

The Fidesz Recipe

by György Droppa

Fidesz is not a ground-up movement or the product of a specific political theory or philosophy. Instead, Fidesz is a precision-engineered religion – a power-center controlled by the government and the head of the church. Their approach is built on cheap populism driven by opinion polls. Public discourse (propaganda) targets emotions and is adjusted to the mindset of the majority. Fidesz's goal is to practice unlimited power and self-enrichment; to create a new dependent upper-middle class of Christian citizens and socially-insensitive capitalists. They shamelessly – proudly even – proclaim themselves the direct political and intellectual descendants of Admiral Miklós Horthy¹, Hungary's leader between the two World Wars.

This paper strives to describe of the Fidesz system while leaving its consequences to the reader's imagination.

¹ Miklós Horthy rose through the ranks of the Austro-Hungarian Navy to become its final Admiral. He became the Regent of the Kingdom of Hungary with the support of the Entente, which did not want the Habsburgs to return to power after the failure of the 131 day Hungarian Soviet Republic. As Regent he introduced censorship and interfered with the independence of the judiciary. He took extreme measures to take revenge on participants in the short-lived Hungarian Soviet government. During his 24-year rule he led Hungary into war against the Soviet Union (which in turn led to the destruction of the Second Hungarian Army at the Don). (Later declares war against the Allied powers.) In 1941 he deported all Jews who lacked Hungarian citizenship from Hungary (including those who had arrived as refugees). During his rule, Hungary enacted three so-called "Jewish Laws" (1938, 1939, 1941). By 1942 Horthy and those in his circle (including reporters) knew about the fate of Jews they were deported.

Recipe for turning a weak democracy into a strong dictatorship

I've been a cook, director of a research institute, and leader of a political party.

I'm going to introduce a recipe that I could only put together by leveraging what I've learned in all of these vocations.

First and foremost I have to tell you the recipe's ingredients. Then you'll need to know about the chef's approach (in this case the "chef" is a political party) and the ability of the guests (Hungarian society) to receive the chef's offering.

Before the chef bothers to mention his menu plans he launches a large advertising campaign to bring as many people as possible to his trattoria.

Prep Work:

Ingredients:

1 cup of demagoguery

1 cup of organization

1 cup of negative campaigning

1 cup of unscrupulousness

1 pinch of finesse (allows you to best leverage your opponent's mistakes)

Preparing The Dish

- 1) Using excessive demagoguery, prepare the path to power by launching a campaign discrediting the liberal governing coalition as corrupt. Position Fidesz as the only trustee of well-being and prosperity.
- 2) Promise to deliver happiness to common folk and to realize a true system change. (Note that the term *system change*, in Hungarian *rendszer váltás*, is used to refer to the political and social changes that began in 1989-90.)
- 3) Change political stance by dropping your older liberal image and putting on a mask of national popular demagoguery, all the time being careful not to let your desire for power show.
- 4) Being careful to disregard reality at all times, prepare for the election campaign that will bring you power with loud and brash statements: "The Nation cannot be in opposition²!"
- 5) Claim that international agreements (for example with the IMF, EU) serve foreign interests and are used to keep the Hungarian Nation under control.
- 6) Reap the results of a democratic election, but don't bother with the actual mandate it gives.
- 7) Make it seem as if you won a revolution rather than an election. Say that the "election booth revolution³" gives you a mandate to build a new political system: A system that would never get you into the European Union because all it does is ensure that you can't be removed from power. Be sure to leverage the ineffectual European Union with its European People's Party (EPP) majority. Be sure to leverage the political naiveté of the Hungarian people. Be sure to take advantage of every mistake made by the previous government. Be sure to create the illusion that your decisions are made in a democratic way. Continue as follows:

² From speech of Victor Orban.

³ From speech of Victor Orban.

