorship. We must ensure free access to mobile internet, better conditions for our highly-acclaimed research and development activities, complete e-administration systems. We must also develop the infrastructure of schools and extend fringe benefit packages to include IT devices and services.

3.14. Education programme

Hungarian education used to be a renowned system with great traditions. It seems to have become nothing but a pale memory of what it was before. The performance of schools and students is far below the average

of OECD member states, which is mostly caused by the constant withdrawal of funding from municipalities. Students' performance is largely determined by the financial resources of the town or village they live in. Fidesz was indeed right in initiating a change in this regard, but the premature and forced nationalization of schools deprived local communities of their decision rights. Most of the youth entering secondary vocational schools have not acquired basic general skills, three fourths of them perform very poorly in comprehension.

As the Bologna system was introduced and state-funding was insufficient, the level of higher education also dropped drastically, since the irresponsible governmental managers of mass education increased the number of higher education students without any regard for the needs of the national economy. Jobbik believes that education means more than transferring knowledge to the young, it also means giving them guidelines for life. We do not believe in "ideologically neutral" education because there are some universal human values that we must teach to our children. We must put an end to the disappearance of village schools, restore the unified Baccalaureate system of grammar schools and secondary trade schools, end school violence, improve the terrible situation of teachers, and eliminate any infringement upon university autonomy. We must modify the National Curriculum, improve language education, set up a network of boarding schools, raise the upper age limit for compulsory school attendance, increase the number of scholarships and state-financed higher education places, review the Bologna system, provide honest additional part-time work options for students and develop a career model for professionals working in higher education institutions.

3.15. Cultural programme

The protection and promotion of Hungarian culture is of paramount strategic importance. We must take extra care to protect and enhance the traditional values of the Hungarian nation, with special regard to the Turanic - Ancient Hungarian and the Christian - New Hungarian heritage. The most important intellectual task for the Hungarian nation is to harmonize our Eastern roots and European traditions. This har-

mony must be represented in our cultural policies as well. Traditional Hungarian cultural policies may not at all mean brooding over the past, however. The past is not a goal but a master and a vital source which the current generations must apply to the challenges and conditions of modern times. Culture can no longer remain a privilege of the rich, and we must end the defamation of national symbols and the squandering of our Hungarian cultural treasures. Non-governmental organizations must be financed completely independently from political parties, the memories of our national heroes must be honoured and we must establish the Institute of Prehistoric Hungarian Culture.

As opposed to the unilateral Finno-Ugric approach, we must give a reassuring answer to the question: "Where do we come from?". We must open the window of opportunity for the young artist generation, support art sponsorship, enhance valuable public collections, subsidize the production of Hungarian historical films and establish a Hungarian National Travelling Theatre.

3.16. Clerical programme

Jobbik recognizes the many centuries of valuable social work of historical churches and their additional rights arising from this work. Therefore, we wish to provide more state support for discharging their social duties. Regrettably, church subsidies have become an issue of partisan politics. Since religious practice and church establishment may not be considered as a business activity, we wish to restrict the registration of churches and monitor their operation more closely. We expect the churches to contribute to the integration of the Gypsy people, therefore we will create a Gypsy Mission Fund for the historical Christian churches that could finance church projects via a tender procedure. Liberalism has deprived historical churches of their credibility and rendered them useless in terms of social development, while the Fidesz clergy act made them dependant on political lobbying, inasmuch as to which congregation can qualify as a church and which cannot. This indirect political control of the churches must be ended, the Constitution must be amended so that Hungary's Christian roots would earn more than just a mention in the preamble. We must also support the operation of historical churches. Christian marriages must be

recognized as valid by the civil authorities. We must enable clergymen to work in correctional facilities, military establishments and hospitals. We must also launch a monument protection and restoration programme in order to preserve the condition of real estates and monuments owned by the clergy.

