

# The misuse of the activation of the General Escape Clause by the Hungarian government

## The right policy – in principle

The economic consequences of the Covid crisis were managed differently across Europe than the preceding Eurozone crisis. The European Central Bank and the European Commission ceased to insist on fiscal conservatism, and governments across the EU engaged in Keynesian countercyclical measures to counter the slump in demand that arose due to the pandemic.

The European Commission initiated the activation of the General Escape Clause<sup>1</sup> in March 2020 with the aim of alleviating the consequences of the pandemic, i.e., member states have been allowed to increase their public deficits and debts. All member states have approved this measure.<sup>2</sup> This is indeed the right policy in times of crisis, at least as far as broader economic philosophy is concerned. We must, however, also take a closer look at the distributional effects of this demand management. The case of Hungary presents a very negative example.

## The use of the additional money – the case of Hungary

### Great increase in public debt – more money for corruption

The 2020 budget deficit amounted to HUF 5642 billion, nearly 9% of the GDP,<sup>3</sup> and in 2021, HUF 5101,5 billion and 7,3%, respectively<sup>4</sup>. Public debt increased substantially (from 65.5% of the GDP in 2019 to 80% of the GDP in 2020<sup>5</sup>), and this tendency has not improved much in

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<sup>1</sup> COMMUNICATION FROM THE COMMISSION TO THE COUNCIL on the activation of the general escape clause of the Stability and Growth Pact. COM/2020/123 final, 20.3.2020, <https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/?uri=CELEX%3A52020DC0123>

<sup>2</sup> Statement of EU ministers of finance on the Stability and Growth Pact in light of the COVID-19 crisis. Council of the European Union, 23.03.2022, <https://www.consilium.europa.eu/en/press/press-releases/2020/03/23/statement-of-eu-ministers-of-finance-on-the-stability-and-growth-pact-in-light-of-the-covid-19-crisis/>

Report on the comprehensive economic policy response to the COVID-19 pandemic. Council of the European Union, 09.04.2022, <https://www.consilium.europa.eu/en/press/press-releases/2020/04/09/report-on-the-comprehensive-economic-policy-response-to-the-covid-19-pandemic/>

<sup>3</sup> PM: 5548,6 milliárd forint volt a költségvetés hiánya 2020-ban (Budget deficit was HUF 5548.6 billion in 2020). Ministry of Finance, 22.01.2021, <https://koronavirus.gov.hu/cikkek/pm-55486-milliard-forint-volt-koltsegyetes-hianya-2020-ban>

<sup>4</sup> 5000 milliárd forint feletti költségvetési deficitet hozott a 2021-es év (Budget deficit above HUF 5000 billion in 2021). Portfolio, 11.01.2022, <https://www.portfolio.hu/gazdasag/20220111/5000-milliard-forint-feletti-koltsegyetes-deficitet-hozott-a-2021-es-ev-520478>

<sup>5</sup> Szerény államadósság-csökkenésre volt elég az állam óriási kiköltekezése. Portfolio, 18.02.2022, <https://www.portfolio.hu/gazdasag/20220218/szereny-allamadossag-csokkenesre-volt-eleg-az-allam-oriasi-kikoltekezese-527437>

since 2020 either<sup>6</sup>. The Ministry of Finance explained the surging budget deficit with crisis spending.<sup>7</sup> However, the Hungarian government has used the opportunity to increase public debt only to a lesser extent to combat the consequences of the pandemic.

Although some public procurement was temporarily halted, oligarchs close to government continued to receive lucrative (and evidently overpriced) construction deals<sup>8</sup>, sometimes in a consortium with Strabag holding (partially owned by Russian oligarch Oleg Derispaska's Cyprus based offshore company), the general de facto constructor in the CEE region. (There is a trend that domestic oligarchs win the public procurement, but Strabag actually carries out most of the construction.<sup>9</sup>)

The Corruption Monitoring Reports<sup>10</sup> of the anti-corruption foundation K-Monitor and Hungarian Civil Liberties Union (HCLU) came to the conclusion, among others, that "...the government is using the crisis, linked to the pandemic caused by the new type of coronavirus, in every possible way to benefit its own political-economic circles [by] ... further strengthening the political clientele with public procurements, funds and other allowances." Black Book II by Civitas Institute and Transparency International Hungary states: "At present, state power does not seek to serve the general common good, it is not regarded as their primary task, but the enrichment of certain selected individuals and circles. In Hungary, the state, which has almost unlimited power, and the business circles close to it, work together in an opaque cooperation that determines public and business decisions."

