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IDEOLOGY OF THE HUNGARIAN FAR RIGHT ON THE EXAMPLE OF JOBBIK, THE MOVEMENT FOR A BETTER HUNGARY

Abstract:

The aim of this paper is to describe the profile of the far right political party Jobbik, which has been an integral part of Hungary's political scene since 2009 and the third political power in the country since 2014. The article defines the party's ideology and presents its key proposals. The paper analyses the rhetoric of leaders and makes an attempt at describing the party's approach towards such issues as foreign policy and historical policy, which is an important reference point for the activity of the party. Moreover, the article shows who the real voters of Jobbik are and at the same time illustrates dynamics of support development for this movement.

Keywords:

Jobbik, movement for better Hungary, far right, extreme right, elections, foreign policy

Introduction

Since the end of the 80s of the 20th century, the influence of the extreme right has been increasing continuously on the old continent, particularly in poorer circles of the society. In countries of Central and Eastern Europe, it concerns nationalism that was popularized there in the 30s. The turn towards radical political parties can be seen not only in outcomes of elections, but also in the fact that members of those parties are filling more and more positions in the government. This situation explicitly proves that analysis of extreme

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movements, which has mostly concerned theories and ideologies, has to be expanded to include a practical aspect of those parties' functioning².

The Central and Eastern European far right expresses a very strong ethnic vision of national identity. This vision is very often accompanied by claims based on territorial foundation (f. e. Greater Hungary). In some cases, their extreme antipathy towards communism is laced with a positive relation with interwar governments, for instance, the Horthy era in Hungary. It is very often that their ideological programmes contain critique of methods, in which governments approach free-market economy, as well as anti-Semitism and racism towards the Romani minority. They criticise elites and preach business slogans connected with concerns about the country's security (crime level). Moreover, one of their characteristic traits is to promote ethnocentric ideology, a symbiosis between nationalism and xenophobia that rejects the European Union completely. The far right also believes in nativism based on defending and separating the cultural identity from others. Nationalism, racism, and ethnic pluralism are the core of those parties' ideological principles. It is worth indicating that contrary to biological racism, ethnic pluralism does not create national groups, but states that mixing and combining them leads to social problems. While rejecting the vision of a multicultural society, ethnic pluralism recommends supporting autonomic development of separate nationalistic groups within a country³. Cas Mudde suggests adding authoritarianism and the tendency of extreme right parties to use uncompromising language to their ideological skeleton. He notices that while extreme movements express their commitment to democracy, they have issues with accepting the liberal compound of political systems. It is their belief that pluralism should be replaced with a confined community and the modern individualism with conventional roles in the society⁴.

The Hungarian extreme right

Right movements started to appear immediately after the fall of communism in Hungary. At the very beginning, their activities and ideologies that often related to, for example, anti-Semitism, were at the margin of public life. Generally, most of them found a foreign patron for themselves, who followed the ideology of fascism, and simultaneously became his/her reflection

² M. Alauf, *Skrajna prawica i populizm w europie – co to oznacza?*, Docplayer.pl, 10.05.2017, <<http://docplayer.pl/24518636-Skrajna-prawica-i-populizm-w-europie-co-to-oznacza.html>> (30.01.2018).

³ A. Lipiński, *Radykalizacja czy „patologiczna normalność”? Ugrupowania i ruchy radykalne a partie polityczne w Polsce i Europie Zachodniej. Ekspertyza przygotowana w ramach projektu: „Organizacje skrajne w demokratycznym państwie i społeczeństwie 2012-2013”*, Warsaw 2013, p. 5.

⁴ C. Mudde, *The populist radical right: a pathological normalcy*, "West European Politics", Vol. 33, No. 6, 2010, p. 1178.

in the Hungarian backyard⁵. In the times of communism the extreme right had its followers in Hungary, but due to the ruling regime it was condemned to political non-existence, thus not being able to contribute to the abolishment of the system at that time. This probably explains the fact that after 1989, the extreme right wanted to hide their lack of participation in preparation of the Hungarian transformation, and their lack of engagement into its nation's fight during the uprising of 1956, under the veil of extreme anti-communist rhetoric. A multiparty system introduced in Hungary as a transformation of the system and the creation of free press enabled the far right to promote its ideas⁶. They maintained contacts with former members of previously fascist, basically Nazi, Arrow Cross Party – the Hungarian Movement (Hungarian: Nyilaskeresztes Párt – Hungarista Mozgalom), called the Arrow-Crossers (Hungarian: nyilaskeresztesek).

