

BOOK REVIEW

FARKAS, Flórián

European Affairs

The following three books will be reviewed here:

1. Edith Oltay: *Fidesz and the reinvention of the Hungarian Center-Right*
2. Igor Janke: *Napastnik / Hajrá, magyarok!*
3. Rinus van Schendelen: *The Art of Lobbying the EU*

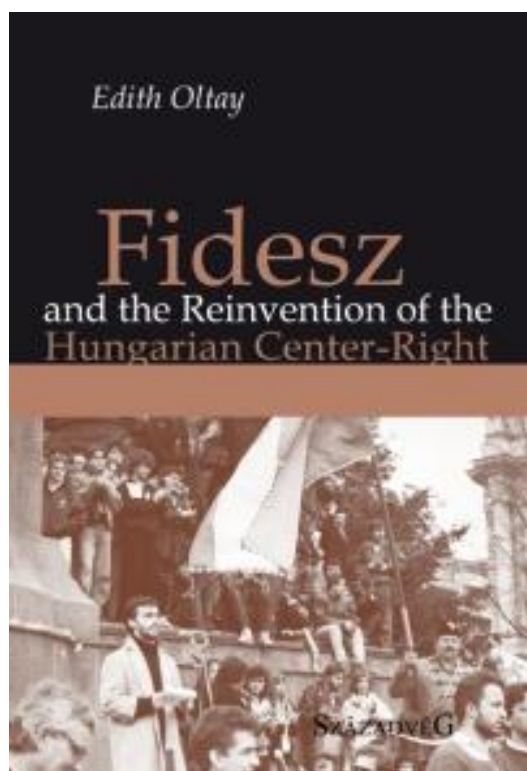
Fidesz and Viktor Orbán

Between 2002 and 2010 a socialist-liberal coalition governed Hungary. Especially in the period 2002-2006 they so grossly mismanaged the economy in particular and the whole country in general that Hungary was extremely weakened when the global financial crisis broke out. Only a quick 20 billion euro IMF loan in 2009 could save Hungary from a financial meltdown.

As a consequence, in the parliamentary elections of 2010 the Hungarian electorate gave an unprecedented 2/3 majority to the center-right Fidesz and its charismatic party-chairman Viktor Orbán. The new cabinet performed a wholesale reform of not just the economy, but also of the juridical, economic and social structure of Hungary in order to stabilize the country and to prevent a future mismanagement similar to the 2002-2010 period.

In this process the Hungarian government had no other choice than to confront the interests of powerful (international) economic groups and the world-view of the pan-European socialist and liberal parties. These formations launched from 2011 on an unprecedented media blitz against the Hungarian government in general and Viktor Orbán in particular that shunned even the media blitz against Austria more than 10 years before. These attacks were bordering the surreal most of the time. It is no wonder that a great part of the general European public has a caricatured view of the situation in Hungary and the politics of Fidesz as a consequence of this media blitz.

In 2013 two books were published for the international audience that provide an objective overview of the party itself and a portrait of its chairman. Below we review these two books.



Author: Edith Oltay

Title: Fidesz and the Reinvention of the Hungarian Center-Right

Publisher: Századvég Kiadó
(www.szazadveg.hu/en/)

Year of publishing: 2013

Language: English

Number of pages:260

ISBN: 978 615 5164 040

The author, Edith Oltay, was educated in the US and at the University of Bonn in Germany where she received her M.A. in political science. Born in Hungary, Oltay focused on her native country as an analyst of the Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty research institute where she prepared analyses and studies about trends in Hungary with emphasis on the political system, media, minorities, civil society, and state-church relations. She published articles about Hungarian political developments in Austrian and German newspapers as well as journals. Throughout the years the Hungarian party system became Oltay's major field of research with special attention to new parties established in the wake of the democratic transformation.

The volume '*FIDESZ and the Reinvention of the Hungarian Center-Right*' is not only a scientific analysis of the history of Fidesz but also of the whole party system since the democratic transformation (roughly since 1988-1989). In order to understand the advent of Fidesz, an introductory chapter presents an overview of the legacy of the communist system (Kádár era). During the turbulent years of 1988-1989 several historical parties arose from ashes and also several completely new formations appeared on the scene. Among them the most lasting one is Fidesz. It was formally founded on 30 March 1988 as a political youth organization by 37 university and college students and graduates. It was the only political formation of that time, which was completely free of any communist legacy. The founding core consisted of politically motivated students who prepared themselves for political activism in a special college in Budapest called 'Bibó Kollégium'.

The following chapters analyze the party's evolution and its role in the Hungarian political arena, breaking the period 1988-2010 into four, well-defined stages. Between 1988 and 1993 the party's orientation was characterized as liberal, radical, non-negotiable anti-communism, and as such it was a real opposition party during the reign of the first democratically elected center-right coalition government of József Antall. Probably the most important decision of this time, and this is where the role of Orbán became prominent, was to withstand the pressure to become the junior partner of SZDSZ, a new liberal party founded mostly by the children and relatives of the communist nomenclature. This party is held responsible for sabotaging the regime change, preventing a cleanup of the political nomenclature, of the media and other state institutions.

This stand for independence was highly rewarded after the 1994 parliamentary elections, when despite an absolute majority of the former communist party, who rebranded themselves as the Hungarian Socialist Party, the SZDSZ entered into coalition with them. This was seen by many as a major treachery, because SZDSZ maintained up until that time a radical anti-communist stance in their communication and with their move uplifted the political cordon sanitaire around the ex-communists.

In the period 1994-1998 the party began its major reorientation, under the firm leadership of Orbán. It became obvious that a fragmented political right cannot compete with a highly organized ex-communist party. