
ABSTRACTS

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THE REVOLUTION OF CONTINUITY, OR THE ROLE OF RELATIONS WITH THE KÁDÁR ERA IN HUNGARIAN PUBLIC POLITICAL THINKING

The paradox, expressed in the relationship of the Hungarian society with the previous state socialist system and with HSP, the party returned to power in 1994, is a heritage of twentieth-century Hungarian history, still determining public political thinking. The essence of the paradox can be grasped in that the Hungarian society said no to such a political system in 1990, at the first free elections in which a single political party, the Communist party exercised authority for four decades. Society also rejected the HSP as the successor party of the former Communist one. In 1994 however, the HSP could obtain 54 per cent of the mandates, though it was mostly due to the special features of the Hungarian electoral system. The paper surveys data of public opinion polls concerning the changes of support of the HSP, the assessment of systemic change and economic expectations up to March 1998, then attempts at interpreting the continuous model of Hungarian systemic change with the help of social history, the sociology of knowledge and of social psychology.

KISS, JÁNOS

SYMBOLIC AND COMMUNICATIONAL ASPECTS OF PARTIES IN PARLIAMENTARY DEBATES

This study analyses Hungarian parliamentary speeches from June 1994 to July 1996. When we compared the number of statements made by factions of different parties, it came to light, that representatives of the opposition had spoken more on average, than parties of the governing body. So the proportion of time of speeches allocated to different parties corresponds to the number of votes the same given parties obtained during the elections of 1994.

The quantitative content analysis made on the basis of the data processed by computer has proved that statements contain many

ideological expressions, and the role of argumentation referring to certain values (like democracy, Christian morality etc.) is very important. Representatives communicate mainly for publicity. The most frequent methods of their argumentation (generalization, comparison, overstatement, argumentation based on examples etc.) are suitably only demonstrate their own points of view. Parties try to present all this as if it were universal public opinion: there is a specific „value-self-highly” party system in Hungary and the role of mass media is highly valued by parties too.

There were characteristic differences between the communications of certain parties. They are divided, in addition to their individual traits, by disparity of different roles of the governing and opposition parties, particularly as they are found in the three-dimensional (liberal, conservative, socialist) political field. Characteristic expressions of MSZP's speeches expressed the social democratic aspect of the party. In the statements made by SZDSZ there were only a few ideological expressions, and their most important feature was the repeated mentioning of global problems and human rights. Differences between two MDF factions (a more liberal and a more conservative group) were visible in their speeches even before 1996. Statements made by KDNP mostly had a Christian-socialist character. Only a minority of them seemed national-radical. The communicational character of FIDESZ was pragmatic and radical, but not conservative. They rather used more liberal expressions. Finally, in the speeches of FKGP, there were several and various ideological symbols. They could be described as a party having a national, radical, populist, and sometimes demagogic character.

CARLOS FLORES JUBERÍAS

ELECTORAL LEGISLATION AND ETHNIC MINORITIES IN EASTERN EUROPE

The proscription of any discrimination due to a citizen's ethnic origin seems to be an absolutely essential feature of a democratic State but ...isn't the respect for and the promotion of ethnic pluralism an equally basic trait of a democratic State?

This essay addresses the way in which several East European countries have dealt with this dilemma by means of their electoral legislation, trying in some cases to reconcile the apparently – and, perhaps, truly – contradictory goals of equality before the law and respect for ethnic identities, preferring in some others to clearly endorse one of them while marginalizing the other, or simply ignoring the issue as much as it allowed to be ignored.

This is a truly decisive aspect of East European politics, the relevance of which just cannot be overemphasized in a conflict-ridden continent.

ÁGH, ATTILA

THE DECISION-MAKING INSTITUTIONS AND PROCESSES OF THE EU PUBLIC POLICY

After the Maastricht Treaty (Treaty on the European Union) a new discipline of political science has emerged in the West on EU public policy, as with the new step of integration a large body of the European policy-making system is being organised. The paper analyses this new field, based on dozens of new volumes of papers written after the TEU, from the point of view of the Hungarian accession to the EU. The first chapter describes the first stages of EU development from the Treaty of Rome to the present situation, the stages of partnership, intergovernmentalism and competitive institutions in the EU public policy. The second chapter deals with policy-making in the main institutions - Council, Commission, and European Parliament -, the third one with the regulatory institutions „below” them as the Ecosoc Regional Council and the agencies. The fourth chapter discusses the democracy deficit as a problem of efficiency of representative democracy at the EU level. Finally, the decision-making procedures of accession have been focused upon in the fifth chapter, with special regard to the criteria of accession on the one hand, and the EU institutional mechanisms on the other.

STUMPF, ISTVÁN-HORVÁTH, VIKTOR

ORGANISED INTERESTS AND LOBBYING IN THE EUROPEAN UNION: IS „UNITY IN DIVERSITY” POSSIBLE?

A growing number of studies published in the last years in the field of political science concerning lobbying in the European Union deal mainly with the following two subjects, according to the analytical tool developed by Schmitter and Streeck (1981):

- functioning of the lobby-sector and the relationship between the organisations active in this field, called „logic of membership”, and
- how lobbying can influence the decision-making procedure in the European Union, called „logic of influence”.