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<sup>6</sup> Az államadósság nagy, de a közölnél is nagyobb. MFOR, 10.02.2022, <https://mfor.hu/cikkek/benchmark/az-allamadossag-nagy-de-a-kozoltnel-is-nagyobb.html>

<sup>7</sup> Varga Mihály 10 pontban foglalta össze a költségvetési politika egyéves eredményeit (*Mihály Varga summarised the one-year results of budgetary policy in 10 points*). Magyarország Kormánya, 17.11.2021, <https://kormany.hu/hirek/varga-mihaly-10-pontban-foglalta-ossze-a-koltsegvetesi-politika-egyeves-eredmenyeit>

<sup>8</sup> A járvány árnyékában 100 milliárdnyi közbeszerzést húzott be Mészáros Lőrinc és üzleti köre (*In the shadow of the epidemic, Lőrinc Mészáros and his business circle have pulled in 100 billion in public procurement*). G7.hu, 22.04.2022, <https://g7.hu/kozelet/20200422/a-jarvany-arnyekaban-100-milliardnyi-kozbeszerzest-huzott-be-meszaros-lorinc-es-uzleti-kore/>

<sup>9</sup> Színre lépett a NER és a Strabag közé besimult építőipari csodacég tulajdonosa (*The owner of the construction miracle company squeezed between NER and Strabag has come forward*). G7, 09.02.2021, <https://g7.hu/kozelet/20210209/szinre-lepett-a-ner-es-a-strabag-koze-besimult-epitoipari-csodaceg-tulajdonosa/>

<sup>10</sup> First Corruption Monitoring Report. K-Monitor and HCLU, 22.10.2020, [https://tasz.hu/a/img/corruption\\_monitor1.pdf](https://tasz.hu/a/img/corruption_monitor1.pdf)

Second Corruption Monitoring Report. K-Monitor and HCLU, 17.12.2020, [https://tasz.hu/a/img/corruption\\_monitor3.pdf](https://tasz.hu/a/img/corruption_monitor3.pdf)

Third Corruption Monitoring Report. K-Monitor and HCLU, 22.10.2020, <https://tasz.hu/a/img/Korrupciofigyelo-Harmadik-jelentes.pdf>

Fourth Corruption Monitoring Report. K-Monitor and HCLU, 15.07.2021, <https://tasz.hu/a/files/korrfigy4-EN.pdf>

Fifth Corruption Monitoring Report. K-Monitor and HCLU, 29.10.2021, <https://tasz.hu/a/img/korrupciofigyelo-otodik-jelentes.pdf>

Sixth Corruption Monitoring Report. K-Monitor and HCLU, 03.03.2022, <https://tasz.hu/a/files/Hatodik-korrupciofigyelo-jelentes.pdf>

According to empirical corruption research by the Corruption Research Centre Budapest,<sup>11</sup> a connection to the government results in a seven-fold increase in the chances of winning public tenders. All well-known cronies of the government received funding from the Covid related emergency funds during the crisis.<sup>12</sup> The so-called Fund for the Defence of the Economy (the Hungarian government continues to use a very militaristic narrative) has spent huge sums on areas such as hunting, equestrian sports and the International Eucharistic Congress (a global Catholic religious gathering)<sup>13</sup>. In 2020 alone, a fashion agency with links to the prime minister's daughter received HUF 2.3 billion.<sup>14</sup> Since the start of the pandemic until the end of 2020, the government spent some HUF 140 billion on sports during the crisis, the overwhelming majority of which was professional sports infrastructure (stadiums, etc.) expenditure rather than support alleviating the very deteriorated general health status of Hungarians. During the same period, while the health care system was on the brink of collapse (to a large extent due to insufficient funding), it received only HUF 50.7 billion, i.e. one-third of the sum allocated to sports.<sup>15</sup>

A very symbolic case was that of the Mátra Power Plant.<sup>16</sup> The plant had been privatised to Lőrinc Mészáros<sup>17</sup>, the number one oligarch in the country, a childhood friend of prime minister Viktor Orbán. Mészáros ran up an enormous loss operating the firm, at which point the state decided during the Covid crisis to buy it back from Mészáros. In effect, public money was used to cover the losses of a private entrepreneur.

