

Founding declaration of Dialogue for Hungary

Everyday life has become suffocating in what used to be called the Hungarian Republic. The system of public law created at the time of the regime change would have been fit to act as the political framework of a working democracy, nevertheless, the successive governments of the third republic proved unable to reunite a society torn apart in the transition years whereas the collapse of trust in politics encouraged doubts concerning the moral foundations of democracy. Political and moral failures of the third republic led to the construction of a political system starting in 2010 that reneged on solidarity, disintegrated the economy, further increased exploitation, annihilated constitutional culture, and demolished the democratic the rule of law.

The fundamental moral of the story is that constitutional democracy is not sustainable as long as the majority of society are unable to provide for their own and their families' livelihoods while economic competition is unfair and manipulated and when politics falls capture to oligarchs. The only way to get out of this gravel pit is through a new consensus overlapping political cycles and all sides of the political spectrum, and a new republic erected on the foundation of a new reconciliation. A number of profound and complex causes contributed to the regime change getting derailed. Nevertheless, there is no doubt that one among many reasons was the failure of Hungarian politics to provide a party that could have fought with credibility and responsibility for future generations against oppression, poverty, social inequalities and arbitrary power. Thus we create a new left Green party by the name Dialogue for Hungary, in order to take part in creating a free, just and sustainable society. In its name, the country is not a republic any longer. It is up to us, citizens, to prove that it is still a republic in its soul.

The promise of the enlightenment

A political community, thinking in the long term, must be able to determine its mission in a historical context. The mission of Green left wing politics is born out of the enlightenment. Its historical and ideological roots go back centuries, and transcend the limits of the nation state. The great promise of the enlightenment was that of a free society, free from arbitrary power and feudal bounds, where public affairs are determined by reason and the basis of which is the moral and legal equality of citizens. The creation of a political community guaranteeing basic human, citizens' and political liberties, and arranging the relationships of equal citizens through relatively stable laws was a great step forward for human civilization. In parallel, the establishment of a market economy based on private property and the freedom of enterprise engendered unprecedented economic growth, further contributing to the elimination of feudal social bounds. In spite of the profound economic transformation, it soon became evident that the market, unfettered by social bounds, leads to mass misery, and offers wealth only for a select few. It also became clear that the mere principles of equal dignity and equality under

the law will not in themselves bring about a community of equals, when the economic system engenders extreme forms of material deprivation. Thus the fight for political freedoms was accompanied by the fight for economic equality as part of the mission of the historical left.

Extending citizenship and the gradual construction of social citizenship had to wait for the twentieth century. In order to make the promise of equality under the law a reality for the morally equal members of the political community, the state had to stand up against exclusion, material deprivation, hunger and extreme forms of inequality. The twentieth century provided a number of answers to the crises of capitalism, to deprivation and existential insecurity. Among them, systems founded on the very negation of freedom and equal dignity, which lead to the gravest tragedies of history. The countries that were able to prevent the formation of oppressive regimes learned how to regulate market processes to protect freedom and institutionalized solidarity. Through the battles of trade unions, workers' movements, social democratic parties and intellectuals committed to emancipation, social citizenship became the institution of practical moral equality. Education, health care, social security, social services and basic infrastructural services became part of a regulated market economy and the modern welfare state was born.

After the second world war, the combination of the regulated market and constitutional democracy brought about unprecedented material development. By the sixties, however, this development met two significant boundaries. The internal boundary was set by the bleakness of the consumer society, the growing feeling that human relationships and social bonds are becoming more and more superficial due to the fetters of outdated convention and increasingly penetrating commoditization. This feeling brought a political awakening for a new generation. Technocratic administration with its references made to the exclusive gospel of rationality as well as consumer society reducing self-fulfilment to mere shopping and ownership undermined the very foundations of moral autonomy and true self determination by colonizing various spheres of life. The external boundary, on the other hand, was to be seen in the fact that the unbridled demands of an industrial society clashed with the scarcity of natural resources, manifest in the decline of biological diversity, disappearing species, natural systems conquered, transformed and polluted by civilization, as well as climate change. To these contributed an ever more forceful process of migration, which reminded western democracies that they cannot avoid facing up to the problem of global injustice, as well as the task of social integration based on substantial equal opportunities. These boundaries reflected the lack of sustainability of the ever more desperate competition between two worlds, eastern state socialism and western capitalism.