The first approach considers the structure and functioning of the market of organised interests in the European Union. When analysing the future development of this market the authors tend to describe this process within the framework of the two well-known models: the corporate (with oligopolistic tendencies of the market) versus pluralistic (with mainly undisturbed competition) models.

Within the second approach the studies focus on the contact points between the organised interests and the policy-making bodies of the Union, the lobbying strategies applied and how lobbying effects the governance of the Union in the long run.

In our study we follow these two approaches because this is indeed a well-tested tool for analysing the market of lobbying. But after this point we shall leave the way paved by the „mainstream” political science.

Policy-making within the European Union can be hardly compared with the same process in the member countries. The Union is rather a political entity on it's own. This is the reason why we cannot use the same analytical models that have been developed for the research of states. The governance of the European Union is characterised by a kind of „governmental structure without centralised state” and hence the anchor is missing for the interpretation of these two models.

Instead we reconsider the sector of lobbying by summarising the results of two empirical studies – not made by us – in progress and by examining the potential space available for lobbying in the governance of the European Union.

BOZÓKI, ANDRÁS

REGIONALISM, INTER-STATE COMPETITION
AND GEOPOLITICS:

EUROPEAN INTEGRATION AND CENTRAL EUROPE

Relations between states in Central Europe in the post-communist and post-Cold War context are the major foci of the paper. Their perception of „Europe” as a project of „return” or as a framework of an existing geographical entity are investigated in relation with the coming enlargement of the European Union. I offer an overview of the political history of East Central Europe and its subregions (Baltic region, Central European region, Southeast European region) focusing on the Central European countries - today's Czech Republic, Slovakia, Poland, Slovenia, Romania and Hungary - before, during and after communist rule. The historical overview starts by referring to Jenő Szűcs' idea of three historical regions of Europe, then it discusses the fate of the Central European countries from a „buffer zone” to a Sovietized belt. In the post-communist context the Central European countries are seeking „to return” to Europe, in order not to reconstruct the „buffer zone” status of the region characteristic of the inter-war period. From a Hungarian viewpoint there were three epochs in the post-1989 history of Central Europe. First, between 1989 and late 1991, when the Soviet Union still existed, these countries found common interest in co-operation to harmonize their steps „toward Europe”. It was the period when the „Visegrad countries” formed themselves as a loose alliance in the process. The second period (1992-95) was marked with turmoil in the former Soviet Union, and the violent disintegration of Yugoslavia and the „velvet separation” of the Czech and Slovak republics. This was the period of the „Balkanization” of Central Europe, when countries turned away from co-operation and started to take part individually in the competition „to get closer” to the West. This period ended with the Dayton agreement and a more active external pressure of some Western

countries, especially the U.S. External impacts contributed to reconstruct some forms of the former Visegrad co-operation, and to force some states to make peace (Dayton) or to sign bilateral treaties with each other. The process accelerated in 1997, when three countries of Central Europe received invitation to join NATO, and six countries were invited for negotiations with the EU concerning EU enlargement in the near future. While Central European countries tend to co-operate with each other again, it is rather the result of external effects. The European Union however - with its five different possible self-definitons - still rather means a „moving target” for the Central European new democracies than a community with fixed rules and procedures.

CONTENTS

PAPERS

| | |
|---|----|
| <i>Paul Gradyohl–Béla Marián–Ildikó Szabó: The Revolution of Continuity, or the Role of Relations with the Kádár Era in Hungarian Public Political Thinking</i> | 5 |
| <i>Kiss, János: Symbolic and Communicational Aspects of Parties in Parliamentary Debates</i> | 27 |
| <i>Carlos Flores Juberías: Electoral Legislation and Ethnic Minorities in Eastern Europe</i> | 61 |

THE EUROPEAN UNION AND HUNGARY

| | |
|---|-----|
| <i>Ágh, Attila: The Decision-making Institutions and Processes of the EU Public Policy. II.</i> | 99 |
| <i>Stumpf, István–Viktor Horváth: Organised Interests and Lobbying in the European Union: Is „Unity in Diversity” Possible?</i> | 105 |
| <i>Bozóki, András: Regionalism, Inter-state Competition and Geopolitics: European Integration and Central Europe</i> | 131 |

ORIENTATION

| | |
|--|-----|
| <i>Kiss, Mária Rita: The American Movement of Political Correctness as Reflected by Criticisms</i> | 155 |
|--|-----|

BOOKS

| | |
|---|-----|
| <i>Béndeke, Péter: A politológusok filozófiája (The Philosophy of Political Scientists)</i> | 177 |
| <i>Szűcs, László: Civil társadalom: eszme és valóság (Civil Society: Idea and Reality)</i> | 186 |
| <i>Selected Bibliography of Hungarian Political Science</i> | 195 |

| | |
|------------|-----|
| NEWS | 201 |
|------------|-----|

| | |
|-------------------|-----|
| INFORMATION | 213 |
|-------------------|-----|

| | |
|-----------------|-----|
| ABSTRACTS | 231 |
|-----------------|-----|

Századvég

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Választók és választottak

TÓKA GÁBOR:

A pártpreferenciák stabilitásának meghatározói

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Tantörténet

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Tándíj: elitképzés vagy közoktatás

Iskola-vita

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Nőtték-e az iskolázottsági esélyegyenlőtlenségek