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1/20 In de gastsoep gaan we het hebben over Viktor Orban en zijn vroege banden met de maffia. Het is een verhaal over koffers met geld, een topgangster, grootschalige fraude en een zeer opmerkelijke politieke draai.



2/20 na de val van het Ijzeren Gordijn worstelden veel post Sovietlanden met hun economie. Door de onzekerheid en instabiliteit kon de maffia welig tieren, sommigen vergelijken de periode met het Chicago van de jaren '30. Rusland had ook zijn eigen Al Capone in Simeon Mogilevich.



3/20 Mogilevich, die banden heeft met de Solntsevskaya Bratva, strijkt neer in Budapest. Het was de ideale plek om geld wit te wassen via Vladimir Vinogradovs INKOMBANK. Oligarch Vinogradov staat in die tijd al bekend om zijn louche constructies.

In 1994 Mogilevich group obtained control over Inkombank, one of the largest private banks in Russia. [6], in a secret deal with bank chairman Vladimir Vinogradov, getting direct access to the world financial system. Through the bank he obtained, in 1996, significant shares in Sukhoy, a large military aircraft manufacturer. The bank collapsed in 1998 under suspicions money funneling. [7]

4/20 Vinogradov is niet zo maar iemand. Hij is een van de puissant rijke zakenlieden die in Rusland aan de touwtjes trekt. Zo regisseert hij met andere olicharghen een mediacampagne die de herverkiezing van Boris Jeltsin in '96 verzekert.

Vladimir Vinogradov  
EX-OLIGARCH - INKOMBANK

**Steals:** Left and Right, when he can  
**Lies:** Left and Right, when anybody is listening  
**Hair:** Some, fluffyish, blow-dried  
**Jewish:** No  
**Connections:** None left

**Career notes:** Former Moscow Mayor Gennady Popov remarked that Inkombank has a great art collection, for a bankrupt company...Often accused of hoarding bank assets in Switzerland...Other oligarchs never let him join in their reindeer games; he was completely left out of loans-for-shares...Babayevsky confectioneries are his biggest prize... Has been plagued by illness in the last year or so...Was one of original "group of seven" oligarchs, although Boris Berezovsky conspicuously declined to include him in his famous 1996 interview with The Financial Times about the bankers...Owes about 2 billion dollars to various creditors following August mess.

**Minor league notes:** Aviation engineer, originally from Bashkortostan.

5/20 Maffiagroep Solntsevskaya Bratva speelt midden jaren negentig ook een interessante rol in de Russische politiek. Het heeft banden met FSB en de hoogste echelons in het Kremlin. Daaronder mag het ook Boris Jeltsin rekenen volgens hardnekkige geruchten.



On the death of Tamm: The Solntsevskaya gang's ties to the FSB and United Russia

[Bezoeken >](#)

6/20 Mogilevich probeert ondertussen zijn macht in Boedapest uit te breiden. Bescherming van politici en politie is daarvoor essentieel. Dus stuurt Mogilevich zijn 'loopjongen' Dietmar Clodo op bad om op verschillende plekken geld af te leveren.



7/20 Dietmar Clodo een Duister met een verleden bij de RAF zat begin jaren '90 diep in de onderwereld van Boedapest. In 2015 maakt hij schoon schip met zijn verleden en bekend hij zijn banden Mogilevich en doet uit de doeken hoe het er aan toe ging.

*"In the 1990s I lived in Budapest, where I was doing consulting and owned a private security company SAS. There I met a well-known businessman Semion Mogilevich. We established relations of trust, partially because both of us were religious Jews. In the mid 1990s, actually between 1993 and 1996, he asked me to hand over cash to various people. One of them was Sándor Pintér (the current Hungarian Minister of Interior Affairs, The Insider.) At that time I only knew that he was a senior police officer and that he was working for Mr. Mogilevich. <> Once in the spring of 1994, on the eve of the parliamentary elections, Mogilevich's interpreter brought me a suitcase with almost one million Deutsche Marks. This money was supposed to be handed to a young man. However, the young man refused to enter my home. I've told him: "Listen, I have the suitcase with the damn money, and I am not going to step out to the street with this cash. If you refuse to enter, I'll give the suitcase with the million back to Mr. Mogilevich. I don't care." He went up to my place with another elderly looking gentleman, and I handed over the suitcase with cash. I didn't care who he was. Only after the parliamentary elections I realized that the young man was Viktor Orbán from the Fidesz. <>.*