Most of the investments thus funded with public money did not make any economic sense for the country as a whole, and they often contributed to the destruction of the natural environment.<sup>18</sup>

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<sup>11</sup> Hétszeresére növeli a közbeszerzési győzelem esélyét a NER-es kapcsolat (*A NER connection increases the chances of winning a public procurement by a factor of seven*). G7, 08.02.2022, <https://g7.hu/kozelet/20220208/hetszeresere-noveli-a-kozbeszerzesi-gyozelem-eselyet-a-ner-es-kapcsolat/>

<sup>12</sup> Amikor a NER jószívű: Bigének és Gattyánnak is szorítottak helyet a kormány Covid-pályázatain (*When the NER is good-hearted: both Bigé and Gattyán have been squeezed into the government's Covid tenders*). HVG, 28.01.2022, [https://hvg.hu/360/202204\\_allami\\_tamogatas\\_ingyenmilliardok\\_kitomott\\_haverok\\_rendszeres\\_atutalas](https://hvg.hu/360/202204_allami_tamogatas_ingyenmilliardok_kitomott_haverok_rendszeres_atutalas)

<sup>13</sup> Gazdaságvédelem címén ismét milliárdokat vágunk oda sportcélokra (*Once again billions for sport in the name of defence of the economy*). Népszava, 01.04.2021, [https://nepszava.hu/3115070\\_gazdasagvedelem-cimen-ismet-milliardokat-vagunk-oda-sportcelokra](https://nepszava.hu/3115070_gazdasagvedelem-cimen-ismet-milliardokat-vagunk-oda-sportcelokra)

<sup>14</sup> Két és félszer több közpénzt kap idén az Orbán Ráhel-közeli divatügynökség (*Fashion agency close to Ráhel Orbán receives two and a half times more public money this year*). HVG, 25.08.2020, [https://hvg.hu/360/20200825\\_A\\_tavalyi\\_1\\_milliard\\_utan\\_iden\\_mar\\_23\\_milliardot\\_kapott\\_az\\_Orban\\_Rahelko\\_zeli\\_divatugynokseg](https://hvg.hu/360/20200825_A_tavalyi_1_milliard_utan_iden_mar_23_milliardot_kapott_az_Orban_Rahelko_zeli_divatugynokseg)

<sup>15</sup> Állami pénzpumpa a válság idején: 140 milliárd forint ment sportra (*Public money pumped into sports in a time of crisis: 140 billion forints*). MFOR, 07.12.2020, <https://mfor.hu/cikkek/makro/allami-penzpumpa-a-valsag-idejen-140-milliard-forint-ment-sportra.html>

<sup>16</sup> MSZP is Pursuing the Mátra Power Plant Corruption Case. Hungarian Spectrum, 01.08.2021, <https://hungarianspectrum.org/2020/08/01/mszp-is-pursuing-the-matra-power-plant-corruption-case/>

<sup>17</sup> How public money keeps flowing to Orbán's family through Hungary's new tycoon. Direkt36, 13.05.2019, <https://www.direkt36.hu/en/igy-folyik-tovabb-a-kozpenz-meszaros-lorinctol-az-orban-csaladhoz/>

<sup>18</sup> The tragic consequences of EU funding on the environment in Hungary. Herinrich-Böll-Stiftung, 05.11.2021, <https://eu.boell.org/en/2021/11/05/tragic-consequences-eu-funding-environment-hungary>

### Lack of funding where money was most needed

The generous spending on oligarchs and purposes totally unrelated to economic recovery needs is in stark contrast to spending on what could be considered actual crisis response.

During the same time period, the Hungarian healthcare system showed signs of collapse under the pressure of the pandemic. In terms of the number of deaths per population, Hungary ranks fourth in the world (as of 24 March 2022).<sup>19</sup> 45,220 citizens died as a consequence of the pandemic.

At the beginning of crisis, there was a severe lack of ventilators in hospitals. This then became a symbolic issue, with the opposition often criticising the government for this potential weakness, which turned out to be crucial in the event. However, the foreign minister, tasked with acquiring as many ventilators as possible worldwide, heavily overcompensated, ending up with some 16,500 machines, costing some HUF 300 billion. He bought far too many, overpriced, often from dubious sources, and of questionable quality.<sup>20</sup> At the same time a key health expert working with the government spoke of the fact that there were only 2000 trained experts in the country to operate the machines, at most.<sup>21</sup> Some of the firms involved in the shady deals simply disappeared.<sup>22</sup>

While numerous countries around the world – including even the United States – introduced some form of Unconditional Basic Income type support, none of this was instituted in Hungary. Prime Minister Orbán stressed repeatedly that in his belief Hungarians would not support “aid without work”. Unemployment benefits remained at a maximum of three months, at extremely low levels of support, despite repeated pressure to raise the time and the amount.

### Public money to private hands

During the crisis, the vast majority of Hungarian state-owned universities were privatised free of charge to foundations owned by domestic corporations.<sup>23</sup> Into these foundations, the state apported massive amounts of public capital.

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Growing protests against priority investments in Hungary. Herinrich-Böll-Stiftung, 29.12.2021, <https://cz.boell.org/en/2021/12/29/growing-protests-against-priority-investments-hungary>

<sup>19</sup> <https://www.worldometers.info/coronavirus/>

<sup>20</sup> The government boasted about ventilator purchases, yet Hungary made the worst deals across the EU. Direkt36, 27.08.2020, <https://www.direkt36.hu/en/a-kormany-dicsekedett-a-lelegeztetogepek-vasarlasaval-megis-ok-kotottek-a-legrosszabb-uzletet-kinaval-az-egesz-eu-bol/>

<sup>21</sup> Végképp bebizonyosodott, hogy kidobott pénz a lélegeztetőgépekre költött 300 milliárd forint (*The HUF 300 billion spent on ventilators has finally been proven to be a waste of money*). G7, 23.03.2021, <https://g7.hu/kozelet/20210323/vegkepp-bebizonyosodott-hogy-kidobott-penz-a-lelegeztetogepekre-koltott-300-milliard-forint/>

<sup>22</sup> Már el is tűntetnék a lélegeztetőgép-bizniszen óriásit kaszáló céget (*The company that made colossal money from the ventilator business is about to disappear*). Szabad Európa, 01.10.2021, <https://www.szabadeuropa.hu/a/fourcardinal-vamosi-nagy-szijarto-lelegeztetogep/31487605.html>

<sup>23</sup> Looting the Nation’s Wealth by Privatizing Universities. Hungarian Spectrum, 27.04.2021, <https://hungarianspectrum.org/2021/04/27/looting-the-nations-wealth-by-privatizing-universities/>

Creating a Parallel State Structure I.: Public Trust Funds Performing a Public Function. Hungarian Helsinki Committee (HHC), 21.05. 2021, [https://helsinki.hu/en/wp-content/uploads/sites/2/2021/05/parallel\\_state\\_I\\_May2021.pdf](https://helsinki.hu/en/wp-content/uploads/sites/2/2021/05/parallel_state_I_May2021.pdf)

Just before the national elections in April 2022, the government submitted a bill to the Parliament, according to which the state and the oil and gas company MOL will create a new foundation from HUF 200 billion forints worth of the company's securities. The nebulous spending will be decided by a board of trustees of as yet unknown composition, which can only be broken up by a two-thirds parliamentary vote. By this move, the public money siphoned by the government into uncontrollable private foundations during the pandemic exceeds HUF 1000 billion. Besides stuffing Orbán's cronies with money, these measures certainly have another aim, too: make it more difficult for the next government to govern, if the opposition wins. This means that Orbán has already now unduly influenced the result of the elections in a way that would be opposite of what the Hungarian people decide in case they elect the opposition to govern the country.

### **Further impermissible use of public money for the election campaign**

In order to boost the chances of the election victory of the ruling party, Fidesz, the government has spent a colossal amount of money during the months before the elections taking place on 3 April 2022. The overwhelming majority of this spending cannot be justified from an economic, social or environmental aspect.

The government has put a price cap of €1.26 on petrol and diesel, reduced the excise duty by about 7 cents, and provided a subsidy of about 5 cents per litre to smaller filling stations.<sup>24</sup> As consumer fuel prices became much lower than the market price, daily fuel consumption has tripled during the following days. Although most of this is due to increased fuel tourism<sup>25</sup>, fuel smuggling<sup>26</sup> and stockpiling of cheap fuel for later use, it has also substantially increased road traffic, especially in some border regions. This fuel subsidy thus caused economic problems, increased environmental pollution, and aggravated social disparities as most of the subsidies have gone to those who do not need them at all (the richest 10% of the population spends more than seven times more on transport fuel than the poorest 10%)<sup>27</sup>.

More than HUF 1000 billion has been spent to "reward" various segments of society: the main beneficiaries of the direct benefits are pensioners, as well as under 25s receiving an exemption from paying the personal income tax (PIT), families with child(ren), who receive a total of HUF 600 billion in PIT rebates, and armed forces and law enforcement personnel, who receive six months "gun money". On top of this, there is an increased minimum wage and some sectoral wage increases. There are also new preferential loans for families with children. Part of the

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<sup>24</sup> Gov't Caps Petrol and Diesel Price for Wholesalers. Hungary Today, 07.03.2022, <https://hungarytoday.hu/hungarian-orban-government-fuel-price-cap-capped-prices-gas-petrol-stations-hungary/>

Government decree on the reduced excise duty: <https://njt.hu/jogszabaly/2022-57-20-22>

<sup>25</sup> Panic Buying and Fuel Tourism: Government Reacts With New Measures. Hungary Today, 11.03.2022, <https://hungarytoday.hu/hungarian-gas-petrol-fuel-diesel-prices-stations-orban-government-measures-hungary/>

<sup>26</sup> Hungary became the centre of petrol tourism, price cap to stay? Daily News Hungary, 12.02.2022, <https://dailynewshungary.com/hungary-is-the-center-of-petrol-tourism-price-cap-extension-to-come/>

<sup>27</sup> Price cap on petrol prices mainly benefits the rich, CAAG, 11.03.2022, <https://www.levego.hu/en/news/2022/03/price-cap-on-petrol-prices-mainly-benefit-the-rich/>

public money provided to individuals through these measures has also gone to better-off people.<sup>28</sup>

One of the measures most propagated even today by the government is the cap on household utility prices (natural gas, district heating, water and chimney-sweeping) introduced in 2013. This measure can rightly be considered one of the most harmful measures in Hungary – from economic, social and environmental aspects alike. It distorts production and causes serious losses to energy service companies, which have become lax and are not developing or investing and postponing maintenance works (which might result in serious disruption of the services in the future). Investments into energy efficiency and renewables became much less profitable. Wasteful use of energy has continued. In this case, too, mainly the consumption of the rich is being subsidised. Taking into consideration the high energy prices, artificially low household energy prices might result in a loss of HUF 1000 billion annually, which will have to be covered with public money.<sup>29</sup>

The government has carried out wide-scale hate-mongering billboard and media campaigns,<sup>30</sup> showered government friendly online influencers with money,<sup>31</sup> and even raised the subsidies to public media, which is widely considered to be a bland government mouthpiece, with opposition voices excluded.<sup>32</sup> At the same time crucial funds were withdrawn as a crisis related measure from local municipalities, making many of them incapable of carrying out even their basic responsibilities, including, crucially, the two million strong, opposition held capital, Budapest.<sup>33</sup> This action by the government took place at the time when all local governments faced enormous pressure due to the pandemic. Local municipalities with Fidesz mayors were compensated for the losses by the government, unlike municipalities led by members of

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<sup>28</sup> „Aki luxusjárgánnyal viszi a gyerekeit lovagolni, annak nincs szüksége szja-visszatérítésre” (*“If you take your child riding in a luxury car, you don't need a VAT refund”*). 24.hu, 29.12.2021, <https://24.hu/fn/gazdasag/2021/12/29/kormanyzati-osztogat-aszja-visszaterites-13-havi-nyugdij/>

<sup>29</sup> Kiszámoltuk: több százmilliárd forintba kerül a rezsicsökkentés az adófizetőknek, sok múlik Putyin ukrainai lépésén is (*We have calculated: the reduction of utility bills will cost taxpayers hundreds of billions of forints, much depends on Putin's move in Ukraine*). Portfolio, 26.01.2022, <https://www.portfolio.hu/gazdasag/20220126/kiszamoltuk-tobb-szazmilliard-forintba-kerul-a-rezsicsokkent-es-adofizetoknek-sok-mulik-putyin-ukrainai-lepesen-is-523039>

<sup>30</sup> 112,9 milliárd forintot osztott ki tavaly a Rogán Antal alá tartozó hivatal kommunikációra és rendezvényekre (*Last year, the office under Antal Rogán allocated 112.9 billion forints for communication and events*). RTL, 04.01.2022, <https://rtl.hu/gazdasag/2022/01/27/nemzeti-kommunikacios-hivatal-rogan-koltes-2021>

Smear campaigns are constant components of Fidesz's recipe to stay in power. Heinrich-Böll-Stiftung, 05.01.2022, <https://cz.boell.org/en/2022/01/05/smea-r-campaigns-are-constant-components-fideszs-recipe-stay-power>

<sup>31</sup> Orbán's influencers shower cash, become largest social media spenders. Telex, 04.01.2022, <https://telex.hu/english/2022/01/04/orbans-influencers-shower-cash-become-largest-social-media-spenders>