By the second half of the twentieth century, the left was facing new tasks. The economy based on the growth consensus, trying to resolve the opposition between capital and labour by the constantly increasing production and consumption, welfare services and unionized organizations seemed to have reached its limits. The social apparatuses created for regulating the market themselves became the means to rule. The cultural bleakness of the consumer society, the discrimination of ethnic and sexual minorities or the oppression of women may not be remedied solely by the means of redistribution. Appearing in the sixties, the new left set itself the objective of solving these tasks: creating ecological sustainability, peace, liberation from external and internal colonization, the equality of the sexes, diversity in society, the protection of minorities, diversity of identities, controlling technological systems, making the welfare state more transparent, democratizing relationships of hierarchy, the fight against authoritarianism. The most authentic representatives of this culture of the new left

were the Green movements and the Green parties they gave life to, which took a determined stance against Eastern European state socialist dictatorships and in the protection of human rights.

However, it was not only the new left that reacted to the crises of capitalism in its late stages and of industrial society. From the seventies onwards, the new right, reaching back to times from before the welfare state, denied that a just society could be created, denied the rationality of intervening in market processes, and emphasised merit and duty instead of rights. The new right saw the guarantee of the renewal of western society in unleashing the forces of the market, and in individual responsibility instead of institutionalized solidarity in the guise of social citizenship. The breakthrough of neoconservative-neoliberal politics put developed market economies on a new track from the early eighties, and added further momentum to the accelerating process of globalization. The initial success of the new right led the social democratic political families into crisis, as the parties of the old left found it more and more difficult to offer credible and popular solutions to the problems of the late twentieth century. The dead end reached by the third way as per Blair and Giddens, giving up on the imperative of protecting the welfare state and social citizenship, eventually significantly weakened the major left-wing parties from the United States to Germany. The difference between the third way left and the right was reduced to a bare minimum, while the vulnerability of exploited citizens was not reduced at all. Thus the left was temporarily forced back into the streets and radical parties, which led to the breakthrough of the alter-globalization movement at the end of the nineties.

By the turn of the millennium it became clear that history has not in fact come to an end, and the western model based on free markets was unable to fulfil its promises. Inequalities rose within societies and between countries as well. In the age of globalization, quality of life and the standards of living stagnated at best in the most developed western countries according to most indicators, except for a small percentage at the top. Ecological unsustainability became more and more evident even at the level of everyday life. In the meantime, novel forms of material deprivation and existential insecurity appeared, unheard of in the period after the second world war. Erupting in 2008, the global financial crisis eliminated the savings of millions of families, forced millions into poverty, with further millions losing their homes. In line with the promise of the enlightenment, the left rediscovered in the wake of the crisis its policies based on regulated markets, industrial policy, the active state, public services financed by the state, social citizenship and the strict control of the financial sector.

At the edges of Europe, and thus, in Hungary as well, the path of creating individual liberty went together with the desire for freedom for the entire political community, which put left-wing politics into a very particular context. The issue of national independence, securing political liberties, taming capitalism and catching up with the west provided tasks to be solved simultaneously. Political regimes of the twentieth century attached different weights to these tasks. The forces of Hungarian urban radicalism and social democracy which tried to remedy the most burning problems of Hungarian society in a democratic framework were not given a proper political chance. The attempts of 1918 and 1956 to establish a constitutional social democracy each failed. In the course of consolidation under Kádár, the country reached great achievements in mitigating widespread misery, establishing existential security and modernization, but the regime continued to be based on the fundamental negation of national independence, people's sovereignty and political freedoms. The most painful legacy of socialism is however the fact that most citizens saw the public institutions of