Constitution

- Annul the previous constitution and prepare your own “First Law” (*alaptörvény*) according to your own will. Emphasize that the term First Law is an expression of the uniqueness of Hungarian statehood. Avoid internal and external professional control and instead depend on your own ideas as sent in a letter to all citizens. Call your letter a “National Consultation.” Distance yourself from republican ideals and replace them with national symbolism. Write the first line of the National Anthem into the constitution: “O God, bless the nation of Hungary with your grace and bounty.”
 - Fill the constitution, (the new First Law) with slogans that people can understand. Make it seem like a political declaration.
 - Insert the Crown of Saint Stephen into the First Law. Say that it symbolizes the unity of the nation; don’t be concerned that this is also the job of a living and breathing person in accordance with the First Law: The President of the Republic.
 - Forget that Hungary’s legal and national continuity was broken on numerous occasions through history. Meanwhile emphasize that between 1944 and 1990 Hungary lost its sovereignty and was not responsible for its actions as a nation.
 - Absolve Hungarian authorities of all responsibility for World War II deportations. Continue to emphasize their innocence until you actually believe it. Build a monument in one of Budapest’s main squares that emphasizes the evil responsibility of the Germans and innocence of the Hungarians.
 - Deny all achievements that the country achieved during the era of lost sovereignty. Deny the Socialist period.
 - Speak of the National faith using the language of Christian liturgy. Emphasize the historic role of Catholicism. Do not discuss state secularism.
 - Give primacy to marriage between man and woman, relegating other forms of partnership to lesser laws.
 - Emphasize the preamble since that’s as far as most people will read.
 - Emphasize crimes committed by other groups against Hungarians while ignoring that the most serious crimes against Hungarians have most often been committed by Hungarians.
 - Remove the word Republic from the country’s official name. Instead of the Republic of Hungary, say simply Hungary. Call it out loudly, like at a football match.
 - Refer to Hungarian people living in the borders of the country as parts of the “unified Hungarian Nation.” Apply this to Hungarians living outside the country, as well.
 - Do not talk about the need to respect the borders of other nations.
 - Emphasize that the nation’s ability to survive depends on families that raise children. Distance yourself from those who don’t have children and all who choose an alternate lifestyle.
 - Talk about the First Law as if it has been written in stone; as if it is the eternal and immutable Truth expressed in words. Yet at the same time change it whenever it presents a legal obstacle.
- Continually refer to the failures of the previous system change and promise that the new constitution will usher in an era of success and prosperity.
 - Constantly emphasize that nowadays things are better than before.

Legislature

- In Parliament (the National Assembly), write house rules that allow you to write any law that suits your purposes.
 - Grant powers to the Speaker of the National Assembly that have not been valid since the early 20th century: Allow the Speaker to use physical coercion against anyone entering debates not to his liking.
 - Consider the opposition null.
 - Provide shamefully low funding to political parties.
 - Always be careful to utilize any means necessary to prevent parties outside parliament from gaining strength.
 - Introduce practices that prevent wasted time on topics you deem unnecessary.
- Take advantage of your two-thirds majority and pass laws that can only be changed with a two-thirds majority or greater.
 - Be sure to install your own party faithful at the front of any public organization that displays independent spirit (for example the Hungarian Academy of Sciences). When necessary, create or encourage your own parallel organizations, such as the Hungarian Academy of Arts, and support them with a generous monthly wage.
 - Make sure that members of the Academy of Sciences know they are not independent (that they are dependent on state support).
- Nip all civil organizations in the bud. Use legislation as required.
 - Make it difficult or impossible for NGOs to function.
 - Create roadblocks for them by burdening them with unreasonable mandates, requirements.
 - Appropriate the property of civil organizations that are in bankruptcy proceedings.
- Pass legislation as required, making it retroactive if needed.

New Property Relationships

- Always dictate what is in the public interest.
 - Create a situation where you can take anyone's property for any amount of compensation you see fit.
 - Emphasize that Hungarian farmland is not for sale.
 - Any property you acquire should be distributed among your political allies and friends. Share the wealth of local government property with your clientele, as well.
 - Hand over protected land, as well.
 - Never forget that your clientele must always be accumulating wealth. Make sure they know that nothing bad will happen to them as long as they serve you.
 - Show no mercy to your opponents. Use the police and justice system against them to keep them in check.
 - Don't be concerned with lost law suits. It's enough to draw them on forever, slowly wearing down your opponents and generating negative press against them. Work your way into businesses and take control (ownership) when possible.
- Make sure your "soldiers" know about what's happening and that they always turn to you for solutions.
 - Form private companies that your party faithfully can drain financially. This also applies to each company in which the state is partial owner, either minority or majority. Spread this system across the country into every nook and cranny of business life, covering both domestic and foreign trade. Spread your system down to the level of small business, such as tobacco shops, but also to the highest income areas, such as oil, gas, and atomic energy.

Local Government

- Severely limit the authority and financial independence of local governments.
 - Form central agencies and make sure you make all important decisions.
 - Make decisions that ensure the fidelity of local clientele.

Environmental Protection

- Abandon the right to a clean environment.
 - Don't manage environmental affairs at the ministerial level. Make sure your secretarial-level environmental agency lacks meaningful tools; burden it with unimportant tasks and mandates.
 - Employ people who are not dedicated to the cause of environmental protection
 - Make sure they have no experience.

Education And Vocational Policy

- In all fields, be careful not to employ experts.
 - Make sure everyone is dependent on you and that they are scared to be working in a field outside their expertise.
- Show the public that you send children to school early.
 - Make daycare compulsory.
 - Don't be concerned about a shortage of public daycare centers/kindergartens.
- Place Faith and Church ahead of education.
 - Drain finances from public schools and give church schools more money per student in aid.
 - Make Religious Education compulsory, when parents reject this, teach "Ethics" to the rest.
- Make sure teachers are watching each other and report to your Party Soldiers. Create an organization called the "Educators' Self-Awareness Group."
 - Prepare an "ethical codex" that tells educators how to behave, dress, etc.
 - Ensure that educators can only report suspected corruption to their direct supervisor even when the supervisor is the suspect.
 - Make it clear that otherwise the whistleblower could be dismissed, even if their suspicion proves valid.
 - Raise teacher's salaries while in fact decreasing their average hourly pay.
 - Spread the news that you have raised teacher salaries.
 - Make sure your curriculum ensures that the children of poor families cannot gain the knowledge they need to remain competitive.
 - Ensure that the children of your preferred elite go to Parochial schools outside the national curriculum.
 - Deny the existence of child hunger.
 - Reform secondary education so only a small slice of society is able to move on to higher education.
 - Teach children a profession without cultural knowledge.
 - Work hard to reduce the age limit for compulsory education from 18 down to 16.
 - This way you achieve a mass of undereducated youth with few prospects for advancement.
 - In vocational schools, limit the number of non-vocational classes to 6.

- Increase the number of weekly physical education classes to 5.
 - Don't teach Information Technology in school.
- Reform the education system in such a way that allows you to reduce funding by one-fifth.
- Run schools without allowing the agency that is supposed to approve school budgets from doing so.
- Make private and alternative schools unsure of their legal status and future.
 - They should live with the knowledge that you can close them any time.
- Create a monopoly over the publication of text books. Use administrative techniques to remove popular books from the approved list of texts.
 - Publish new, untested text books.
 - As required, twist the teaching of history to meet your ideological needs.

Health Care

- Promise to solve the problems of a health care system that is in decline.
- Hold a referendum that calls the 1 EUR "visit fee" for health care services unethical.
- Promise to end the era of underfinanced health care.
- Promise to end the health care system's decline.
- Promise to eliminate the practice of patients' paying bribes to health care workers in exchange for care.
- Promise that folks will live longer under your system.
- Promise that health care workers who have emigrated will repatriate.
 - Don't really worry about the details since you don't use public hospitals anyway.
- Always be in arrears when it comes to paying the salary of underpaid health care workers.

Energy Policy

- Proclaim that the country does not have enough energy.
- Sign a contract for a large new nuclear power plant.
- Be sure to classify the contract due to "terrorism" concerns.
- Don't bother with alternative energy.
 - Cancel existing public tenders.
- In the agreement leave open the option for loan funds to be used for any purposes that meet your needs, not exclusively the new Paks II Nuclear Power Plant.
- Don't buy electricity from power plants that aren't your strategic partners.
 - Put them out of business and force them to sell their plants out to your friends.
 - If that fails, just let them close. Don't worry about lost jobs.

