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FAR RIGHT IN HUNGARY: Jobbik

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As Hungary starts its presidency of the European Union, its censorship-law on medias is a subject of conversation throughout Europe. European public opinion is troubled by the policies implemented by Viktor Orbán's conservative government and is already talking about a possible return of the admiral Horthy's (1920-1944) autocratic government of the inter-war period. This law was promulgated on the 1st of January 2011, an extremely symbolic date, if we consider that it coincides with the beginning of Hungary's presidency of the European Institutions. This conservative turn of the FIDESZ is motivated, partially, by the necessity of establishing a strong and homogeneous State, able to create a defence against any extremist drift. By such behaviour, the party trims the electorate of the extreme right party, the Jobbik, of which popularity has been growing exponentially.

Created in 2003, this far right party made a spectacular entry in the Hungarian political scene during the last elections, when it became the country's third political force. The party's history is recent because its success stems mainly from the beginning of the economic crisis in 2008 and the difficulties it brought with it. Jobbik began gathering votes very rapidly. 60% of its electoral base was shaped in little over ten months, following the June 2009 European elections. During these elections, the party had gathered almost 15% of the votes, mainly through a very feeble participation. During the last elections, which were held in April 2010, Jobbik makes an important breakthrough, gathering ...% of the votes and thus become this country's third political force. In general terms, the populist rhetoric is not only found in Jobbik's discourse, but also amongst more moderate right wing parties. Populism is really starting to be a sort of political necessity in the fight for the survival of partisan elites. Indeed, the vogue of Jobbik in Hungary is less contained by the more moderate parties, exercising a kind of inflation of populist rhetoric and actions. Yet the means are not lacking in the current political system to eliminate or at least to assist the rise of extremism: the legislative instrument could provide a solution by imposing a higher threshold than 5% to enter parliament, especially as the Fidesz has received a majority of two thirds, they can change the Constitution at their own will. Outlaw the speeches of hatred by considering them as a threat to public order would also be a solution. The only obstacle is the unwillingness of politicians, since even in December Parliament passed the highly controversial law to censor the media, putting them in the boot of government of Viktor Orbán. If it is so easy to stifle the national press, the very foundation of a democracy, there is no obstacle that could prevent them from valid to end of extremism. Although the Hungarian democracy remains fragile, and that the regulation of these radical movements is a difficult task, the capacity of the state does not fail, as shown this recent media law but also the riot of 2006 and 2009 in Budapest.

Its emergence seems to crystallize three major crises that emerged during the past twenty years and now thanks to the economic crisis, be it the bitterness sown by the difficulties of transition, the disastrous and inappropriate policies or return to an unresolved past.

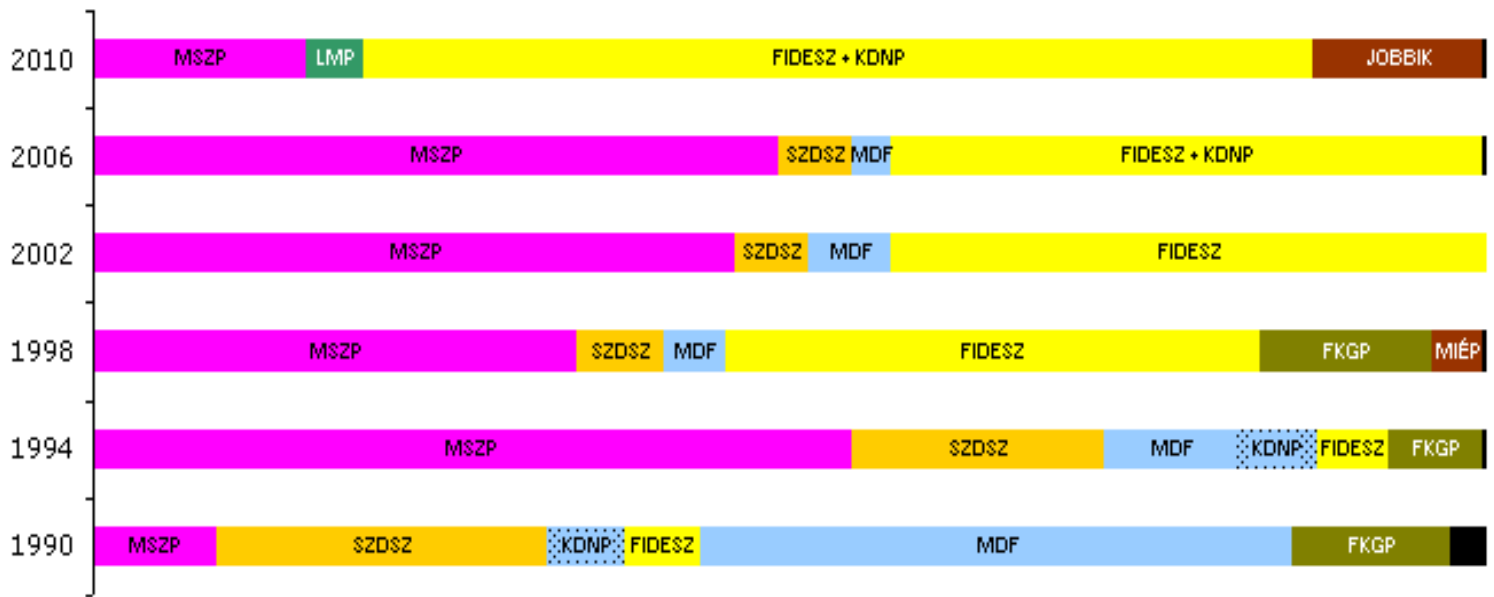
In our study we will mainly focus on the rise of right-wing radicalism since the economic crisis in Hungary. However, we must also note that since the 1990 transition, the resurgence of the national question has taken a new turn, fuelling the revival of a neo-ethnic nationalism, which is particular to Hungarians, the only non-Slavic people of the region. If, in general, all European countries undergone a radical right-wing ascension or at least a clear tendency to populism, the specificity of its origins in Hungary deserves attention.