3.17. Media programme

The media have become the playground for the bipartisan political elite, as clearly shown by (among other things) the acquisition of media frequencies for government-friendly enterprises, the presence of media oligarchs, the emanation of billions of HUF on advertising in state-owned media and the strengthening anti-Hungarian media trends under the disguise of "ideological neutrality". Hungarian media were sold out in the commercial media market, prestigious and high-quality shows have been replaced by presentations aiming for high viewer ratings and superprofit. A significant share of the media has lost its moral and professional credibility. We must eliminate media monopolies, put an end to the constant softening of child protection provisions, to the corruption in the state-owned advertisement market. We must also end money squandering disguised as public service. An honest media market must be developed by taxing advertisements. True public service must be ensured and the power of Artisjus must be limited.

3.18. Municipality programme

The municipality system has been able to resist changes ever since 1990 because the law could only be amended by a two-thirds majority. However, the four years of this government term have sealed its fate. Since the municipalities of the 3200 Hungarian towns and villages cover the entire area of the country, we cannot consider the kind of destruction brought on by the "reforms" of the Orbán government as merely a niche problem. We must put an end to the squandering of municipality property, the depopulation of villages, the excessive power of government offices, and the unreasonable use of development funds. In addition, we must hold politi-

cians accountable for their acts, ensure security for all settlements, provide medical services for villages, safeguard people's property, and introduce multi-level governance.

3.19. Law enforcement programme

Jobbik aims to ensure that Hungary's laws apply equally to all people, regardless of their origin, political views, and citizenship. There is no place for discrimination in law enforcement, neither in a positive, nor in a negative manner. The structure of the police is not appropriate, their equipment is not in line with the challenges they face. We must put an end to the violence against women and children, tampering with statistical data, unlawful acts committed by the police, the hypocritical activities of international civil rights organizations. We must also lift the ban on self-defence organizations that are able to improve public security. In addition, we must pass a new police act, establish the gendarmerie, rehabilitate the Hungarian Guard, ensure the independence of fire fighter and the border guard units. We must start a social discourse about capital punishment, establish self-sustaining prisons and put an end to subcontractors' operating correctional facilities. The peace of public areas and the decent living of law enforcement officials must be ensured. We must establish a special affairs department, arrange for the monitoring of repeat offenders and implement the reform of intelligence services.

3.20. Home defence programme

The Hungarian Defence Forces (HDF) have undergone significant changes since 1989. The previous governments called these changes reforms and they interpret them as the transformation of a mass army into a professional army. In fact, the HDF have fallen victim to the erroneous economic policies committing one mistake after another, which resulted in a significant loss of capabilities. We must put an end to the underfunding of home defence and our participation in international missions for political purposes. The vitality and self-sustenance of the Hungarian defence forces must be ensured by providing the necessary legislative sup-

port. We must set up a group of highly-acclaimed experts to constantly represent the cause of home defence, increase the number of troops, redefine the tasks of home defence forces, and enable volunteers to participate in military training.

3.21. Foreign policy programme

After the collapse of Communism, Hungarian foreign policy identified three priorities: improve the situation of Hungarians living in neighbouring countries, develop good relations with our neighbours, and integrate into the Euro-Atlantic block. The past twenty years have proven that the three goals have only been achieved partially. Not only did EU accession fail to improve the situation of our country and the entire Hungarian nation, but our status became even worse. Our subservient foreign policy leaders, anxiously seeking to comply with any external demands, missed the historic opportunities entailed by the changing balance of international (and European) powers, thus entering into a bargaining process contrary to the interest of the nation. We must put an end to the subservient attitude, unilateral Euro-Atlantism and foreign policy taboos. The efforts for Hungarian sovereignty must succeed. We must also secure Polish-Hungarian-Croatian cooperation, conduct Eurasia-oriented foreign policy and establish good relations with the Far East. We must also develop an international foreign trade network and introduce scholarships for Hungarian youth studying foreign policy strategy.

JOBBIK MOVEMENT FOR A BETTER HUNGARY

**The party's detailed election programme for 2014 is available at:
www.jobbik.hu**