The first extreme right party in Hungary called Magyar Igazság és Élet Pártja (MIEP) – Hungarian Justice and Life Party was founded in 1993 by writer Istvan Csurka, who previously was the chairman of the central right political party called the Hungarian Democratic Forum. Radical nationalism and anti-Semitism that can be seen in Csurka's rhetoric, and that of his peers, started to be compelling for some groups of the Hungarian society. This way, his extreme right political party gained 85431 votes in the general election of 1994, what came to 1,58% of social support⁷, but in the next elections four years later, MIEP gained 248 901 votes (support of 5,47%), what gave them 14th position in the Hungarian parliament. In the following elections, MIEP came close to the score from four years earlier (4,37%), but none of its delegates entered the parliament because it didn't exceed the election threshold. There's no doubt that the lack of growing support for the extreme right was caused by a brutal attack on the ruling coalition, which was accused by the far right of signing international agreements with countries that emerged after the fall of Yugoslavia, which approved the current borders. Meanwhile – from their point of view – the Hungarian nation should have used the situation to change to any extent possible the territorial status quo that was the result of the Treaty of Trianon (1920).

After failure in the elections it became clear for MIEP, which didn't introduce any delegates to the chamber in the general elections, that the extreme right needed changes. The first stage of the new action plan was the foundation of an organization named the Movement for a Better Hungary by a

⁵ A. Kovács, *The Post-Communist Extreme Right: the Jobbik party in Hungary* [in:] *Right-Wing Populism in Europe Politics and Discourse*, eds. R. Wodak, M. Khosravi Nik, B. Mral, London 2013.

⁶ K. Laszlo *The radical right in Hungary*, [in:] *Radical Right in Central and Eastern Europe Since 1989*, ed. S. P. Ramet, Pennsylvania 1999.

⁷ T. Gabor, E. Zsolt, *The election to the Hungarian National Assembly, 1994: analyses, documents and data*, Berlin 1999, p. 124.

group of extreme right students (Hungarian: Jobbik Magyarországért Mozgalom, Jobbik). A year later, an independent student organization transformed itself into a political party, which entered into collation with MIEP in the elections of 2006. The coalition MIEP-Jobbik gained only 119007 votes, that is 2,2% of support, so too little to enter the parliament. Nonetheless in 2009, Jobbik took advantage of the economic crisis of 2006 and managed to gain 427773 votes in the European Parliament elections, what corresponded to 14,77% of social support. Due to that, the party managed to introduce three of its representatives to the parliament.

Constantly growing support for Jobbik resulted in gaining 16,67% votes in the elections to the state parliament in 2010, and 20,22% in the elections of 2014⁸.

Ideology and rhetoric

Initially, the ideological structure of Jobbik was based on highlighting the boundary between them and mainstream parties. While other parties both left and right, created their image of defenders of the new democratic order, Jobbik questioned the way in which reforms were introduced after 1989, indicating that the old regime was still functioning under the veil of newly appointed institutions. Therefore, one of the main slogans is to finish the transformation in a proper way by breaking the elites' monopoly of power. The next element of Jobbik's ideology is to promote redefinition of a conventional political division between right and left wing parties, and putting a new division in its place based on "old" (global) and "new" (national) entities. Jobbik opposes globalization that's represented by communist and post-communist elites. Their message calls for the need to form new, young national elites. Jobbik's ideology is mostly based on national conservatism that bears relations with Christian values. Therefore in their opinion, the current situation of Hungary is unlawful and it's necessary to create a new one that will appeal to traditions of the Hungarian crown. Their programme also promotes ideas of correcting privatisation and renegotiating main branches of the economy⁹.

In matters connected with immigrants, Jobbik's leaders are all-out opponents of accepting people from other cultural and religious circles into their country while at the same time they promote the idea of religious education. Moreover, the party also has a very negative attitude towards Hungary's membership in the European Union. In this case, Jobbik's politicians compare the accession to the Union with lose of sovereignty and leaving their fate in the hands of the bureaucracy of Brussels. In documents from 2010 (Jobbik – Radical Change, 2010), Jobbik included a plan to

⁸ A. Kovács, *op. cit.*, p. 224.