social citizenship and the welfare state not as a result of their own organised struggles, but as the capricious gift of the powers that be, since Kádár's bargain granted them with these favours in exchange for their silence and political inactivity. The radical abolishment of self-organisation and citizens' activism tore out the very roots of a true left from Hungarian society. The legacy of the Kádár regime is to be seen in the fact that Hungary is the very last as far as the hours spent on strike are concerned after the millennium, and the existing left sometimes brought about, and sometimes numbly put up with social inequalities created in the wake of the regime change. As Hungarian progressives considered their primary task to bring the country on a par with western standards of living, they have become insensitive to the problem that constitutional democracies and market economies in the west have always been struggling with. The transition to a market economy reached Hungary in the absence of a true left. The forces calling themselves the left very forcefully represented in these years the interests of the economic interest groups that went on to switch from their roles as middle and senior managers into the new elite with a desire and the capacity to influence politics in the process of spontaneous privatization of the transition.

Furthermore, economic liberalism based on the omnipotence of the free market and legal liberalism based on political freedoms had been attached to one another until very recent times as the result of a misunderstanding. Thus instead of getting engaged in the criticism of extreme market processes, the alleged left delegated this task to the right which had traditionally been strong in this field. Representation and standing up for the issues of the left was taken up by political forces for which the tradition of political freedoms inherited from the enlightenment and the social democratic ideal of a social citizenship had always been alien and undesirable. In the guise of national anti-capitalism, the demand for a regulated market lead to autocratic politics decreasing life chances, denying equal dignity, establishing new forms of exploitation and establishing a punitive state. The great achievements of public law liberalism, respect for human dignity, political freedoms, plural democracies and diverse forms of open public discourse, legal stability and the freedom of enterprise are too valuable to be left to disappear. In order to fully restore the Hungarian left, what is called for is a fusion of social democratic economic policies creating life chances and opportunities, legal and cultural liberalism and ecological awareness which are able to create a just and sustainable Hungary in the globalised world of the twenty-first century.

Breaking with economic liberalism, the Hungarian left needs to confront market extremities, has to be able to communicate with the middle class facing existential insecurity, as well as to be able to talk to the masses of increasingly poor workers, employees and self-employers that are politely referred to as the lower middle class. The new Green left has to be able to provide answers to the challenges of the Hungarian economy working at the semi-periphery of the global market economy, and has to be able to protect diversity and value-based public discourse instead of technocracy, as well as to respect ecological constraints, sustainability and the interests of future generation in all policy areas. The new left has to be able to put an end to the manipulative practice of artificially opposing successive national tragedies against one another, to the fragmentation of national ideals and has to be able to eliminate exclusive notions of culture, and must learn to create an open inclusive patriotism with European horizons. In order to be able to renew its own left-wing program, social citizenship and the welfare state, it has to be able to free the state from the grip of oligarchs it has fallen capture to, so as to construct the institutions of rational design and a service state willing to see partners in its citizens and economic actors and to curtail unnecessary interventions. The

Hungarian left needs to return to the promise of the enlightenment, and has to be willing to draw from the vision of a free and equal society.

The Hungarian left is in need of renewal. Thus we are establishing a Green left political community which, by continuing to develop the traditions of social democracy, human rights-based liberalism and urban radicalism while representing the ideals of the new left, can provide just and sustainable solutions.