Four major dynamics will construct our discourse: understanding the success of right-wing radicalism in Hungary can only be done in the light of developments in the country's political landscape since the founding of the Republic of Hungary in 1989 (I). The transformation process, following the dismantling of the Warsaw Pact and the difficulties it created for the Hungarian community, is a major opportunity for a rise of radical right-wing tendencies (II). Thus Jobbik feeds the popular ideology that "everything and everyone is bad" (III), calling into question the system of representative democracy, and testifying to the survival of an unresolved and painful past (IV).

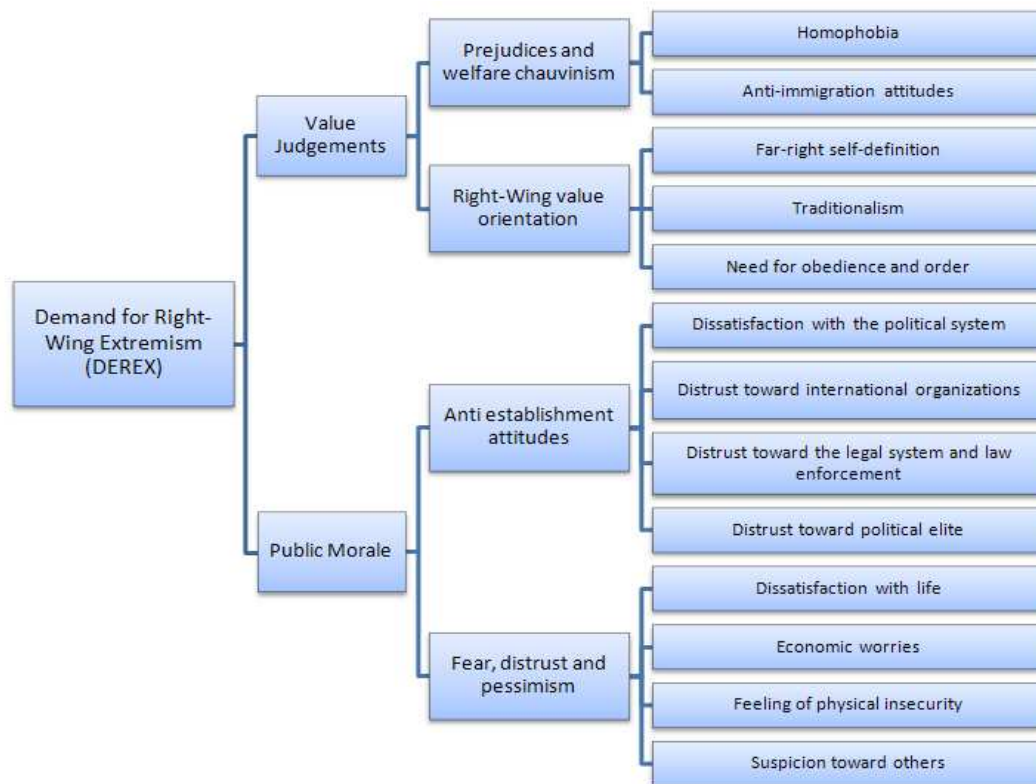
Annexes

Annexe 1

Hongrie : élections à l'Assemblée nationale
 tous droits réservés Laurent de Boissieu pour europe-politique.eu



Annexe 2



Annexe 3

Example: Category and DEREK indices in Hungary, for all four rounds of ESS

	2003	2005	2007	2009
Prejudice and Welfare Chauvinism	37.3%	46.1%	55.1%	52.4%
Anti-Establishment Attitudes	12.4%	22.3%	32.6%	45.5%
Right-Wing Value Orientation	27.8%	29.5%	29.1%	27.3%
Fear, Distrust and Pessimism	19.1%	18.6%	20.9%	27.2%
DEREX	9.9%	11.8%	17.4%	20.7%