⁹ S. Bertelsmann, *Strategies for combating right – wing extremism in Europe*, Gütersloh 2009, p. 298.

renegotiate the treaty of accession to the EU, where they state, “previous governments betrayed the idea of social prosperity for profits of major corporations. We opened our food market in return for low subsidies. That’s why we’re going to introduce changes to provisions of the accession treaty that are currently unfavourable for Hungary, and therefore, we want to raise a question about the necessity of our future membership in the UE”¹⁰. In the case of their march to power, they consider a national referendum on leaving the European Union and ending military cooperation with NATO. Instead, they want to replace it with their own army and military capabilities. It is plainly visible that in their programme Jobbik highlights features typical for such a conservative message, that is, defence of the country and the nation.

Therefore in 2007, Jobbik created a paramilitary organization called the Hungarian Guard Movement (Mágyar Garda)¹¹. The objective of the Guard in times of peace is to protect civilians and work with youth.

When their members were being sworn in in the assist of the police antifascist organizations and Romani people protested in Budapest. Jewish community also expressed their protest. At that time, voices questioning the legality of such an organization appeared in public debates. The Hungarian Constitution prohibits the existence of paramilitary organizations, but founders of the Guard found a way around it emphasising their independence from any political party. In 2007, the court made a decision to disband Jobbik’s militia however in 2009 its leaders announced the reactivation of their organization, increasing the number of its members.

Jobbik’s actions raised concerns among groups that were the aim of the party’s campaign characterized by hatred. For instance, the Jewish community living in Hungary turned attention to one of Jobbik’s politicians, Krisztina Moravi, a member of the European Parliament known for her particularly harsh political speeches of anti-Semitic nature. The following is an excerpt from one of her speeches: “We have only one homeland. Hungary. Here, we are at home. We shall take our homeland from those who made it their hostage. Most of you, foreigners, don’t like the fact that we, Hungarians, don’t take kindly being sentenced to a colonial fate, we don’t react to your boss’ lecture, Szimon Peres’ lecture, about buying out Hungary with words: shalom, shalom, we invite you to our country, please feel at home”¹². Jobbik even proposed to write a national list of Jewish delegates in the parliament, who might pose a threat to the

¹⁰ D. Kasprovicz, *Europejska (de)konstrukcja – ewolucja programowa partii skrajnie prawicowych wobec kwestii europejskich*, Annales, „Universitatis Paedagogicae Cracoviensis Studia Politologica VII”, 2012 p. 162.

¹¹ W. Guy, *Anti-Roma Violence, Hate Speech, and Discrimination in the New Europe: Czech Republic, Slovakia, and Hungary*, [in:] *Realizing Roma Rights*, eds. J. Bhabha, A. Mirga, M. Matache, Pennsylvania 2017.

¹² M. Syska, *Partie skrajnej prawicy w Europie Środkowowschodniej*, „Nigdy Więcej”, No. 18, 2010.

country, and in 2013 they protested against the World Jewish Congress that took place in Budapest¹³. The Romani community living in Hungary, Slovakia, Czech Republic and Romania also expressed their concerns about such rhetoric feeling threatened by Jobbik's nationalist propaganda. In their eyes, it leads to increase in the number of physical attacks on members of their community. By frequently using the reluctance of the Hungarian society towards Romani minorities, Jobbik is trying to lower the political capital. That was the case in 2006, when one of teachers was beaten by a group of Romani men in a village where he had accidentally hit a Romani girl while driving his car¹⁴. This event was the beginning of an avalanche of "moral panic" and the wave of criticism from the right wing media, which stated that the government's policy towards Romani minority is terrible. Jobbik with iron consequence made this incident public and was publicizing it for the next four years, what allowed them to unify most of radical groups that preach anti-Semitism and racism. According to Jobbik, many things are in the way of building strong Hungary, and one of them is the Romani minority. Phrases such as "Romani terror" or "Romani crime" can be found in the party's rhetoric. It means that the Romani minority terrorizes ethnic Hungarians, particularly in the northeast part of the country, and commits crimes such as assault with a knife, usury, wood and scrap metal theft¹⁵. Jobbik sees its great historical role in stopping the conspiracy of silence that concerns crimes of the Romani minority, and believes that the only solution to this problem is for people of this minority to return to the way of labour, law and education. Those Romani people, who are not willing to accept that have two options in Jobbik's eyes – leave the country or go to prison¹⁶.

An element of Jobbik's ideology is also, apart from radical nationalism and anti-globalisation, the critique of being part of the Western community. To do that, the party in its rhetoric employs anti-Americanism and reluctance towards Israel. Moreover, at the same time, it shows its pro-Russian, pro-Palestinian and pro-Iranian attitude. In the eyes of Jobbik's politicians, western societies have succumbed to the process of globalisation and liberalization, and therefore Hungary should engage into dialogue with the western part of the world, what is a clear reference to the idea of turanism¹⁷. Jobbik's critique frequently

¹³ A. Rybińska, *Europa skręca w prawo*, Nowakonfederacja.pl, 17.07.2014, <<http://www.nowakonfederacja.pl/europa-skreca-w-prawo>> (17.12.2017).

¹⁴ J. Zolnay, *Abusive language and discriminatory measures in Hungarian local policy*, [in:] *The Gypsy "menace": populism and the new anti-Gypsy politics*, ed. M. Steward, London 2012.

¹⁵ P. Krasztev, J. Van Til, *The Hungarian patient. Social opposition to an liberal democracy*, Budapest 2015.

¹⁶ *Ibidem*.

¹⁷ Turanism – according to the turanian idea „Hungarians are a nation of the East that descends from Asian steppes and is related to (or even originates from) ancient Huns. Moreover, Hungarians are blood brothers of other “turanian” nations such as Turks, Azerbaijanis, Tatars, nations of Central Asia (e.g. Kazakhs), sometimes also Bulgarians,

concerns the USA. As it is commonly believed in the party, the United States don't respect sovereignty of such countries as Iraq and Libya, and realize their particularistic interests in a brutal manner under the veil of democracy. According to Jobbik, the US foreign policy is subject to pro-Israel lobby, and considers Israel a terrorist country that violates human rights¹⁸.

According to the Hungarian extreme right, the reason of many problems in the West is that it has lost itself in the process of losing its own identity¹⁹. According to Jobbik's politicians, the source of this state of matters is walking away from traditional values. In their opinion, one of the solutions is to be opened to the East, where tradition is still fighting the pressure of globalisation and liberalism. One of the Gábor Vona's concepts, which in his eyes should be adequate for the development of a proper system of values in Hungary, is to combine the essence of the European character with Asian mentality.

Moreover, it can be successful not only in Hungary, but also in Russia, which could combine European and Asian values. According to Jobbik's leader, since the end of the cold war the aim of Western politics is to control the Eurasian continent. To justify this view, he refers to the United States' foreign policy, which in his opinion is under the influence of representatives of neo-conservatism, who are trying to impose a new world order and promote values of the American culture while doing that. According to Jobbik, such representatives of neo-conservatism encourage the US to use force in order to build democracy, like in the case of American military intervention in Iraq and Afghanistan²⁰.

The critique concerns all communities of western countries, which in Jobbik's opinion play the role of an aggressor on the international stage while having blood on their hands for destabilization of the Middle East and triggering the Ukrainian conflict. According to Martyn Gongosi, one of the main politicians of Jobbik, the western world is responsible for starting the Ukrainian crisis, because the country was supposed to get financial and media support to abolish president Janukowicz as a consequence of his refusal to sign the accession agreement with the European Union.

Jobbik preaches the creation of a Eurasian alternative that would become an alternative for the Euro-Atlantic union. Gábor Vona, in an interview with a Russian geopolitical portal stated, "At this time, we Hungarians are sick

and even the Japanese, Koreans or Tibetans. See: M. Kowalczyk, *Turanizm węgierski – zarys problematyki*, [w:] *Wieloaspektowość badań kluczem do rozwoju nauk o polityce*, ed. P. Łubiński, Cracow 2016, p. 168.

¹⁸ Idem, *Krytyka Zachodu ze strony węgierskich nacjonalistów. Przykład partii Jobbik*, „Eryda” 2015, I(1), ss. 62-74.

¹⁹ Idem, *Turanizm węgierski...*, p. 168.

²⁰ *Ibidem*.

passengers on the sinking European ship that has lost its values”²¹. In his opinion, the objective of the European Union is to colonize Hungary and exploit cheap labour force, and the European Union in itself doesn't bring anything mentally valuable from the Hungarians' point of view. The outcome of this – as he states – is Hungarians living in a pathetic world of capitalism. Jobbik believes that Russia represents Europe better than the United States and the European Union, because it guards its traditional values and doesn't base everything on money, while Europe has become a slave of the American economy. In Russia, Gábor Vona sees an element that balances the expansion of Americanism, and according to his statement the country will have to make a decision in the coming years whether it wants to remain in the EU.

Attitude towards historical policy

One of the factors that determined Jobbik's electoral successes was the efficient historical policy, which expressly corresponds to the ideas of conservatism and revisionism. One of its main elements is to refer to the cult of a strong leader, such as Miklos Horthy. In the face of occurrences such as displeasure with oligarchic government in Hungary, alleged lack of national elites or social and economic issues, his popularity is still growing. One of the breakthroughs in referring to Horthy and his politics was the reveal of the regent's monument in November 2013 with active participation of the Jobbik party. During the event one of Jobbik's politicians – Martin Gyongyosi stated, “Miklos Horthy brought the country back to surface after the deadly madness of communism that started along with the end of the First World War and the Trianon catastrophe that is the darkest card in the history of our country”²². Those words expressly relate to an earlier statement that Gábor Vona had made on Horthy. He had said: „Right after the Trianon tragedy, in times of Christian and conservative government of Admiral Miklos Horthy, Hungarians were able to unify their forces at an exceptional pace. Horthy's government freed the creative energy within the nation and in a very short time Hungary were able to rebuild its infrastructure, industry, army and police, allowed the economy to strive making the Hungarian crown one of the most stable currencies in Europe, created an educational system that's strong and capable of withstanding any competition, cultural life was growing rapidly”²³.

²¹ W. Trojanowski, „Euroatlantyzm musi być zastąpiony euroazjatyzmem” – wywiad z liderem Jobbiku, *Nacjonalista.pl*, 09.06.2013, <<http://www.nacjonalista.pl/2013/06/09/euroatlantyzm-musi-byc-zastapiony-euroazjatyzmem-wywiad-z-liderem-jobbiku/>> (9.11.2017).

²² W. Gribowski, *Wasilij Gribowski: Polityka historyczna*, *Geopolityka.pl*, 30.07.2015, <<http://www.geopolityka.org/analizy/wasilij-gribowski-polityka-historyczna>> (30.07.2017).

²³ *Ibidem*.

Another element of Jobbik's historical politics is its extreme rejection of communism. In the opinion of the party, communism is a system that strikes at the nation's heart. In one of his interviews, Gábor Vona stated that the soviet period was „an era of anti-values”, therefore Jobbik repeatedly negatively assessed the government of Janos Kadar, who ascended to power after suppressing the 1956 revolution. One of the more important directions of Jobbik's historical policy is also to condemn the post-communist elite. A prevailing belief of the party members is that along with the fall of Horthy's government the country lost its national elite. In the opinion of Gábor Vona, during five decades of communism Hungary were governed by internationalist elite, which had immense influence on the consciousness of the Hungarian nation. A similar view has been expressed by Gyongyiso: “After the fall of communism in 1989, political heirs of Bela Kun, Matyas Raosi and other communist criminals sold our country to foreign colonists”²⁴.

In its historical agenda, Jobbik has often spoke about the tragic treaty of Trianon, which made Hungary lose 2/3 of its territory, and more than 60 % of citizens found themselves beyond the country's borders²⁵. According to Jobbik, the situation of Hungarians living outside their country requires immediate action. Jobbik convinces that neighbouring countries have a duty to recognize rights of the Hungarian minority to autonomy and at the same time improve their living conditions. Jobbik's leaders convince that it's necessary to grant Hungarian national minorities autonomy, which should have been confirmed in constitutions of countries where Hungarian live. The party's activists take up this topic during mass events and thus mobilize their followers, that is, their voters.

At one of rallies commemorating the national tragedy of 1920, one of Jobbik's politicians who are members of the European Parliament, Gabor Staudt, declared that: “the Hungarian society has never accepted the consequences of the peace treaty of Trianon”²⁶, he also indicated that the revision of borders is one of the slogans of the Movement for a Better Hungary.

Foreign policy in Jobbik's view

According to Jobbik's opinion, after the fall of communism in Hungary politicians focused on three main priorities. The first was connected with

²⁴ *Ibidem*.

²⁵ The Treaty of Trianon meant the partition of the Kingdom of Hungary and the end of its historical borders. Currently, 93.000 of 282.000 km² of land remain within Hungary. According to the resolutions of the treaty, Romania acquired the whole Transylvania and Szeklerland, Czechoslovakia was given 63k km², and the New Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes got Bačka, the Baranya County and the western part of Banat. See: P. Lendvai, *Węgrzy. Tysiąc lat zwycięstw w klęskach*, Cracow 2016.

²⁶ *Ibidem*.