The Regime Change Derailed

After the rule of law revolution of 1989-1990, the combination of a constitutional democracy and the market economy created the freedom of privacy, freedom of expression, freedom of conscience and the freedom of enterprise, and entitled citizens to take part in democratic decision making. The most fundamental experience of Hungarian society after the regime change has nevertheless been that of injustice. Several millions of our countrymen ended up in an extremely vulnerable situation, making ends meet means in daily struggles for millions of families while a narrow minority turned its political connections into enormous riches. The system thus created was unable to create a real opportunity for equal participation in public affairs, did not create the basic conditions of competition with equal opportunities for the contestants, failed to provide decent living conditions for the majority of society, and did not create justice either in the distribution of goods or in access to public services. In the course of the decade following the regime change, more than one million of our compatriots lost their jobs for good, and tens of thousands of Hungarian citizens were forced to live in the streets without shelter. Whole regions ended up in a state of fatal hopelessness, with the total lack of employment and the economic opportunities.

The development of a fair market competition was rapidly throttled by the world of oligarchs gradually built around the political elite, exercising increasingly strict control on public life. Illegal ties between the major parties and economic actors engenders losses of an order of magnitude of a billion Hungarian forints, making rational planning impossible, as well as preventing decisions from being made on professional groundings, or their appropriate implementation. Innumerable policy programs, properly prepared by the best experts failed due to the fact that state and parties alike were gripped in the squid-like, fatal embrace of oligarchs. Narrow ties between the economy and politics endangers representation of the people, the fair and efficient use of shared resources, and fetters public policies designed to remedy social problems. The organizational structures of the great parties competing for our votes as well as the deep embeddedness in the world of the oligarchs gaining the upper hand of the regime change makes these parties unfit to start our country on the path of recovery.

One of the great injustices of the Hungarian economy is that the economic and political elites, closely tied to the state without the opportunity of democratic control, have been evading assuming a fair share in public burdens for decades. The individuals with the greatest wealth and the greatest corporations barely pay taxes, while simple workers, the middle class and small businesses have no alternative but to bear the heavy burden of high taxes. A significant part of great wealth in Hungary receives state assets almost as a gift, or is getting more and more wealthy from being richly rewarded for doing business with the state. Tax exemptions distributed without constraints to mega-corporations, as well as uncritical compliance with the downward spiral of offering ever-increasing tax exemptions,

tore increasingly fatal rips in the income side of the post-regime change budgets. At the same time, the high level of burdens on labour put SMEs in an impossible situation, as well as curbing employment of workers with low levels of education.

About one and a half million jobs were lost in the wake of the regime change, most of which never to be recovered. The development model followed for 20 years was unable to significantly increase employment. The labour market is characterised by a number of extremities in Hungary. We have among the lowest employment rates; it is practically impossible to break the grip of unemployment, while those who still do are overexploited. In a European comparison, Hungary is at the forefront as far as the number of hours worked per capita is concerned. Governments entered the downward spiral of competition in the global economy, decreasing taxes for corporations and along with diminishing work related benefits, with employees becoming more and more exploited. This policy led to a dead end for the Hungarian economy. The value created by exploited labour is not sufficient for financing public services, further decreasing citizens' health status and the quality of life. The Hungarian economy is in the threefold trap of low employment, low added value and low budgetary revenues. Continuous restrictions and the reduction of budgetary revenues especially in the field of education and health care actively contributed to creating this trap. Social rights curtailed at the constitutional level, punitive policies aimed at the homeless and the poor, the flat rate tax, the weakening of the system of public, vocational and higher education, as well as the labour law increasing the exploitation of workers are unfit to foster the creation either of jobs or of a more just society.

The development model adopted in the wake of the regime change introduced a fatal rip in the fabric of the Hungarian economy. In the context characterised by unpredictability, without resources or a significant market for the goods produced and the services provided, the small and medium enterprise sector, fettered by a high tax burden, proved unable to fulfil the role it should play in a healthy economy. These businesses were unable to make use of the opportunities as suppliers and were often forced out even for their own natural markets, and were stuck at a very low level of productivity, without a potential for growth. Unpredictability of orders commissioned by the state, overregulation, corruption in public procurement and the lengthy chains of companies each indebted to one another all represent problems that could not be met. The resources which should have been spent on developing small enterprises were insufficient to counteract the disadvantages in comparison with foreign capital. Lacking a strong and vibrant local economy, employment failed to increase given that the multinational sector, engaged in relatively capital intensive production was unable to absorb the Hungarian workforce.