Research & Development Policy

- No action required.
 - More precisely, make sure no funds are available for R&D.
 - Render all central R&D centers powerless (Academy of Sciences, University R&D centers).
 - The rest will take care of itself.
 - Eliminate departments in the Social Sciences (or make them pay-only so only a chosen few can afford to pursue studies in Social Sciences)
 - Make an exception when an organization works for you.
 - Reward them generously since they deserve to be rewarded for their faithful service.

Gender Policy

- Make it clear that women are equal, so you don't need to do anything.
 - Form a cabinet with no women in it.
 - Show your preference for a macho culture; your representatives will set an example for others.

Entertainment Policy

- Prepare "circuses" for the people: Build football stadiums, no matter the price.
 - Build a luxury stadium with a heated pitch in the prime minister's home town, directly next to the house he owns. Hold this up as an example of how well things are going.
 - Remember that good Hungarians are those who are good at football.

Anti-Poverty Policy

- Flaunt your wealth: Humble politicians are pitied.
- Make it clear that each man is as valuable as the wealth he has amassed.
- Make it clear that nobody likes the poor.
- Proclaim that "We'll leave nobody on the side of the road⁴" and instead abandon them on Mount Taygete like the Ancient Spartans.
 - Introduce the rhetoric of the "work-based" society.
 - Make the majority aware that they are supporting the minority.
 - Don't mention discrimination and oppression of Roma (gypsies.)
 - Frame the issue as if it could be resolved with money that is not available in the budget at this time.
 - Reduce or eliminate welfare payments to the handicapped and disabled.
 - In this area there's no room for emotions and empathy.
 - Make it clear that most disabled people are frauds.
- Go after the homeless.
 - Push them out of central locations. Leverage every branch of law enforcement to harass them.
 - Make sure benches can't be used as beds.
 - Pass a law making it a crime to loiter or sleep on the street.

The Aging And Elderly

- Abandon older intellectuals.
 - Remember to value fealty over competence.
 - Force older professors and researchers into retirement
 - Don't worry about protecting the real value of pensions
 - Emphasize the financial burden placed on society and the budget by the elderly.

⁴ Citation from Victor Orban

Taxes And Corruption

- Promise to simplify the tax code to the point where a tax return will fit on a coaster.
 - Complicate the tax code so only accountants can prepare a return.
 - Continually change the tax code so not even lawyers and accountants can keep track.
- Introduce regressive taxation that benefits the rich and disproportionately takes from the poor.
 - Appropriate the people's money when required.
 - Come up with new taxes during the year.
 - Make sure the tax code can be used against anyone you choose to target.
 - In addition to taxation, collect money by appropriating all resources held in private pension funds.
 - Say that you took the money because the managers of private pension funds were irresponsible.
 - Say that you needed to take the money in the interest of the nation – to pay down the national debt.
 - Don't be concerned if the national debt continues to grow.
- Create loopholes that can only be used by your political allies.
 - Apply the tax code selectively.
 - Allow your friends to not pay VAT.
 - Eliminate the tax on home distilled fruit brandy (*pálinka*.)
- Do not be bothered by constant accusations of corruption; remain guided by the fact of concrete benefits that can accrue to you and your followers.
 - Allow business that cooperate with you to remain open on Sundays.

Budgeting

- Prepare an annual budget that you can modify at any time.
 - Change the budget whenever it presents a problem.
 - Don't be concerned with the debt limit you wrote into your new constitution.

Statistics

- Always describe statistics so they present you in a positive light. Never communicate any data that could be detrimental.
 - Don't collect data in areas that may give undesirable results.
 - Don't be concerned with poverty. Deflect all questions on the subject.
 - Claim that no government has done as much as yours in the fight against poverty.
 - Don't be concerned that 40% of the population lives under the poverty line.
 - Introduce a public employment program. Pay workers a very low salary: It's better to work than starve to death. Keep people on the payroll for a few months at a time for 140 EUR a month, but present them in statistics as fully employed individuals.

Conquest Of Public Offices

- Create the image of a lean cabinet with few ministers. Give all jobs – as many as required – to your party faithful.
- Fill every office with your people.
 - Take one of your party leaders and make him the party-neutral President of the Republic.