8/18 Zo verhaalt hij over een koffer van 1 miljoen Duitse Mark die hij in opdracht moest afleveren bij een jonge politicus. Het blijkt Viktor Orban te zijn. Ook politiechef Sandor Pinter krijgt geld. Momenteel is hij de minister van Binnenlandse Zaken in Hongarije.

**Sándor Pintér** (born 3 July 1948) is a Hungarian [politician](#) and former top [police officer](#). He served as [Minister of the Interior](#) from 1998 to 2002 and since 2010, in [Viktor Orbán's](#) cabinets.

### Biography [[edit](#)]

Pintér was born and raised in Budapest. He graduated from the Police Officer College ([Hungarian: Rendőrtiszti Főiskola](#)) at Budapest in 1978. He worked in the criminal-investigation divisions of the national, Budapest and [Pest County](#) Police Departments between 1978 and 1991. He received degree at Law and Political Sciences in [Eötvös Loránd University](#) in 1986 aged 38.

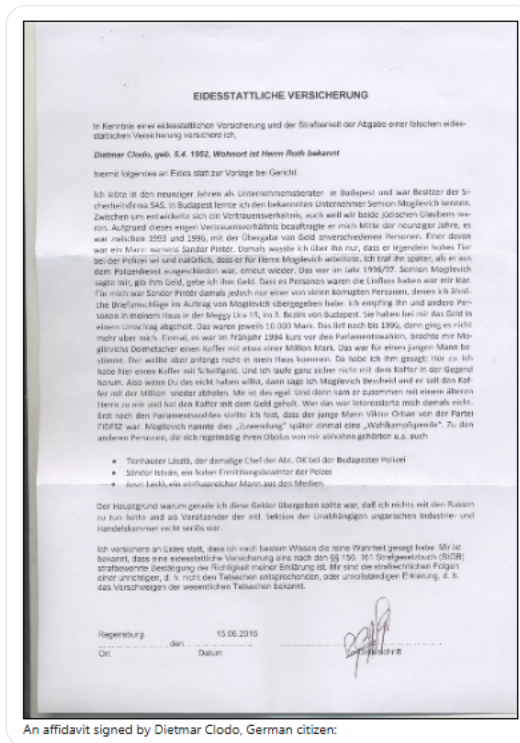
Before his entry into the political arena after retirement, he worked as a [police officer](#). After entering the police service in 1972 and rising through the ranks, he reached top positions in the [Hungarian police](#), such as Chief of the Budapest police in 1991, and then Chief of the National Police between 1991 and 1996.

**Sándor Pintér**



9/20 Geen dronkenmanspraat, Clodo laat het officieel in een getekende verklaring vastleggen. Toch doet het in Hongarije weinig stof op waaien. Een journalist gooit het balletje op bij Pinter die de kwestie doodzwijgt. Het Fidesz van Orban verwijst de kwestie naar de doofpot.





An affidavit signed by Dietmar Clodo, German citizen:



Politics Can Be Different (LMP) co-chairs Bernadett Szél and Ákos Hadházy have formally submitted a letter to Minister of the Interior Sándor Pintér (pictured right) inquiring about his possible underworld connections and that of prominent Fidesz politicians. The letter, titled “Can you confirm that you have never met personally with Dietmar Clodo?”, aims to get to the bottom of rumors that Pintér and other Fidesz politicians colluded with underworld figures in the early 1990s while the party was still in opposition.

10/20 Dat Hongarije een groot maffiaprobleem had in de jaren ‘90 is duidelijk. Na het is zoveelste politieke schandaal wordt rond 2000 de FBI ingevlogen. Die hebben wel oren naar een vaste post in Budapest, Simeon Mogelivich staat immers nog steeds op hun most wanted lijstje.