<sup>32</sup> Mission Report: Media Freedom in Hungary Ahead of 2022 Election. International Press Institute, 21.03.2022, <https://ipi.media/mission-report-media-freedom-in-hungary-ahead-of-2022-election/>

<sup>33</sup> Szisztematikusan csinálják ki az önkormányzatokat (*The municipalities are being systematically wiped out*). Telex, 14.01.2021, <https://telex.hu/belfold/2021/01/14/szisztematikusan-csinaljak-ki-az-onkormanyzatokat>

Viktor Orbán Has Declared War on Mayors – Hungary's prime minister has used the pandemic to drain power from one of the last sources of opposition to his rule. Foreign Policy, 28.07.2020, <https://foreignpolicy.com/2020/07/28/viktor-orban-has-declared-a-war-on-mayors/>

opposition parties,<sup>34</sup> sending a clear message to citizens before the upcoming national elections: “If you will not vote for Fidesz, your settlement will not receive government money.”

All these misuses of public money have made a farce of the EU’s measures which have been taken as a response to the pandemic, including the activation of the General Escape Clause.

Already in January 2021, the economic news portal hvg.hu presented detailed calculations demonstrating that less than one-fourth of the Fund for the Defence of the Economy (HUF 875 billion out of HUF 3628 billion) could be considered actually expenditures to mitigate the economic and social consequences of the pandemic.<sup>35</sup>

## Conclusions

The above-described enormous misuse of public money was made possible by the fact that the Hungarian government grossly misused the opportunity provided by the activation of the General Escape Clause, and also the vast amount of EU transfers flowing to Hungary. (In the year 2020 some HUF 2025 billion were paid out<sup>36</sup> from EU cohesion transfers in Hungary, and an even larger sum in 2021<sup>37</sup>.)

**Clean Air Action Group, Budapest, 29 March 2022**

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<sup>34</sup> Az iparüzési adó megvágása után minden fideszes nagyváros kapott karácsonyi bánatpénzt a kormánytól (*After the cut in business tax, all Fidesz cities got a Christmas bonus from the government*). 444, 24.12.2020, <https://444.hu/2020/12/24/az-iparuzesi-ado-megvagasa-utan-minden-fideszes-nagyvaros-kapott-karacsonyibanatpenzt-a-kormanytol>

<https://kellezsegyesulet.hu/en/>

Petition and request for the application of the EU rule of law mechanism with regard to the Hungarian Government’s aid policy which is in breach of fundamental rights provisions. Hungarian Anti-Corruption Association, 31.03.2021,

[https://kellezsegyesulet.hu/docs/Europai\\_Bizottsagnak\\_onkormanyzatok\\_diszkriminacio.pdf](https://kellezsegyesulet.hu/docs/Europai_Bizottsagnak_onkormanyzatok_diszkriminacio.pdf)

<sup>35</sup> A gazdaságvédelemre szánt pénzeknek legfeljebb a negyede mehetett válságkezelésre (*At most, a quarter of the money for economic protection might have gone to crisis management*). HVG, 19.01.2021,

[https://hvg.hu/gazdasag/20210119\\_gazdasagvedelmi\\_alap\\_szamok](https://hvg.hu/gazdasag/20210119_gazdasagvedelmi_alap_szamok)

<sup>36</sup> Pénzügyminisztérium: A kormány 1200 milliárd forintot szórt ki év végén, óriási lett a hiány (*Ministry of Finance: The government spent HUF 1,200 billion at the end of the year, leaving a huge deficit*). HVG, 11.01.2021,

[https://hvg.hu/gazdasag/20210111\\_Penzugyminiszterium\\_A\\_kormany\\_1200\\_milliard\\_forintot\\_szort\\_ki\\_ev\\_vegen\\_oriasi lett\\_a\\_hiany](https://hvg.hu/gazdasag/20210111_Penzugyminiszterium_A_kormany_1200_milliard_forintot_szort_ki_ev_vegen_oriasi lett_a_hiany)

<sup>37</sup> Hatalmas adag pénzt küldött Magyarországnak Brüsszel, felpörgette a pénzosztást a kormány (*“Brussels has sent a huge amount of money to Hungary, and the government has stepped up the distribution of money”*).

Portfolio, 20.11.2021, <https://www.portfolio.hu/unios-forrasok/20211120/hatalmas-adag-penz-kuldott-magyarorszag-nak-brusszel-felporgette-a-penzosztast-a-kormany-511792>