- Make sure the President is the type who won't oppose anything you do. He must be ready to sign all legislation introduced by your party.
- Name as many judges to the Constitutional Court from your party as you would like. Don't be bashful: History rewards the strong.
 - Take away powers from the constitutional court and give them to your party faithful for terms of ten years or more. Pay them good money and make sure the legal system is as obscure as possible.

Control Positions Across Election Cycles

- Place party faithful in positions of power in such a way that they can retain their positions even in the unlikely situation of another party removing you from power. This way your people will be in position to obstruct your potential successor government.
- Rename the Supreme Court the *Curia* and fill it with your party faithful for terms of at least 10 years. Make sure judges who are faithful to you preside over cases you consider important.
- Make sure that the National Office for the Judiciary is headed by one of your faithful soldiers. Give him a nine-year term and build him into the legal system.
- If you can't force independent judges into retirement, make sure these judges don't preside over cases that need a judgment in your favor.
- When cases involve the opposition, be sure to drag them out as long as possible so they can remain as a favorite topic during the next election.
 - Use media under your control to draw attention to issues that shed negative light on the opposition.
- Occupy positions in such a way that your party faithful will be able to sabotage the work of any government that succeeds you in the unlikely event of your electoral defeat.
 - Don't be too concerned with the position of Attorney General since that position is already filled by one of your party faithful. Lengthen his term of office to nine years.
 - Find an MP from your party who supports you unconditionally and appoint him as President of the State Audit Office for a 12-year term.
 - Create a Fiscal Council under your majority control.
 - Give the Fiscal Council the power to disband Parliament in case the Parliament fails to pass a budget. This gives you protection against unwanted budgets in the unlikely case that you lose power.
 - Appoint a President of the Hungarian Competition Authority and two secretaries according to your wishes and give them a six-year term.
 - Do the same with the National Supervision Board for Financial Institutions
 - Do the same with the Hungarian Central Bank.
 - Make sure your party faithful can't be removed from their positions. Pass a law requiring a two-thirds majority in Parliament to remove any of the following from their position: The President of the Curia, the Chief Justice, the President of the National Office for the Judiciary, Attorney General, the President of the State Audit Office. This ensures that any potential successor won't be able to get rid of your people unless they can get less than two third of the votes.
 - Make voters feel their vote is wasted if they don't vote for you. Investment will only go to places where your men are in the lead.

The Press

- Find an appropriate person to head the National Media and Info-communications Authority (NMHH). Grant extensive powers for a nine-year term.
 - Establish a five-member Media Council that will cooperate with the President of the National Media and Info-communications Authority.
 - Take over the national news agency (MTI) and all public-service media.
 - Get rid of old employees and bring in new ones.
 - Avoid independent thinkers.
 - Dismiss anyone who fails to recognize the boundaries you set.
 - Make sure that all media outlets sign contracts with the national news agency (MTI).
 - Make sure that every word coming from your news agency remains under your control by not allowing articles to be edited by media outlets (customers of MTI).
 - Require articles to be used exactly as provided.
 - Take legal action against anyone who does not follow your rules.
 - Control all MTI employees from inside.
- Make it difficult for opposition press to exist.
 - Set up financial requirements they can't meet.
 - Only award frequencies to those who you can rely on to fulfill your expectations.
 - Limit the range of opposition radio stations.
 - Require opposition news and talk radio to broadcast mainly music.
 - Introduce special taxes against independent media outlets. Work your way into their directorship.
 - Pass laws that allow you to harass anyone who publishes news of your party's corruption.
 - Control the advertising market.
 - Only sign contracts with those on your side.
 - Ensure that public contracts only go to radio, TV, or newspapers that are willing to show your party propaganda.
 - Leverage their dependency on you.
 - To the extent possible, assign single-digit television stations to state-controlled channels. This way non-technical folks may be more likely to hear only your message since they may only be able to switch to your channels using their remote control.
- Encourage people to watch lots of television.
- Look down on your citizens; ensure that your TV programs generate fear and hatred and give people scapegoats.
- Turn people against each other so they won't be bothered with you and your elite.
- Show who's boss by banning TV channels from broadcasting parliamentary proceedings if they don't provide information to your liking.
- Restrict the transmitter area of the only opposition radio station. Force them, to play more music.