**International Partnerships Fight International Crime**  
The Budapest Project

10/31/03

Imagine you're Director of the FBI and you see an explosion of organized crime in another part of the world that is spilling over into the United States—what do you do?

Do you raise the issue with your colleagues in other countries? Of course.

Do you offer assistance in training and forensics? Of course.

Do you share information and coordinate investigations? Of course.

And, in the case of burgeoning Russian and Eurasian organized crime syndicates in Central Europe following the fall of communism, you go one step further.

In April 2000, the FBI-Hungarian National Police Organized Crime Task Force was created in Budapest, Hungary. Its focus: to investigate and dismantle organized crime groups that had begun to headquarter in this historic Central European center of commerce and finance.

**Why a task force?** Because it's a proven concept that has unified anti-crime operations across the entire land mass of the United States, joining the efforts of federal, state, and local law enforcement agencies in common cause. For example, the FBI New York Bank Robbery Task Force pioneered the concept in 1979. Then, in 1980, New York established the first Joint Terrorism Task Force, which has grown to today's 84 Joint Terrorism Task Forces that focus specifically on the threat of terrorism in the U.S. And some 133 Safe Street Task Forces are focused on violent gangs, major theft, and violent fugitives to protect America's streets. In today's era of transnational crime, international task forces that are focused on specific crime problems may well offer communities around the world their best protection against lawlessness.

**Who's on it?** Members of the Hungarian National Police, FBI Special Agents, Intelligence Analysts, and Language Specialists, all working out of Hungarian National Police Headquarters, supported by their colleagues in other countries.

**What success has it had?** Lots. Working side by side, Task Force members are collecting evidence that, bit by bit, is unraveling the international leadership of the syndicates as well as their multifarious criminal activities. Already several high profile fugitives have been arrested in the U.S., including a Top Ten Hungarian fugitive.

11/20 De FBI helpt in het tackelen van de corruptie. Vinogradov is dan al 'failliet' gegaan met zijn bank, de Bratva wordt het te heet onder de voeten en Mogilevich besluit ook te vluchten. De Amerikanen hebben Boedapest veiliger gemaakt maar grijpen naast hun grote vis.

12/20 Die andere hoofdrolspeler; Viktor Orban, vergaat het beter. Hij belimt de hoogste politieke ladder . Daarbij laat hij zich opvallend kritisch uit over Rusland en Poetin. We kunnen het ons nu bijna niet voorstellen maar in 2007 waarschuwt hij voor de Russische invloed.

In 1998, when the leader of the Fidesz (Hungarian Civic Alliance) Viktor Orbán was first elected Prime Minister, unlike his predecessors, he skipped visiting Moscow and had often chastised Russia, particularly after Vladimir Putin came to power. For example, in 2007, Orbán [harshly lambasted](#) the Government for being "blind" to the "growing influence" Russia wields via its vast energy giants, and suggested that Hungary should play it European. "Those young people following us should not allow Hungary to become Gazprom's most cheerful barracks," [said](#) Orbán, alluding to Hungary's pre-1989 status as "Moscow's most cheerful barracks." In 2008, he continued to criticize the Kremlin, [calling](#) other European governments "Moscow's puppets," and deeming the endorsement of the "South Stream" project by the previous government as high treason.

13/20 Dan breekt het jaar 2008 aan wat het begin is van enkele sleutelmomenten voor dit verhaal. Als eerste wordt Mogilevich bij toeval opgepakt in Moskou. Hij leefde er jarenlang onder verschillende aliasen. Het is een grote slag voor Poetin, een lange gevangenisstraf dreigt.

## Russia's most notorious mafia boss arrested in Moscow

Detectives in Moscow yesterday confirmed they have arrested Russia's most notorious mafia boss, who is wanted by both the US and British authorities for his alleged involvement in decades of major international crime.

