

*Jobbik*

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**Name:** Jobbik

**Type of Organization:**

- Political party

**Ideologies and Affiliations:**

- Christian extremist/radical Christian
- neo-Nazi
- neo-fascist
- ultra-nationalist

**Place of Origin:**

Hungary

**Year of Origin:**

2003

**Founder(s):**

Dávid Kovács, Gergely Pongrácz

**Places of Operation:**

Originally, mainly eastern Hungary; now, wherever ethnic Hungarians live

**Overview**

*Executive Summary:*

Jobbik is a neo-fascist Hungarian political party that combines militant ethno-nationalism with antisemitism and anti-Roma racism. A Hungarian court ruled in January 2014 that Jobbik may be referred to as “neo-Nazi” in Hungary.<sup>1</sup> Jobbik previously described itself as a “principled, conservative and radically patriotic Christian party” whose “fundamental purpose” is the protection of “Hungarian values and interests.”<sup>2</sup> Jobbik believes that Hungarian diaspora communities face discrimination in their host countries. The party has called for Hungarian communities in neighboring states to receive territorial autonomy if they form a local majority. Jobbik has stated all other Hungarian diaspora communities should receive “cultural autonomy,” which would allow them to fully express their cultural heritage without persecution.<sup>3</sup> Domestically, Jobbik’s 2018 platform called for stricter policing of “the Gypsy community,” including by “volunteer organizations,” ending all development funds directed at Romani communities, and ending ethnic-based affirmative action.<sup>4</sup>

In 2002, a group of nationalist Catholic and Protestant university students established the precursor to Jobbik, the Right-Wing Youth Association ( *Jobboldali Ifjúsági Közösség*), as an alternative to the nationalist, far-right Hungarian Justice and Life Party (*Magyar Igazság és Élet Pártja* or MIÉP) after MIÉP failed to win any seats in the 2002 election.<sup>5</sup> Jobbik was officially founded in October 2003 as a political party.<sup>6</sup>

Jobbik received 14.7 percent of the votes in the 2014 European Parliament elections, giving it three seats.<sup>7</sup> However, two of the elected Members of the European Parliament (MEPs)—Béla Kovács and [Krisztina Morvai](#)—eventually left Jobbik, resuming their MEP functions as non-attached members.<sup>8</sup>

In April 2014, Jobbik received 1 million votes (20.54 percent, an increase of 3.8 percent from the previous election) in the Hungarian parliamentary elections, making it Hungary’s third largest party in the National Assembly.<sup>9</sup> Jobbik began moderating its image shortly before these electoral victories.

## Jobbik

In 2013, Jobbik leader [Gábor Vona](#) announced that his party would begin moving toward the political center and labeled Jobbik as the “people’s party.” In the spring of 2016, Vona removed several of his party’s more radical members.<sup>10</sup> While many extremists continue to hold positions of power within the organization, Jobbik’s most radical supporters have balked at the party’s new platforms.<sup>11</sup> In a sign of weakening support, Jobbik received only 2 percent of votes during 2016 by-elections.<sup>12</sup>

In Hungary’s April 2018 parliamentary elections, Jobbik came in a distant second to the ruling Fidesz party, earning 19 percent of the vote to receive 26 seats. This marked a 1 percent decrease in votes for Jobbik from the 2014 election but an increase of three additional seats.<sup>13</sup> Although Jobbik became the leading opposition party, Vona resigned as chair because his efforts to moderate the party failed to significantly improve electoral results.<sup>14</sup> Jobbik subsequently changed its organizational structure to a shared presidency with President Tamás Sneider and Executive Vice President Márton Gyöngyösi to “further enhance the party’s democratic and grassroots character.”<sup>15</sup> In January 2020, Jobbik elected Péter Jakab as its new president, while Gyöngyösi continued as executive vice president and a member of the European Parliament.<sup>16</sup> After Jobbik won only nine seats in Hungary’s April 2022 elections, Jakab won re-election as Jobbik’s president but resigned that June.<sup>17</sup> Jobbik elected Gyöngyösi as its president in July 2022. He promised to develop Jobbik as a pro-Europe party.<sup>18</sup> Jobbik continues to present itself as a mainstream rightwing party and attempt to shed its far-right and antisemitic image. Nonetheless, Hungarian critics, particularly in the Jewish community, remain suspicious of Jobbik’s intentions.<sup>19</sup>

### Doctrine:

Jobbik has described itself as a “principled, conservative and radically patriotic Christian party” whose “fundamental purpose” is the protection of “Hungarian values and interests.”<sup>20</sup> Its ideology is neo-fascist, combining militant ethno-nationalism with antisemitism and anti-Roma racism. A Hungarian court ruled in January 2014 that Jobbik may be referred to as “neo-Nazi” in Hungary.<sup>21</sup>

The party also advocates a militant revanchism and seeks the “reunification” of the Hungarian nation and a revision of the 1920 Treaty of Trianon, the post-World War I peace treaty between the Allied states and the Kingdom of Hungary. The treaty determined the borders of present-day Hungary, granting the new country only 36 percent of the kingdom’s pre-war population. Jobbik’s Greater Hungarian irredentist claims are also reflected in pleas for cross-border ethnic self-determination. For example, the party demands “territorial autonomy” for parts of Romania with large Hungarian populations, and desires to make Transcarpathian Ukraine an independent Hungarian district. Since a quarter of ethnic Hungarians live outside the country, Jobbik dedicates itself to supporting the cause of significant Hungarian minority populations abroad. In effect, Jobbik stirs up ethnic hatred in neighboring countries. In March 2014, in response to a Hungarian nationalist demonstration in the Romanian town of Târgu Mureș /Marosvásárhely, Romanian President Traian Băsescu publicly asked for an entry ban on Jobbik members to Romania.<sup>22</sup>

Jobbik has previously glorified Hungarian fascist and Nazi collaborator Miklós Horthy. In 2011, Jobbik stated on its website’s homepage:

“Just after the tragedy of Trianon Hungary succeeded in a very fast consolidation. The Horthy-era released positive élan for the nation... Under Horthy Hungary had a strong and impressing elite, which pursued the goal of the appeal of the unfair Trianon peace diktat... But since then, we have no national elite any more. During the fifty years of communism we had an internationalist elite and today we have a globalist elite. Neither of them was able and willing to represent national interests. This had the worst consequences to the mindset of the Hungarian People.”<sup>23</sup>

While Hungary’s ruling party, the conservative Fidesz–Hungarian Civic Union (*Fidesz – Magyar Polgári Szövetség*), shares Jobbik’s willingness to defend Horthy, Jobbik’s blatant use of the Nazi “Arrow Cross” symbolizes Jobbik’s pride in Hungary’s Nazi past.