Communications

- Generate chaos and hysteria and tell people you know the solution.
 - Always give the people enemies.
 - Find even more, new enemies.
 - Maintain bad relations with neighboring countries.
 - Always be on the side of the majority; never favor minorities.
- Always present your views as if they represent the majority. Always tell people what they want to hear. Lie without betraying any emotion. Don't be bothered by facts.
 - Show folks at home that you are protecting them from the European Union.
 - Meanwhile in Brussels present yourself as the embodiment of Europe.
 - If anyone attacks you and your government, express indignation on behalf of the entire nation.
 - Accuse them of attacking the entire nation and present yourself as the defender of the nation's good name.
- Spread the message that rich big-spenders gain respect while thrifty puritans are looked down upon.
- Don't be afraid of demagoguery.
 - Promise to fulfill even the pettiest desires.
 - Be cynical, even to the point where you release a convicted murderer to his home country in exchange for a payment (the Azeri officer who brutally murdered Armenian officer [Gurgen Margaryan](#)).
 - Proclaim that if others were to follow your excellent example, they would also improve life in their own country.
 - Show that the European Union limits the nation's freedom and prevents you from making good decisions.
- Say that every problem stems from the previous government's mistakes.
 - Initiate law suites to support your propaganda in this area.
 - Regularly repeat that the EU is at fault.
 - Constantly draw negative attention to your opponents.
- Re-form the idea of collective guild and float the idea that your opponents can be banned (as the political descendants of the Hungarian Socialist Worker's Party).
- Build prisons.
 - Increase the severity of punishments.
- Speak your mind, no matter how shameful your thoughts.
 - Generate hatred against migrants, immigrants. Say, that they aren't wanted or needed. They are culturally different and they take jobs from Hungarians. Ignore the fact that over half a million Hungarians work abroad.
 - When making public displays of your hate, bring your own supporters along.
 - Emphasize the tribal, xenophobic spirit; downplay Hungary's European identity.

Unions And Labor Policy

- Restrict the rights of unions.
 - Restrict the right to strike.
 - Rewrite the labor code.
 - Pass laws that protect employers, not employees.
- Make sure the labor code allows you to claim to investors that Hungary is worthy of their money.
 - After all, wages are lower.
 - Lots of unemployed are waiting to work.

- Pensions are low.
- Unions are weak and lack resources.
- Civil groups are weak and lack resources.
- Government oversight is corrupt to your benefit.

Religion And Church Policy

- Disavow secularism.
 - Begin the process of unifying church and state.
- Act as if you were a kind of religion/church.
 - Built your politics on emotion and present faith as the force binding your followers.
- Bind the major historic churches to your movement and have your work spread from every pulpit.
- You decide who qualifies as an official church.
 - Revoke the license of any church that fails to cooperate.
 - Provide generously financial support to cooperative churches.

Ombudsman System

- Simplify the ombudsman system – you don't need so much feedback.
- Eliminate the Parliamentary Commissioner for Future Generations.
- Eliminate the Parliamentary Commissioner for National and Ethnic Minority Rights.

Electoral System

- Craft an electoral system that benefits your interests.
 - Change the law as required to ensure that the balance of power is on your side.
- Control the National Election Office and National Election Commission with a two-thirds majority.
 - Limit the ability to initiate referenda.
 - Establish an unreasonably high participation rate to establish the validity of a referendum.
 - Make it even more difficult to submit a petition for a referendum.
 - Establish requirements that are almost impossible to fulfill, or that at least favor your interests.
- Give ethnic Hungarians from neighboring countries citizenship and the right to vote.
 - Allow them to vote by mail. Don't worry that the consequences of their vote have no impact on them.
 - Make it more difficult for Hungarian citizens earning their living abroad to vote.

Civil Society & NGOs

- Tear down civil organizations that have formed since 1989 and replace them with new ones.
 - Remember that civil organizations working in the interest of women, human rights and the environment are dangerous, especially if they are being supported by the West. They present obstacles to your smooth governance.
 - Force them to re-register
 - Force them to formally proclaim their political neutrality in their articles of incorporation.

- Make it nearly impossible for organizations to qualify as “public benefit service” organizations (which then would qualify them for special benefits, including access to data that help them fulfill their mission).
- Only support organizations that are your own.
 - For example, support organizations that build on the Christian traditions of the inter-war period.