Hungarians living in neighbouring countries. The second concerned the development of proper relations with neighbours, and the third to integrate itself into the Euro-Atlantic union. Jobbik's politicians believe that the Hungarian politicians of that time put too much pressure on the process of accession to western structures, and thus lost its historic chance to take care of other matters. In their opinion, no balance of power between Hungary and the European Union was established, what in turn translated to the close of partial Hungarian sovereignty²⁷. In Jobbik's eyes, foreign policy should be built on new foundations directed towards strengthening national sovereignty. At the European level, Jobbik supports the concept of the European Union but only and solely on condition of cooperation between free nations. The party believes that great powers such as Russia, Germany and Turkey are responsible to a significant extent for the shape of Central Europe. Germany is a political and economic leader in Europe located close to Hungary. On the other hand, Russia is an important player on the stage of global politics that at the same time ensures Hungary's energetic safety, and Turkey is the playmaker in its region.

When it comes to being part of NATO, Jobbik's position is rather decisive. Leaders of the party believe that this kind of organization can give Hungary and the world safety only when it acts according to its original principles, and at the same time supports types of solutions that release tension between NATO and Russia. At the same time, Jobbik is aware that currently there is no other alternative for Hungary, which does not possess its own defence capabilities²⁸. Jobbik is approaching the involvement of its soldiers in military missions all over the world with a dose of scepticism, and at the same time turns attention to the number of military Hungarian personnel believing that it's too small. In the opinion of Jobbik's politicians, art. 5 of the North Atlantic Treaty doesn't guarantee peace and support, that's why in their eyes Hungary has to take up future actions that will aim at improving the country's defence. Collective defence is an illusion in the eyes of Jobbik, and history points to the fact that Hungary cannot rely on anyone. In the opinion of the party, international treaties can apply in real life only and solely when they are in line with interests of other countries. Thinking about the aid of great powers should be forever disregarded²⁹.

Jobbik's voters

Young people are a very large group of Jobbik's voters. In 2009, the party was 3 times more popular among people under 30 years of age (23%)

²⁷ Jobbik, *Foreign Policy – old values, new objectives*, Jobbik.com, 10.05.2017 <<http://www.jobbik.com/policies>> (10.05.2017).

²⁸ Jobbik, *NATO has become an offensive alliance but there is no real alternative now*, Jobbik.com, 10.05.2017, <http://www.jobbik.com/nato_has_become_an_offensive_alliance_but_there_is_no_real_alternative_now> (10.05.2017).

²⁹ *Ibidem*.

than among voters of the older generation (8%), thus becoming the greatest threat for Fidesz party in the struggle for gaining young voters' support. Although Jobbik is still very popular among young people, it has recently gained the support of middle-aged people (40-49, 50-59). In 2010, Jobbik gained the support of 14% of people between 40-49 years of age and 17% in 2015. The 50-59 age group experienced an even greater increase, because in 2010 the support came to 11% and currently it's at the level of 16%³⁰. The division of votes for Jobbik shows that the party is more popular in small and middle-sized cities and less popular in bigger ones. This disproportion is one of the main factors that make it hard for Jobbik to win the elections. Despite the fact that Jobbik's support has increased in western Hungary (the most symbolic example of that can be winning elections in the Tapolca constituency), their biggest stronghold is still north-east part of the country, which at the same time is the poorest and most densely populated by the Romani minority.

Conclusions

Jobbik's radicalism and rhetoric have brought surprising effects. Soon after its foundation, the party gained parliamentary representation and at the same time built its background on multiple fronts. Soon, apart from strengthening its group of voters in northeast of the country, Jobbik started to gain followers in the west. Another success was the fact that Jobbik has outrun socialists (MSZP) during elections of 2014, thus becoming the leader of opposition and the second most important party in Hungary. According to a common belief, Jobbik came into prominence only and solely because of the economic crisis and votes of people, who due to their displeasure with their current material status became vulnerable to radical slogans preached by that party. Is this, however, a justifiable statement? According to Gergely Karacsony's work „The secret of Jobbik. Reasons behind the rise of the Hungarian “radical right”, apart from the low material status of its voters, more important factors that were decisive when it came to voting for the extreme right was the expressed attitude against the elites, nationalism, and a negative approach towards the Romani minority³¹.

³⁰ A. Bíró-Nagy, T. Boros, *Jobbik going mainstream; strategy shift of the farright in Hungary*, [in:] *The extreme right in Europe*, ed. J. Jamin, Brussels 2016, p. 252.

³¹ G. Karacsony, D. Róna, *THE SECRET OF JOBBIK. Reasons behind the rise of the Hungarian radical right*, „Journal of East European and Asian Studies. Democratic Institutionalism”, vol. 2, no. 1, February 2011, pp. 61-92.

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