The Hungarian Guard (*Magyar Gárda*) is a para-military organization founded and registered by then-Jobbik party leader Gábor Vona. In August 2007, the group inaugurated its first 56 members.<sup>24</sup> The group rapidly increased its popularity, and by the end of 2008, claimed to have 2,000 members and several thousand supporters.<sup>25</sup> The group has been criticized for its uniform and use of the Arrow Cross symbol. However, the Hungarian Guard denied being antisemitic and claimed to be a “civic group which wants to preserve Hungarian culture.”<sup>26</sup>

In 2008, Vona claimed in an interview with a German neo-Nazi journal that “organized Jewry” would try to interfere in the internal affairs of Hungary. He cited “statements of the Jews in Hungary and of international Jewry that the [Hungarian] guard stands in their way and that they want to buy whole Hungary.”<sup>27</sup>

According to Jobbik, besides the purported Jewish threat, the Hungarian people’s largest problem is the “Gypsies” because of “their extremely disproportionate crime rate and indolence,” using the term “Gypsycrime” (*cigánybűnözés*).<sup>28</sup> It appears as if the Hungarian Guard, in part, serves to combat gypsycrime in rural Hungary,<sup>29</sup> for example, by carrying out intimidating patrols in Roma-populated towns.<sup>30</sup> And due

## *Jobbik*

to the primacy of antisemitism in Jobbik's ideology, the Jews are also behind purported Hungarian conflicts with the Romani: "A crumbling of a civil war-inflicted country is the easiest prey for the rich Jews. And besides, you can easily adopt emergency legislation in a war situation. This is the reason for the expected civil war between Hungarian and Romani people, to which the Jews incite in the background, their hands rubbing."

<sup>31</sup> In an April 2008 speech, then-Vice-President József Tibor Bíber said, "What then is Gypsycrime? Let's not deceive ourselves: a biological weapon in the hands of Zionism."<sup>32</sup> Scholars have warned that Jobbik's violent anti-"Gypsy" rhetoric "constitutes a ticking time bomb in relations between the Roma and non-Roma in Hungary."<sup>33</sup>

In 2009, Hungary's Supreme Court banned the Hungarian Guard, which was considered the biggest hate group in the country. The verdict read: "The ethnicity- and race-based opinions expressed at the demonstrations and events organized by the Hungarian Guard against 'gypsy crime', have in fact breached the basic principle of the right to human dignity. The Hungarian Guard has [...] turned discrimination into an agenda. In order to express this, the Hungarian Guard has held intimidating demonstrations on several occasions."<sup>34</sup> Despite this ruling, the Hungarian Guard has been involved in various social activities, such as charity and humanitarian disaster management. This type of activism contributed to the ongoing populist appeal of the movement, which has resulted in the formation of the New Hungarian Guard Movement and the Hungarian National Guard Movement following the proscription of their predecessor.<sup>35</sup>

Since 2016, Jobbik has attempted to soften its antisemitic and racist image. Then-former chairman Gabor Vona sought to shift the party to the mainstream rightwing and shed Jobbik's far-right image.<sup>36</sup> In 2013, Jobbik senior leader Csanad Szegedi discovered he was in fact Jewish and his grandmother had survived the Holocaust. He soon after left the party. At the time, Vona said he would have immediately resigned if he had found out he had Jewish lineage.<sup>37</sup> But Vona began Jobbik's ideological shift shortly after. In December 2016, Jobbik released Chanukah greetings to Hungary's Jewish population. Vona called the greetings an effort to reconcile Hungary's Jews and Christians. Nonetheless, representatives of Hungary's Jewish community rejected the outreach and called on Jobbik to instead make gestures like these at the political forums where Jobbik has spread its antisemitic rhetoric. A Jobbik chapter in the Budapest suburb of Vecses also rejected the outreach in a Facebook post claiming the organization would not support anybody who made such moves. Vona threatened disciplinary action against any Jobbik members who denounced the holiday greetings.<sup>38</sup> The outreach was part of a strategy under Vona to move Jobbik closer to the mainstream and present a viable challenge in the 2018 elections. Vona called Jobbik's ideological rebranding a shift to "modern conservatism" that would reach out "both to former leftist and former rightist voters."<sup>39</sup> Vona compared Jobbik's former antisemitic and racist language to a rebellious teenage who matures and realizes the world is not as black and white as once thought.<sup>40</sup>

Jobbik received 20 percent of the vote in Hungary's 2018 parliamentary elections. Despite Vona's overtures, some party members continued to rally around the party's traditional racist ideology. After the elections, former Jobbik vice-president László Toroczkaí accused Jobbik of betraying the national cause. He and some other members broke away to form a new far-right party called Mi Hazánk Mozgalom ("Our Homeland Movement"). In 2019, Our Homeland formed a uniformed "self-defense" group called National Legion, which leaders said was modeled on the Hungarian Guard.<sup>41</sup>

In January 2020, Jobbik elected Péter Jakab as its new president. Jakab has openly spoken of his family's Jewish roots and how his great-grandfather died in the Auschwitz concentration camp. Under Jakab's leadership, Jobbik claims to no longer be a far-right party. Jakab expelled Gergely Kulcsár, a former Jobbik parliamentarian who spit on a Holocaust memorial in Budapest in 2011 and called the Holocaust a lie. Jakab himself has a history of making antisemitic comments. Since assuming the leadership of Jobbik, he has claimed the group's ideological shift is irreversible.<sup>42</sup> Some far-right members of Jobbik have since resigned, calling Jakab's policies "morally unacceptable and fatal."<sup>43</sup> As he announced his candidacy for Hungary's premiership in January 2021, Jakab called for unity and inclusion in Hungary while deny that Jobbik had become a leftwing party.<sup>44</sup>

### *Financing:*

Following Jobbik's success in the European Parliament election of 2014, the party began receiving funds from official EU sources.<sup>45</sup> The party also receives private donations. Some reports claim that Jobbik is also financed by the Russian and Iranian regimes.<sup>46</sup> However, Jobbik officials have repeatedly denied allegations of financial support from Russia.<sup>47</sup>

In December 2017, Hungary's State Audit Office fined Jobbik for accepting 331.66 million Hungarian forints (1.29 million euros) in illegal campaign non-monetary support.<sup>48</sup> In mid-2017, Jobbik allegedly paid below-market prices to use billboards owned by billionaire Lajos Simicska, Jobbik supporter and adversary of President Victor Orbán.<sup>49</sup> Jobbik denied any wrongdoing and accused the ruling Fidesz party of trying to cripple Jobbik's campaign efforts for the upcoming 2018 election.<sup>50</sup> Jobbik refused to pay the fine and filed an appeal at the European

## Jobbik

Court of Human Rights in Strasbourg, France. Meanwhile, the Hungarian State Treasury reduced Jobbik's share from the government budget.<sup>51</sup>

- <sup>1</sup> Hungarian historian Laszlo Karsai was brought before the court because he had called Jobbik a neo-Nazi party. But a Hungarian appeals court dismissed the charge, justifying Karsai's statement as an exercise of freedom of speech. "Gerichtsurteil in Ungarn: Jobbik darf als Neonazipartei bezeichnet werden," *Spiegel Online*, January 28, 2014, <http://www.spiegel.de/politik/ausland/urteil-in-ungarn-jobbik-darf-als-neonazi-partei-bezeichnet-werden-a-945998.html>.
- <sup>2</sup> "Jobbik - The Movement for a Better Hungary," Facebook, accessed September 11, 2014, <https://www.facebook.com/JobbikEnglish?sk=info>.
- <sup>3</sup> "POLICIES," Jobbik, accessed February 27, 2018, <https://jobbik.com/policies>.
- <sup>4</sup> "POLICIES," Jobbik, accessed February 27, 2018, <https://jobbik.com/policies>.
- <sup>5</sup> András Kovács, "The Post-Communist Extreme Right: The Jobbik Party in Hungary," *Right-Wing Populism in Europe: Politics and Discourse*, eds. Ruth Wodak, Brigitte Mral, Majid Khosravi-Nik (New York: Bloomsbury, 2013), 224, [https://books.google.com/books?id=Wrw8gC8vCnUC&printsec=frontcover&source=gbs\\_atb#v=onepage&q&f=false](https://books.google.com/books?id=Wrw8gC8vCnUC&printsec=frontcover&source=gbs_atb#v=onepage&q&f=false).
- <sup>6</sup> Zselyke Csaky, "Hungary: Jobbik and the 'Enemy Within'," Freedom House, October 9, 2012, <https://freedomhouse.org/blog/hungary-jobbik-and-%E2%80%98enemey-within%E2%80%99>.
- <sup>7</sup> "Hungary's right-wing dominates EU polls," EUBusiness, May 25, 2014, <http://www.eubusiness.com/news-eu/vote-hungary.w8q>.
- <sup>8</sup> "Krisztina Morvai," European Parliament, accessed December 5, 2018, [http://www.europarl.europa.eu/meps/en/96661/KRISZTINA\\_MORVAI/cv#mep-card-content](http://www.europarl.europa.eu/meps/en/96661/KRISZTINA_MORVAI/cv#mep-card-content); "Jobbik Recalls MEP Krisztina Morvai," Jobbik, accessed December 5, 2018, [https://www.jobbik.com/jobbik\\_recalls\\_mep\\_krisztina\\_morvai](https://www.jobbik.com/jobbik_recalls_mep_krisztina_morvai) (website discontinued); "Béla KOVÁCS," European Parliament, accessed December 5, 2018, [http://www.europarl.europa.eu/meps/en/102887/BELA\\_KOVACS/home](http://www.europarl.europa.eu/meps/en/102887/BELA_KOVACS/home); "Statement of Jobbik on AENM," Jobbik, accessed December 5, 2018, [https://www.jobbik.com/statement\\_of\\_jobbik\\_on\\_aenm](https://www.jobbik.com/statement_of_jobbik_on_aenm) (website discontinued).
- <sup>9</sup> Cas Mudde, "The 2014 Hungarian parliamentary elections, or how to craft a constitutional majority," *Washington Post*, April 14, 2014, <https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/monkey-cage/wp/2014/04/14/the-2014-hungarian-parliamentary-elections-or-how-to-craft-a-constitutional-majority/>.
- <sup>10</sup> "The Far-Right Hungarian Party Jobbik Is Moderating. Is That a Good Thing?," Freedom House, October 4, 2016, <https://freedomhouse.org/blog/far-right-hungarian-party-jobbik-moderating-good-thing>.
- <sup>11</sup> "The Far-Right Hungarian Party Jobbik Is Moderating. Is That a Good Thing?," Freedom House, October 4, 2016, <https://freedomhouse.org/blog/far-right-hungarian-party-jobbik-moderating-good-thing>.
- <sup>12</sup> "The Far-Right Hungarian Party Jobbik Is Moderating. Is That a Good Thing?," Freedom House, October 4, 2016, <https://freedomhouse.org/blog/far-right-hungarian-party-jobbik-moderating-good-thing>.
- <sup>13</sup> "Tájékoztató adatok a választáson megjelentek számáról és arányáról," National Election Office, April 8, 2018, <http://valasztas.hu/dyn/pv18/szavossz/hu/napind.html>.
- <sup>14</sup> Sean Lambert, "Movement for a Better Hungary (Jobbik)," Orange Files, last modified October 29, 2018, <https://theorangefiles.hu/movement-for-a-better-hungary-jobbik/>.
- <sup>15</sup> "Tájékoztató adatok a választáson megjelentek számáról és arányáról," National Election Office, April 8, 2018, <http://valasztas.hu/dyn/pv18/szavossz/hu/napind.html>; "Hungary Jobbik leader Vona tenders resignation after election defeat," Reuters, April 8, 2018, <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-hungary-election-jobbik/hungary-jobbik-leader-vona-tenders-resignation-after-election-defeat-idUSKBN1HF0Z4> (website discontinued); "Jobbik's brief history," Jobbik, accessed December 5, 2018, [https://www.jobbik.com/short\\_summary\\_about\\_jobbik](https://www.jobbik.com/short_summary_about_jobbik) (website discontinued).
- <sup>16</sup> "Party leadership - Jakab Péter and Márton Gyöngyösi," Jobbik, February 7, 2020, [https://www.jobbik.com/party\\_leadership\\_party\\_chairman](https://www.jobbik.com/party_leadership_party_chairman).
- <sup>17</sup> Dániel Deme, "Scandal-hit Member of Hungarian Pre-election Opposition Coalition Péter Jakab Resigns," Hungary Today, June 9, 2022, <https://hungarytoday.hu/scandal-hit-member-of-hungarian-pre-election-opposition-coalition-peter-jakab-resigns/>.
- <sup>18</sup> "Following Internal Clashes Nationalist Jobbik Elects New Leader," Hungary Today, July 4, 2022, <https://hungarytoday.hu/following-internal-clashes-nationalist-jobbik-elects-new-leader/>.
- <sup>19</sup> Shaun Walker, "Does electing a leader with Jewish roots prove Jobbik has changed?," *Guardian* (London), February 12, 2020, <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2020/feb/12/electing-leader-jewish-roots-jobbik-changed-hungary-shift>; Marton Dunai, "Hungarian far-right leader rejects anti-Semitism charge," Reuters, April 13, 2015, <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-hungary-farright/hungarian-far-right-leader-rejects-anti-semitism-charge-idUSKBN0N41NY20150413>.
- <sup>20</sup> "Jobbik - The Movement for a Better Hungary," Facebook, accessed September 11, 2014, <https://www.facebook.com/JobbikEnglish?sk=info>.
- <sup>21</sup> Hungarian historian Laszlo Karsai was brought before the court because he had called Jobbik a neo-Nazi party. But a Hungarian appeals court dismissed the charge, justifying Karsai's statement as an exercise of freedom of speech. See "Gerichtsurteil in Ungarn: Jobbik darf als Neonazipartei bezeichnet werden," *Spiegel Online*, January 28, 2014, <http://www.spiegel.de/politik/ausland/urteil-in-ungarn-jobbik-darf-als-neonazi-partei-bezeichnet-werden-a-945998.html>.
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- <sup>23</sup> "Eine Tragödie für Europa als Ganzes," *Zurzeit.at*, May 16, 2011, <http://archive.today/RbEHD#selection-425.0-425.37>.
- <sup>24</sup> David Chance, "Hundreds join Hungary far-right 'guard'," Reuters, October 21, 2007, <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-hungary-farright/hundreds-join-hungary-far-right-guard-idUSL2141447820071021>; "Jobbik" gründet 'Ungarische Garde,' ORF, November 25, 2013, <https://volksgruppen.v1.orf.at/diversitaet/aktuell/stories/71127.html>.
- <sup>25</sup> Sean Lambert, "Movement for a Better Hungary (Jobbik)," Orange Files, last modified October 29, 2018, <https://theorangefiles.hu/movement-for-a-better-hungary-jobbik/>.
- <sup>26</sup> David Chance, "Hundreds join Hungary far-right 'guard'," Reuters, October 21, 2007, <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-hungary-farright/hundreds-join-hungary-far-right-guard-idUSL2141447820071021>.
- <sup>27</sup> See "Ungarn schützen, das ist unser Ziel: Bededikt Frings für die DS im Gespräch mit Gábor Vona, dem Chef der Ungarischen Garde," in *Deutsche Stimme* (May 2008): 9.
- <sup>28</sup> See "Ungarn schützen, das ist unser Ziel: Bededikt Frings für die DS im Gespräch mit Gábor Vona, dem Chef der Ungarischen Garde," in *Deutsche Stimme* (May 2008): 9.
- <sup>29</sup> Sean Lambert, "Movement for a Better Hungary (Jobbik)," Orange Files, last modified October 29, 2018, <https://theorangefiles.hu/movement-for-a-better-hungary-jobbik/>.
- <sup>30</sup> "Hungary: Jobbik Party [The Movement for a Better Hungary, Jobbik Magyarországi Mozgalom] and the Our Country Movement (Mi Hazánk Mozgalom), including impact on the government and paramilitary groups; relationship with the Roma community, including incidents of violence and discrimination; state response (2016-July 2018),"

*Jobbik*

Refworld, August 1, 2018, <https://www.refworld.org/docid/5b9bd0c84.html>.

<sup>31</sup> Gregor Mayer and Bernhard Odehnal, *Aufmarsch: Die rechte Gefahr aus Osteuropa* (St. Pölten/Salzburg: Residenz, 2012), 69.

<sup>32</sup> Sean Lambert, "Movement for a Better Hungary (Jobbik)," Orange Files, last modified October 29, 2018, <https://theorangefiles.hu/movement-for-a-better-hungary-jobbik/>.

<sup>33</sup> András Bíró Nagy, Tamás Boros, and Zoltán Vasali, "More Radical than the Radicals: The Jobbik Party in International Comparison," in *Right-Wing Extremism In Europe*, ed. Ralf Melzer and Sebastian Serafin (Berlin: Friedrich Ebert Stiftung, 2013), 234, <http://library.fes.de/pdf-files/dialog/10031.pdf>.

<sup>34</sup> "Hungarian Guard," Athena Institute, February 4, 2011, <http://athenainstitute.eu/en/map/olvas/30#read>.

<sup>35</sup> "Hungary: Jobbik Party [The Movement for a Better Hungary, Jobbik Magyarországi Mozgalom] and the Our Country Movement (Mi Hazánk Mozgalom), including impact on the government and paramilitary groups; relationship with the Roma community, including incidents of violence and discrimination; state response (2016-July 2018)," Refworld, August 1, 2018, <https://www.refworld.org/docid/5b9bd0c84.html>; "Hungarian Guard," Athena Institute, February 4, 2011, <http://athenainstitute.eu/en/map/olvas/30#read>.

<sup>36</sup> Marton Dunai, "Hungarian far-right leader rejects anti-Semitism charge," Reuters, April 13, 2015, <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-hungary-farright/hungarian-far-right-leader-rejects-anti-semitism-charge-idUSKBN0N41NY20150413>.

<sup>37</sup> Anne Applebaum, "Anti-Semite And Jew," *New Yorker*, November 3, 2013, <https://www.newyorker.com/magazine/2013/11/11/anti-semite-and-jew>.

<sup>38</sup> Marton Dunai, "Hungary's Jobbik gets double rebuff for Hannukah greetings to Jews," Reuters, December 30, 2016, <https://www.reuters.com/article/uk-hungary-jobbik-hannukah-idUSKBN14J1A9>.

<sup>39</sup> Marton Dunai, "Hungary's Jobbik ditches far-right past to challenge Orban in 2018," Reuters, January 11, 2017, <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-hungary-jobbik-idUSKBN14V1PW>.

<sup>40</sup> Marton Dunai, "Hungary's Jobbik ditches far-right past to challenge Orban in 2018," Reuters, January 11, 2017, <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-hungary-jobbik-idUSKBN14V1PW>.

<sup>41</sup> "Hungary far-right party forms uniformed 'self-defense' group," Associated Press, May 14, 2019, <https://apnews.com/article/10a18cdf7ae1453b90fe5692914112cd>.

<sup>42</sup> "Party leadership - Jakab Péter and Márton Gyöngyösi," Jobbik, February 7, 2020, [https://www.jobbik.com/party\\_leadership\\_party\\_chairman](https://www.jobbik.com/party_leadership_party_chairman); Shaun Walker, "Does electing a leader with Jewish roots prove Jobbik has changed?," *Guardian* (London), February 12, 2020, <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2020/feb/12/electing-leader-jewish-roots-jobbik-changed-hungary-shift>; Marton Dunai, "Hungarian far-right leader rejects anti-Semitism charge," Reuters, April 13, 2015, <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-hungary-farright/hungarian-far-right-leader-rejects-anti-semitism-charge-idUSKBN0N41NY20150413>.

<sup>43</sup> Ábrahám Vass, "Jobbik MP Bencsik Quits Party after Disagreement with New President," Hungary Today, February 20, 2020, <https://hungarytoday.hu/jobbik-mp-bencsik-quits-party-disagreement-jakab/>; "Former Jobbik MP Bencsik Starts New Political Movement," Hungary Today, December 4, 2020, <https://hungarytoday.hu/former-jobbik-mp-bencsik-new-party/>.

<sup>44</sup> Péter Cseresnyés, "Jobbik Leader Jakab to Run in Pre-selection Vote for Opposition PM Candidate," Hungary Today, January 28, 2021, <https://hungarytoday.hu/jobbik-jakab-preselection-vote-opposition-pm-candidate/>.

<sup>45</sup> "Hungary's right-wing dominates EU polls," EUBusiness, May 25, 2014, <http://www.eubusiness.com/news-eu/vote-hungary.w8q>.

<sup>46</sup> "Hungary's Far-Right Backed by 'Rolling Moscow Roubles,'" *Herald* (Scotland), June 13, 2010, <http://www.heraldscotland.com/news/world-news/hungary-s-far-right-backed-by-rolling-moscow-roubles-1.1034539>.

<sup>47</sup> Sean Lambert, "Movement for a Better Hungary (Jobbik)," Orange Files, last modified October 29, 2018, <https://theorangefiles.hu/movement-for-a-better-hungary-jobbik/>.

<sup>48</sup> Sean Lambert, "Movement for a Better Hungary (Jobbik)," Orange Files, last modified October 29, 2018, <https://theorangefiles.hu/movement-for-a-better-hungary-jobbik/>; Lili Bayer, "Fine threatens Jobbik's Hungarian election campaign," Politico, December 7, 2017, <https://www.politico.eu/article/hungary-jobbik-viktor-orban-fine-threatens-jobbiks-hungarian-election-campaign/>.

<sup>49</sup> "Hungary fines main opposition party over billboards funded by Orban foe," Reuters, January 8, 2018, <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-hungary-jobbik-fine/hungary-fines-main-opposition-party-over-billboards-funded-by-orban-foe-idUSKBN1EX1JI>.

<sup>50</sup> Pablo Gorondi, "Hungary's Jobbik Party Says Fine May Keep It Out of Election," U.S. News, December 8, 2017, <https://www.usnews.com/news/world/articles/2017-12-08/hungarys-jobbik-party-says-state-fine-risks-election-run>.

<sup>51</sup> Sean Lambert, "Movement for a Better Hungary (Jobbik)," Orange Files, last modified October 29, 2018, <https://theorangefiles.hu/movement-for-a-better-hungary-jobbik/>.



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**Key Leaders**



**Márton Gyöngyösi**

Party president



**Anita Potocskáné Kőrösi**

Vice chair



**Péter Jakab**

Former president, former  
parliamentary faction leader



**Gábor Vona**

Former Party President, resigned  
April 8, 2018



**Dávid Kovács**

Founding President, resigned in  
2006



**Tamás Sneider**

Past President



**Krisztina Morvai**

Member of European Parliament,  
Jobbik's 2018 Presidential  
Candidate, resigned from party in  
April 2018



**Béla Kovács**

Member of European Parliament,  
resigned from party in December  
2017



**Zoltán Balczó**

Member of European Parliament,  
Head of Jobbik's European  
Parliament delegation



**Lórántné Hegedűs**

Vice President of Jobbik, Member  
of Parliament, Vice Chair of the  
Legislative Committee



**Tibor Bana**

Vice President of Jobbik, Member  
of Parliament, Vice President of the  
European Affairs Committee

## Jobbik

### History:

- April 5, 2023:** U.S. Ambassador David Pressman hosts Gyöngyösi at a Passover seder at the U.S. embassy alongside Hungarian Jewish leaders, as well as academics and artists.  
Gyöngyösi is the only politician at the event. Hungarian leaders condemn Gyöngyösi's inclusion because of his history of antisemitic remarks, including calling for a national registry of Hungarian Jews. Gyöngyösi posts an apology to Twitter for his past remarks and thanks Pressman for the invitation. Sources: Alexander Faludy, "US ambassador invites Jobbik leader who questioned Holocaust death toll to embassy seder," *Jewish News* (London), April 13, 2023, <https://www.jewishnews.co.uk/us-ambassador-hosts-jobbik-leader-who-questioned-holocaust-death-toll-at-embassy-seder/>; "US Ambassador under Fire for Inviting Far-right Leader to Jewish Holiday," Hungary Today, April 11, 2023, <https://hungarytoday.hu/us-ambassador-under-fire-for-inviting-far-right-leader-to-jewish-holiday/>; Márton Gyöngyösi, Twitter post, April 7, 2023, 4:26 p.m., <https://twitter.com/GyongyosiMarton/status/1644436505270579233>; Márton Gyöngyösi, Twitter post, April 12, 2023, 5:24 a.m., <https://twitter.com/GyongyosiMarton/status/1646081967530582016>.
- September 28, 2022:** The Curia, Hungary's supreme court, sentences former Jobbik European parliamentarian Béla Kovács to five years in prison for espionage on behalf of Russia.  
According to the charges against him, while Kovács passed information to Russian intelligence services between 2012 and 2014 to undermine EU institutions and favor Russian interests. The Curia finds him guilty of espionage against the institutions of the European Union, budget fraud, and forgery of private documents. Kovács is banned from public office for 10 years. He is eligible for parole after completing two-thirds of his sentence. Kovács served in the European parliament between 2010 and 2019. He was sentenced in absentia as he lives in Moscow. Source: "Former Jobbik MEP Sentenced for Espionage for Russia," Hungary Today, September 28, 2022, <https://hungarytoday.hu/former-jobbik-mep-sentenced-for-espionage-for-russia/>.
- August 11, 2022:** Jakab announces he is leaving Jobbik and will continue to sit in parliament as an independent.  
According to a Facebook post by Jakab, Gyöngyösi had given him an ultimatum to either embrace Jobbik's far-right ideology or leave the party. Source: "Former leader leaves opposition party to fight against Orbán," Daily News Hungary, August 12, 2022, <https://dailynewshungary.com/former-leader-leaves-opposition-party-to-fight-against-orban/>.
- July 3, 2022:** Gyöngyösi is elected as Jobbik's leader.  
He beats his opponent, István Földi, by 68 percent of the votes to Földi's 29 percent. Gyöngyösi says Hungary currently has no real nationalist and conservative party, and he is determined to lead such a party. He promises to develop Jobbik as a pro-Europe party. Source: "Following Internal Clashes Nationalist Jobbik Elects New Leader," Hungary Today, July 4, 2022, <https://hungarytoday.hu/following-internal-clashes-nationalist-jobbik-elects-new-leader/>.
- June 8, 2022:** Citing differences with the rest of the party's leadership, Jakab resigns as Jobbik's leader during an emergency party committee meeting in Budapest.  
Jakab remains the leader of Jobbik's parliamentary faction. Source: Dániel Deme, "Scandal-hit Member of Hungarian Pre-election Opposition Coalition Péter Jakab Resigns," Hungary Today, June 9, 2022, <https://hungarytoday.hu/scandal-hit-member-of-hungarian-pre-election-opposition-coalition-peter-jakab-resigns/>.
- On May 7, Jakab is re-elected as Jobbik's leader, winning 71.4 percent of the party's internal election.**  
His opponent, former party vice chair János Stummer, receives 27.8 percent of the votes. Jakab nominates Anita Potocszkáné Kőrösi as vice chair. Stummer accuses Jobbik's members of rejecting "a clear political alternative and patriotic policy. He resigns from Jobbik on May 10. Following a May 30 meeting of Jobbik's leadership, Jakab accuses Kőrösi of abuse of office and corruption. He announces his intention to press charges against her. Kőrösi denies the allegations. Sources: "Péter Jakab Re-elected as Jobbik Leader," Hungary Today, May 7, 2022, <https://hungarytoday.hu/peter-jakab-re-elected-as-jobbik-leader-opposition-stummer/>; "Latest Jobbik Scandal: President Jakab to Press Charges against Vice-chair," Hungary Today, May 31, 2022, <https://hungarytoday.hu/opposition-jobbik-scandal-president-jakab-charges-vice-chair-korosi-potocska/>.
- April 3, 2022:** Jobbik wins only nine seats in Hungarian parliamentary elections, down from the 26 seats it won in 2018 elections.  
The ruling Fidesz-Christian Democrat alliance wins a two-thirds majority in parliament. The far-right Mi Hazánk ("Our Homeland") party wins six seats. Later in the month, Mi Hazánk sends its "condolences" to Jobbik. Mi Hazánk leader Előd Novák calls his party the natural home of radical, nationalist voters. Sources: "All Votes Counted, Fidesz Wins Two-Thirds Majority," Hungary Today, April 11, 2022, <https://hungarytoday.hu/hungary-election-result-2022/>; "Mi Hazánk Sends 'Condolences' to Jobbik," Hungary Today, April 19, 2022, <https://hungarytoday.hu/radical-right-mi-hazank-sends-condolences-opposition-jobbik/>; "Former Deputy Leader Stummer Quits Jobbik," Hungary Today, May 10, 2022, <https://hungarytoday.hu/former-deputy-leader-stummer-quits-jobbik/>; Dániel Deme, "Scandal-hit Member of Hungarian Pre-election Opposition Coalition Péter Jakab Resigns," Hungary Today, June 9, 2022, <https://hungarytoday.hu/scandal-hit-member-of-hungarian-pre-election-opposition-coalition-peter-jakab-resigns/>.
- January 25, 2021:** Jakab announces he will be Jobbik's candidate to be Hungary's next prime minister in 2022.  
Jakab calls for unity and inclusion in Hungary, accusing the ruling Fidesz party of being exclusionary and hateful. Jakab denies Jobbik has become a leftwing party. Source: Péter Cseresnyés, "Jobbik Leader Jakab to Run in Pre-selection Vote for Opposition PM Candidate," Hungary Today, January 28, 2021, <https://hungarytoday.hu/jobbik-jakab-preselection-vote-opposition-pm-candidate/>.
- Jobbik member of parliament and Budapest president János Bencsik quits the party, citing the "morally unacceptable and fatal" policies of Jakab.**  
That December, Bencsik creates a new rightwing political party called Polgári Válasz ("Civic Answer"). Sources: Ábrahám Vass, "Jobbik MP Bencsik Quits Party after Disagreement with New President," Hungary Today, February 20, 2020, <https://hungarytoday.hu/jobbik-mp-bencsik-quits-party-disagreement-jakab/>; "Former Jobbik MP Bencsik Starts New Political Movement," Hungary Today, December 4, 2020, <https://hungarytoday.hu/former-jobbik-mp-bencsik-new-party/>.
- Jobbik revises its leadership structure, dividing the president's responsibilities between two people.**  
Parliamentary faction leader Péter Jakab assumes the presidency of Jobbik, while Gyöngyösi continues to serve as executive vice president and a member of the European Parliament. Source: "Party leadership - Jakab Péter and Márton Gyöngyösi," Jobbik, February 7, 2020, [https://www.jobbik.com/party\\_leadership\\_party\\_chairman](https://www.jobbik.com/party_leadership_party_chairman).
- May 26, 2019:** Hungary holds elections for representation to the European Parliament.  
Jobbik receives 6.44 percent of the vote and receives one seat in the European Parliament. Sources: "2019 European election results – Hungary," European Parliament, accessed May 7, 2021, <https://www.europarl.europa.eu/election-results-2019/en/national-results/hungary/2014-2019/constitutive-session/>; Krisztina Than and Marton Dunai, "Hungary's Fidesz wins 52% of vote; Orban vows to halt immigration," Reuters, May 26, 2019, <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-eu-election-hungary-orban/hungarys-fidesz-wins-52-of-vote-orban-vows-to-halt-immigration-idUSKCN1SW062>; "The Latest: Salvini says populists will control 150 EU seats," Associated Press, May 26, 2019, <https://apnews.com/article/ap-top-news-elections-france-international-news-marine-le-pen-d09a7028c0f04c60bd604b4bd8056a0f>.
- Márton Gyöngyösi tells Válasz Magazine Jobbik was never antisemitic.**



## Jobbik

Source: *Válasz Magazine*, “‘Jobbik was never anti-Semitic,’” *Jobbik*, February 21, 2019, [https://www.jobbik.com/jobbik\\_was\\_never\\_anti\\_semitic](https://www.jobbik.com/jobbik_was_never_anti_semitic).

- November 29, 2018:** Istvan Szavay resigns his positions as Jobbik’s deputy group leader and parliamentary notary, following the release of an audio recording admitting to verbally and physically assaulting a Jewish woman. Szavay remains a Member of Parliament. Source: “Jobbik party member resigns leadership positions after recording surfaces of anti-Semitic act,” *Jewish Telegraphic Agency*, December 2, 2018, <https://www.jta.org/2018/12/02/news-opinion/jobbik-party-member-resigns-leadership-positions-recording-surfaces-anti-semitic-act>.
- June 8, 2018:** After losing the presidential elections, László Toroczkai creates a group within the party called We Ourselves (*Mi magunk*) with a platform that aims to “return the party to the ideology laid out in its founding deed.” Jobbik later expels Toroczkai from the party after a disciplinary committee concludes that he violated the party’s bylaws with his platform. Toroczkai subsequently announces the creation of a new political party called Our Homeland Movement (*Mi Hazánk Mozgalom*). His party focuses on foreign-currency debt, the Treaty of Trianon, and immigration issues. Sources: “Far-Right Toroczkai Announces New ‘Platform’ Within Jobbik, Threatens ‘Party Split,’” *Hungary Today*, May 22, 2018, <https://hungarytoday.hu/toroczkai-announces-new-platform-within-jobbik-threatens-party-split/>; “Hungary: Jobbik Party [The Movement for a Better Hungary, Jobbik Magyarországért Mozgalom] and the Our Country Movement (Mi Hazánk Mozgalom), including impact on the government and paramilitary groups; relationship with the Roma community, including incidents of violence and discrimination; state response (2016-July 2018),” *Refworld*, August 1, 2018, <https://www.refworld.org/docid/5b9bd0c84.html>; Sean Lambert, “Movement for a Better Hungary (Jobbik),” *Orange Files*, last modified October 29, 2018, <https://theorangefiles.hu/movement-for-a-better-hungary-jobbik/>; Marton Dunai, “Hardliners in Hungary’s Jobbik demand return to far-right roots,” *Reuters*, May 22, 2018, <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-hungary-jobbik/hardliners-in-hungarys-jobbik-demand-return-to-far-right-roots-idUSKCN1IN1MW>.
- May 12, 2018:** Moderate Tamás Sneider defeats radical László Toroczkai in Jobbik’s presidential elections. Source: Sean Lambert, “Movement for a Better Hungary (Jobbik),” *Orange Files*, last modified October 29, 2018, <https://theorangefiles.hu/movement-for-a-better-hungary-jobbik/>.
- April 12, 2018:** Jobbik recalls MEP Krisztina Morvai, accusing her of campaigning against the party. Morvai terminates her affiliation with Jobbik and continues her position as a non-attached member. Sources: “Jobbik Recalls MEP Krisztina Morvai,” *Jobbik*, accessed December 5, 2018, [https://www.jobbik.com/jobbik\\_recalls\\_mep\\_krisztina\\_morvai](https://www.jobbik.com/jobbik_recalls_mep_krisztina_morvai); Sean Lambert, “Movement for a Better Hungary (Jobbik),” *Orange Files*, last modified October 29, 2018, <https://theorangefiles.hu/movement-for-a-better-hungary-jobbik/>.
- April 8, 2018:** Jobbik receives 19 percent of the vote and 26 seats in Hungary’s parliamentary elections, coming in a distant second to the ruling Fidesz party. This marks a 1 percent decrease in votes from the 2014 election but an addition of three seats. Vona resigns as party chair after Jobbik fails to win the 2018 Hungarian parliamentary elections. Jobbik subsequently changes its organizational structure to a shared presidency. Sources: “Tájékoztató adatok a választáson megjelentek számáról és arányáról,” *National Election Office*, April 8, 2018, <http://valasztas.hu/dyn/pv18/szavossz/hu/napind.html>; “Hungary Jobbik leader Vona tenders resignation after election defeat,” *Reuters*, April 8, 2018, <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-hungary-election-jobbik/hungary-jobbik-leader-vona-tenders-resignation-after-election-defeat-idUSKBN1HF0Z4>.
- December 6, 2017:** Hungary charges Jobbik MEP Béla Kovács with spying on the European Union for Russia following a two-year investigation. He subsequently withdraws from Jobbik and resumes his MEP role as a non-attached member. Source: Marton Dunai, “Hungary charges Jobbik MEP with spying on EU for Russia,” *Reuters*, December 6, 2017, <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-hungary-jobbik-prosecution/hungary-charges-jobbik-mep-with-spying-on-eu-for-russia-idUSKBN1E01CH>.
- Jobbik leader Gábor Vona expels four of his deputies from the party in an attempt to bring in “fresh faces” and members with experience in local politics. Source: “The Far-Right Hungarian Party Jobbik Is Moderating. Is That a Good Thing?” *Freedom House*, October 4, 2016, <https://freedomhouse.org/blog/far-right-hungarian-party-jobbik-moderating-good-thing>.
- Jobbik candidate Lajos Rig wins the parliamentary election in Tapolca, securing Jobbik’s first individual constituency seat in Hungary’s parliament. Source: “The Far-Right Hungarian Party Jobbik Is Moderating. Is That a Good Thing?” *Freedom House*, October 4, 2016, <https://freedomhouse.org/blog/far-right-hungarian-party-jobbik-moderating-good-thing>.
- Extreme right takes hold in other countries.** Jobbik receives 1 million votes (20.54 percent, an increase of 3.8 percent from the previous election) in the Hungarian parliamentary elections, making it Hungary’s third largest party in the National Assembly. Source: Cas Mudde, “The 2014 Hungarian parliamentary elections, or how to craft a constitutional majority,” *Washington Post*, April 14, 2014, <https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/monkey-cage/wp/2014/04/14/the-2014-hungarian-parliamentary-elections-or-how-to-craft-a-constitutional-majority/>.
- Jobbik receives 14.7 percent of the votes in European Parliament elections, giving it three seats. Source: “Hungary’s right-wing dominates EU polls,” *EUbusiness*, May 25, 2014, <http://www.eubusiness.com/news-eu/vote-hungary.w8q>.
- Right-wing populist ruling party Fidesz adopts several Jobbik claims as part of the government’s policy.** Source: Keno Verseck, “Hungarian Leader Adopts Policies of Far-Right,” *Spiegel Online*, January 30, 2013, <http://www.spiegel.de/international/europe/ruling-hungarian-fidesz-party-adopts-policies-of-far-right-jobbik-party-a-880590.html>.
- Right-wing radicals march through the Hungarian village of Gyöngyöspata, provoking violence with the village’s Roma population.** The group is supported by Jobbik, who says it is merely improving public order and security. Source: “A New Wave of Anti-Roma Violence in Hungary,” *Spiegel Online*, April 27, 2011, <http://www.spiegel.de/international/europe/right-wing-militants-on-patrol-a-new-wave-of-anti-roma-violence-in-hungary-a-759349.html>.
- The Metropolitan Court of Appeal disbands the Hungarian Guard, which renames itself the New Hungarian Guard.** Source: Gregg Morgan, “Hungary’s Jobbik party hold anti-semitic rally in Budapest after ban attempts fail,” *Telegraph* (UK), May 4, 2013, <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/europe/hungary/10037377/Hungarys-Jobbik-party-hold-anti-semitic-rally-in-Budapest-after-ban-attempts-fail.html>.

*Jobbik*

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- Paramilitary organization Hungarian Guard holds its inaugural ceremony in Budapest.  
The goals of the organization, founded and registered by party leader Gábor Vona, are to “carry out the real change of regime and to rescue Hungarians.” Source: Siobhán Dowling, “Neo-Fascist Magyar Garda Is ‘Hungary’s Shame’,” Spiegel Online, August 27, 2007, <http://www.spiegel.de/international/germany/the-world-from-berlin-neo-fascist-magyar-garda-is-hungary-s-shame-a-502184.html>.
  - Jobbik aligns with the Hungarian Justice and Life Party (MIÉP) for the national elections.  
The coalition wins only 2.2 percent of the votes. Jobbik terms the alliance a failure, disbanding the partnership. Source: Zselyke Csaky, “Hungary: Jobbik and the ‘Enemy Within’,” Freedom House, October 9, 2012, <https://freedomhouse.org/blog/hungary-jobbik-and-%E2%80%98enemy-within%E2%80%99>.
  - Jobbik is eventually founded as a political party.  
The new party elects Dávid Kovács as its president. Source: Zselyke Csaky, “Hungary: Jobbik and the ‘Enemy Within’,” Freedom House, October 9, 2012, <https://freedomhouse.org/blog/hungary-jobbik-and-%E2%80%98enemy-within%E2%80%99>.
  - A group of nationalist Catholic and Protestant university students establish the Right-Wing Youth Association, a precursor to Jobbik.  
Source: András Kovács, “The Post-Communist Extreme Right: The Jobbik Party in Hungary,” *Right-Wing Populism in Europe: Politics and Discourse*, eds. Ruth Wodak, Brigitte Mral, Majid KhosraviNik (New York: Bloomsbury, 2013), 224, [https://books.google.com/books?id=Wrw8gC8vCnUC&printsec=frontcover&source=gbs\\_atb#v=onepage&q&f=false](https://books.google.com/books?id=Wrw8gC8vCnUC&printsec=frontcover&source=gbs_atb#v=onepage&q&f=false).

*Jobbik*

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**Violent history:**

- **August 2013:** Three neo-Nazis are sentenced to life imprisonment and another to 13 years in prison for the murder of six Roma in 2008 and 2009. Two of them were members of Jobbik's Hungarian Guard who sought to provoke Romani people into violent reactions.<sup>52</sup>
- **October 2006:** Jobbik takes measures—including establishing the Hungarian Guard and holding rallies—to curtail “Gypsycrime.” Anti-Roma sentiments become a central element of the party's political platform after a Roma murdered a Hungarian schoolteacher in front of his two young children in the village of Olaszliszka.<sup>53</sup>

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<sup>52</sup> Anton Maegerle, “Braunes Killerkommando,” Blick nach Rechts, August 7, 2013, <http://www.bnr.de/artikel/hintergrund/braunes-killerkommando>.

<sup>53</sup> Sean Lambert, “Movement for a Better Hungary (Jobbik),” Orange Files, last modified October 29, 2018, <https://theorangefiles.hu/movement-for-a-better-hungary-jobbik/>.

**Designations:**

*Designations by the U.S. Government:*

None.

*Designations by Foreign Governments and Organizations:*

None.

*Ties to entities designated by the U.S. or foreign governments:*

No information available.

**Associations:**

*Ties to other entities:*

- **Iran**

Ahead of Hungary's 2010 parliamentary elections, Jobbik party leader Gábor Vona asked then-Iranian President Mahmoud Ahmadinejad to send members of Iran's Islamic Revolutionary Guard Corps (IRGC) as election observers to Hungary. Jobbik-dominated east Hungarian city Tiszavasvári entered into a sister-city arrangement with the Iranian city Ardabil. Finally, Jobbik MP Márton Gyöngyösi has taken a number of steps to establish what he calls a "strategic partnership" with Iran, such as chairing the Parliamentary Committee for Hungarian-Iranian Friendship." According to Gyöngyösi, Iran is "a very peaceful country that has never started a war, in contrast to Israel, which has declared war for any reasons at any neighboring state."<sup>54</sup>

- **Russia**

In 2005, Jobbik adopted its pro-Russian policies under then-Foreign Affairs Committee Chairman of the party and current MEP Béla Kovács, who has maintained relations with Russia. Jobbik has expressly supported the Russo-Georgian War of 2008, Russia's annexation of the Crimea in 2014, and the Russian secessionist movement in the Donbass region of Ukraine. In 2014, Béla Kovács and Márton Gyöngyösi served as foreign observers in the Crimean status referendum and the two Donbass status referenda, declaring all three plebiscites to be valid.<sup>55</sup>

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<sup>54</sup> Antje Lehmann, "Vorbild Iran: Rechtsextreme in Ungarn suchen Heil im Nahen Osten," Pester Lloyd, February 7, 2012, [http://www.pestertloyd.net/2012\\_06/06gyongyosi/06gyongyosi.html](http://www.pestertloyd.net/2012_06/06gyongyosi/06gyongyosi.html)).

<sup>55</sup> Sean Lambert, "Movement for a Better Hungary (Jobbik)," Orange Files, last modified October 29, 2018, <https://theorangefiles.hu/movement-for-a-better-hungary-jobbik/>.



## Jobbik

### Media Coverage:

#### *Jobbik in Mainstream Media*

Jobbik appears to have first entered mainstream Hungarian news in May 2005, when *Heti Világgazdaság*, the third most widely read newspaper in the country, profiled the new “resistance movement” that intended to run in the upcoming 2006 parliamentary election.<sup>56</sup> Prior to 2004, however, the only English-language coverage of Jobbik occurred in academic journals focused on “euro-skepticism” and antisemitism in Europe.

<sup>57</sup> In a 2004 review of Hungary’s political system, Freedom House briefly mentioned Jobbik as a new “controversial” right-wing movement.  
<sup>58</sup>

Following the 2006 elections, in which Jobbik received 2.4 percent of the vote, more mainstream English-language news sites began writing about the far-right party. A September 2006 English article by the German website Spiegel Online International discussed the “right-extremist” Jobbik party supporters who participated in anti-government protests that month.<sup>59</sup> Following Jobbik’s creation of the paramilitary “Hungarian Guard” in August 2007, Reuters, Spiegel Online International, and the *New York Times* all ran articles describing the party as either “fascist,” “extremist,” or “far-right” while comparing the organization’s dress and conduct to Nazis and Hungarian fascists during World War II.<sup>60</sup> Gabor Vona’s 2014 announcement that Jobbik would begin “moderating” was also widely covered in English media, albeit with heavy skepticism. The German Deutsche Welle ran an April 2015 report on Jobbik’s electoral success, citing analysts’ claims that the party’s “moderating” image helped it secure parliamentary seats. Still, Deutsche Welle referred to Jobbik as “far-right” and “extremists.”<sup>61</sup> Reuters ran a similar article in the same month, both discussing Jobbik’s claimed moderation while describing the party as “condemned throughout Europe as anti-Semitic and racist.”<sup>62</sup> An August 2015 op-ed in the *Washington Post* took a much harder line against Jobbik. European political expert Cas Muddle claimed “although Jobbik is campaigning with a more moderate image than Fidesz, there is no doubt that Jobbik would implement some fundamentally different policies in key areas,” including leaving the European Union and undermining the rights of Hungarian minorities.<sup>63</sup> In January 2017, Israel’s *Haaretz* published an article on Jobbik’s attempts to reconcile with Hungary’s Jewish population, referring to the party as “anti-Semitic” and “ultra-nationalist.”<sup>64</sup> An April 2018 article in *Foreign Policy*, on the other hand, acknowledged that Jobbik’s rebranding resulted in changes in the party’s rhetoric and policy. Critics, however, remained skeptical of whether the changes were sincere or just a political calculation to avoid obscurity after Fidesz had co-opted many of Jobbik’s major policies and messages.<sup>65</sup>

Aside from appearing on Jobbik’s official YouTube channel, “jobbikmedia,” Vona’s speeches also appeared on YouTube under the channel “ultramedia48” until 2014 when the channel “nemzeti1tv” began hosting the videos.<sup>66</sup> Both “ultramedia48” and “nemzeti1tv” share right-wing political videos, with “nemzeti1tv” serving as the official YouTube channel for the right-wing Hungarian news channel Nemzeti 1.<sup>67</sup>

<sup>56</sup> Szabolcs Dudás, “A Jobbik ellenállási mozgalmak,” *Heti Világgazdaság* (Budapest), November 9, 2005, <http://hvg.hu/velemenye/20051109mohai2>.

<sup>57</sup> *Euro-skepticism in Hungary*, Friedrich Ebert Foundation, April 12, 2003, [https://www.policysolutions.hu/userfiles/elemzes/178/euro-skepticism\\_in\\_hungary\\_summary.pdf](https://www.policysolutions.hu/userfiles/elemzes/178/euro-skepticism_in_hungary_summary.pdf); *Journal for the Study of Antisemitism* 3, no. 2 (2012): 361-584, <http://web.ceu.hu/jewishstudies/jsa.pdf>.

<sup>58</sup> “Nations in Transit – Hungary,” Freedom House, 2004, <https://freedomhouse.org/report/nations-transit/2004/hungary>.

<sup>59</sup> László Perczel, “Hungary Prepares for Renewed Unrest,” Spiegel Online International, September 19, 2006, <http://www.spiegel.de/international/riots-in-hungary-hungary-prepares-for-renewed-unrest-a-437991.html>.

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*Jobbik*

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**Rhetoric:**

*Jobbik MP Tibor Bana, July 2014*

The EU should not maintain relations with “an aggressor state such as Israel.”<sup>68</sup>

*Gábor Vona, Jobbik party chairman, during Jobbik protests against a meeting of the World Jewish Congress in Budapest, May 2013*

“The Israeli conquerors, these investors, should look for another country in the world for themselves because Hungary is not for sale.”<sup>69</sup>

*Márton Gyöngyösi, Jobbik MP, during Jobbik protests against a meeting of the World Jewish Congress in Budapest, May 2013*

Hungary had “become subjugated to Zionism, it has become a target of colonisation while we, the indigenous people, can play only the role of extras.”<sup>70</sup>

*Jobbik MP Márton Gyöngyösi, March 2013*

“As we can see the Zionist organizations pressure openly not only our government but the jurisdiction as well. Seeing the deeds and hearing the statements from the government we suspect that there has not remained a grain of sovereignty in Hungary but the government continuously acts under the pressure of the Zionist lobby powers.”<sup>71</sup>

*Márton Gyöngyösi, Jobbik MP, November 2012*

“I know how many people with Hungarian ancestry live in Israel, and how many Israeli Jews live in Hungary. I think such a conflict makes it timely to tally up people of Jewish ancestry who live here, especially in the Hungarian Parliament and the Hungarian government, who, indeed, pose a national security risk to Hungary.”<sup>72</sup>

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<sup>70</sup> “Anti-Jewish Rally in Hungary Capital,” BBC News, May 4, 2013, <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-22413301>.

<sup>71</sup> “Hungarian Politician: Government Controlled by Zionists,” *Algemeiner*, March 12, 2013, <http://www.algemeiner.com/2013/03/12/hungarian-politician-government-controlled-by-zionists>.

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