Historical Perspective

- Falsify history
 - Make historians dependent on you for their livelihood. Hang the idea of unemployment over their heads. Reward those who interpret history according to your ideological views.
 - Don't be bothered that many are still alive who lived through the events you are falsifying. Paint a dark picture of past governments; emphasize your own success and present the image of a rosy future.
 - Don't forget that you are recreating the politics of Memory.
 - Tear down the image of the so-called Socialists and Communists. Restore yourself as the representative of Neo-Horthy politics.
 - Lump the various periods of the socialist era into a monolithic mass; emphasize the worst aspects and generally apply them to the whole period.
 - Ignore all positive changes made during the previous era, such as the end of primogeniture, distribution of land to more people, and the spread of education.
 - Wash the socialist years together with the years of Arrow Cross dictatorship.
 - Place the communist red star on the same level as the swastika.
 - Ban these symbols together.
 - Form a so-called museum that spreads lies and misinformation about the socialist period.
 - Eradicate all memories of the labor movement museum as if such a movement never existed.
 - Form street-naming commission.
 - Rename all streets named after martyrs of the Hungarian leftist movement.
 - Rename streets after fascist collaborators.
 - Present the history of the Soviet Union as the story of a criminal state.
 - Call everything before the 1989 system change “communist.”
 - Ignore the fact that the system never claimed to be communist but rather laying the groundwork of socialism.
 - Ignore the fact that the previous system would have continued to have reforms.
 - Always talk about the government of Ferenc Gyurcsány and Gábor Bajnai as a poisoned eight-year period.
 - Make sure your message speaks directly to the under-informed majority of voters.
 - Remember that the nation's intellectuals will vote for you since you offer a path to opportunity for all faithful.
- Remove statues of historical figures who do not conform to your view of history.
- Commission statues of leaders who led the nation into World Wars.

- Remember that key figures from the Horthy era also deserve statues. Teach about these figures in schools – Albert Wass, József Nyírő, Cécile Tormay, Bálint Hóman.
- Represent yourself as the architect of a new authoritarian system.
 - If anyone criticizes you, ask them if they prefer a country controlled by foreign multi-national corporations?

Language Usage

- Use a special language
- Appropriate words.
- “Citizen” applies only to you and your followers.
- National holidays are for you and your followers.
- The flag, coat of arms, and other national symbols represent you and your followers.
- Keep your message simple.
- Remember that the majority of voters rarely concern themselves with politics.
- If anyone attacks you, always say it is an attack against the entire Hungarian nation.

What Do We Mean By "Fidesz"?

The Fidesz recipe is uniquely Hungarian: The so-called New National Cooperation System⁵. It is an illiberal⁶ democracy (based on European Christian Democratic ideas) and not to follow that is a shame⁷. Its chemical composition can be measured and is on the Periodic Table.

Orbán The Leader

Orbán is consolidating his power. He tactically manipulates the old contrast between urban Budapest and the "folk" countryside. The knowledge of the countryside, with completely different living facilities, weighting 70% is more important.

He builds his power by talking to people from a charismatic microphone stand telling them what they want to hear, using his suggestibility upon the collective unconscious mind of people. He claims to be giving back to the nation its spiritual unity and great, proud past. In return he expects dependency. His desire knows no limits. He's already pushing the borders of post-Trianon Hungary. Under his rule xenophobia has become acceptable, bringing old Hungarian historical reflexes to the fore.

He claims that Fidesz is defending the nation against foreigners, meanwhile simply pushing them along to neighbors. Meanwhile anti-Semitism and anti-Roma sentiment is growing. Like the fairy tale "The Emperor's New Clothes", Orbán's followers dare not raising a voice against their leader who sees only his own interests.

Orbán does not tolerate contradiction. As an adolescent teen, he struggled under the strong hand of his father, and he has now grown to become a power-hungry dictator who turns democracy's every weakness against itself.

⁵ Prime minister [Orbán Viktor](#) and [his](#) government ([kormány](#)) signed an agreement after the April 2010 parliamentary election ([2010. áprilisi országgyűlési választásokon](#)) upon the establishment of the new political system called the New National Cooperation System.