Police swooped on Semyon Mogilevich when he emerged from a business meeting at Moscow's World Trade Centre. They formally arrested him on Thursday, together with his business partner Vladimir Nekrasov, a millionaire Russian businessman. Mogilevich's arrest appears to bring to an end one of the most colourful and picaresque criminal careers of modern times - involving money-laundering, trading in drugs, prostitution, smuggling uranium and stolen icons, and international banking fraud.

FBI officials claim the 61-year-old Ukrainian-born Russian citizen is a major figure in the international mafia world. He is wanted in the US on numerous charges, including racketeering, securities and mail fraud.

Yesterday Russian police said Mogilevich had been detained under one of his many aliases, Sergei Schneider. The mafia boss uses 17 other names and holds passports from several different countries, they added, including Ukraine, Russia and Israel. Russia's interior ministry told the Guardian: "We have been pursuing him for 15 years. We arrested him as Sergei Schneider in connection with tax evasion. It was only after his arrest that we realised who he was. He has many different personalities and aliases."

14/20 Mogilevich weet zich wonderwel uit de situatie te manouvreren, hij wordt plots vrijgelaten. Er wordt volop gespeculeerd dat hij het Kremlin wel heel nuttige informatie moet hebben gegeven. Poetin kende overigens Mogilevich, de Bratva en Vinogradov nog vanuit zijn FSB dagen.

15/20 Viktor Orban wordt volgens de geruchten min of meer ontboden bij het Kremlin. Heel lang heeft Orban een Russisch bezoek vermeden als Poetincriticus. Niet verwonderlijk, criticasters als politicus Yushenkov, journaliste Politovskaya en spion Litvinenko werden vermoord.

As recently as 2008, Mr. Orban was a fierce critic of Mr. Putin. But the tone has changed, and the two have grown friendly, with Russia investing heavily in Hungary.

16/20 Orban ziet er in ieder geval niet al te best uit als we de foto's zien van zijn bezoek in 2008. Hij kent een zenuwzinking en laat zich na zijn bezoek voor enkele dagen opnemen in een psychiatrische kliniek in Graz (Oostenrijk).

17/20 Orbans kritiek aan Poetin is als sneeuw voor de zon verdwenen. Ineens bepleit hij hechtere banden met Moskou. Het Russische 'The Insider' speculeert over kompromat die Poetin via Mogilevich zou hebben verkregen. De Kremlindictator staat bekend om chantage met sextapes.

*The Insider*, a Russian media outlet, [discovered](#), one of the reasons for his loyalty might be a video with compromising info on Orbán, filmed back in the mid 1990s by crime kingpin Semion Mogilevich. As a result, the Russo-Hungarian friendship is growing, while money from joint contracts flow to opaque offshore accounts.

18/20 Ook Orbans partijgenoten worden op werkbezoek naar Rusland gestuurd met meetings waar ook de FSB aanwezig is. Ze verhalen over dubieuze financiële voorstellen die hen in de toekomst chantabel zouden kunnen maken. Een set-up volgens de Hongaren.

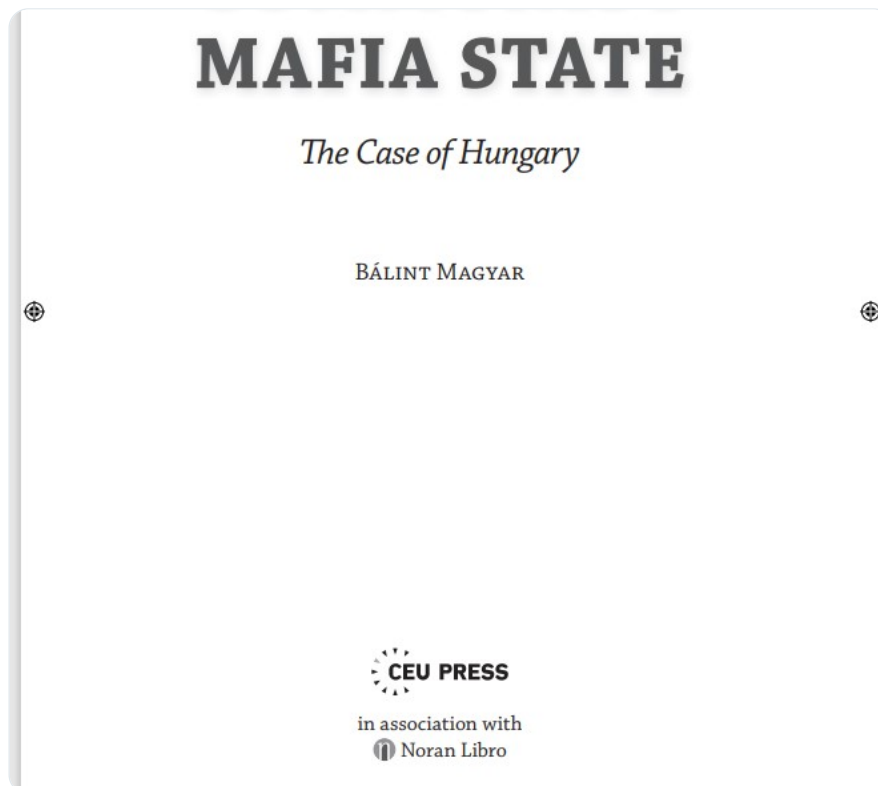


In March 2009, 11 days before his resignation, there was a joint governmental meeting in Moscow. At the end of the meeting Putin invited Gyurcsány to a smaller room. There, he made a comment that made Gyurcsány conclude that Putin obviously knew about his intention to resign, despite that at the time he had shared it only with his wife and a few of his closest aides.

Other government officials experienced how the Russians tried to involve them in dodgy business deals. A senior member of the Bajnai-government said that during his relatively short time in office several people with Russian secret service links contacted him with various business proposals. Once, he was about to have lunch with someone but before reaching the restaurant he received a phone call from the Hungarian secret service, warning him that his meeting partner had ties to the Russian services.

The source thinks that the Russian's goal with these attempts was to bind the target people to them. "The Russians were looking for a catch on everyone, and chances of blackmails through common business," he said and added that once a Russia-connected person came to him with an offer to buy a British chemical company. "They said they would bring a lot of money, I just had to be the front man as the owner. Or if I didn't want to do that, I could involve a friend for that purpose," the source recalled. The Russians were so well informed that they told the source about the romantic affair of two former government politicians half a year before the relationship became public in February 2010.

19/20 Dat de Hongaarse politiek sterk verstrengeld is met de maffia bewijst ook Balint Magyar met zijn wetenschappelijk onderzoek: *Mafia: the case of Hungary*. Hongarije typeert hij de facto als een maffiastaat.



20/20 Veel politiek analisten typeren Orban als een opportunist en proberen zo zijn ommezwaai over Rusland te verklaren. Maar stel nu dat het Kompromatscenario klopt, dan zou dat heel wat puzzelstukjes kunnen plaatsen. Orban is de stok in het wiel van de EU, voor Poetin?

# Defying Soviets, Then Pulling Hungary to Putin

Viktor Orban Steers Hungary Toward Russia 25 Years After Fall of the Berlin Wall

By RICK LYMAN and ALISON SMALE NOV. 7, 2014

BUDAPEST

A quarter-century ago, as [Hungary](#) helped ignite the events that would lead to the collapse of communism, the ferment produced a new political star.



[Viktor Orban](#) was 26 then and a longhaired law graduate. In June 1989, five months before the [Berlin Wall](#) came down, [he lit up a commemoration of the failed 1956 revolt against Moscow](#) with a bold call for free elections and a demand that 80,000 Soviet troops go home.

Now, as the 25th anniversary of the fall of the [Berlin Wall](#) is commemorated Sunday, [Hungary](#) is a member of NATO and the European Union and Mr. Orban is in his third term as prime minister. But what was once a journey that might have embodied the triumph of democratic capitalism has evolved into a much more complex tale of a country and a leader who in the time since have come to question Western values, foment nationalism and look more openly at [Russia](#) as a model.



Viktor Orban has been elected prime minister three times, most recently in 2010. He firmly controls the governing party. Akos Stiller for The New York Times

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