At the same time Hungary also failed to get closer to ecological sustainability. Even though economic recession and industrial modernization at the beginning of the nineties temporarily mitigated its resource intensity and pollutant emissions, the Hungarian economy was never placed on Green foundations. Justified by the alleged lack of resources, decision makers found it all too easy to curb the financing for environmental institutions, halted investment in energy efficiency of buildings, or abolished institutions such as that of the ombudsman for future generations. The decline of our natural environment and the economy is tied by a thousand threads to the collapse of agriculture and the food processing industry. Business interest groups with close ties to the parties gained control over an ever-increasing share of arable land, engaged in intensive mass production, which degraded the power of the

countryside to retain its inhabitants and flooded oversaturated European markets with cheap bulk produce, further increasing the distance from the goals of a sustainable agriculture.

As a result of injustice and arbitrary exercise of power, we are less and less inclined to trust each other. Power has been abused so blatantly above our heads, that we find it hard to trust each other, our institutions and likely even ourselves. Unprocessed traumas cutting across the spectrum of Hungarian society provide fertile soil for this lack of trust, which can easily turn into a flammable agent. In the field of symbolic politics, the left, with its insensitivity to the national issue, and the lack of message or vision, whereas the right contributed to the revival of the extreme right's ideologies well known from Hungarian history by proffering political discourse based on pointing the finger at scapegoats, and also contributed to widening cultural and symbolic divides separating society. Political extremism is able to thrive because it makes use of the fact that society is torn apart and the fear of the middle class is descending even further into the abyss. Where existential insecurity is a daily reality, hate-based politics will rapidly flourish. Whole social groups can be rendered scapegoats in the hope of reaping rapid political profits. The anger of citizens engaged in a daily struggle to make ends meet for themselves and their families can be legitimate but is often misguided. If no democratic and just solution is found for this problem, the more and more desperate anger will be harvested by forces that inherently deny democracy.

Thus the political freedoms guaranteed in the constitution of the third republic have remained empty promises, as due to their vulnerability owing to their existential insecurity, the citizens of the state could not exercise their rights. The constitutional institutional system provided no safeguard from deep poverty, misery for middle class groups or unfettered destruction by oligarch, or increasingly dire battles in the realm of culture, and thus it lost much of its value in the eyes of more and more people. Citizens were faced with lies and hypocrisy on behalf of the political elite on a daily basis, with leading politicians often not even trying to disguise the gap between words and deeds. And thus, the system of institutions based on the constitution, once believed to be robust, was broken not only as a result of the irresponsibility and corruption of the political elite, but also in consequence of society becoming disillusioned and thus turning away from public life and discourse in general.

Thus something quite unprecedented happened in Hungarian politics in 2010. The regime created following 2010 was given the opportunity to bring down the constitutional system without obstacles, through legislation that was arbitrary and in denial of the rule of law, above the heads of masses of citizens struggling for daily survival and shunning politics altogether. Facing the present situation in Hungary, the situation is unequivocal. A new system of feudal liege is being constructed; autonomous institutions are rendered impossible from trade unions to local governments; and the only alternatives for Hungarian citizens seems to consist in pledging allegiance with those in power, vulnerable dependence or becoming outcasts. The country was never this much torn apart and never did we live in such an extremely unjust society. The situation of those fighting for sustainability was never promising of so little hope, and never did we live in such an extremely unsustainable society. Social participation was never so utterly impossible, and never did we live in such an extremely antidemocratic and centralized society.

The political community of equal Hungarian citizens, that is, the republic, must be given new life. A fundamental condition for the new start would be the restoration of constitutionality, checks and balances, legal stability, an independent judiciary, sovereignty of the people,

citizens' participation and completely free and, if possible, proportionate electoral system. Learning from the century-old programmes of the left and the experiences of the regime change, we should see that simply restoring the republic will not in itself be sufficient. Restoring democracy and constitutionality is unsustainable without a more fair distribution of resources, more just competition in the economy and in politics. The Hungarian left is in need of renewal. In order to solve the tasks the country is facing, a new political force is needed, such a one that is aware that there is no citizenship without social security, no robust constitutionality without a society that is just and which creates opportunities, there is no fair competition without decent working conditions and there is no future without respect for ecological sustainability. There is no republic without breaking with the norms of post-regime-change political capitalism, that is, corruption-driven capital accumulation. Starting the republic anew is a daunting challenge, but all crises are at the same time opportunities for renewal.

Hungary must be put together from its pieces again. A change of era calls for cooperation, whereas instead of enmity, cooperation calls for dialogue. Dialogue for Hungary.

Our political home: The vision of Dialogue for Hungary.

Dialogue for Hungary is a left Green party. Our mission is to construct a country based on the individual freely flourishing their capacities, free from arbitrary power, free from deprivation and exploitation, which is able to act in trust in a community. We propose politics based in its entirety on dialogue and we call upon everyone in agreement with our goals to active participation and active solidarity. We fight for a republic that provides equal dignity and decent living conditions for present and future generations where no child has to grow up in poverty and where every citizen has equal rights to take part in democratic decision making. The Hungary we are working for is a country where the individual can rise based on their work and talent, without being constrained by social inequalities. We offer politics that dares to adhere to and renew the traditions of social democracy, urban radicalism, the patriotism of national renewal, the legacies of the new left, green, and feminist movements, that the adherents to equal dignity, solidarity, freedom, constitutional democracy, emancipation and sustainability can rely on under all circumstances. Dialogue for Hungary is a party which is not prisoner to economic interest groups and thus is able to turn apathy into activity.

We, the founders of Dialogue for Hungary have already gained experience in parliamentary politics as well as the life of civil society. We are convinced that to be engaged in politics is not a pastime of a privileged select few, but is about participation in public affairs. We profess that to take part in politics is to take part in shaping our shared fates. For this reason, we intend to expand social participation, nonviolence, and politics at a human scale. Power is not an end for us, but a means to serve the common good, and thus we consider our task to consist in humanizing power, continuously deepening democracy, and protecting and strengthening the small circles of liberty. Dialogue for Hungary is a political community that intends to provide a home for all those for whom poverty is a daily threat, for those who have long lost the last chance of social mobility, for those who are victims of the extreme forms of exclusion, and who personally feel the weight and costs of economic unpredictability, those who are willing to assume responsibility for their fellow citizens and for the future generations, and for those who equally wish to have an intellectual and spiritual home in Hungary. Those, who aspire to have an open cultural space where all can daily assume their identities. We are active members of a political movement based on solidarity and

responsibility. We count on everyone who desires to engage in responsible thought incorporating the entire political community, the republic and future generations.

We can see that the country desires calm, credible politics ready for dialogue, speaking the language of reason as opposed to force, that wishes to convince others instead of conquering them, looking for partners instead of subjects. In lieu of leaders, Hungary needs insight; and furthermore needs parties that can be political homes. We provide a political home that will include, not exclude, citizens. Maximising opportunities instead of votes. A political home that institutionalizes dialogue instead of short-term bargains that have nothing to say for the day after tomorrow. Instead of visions of enmity, we are looking for what unites us and enables us to work together for raising the country based on a clear vision of the future.

Our objective is to set Hungary on a development path the breakout points of which are investment into people instead of indebtedness and the wasteful exploitation natural resources. Our vision for the future is based on a view of human beings embedded into the global ecosystem and close interrelations with it. All spheres of government from economic to social policy and rural development need to be based on sustainability and the commitment for a liveable Hungary. We need a new development model, based on solidarity among people where market processes and political competition are restrained by social, ecological and democratic limits. Sustainable and just society, job creation, fair competition and a robust democracy are based on educated, conscious citizens who can flourish their capacities and trust themselves and their fellow citizens and show solidarity, for they are the soul of the republic. Constitutionality and economic development are all guaranteed by citizens who are willing to stand up against exploitation and being exploited, to unite and stand for their rights and existential security. First and foremost, we need to put down the building blocks of a new development model, of a new economy from which we can expel exploitation and the everyday injustice, which is based upon constant renewal, innovation, and in the last account, human beings themselves, and all Hungarian citizens.

We want Hungary where inequalities of revenues are lower than would be provided by the free market would produce on its own, and which is not an obstacle to social cohesion. Citizens lacking education or high social status also have the right to normal, decent living conditions. At the same time, there is need for lower levels of economic inequalities than observed today. We also need to make hard work and dedicated learning more effective. We have a society in mind where real hard work and learning are determining factors of the differentiation of revenues as opposed to speculation or good connections. We want a rule of law state where the weak are protected from arbitrary action by the strong. We also want to protect small enterprises from corporations that do not pay or do not pay in time, protecting the employee from the employer abusing its position or the consumer from the provider abusing its monopolistic position. We are fighting for a state which gives citizens security and protection no matter where they live, and will also not leave behind those who have fallen victim to crime. We are fighting for a society which guarantees real equality in front of the law for all women and men, and where both sexes can enjoy proper participation opportunities in all spheres of society, in the family, the labour market and political decision making.

Creating a democratic political culture, putting an end to society being torn apart, and fully restoring the economy are inseparable tasks. What is called for is a state that is able to

search citizens and cooperate with social partners. The economy with a human focus is not only a value in itself: inclusive educational policy focussing on developing capacities as the cornerstone of long term job creation and the knowledge based economy founded on innovation. We do not see foreign capital as an enemy, but at the same time we don't think either that is a miracle cure able to solve all problems, especially not that it would be worth sacrificing welfare investments in order to attract capital. We need long-term employment policies based on security as opposed to exploitability, which enable all Hungarian employees to enjoy working conditions they deserve and which ensure that productivity is improved hand in hand with the educational level, health and salary of workers. We want policies that will improve the situation of Hungarian small and medium enterprises for the long run, create fair market conditions and are capable of bridging the fatal division of the economy.

The politics we offer is based on the conviction that culture is not only to be found in books or lecture halls, but in day to day human relationships. And thus we are working for a Hungary that respects cultural diversity, the freedom of the arts and cultural innovation. We'll do everything in the future to eliminate the cultural divide in Hungary. We'll have to put an end to the constant state of war fought in symbolic fields which artificially opposes basic values against one another such as belonging to the nation and fundamental human rights. For Hungarian culture, the reconstruction of the concept of the nation every Hungarian citizen belongs to is an urgent task. We provide policies that take care of Hungarian ethnic communities living over the border, acting responsibly and with sensitivity to the national sentiments of neighbouring countries.

We want a society in which nobody may exclude others from the nation, nobody is entitled to tell who is a real Hungarian and who is not. The concept of the nation should not be used as a political bludgeon. Those who do so hurt all of us. The diversity of the country is a value, not a weakness. In a similar vein, relationships with the communities of Hungarians living beyond the country borders is a value we need to protect and strengthen, paying proper respect to their own decision making. It is our goal to expel all forms of discrimination, including negative discrimination of gender, social, religious, ethnic, cultural and sexual identities. Thus we strive for a new political consensus clearly placing Hungary on the map of a Europe of solidarity and diversity, owing up to the values of European culture and actively shaping European public discourse. Our objective is to strengthen solidarity among countries that are economically vulnerable just as Hungary is, and to act in concord for a more just European and global economy.

We cannot wait any longer, and we are not going to wait any longer. We count on all those to join us who think along these lines, who want to take part in halting the social disaster of our days and in restoring constitutional democracy and finding the shared path towards the new republic.