⁶ The concept of illiberal democracy has been at the center of attention since Orbán's speech a mainly Transylvanian Hungarian audience at Tusnádfürdő, Romania (Băile Tușnad) on 25 July 2014 in which he called his system "illiberal".

⁷ "Faith leads, we go blindly" - Benjamin Franklin. According to the poll held by public opinion research institute Median on 9 December 2015, 50% of voters who are sure to vote would choose, the Fidesz-KDNP (Christian Democratic People's Party) coalition. This is the best mid-term performance by any party since the "change of the regime" in 1990. The result can be explained by the xenophobia created and fanned by Fidesz during the summer refugee crisis.

Conclusions

This means that the trouble is great. Making matters worse, the system nearly eliminates the paths to co-operation between people who want change.

The biggest leftist opposition party, the Hungarian Socialist Party (MSZP, presently with support under 10%) has still not faced the real roots of their failure: they turned away from their political heritage, moving instead on a neo-liberal track. Many of their politicians are still hoping that Fidesz will make a major mistake that will create the opportunity to return to power and to their old ways of collaborating with their favored business circles. They continue to fail to perform a public self-evaluation accepting that the so-called "Election Booth Revolutionary" is not only the result of the false promises of Fidesz, but also because the majority of voters reject MSZP's former liberal and neo-liberal social democracy.

MSZP has to be renewed. Several weak attempts have already been made. But until voters can see that MSZP has returned to traditional socialist values, they will not reach that part of the population which is willing to give them their vote.

The other parliamentary party which can be considered relevant is LMP (Politics Can Be Different). They now believe it is important for them to gain strength as an independent party than to join a coalition to defeat Fidesz. Some say they are a Green Party unfairly fishing in troubled waters (for example, half of their parliamentary members supported Trianon Memorial Day – a holiday remembering the injustice forced upon Hungary by the 1920 treaty signed by the Allied Powers at the Trianon Palace at Versailles, France.) In short, their growth is still more important to them than the interests of the country.

It's not an easy task to work together with others. So first of all, different-minded political groups of all sizes will only be able to work together if they will declare that they will not transform and subjugate upon each other. They must realize they can achieve nothing alone: Parties of the left must form an alliance that can re-establish democracy in Hungary and restore the republican value system based on good relations with the European Union. Such experimentation is already happening in Portugal, where three left-wing parties are building a coalition.

But unfortunately I don't see much chance for the Greek, Portuguese or Spanish model to succeed in Hungary today. The current governing coalition will stop at nothing to secure electoral victory. The words of recently deceased Attila Csernok capture Orbán's methods well: "He acts against his own people, using their ignorance to turn them against each other and humanity." Consider Orbán's own words spoken on the occasion of his re-election as Fidesz party chairman at their party congress in December 2015: "Human rights, openness, and tolerance are second-rank values." And consider the words of László Kövér, President of the Parliament, spoken at the same party congress to rousing applause: "We know what we want and what we don't. We don't want an Open Society that's defenseless against manipulation from abroad. We don't want the gender madness. We don't want to make Hungary a futureless society full of man-hating women and feminine men terrified of women who see in children and in families only obstacles to self-fulfillment. (Long applause, the speaker faces the delegates.) We would like that our daughters would consider that the highest culmination of self-fulfillment would be, to bear grandchildren for us. We don't want a United States of Europe ruled in opposition to our National values by corrupt bureaucrats in Brussels. In place of Christian Europe we don't want a multi-cultural Europe. I should note that this can be misconstrued, because we already had a multi-cultural society under the monarchy. What is happening now in

Europe is not multi-culturalism but rather an experiment by those who would rob indigenous Europeans of their own culture and turn Europe into a settlement zone for rootless barbarians (Long applause, the speaker looks up from the text.) who are blended together with natives to form a base of voters and consumers.”

The stakes are high. European citizens hoped that the European Union would end war on the Old Continent. Anti-war aims still take priority over other values. All politicians who fail to see this must be abandoned.

The political situation overseen by Fidesz and Jobbik is a tense one. Social decline has not been slowed; meanwhile the renewal of the left has yet to come. With the help of the European Left we must build the type of political solidarity that otherwise cannot form on its own.