

Background to the Declaration of Illiberal State (summary)

The neo-conservative politics of incitement (creating the enemy within) which used to correlate Hungarian tragedy with Jews produced a new Jewish question such as Israeli conquest of Hungary after the change of political system. Fidesz government and parliament which regard the George Soros' all attempts as threats to Hungary's security can be placed into the same context. In that sense, it is safely said that the current government's declaration of illiberal state is a part of nativistic politics of incitement rather than an outgrowth of eastward opening (*keleti nyitás*) policy which looked for the foreign trade with Russia and Asian countries including China.

In April 2017, prime minister Viktor Orbán explained that the enactment of new education law aiming at the Central European University was for the sake of "final battle" between his government and Soros foundation. Because, borrowing his phrase, "the Soros empire which has set out on promoting the cause of migrants" from the non-European areas is making attempts to threaten Hungary and to acculturate Christian Europe through its NGOs or the Left and the liberals he had "bought off".

Fidesz government's crusade against Soros foundation was manifested before ethnic Hungarian audience in Transylvania on July 26, 2014.

Orbán's declaration of illiberal state worked closely with the Mária Schmidt's article of "In the captivity of the past" issued one month earlier. The points of her article were terror of intellectuals, and argument on the Jews that they excluded themselves from Hungarian nation. She regarded the Soros-funded NGOs as "intellectual terrorists" related to the 1968-ers who stood for the Spring of Prague in East Central Europe, the May Revolution in France, and the anti-Vietnam war or the African American citizenship movements in the United States.

Schmidt showed the double occupation theory of Nazi Germany and the Soviet Union in a book entitled *The Devil's Wagon of Dictatorship* in 1998, which was reflected in the new constitution the Fidesz government established in April 2011. Its preamble reads that Hungary had no right of self-determination between the German occupation in March 1944 and the formation of parliament based on the free elections in May 1990 after the end of the Soviet occupation. It suggests that Hungary does not admit any responsibility for the dark past including Holocaust happened during the foreign rules.

The lineage of neo-conservatism narrows the national concept of Hungarians. That is, they define the nation as an ethnic, rather than a political, community. But one should not forget that the Hungarian history had self-control precedents in xenophobia relying on the inclusive concept of the nation.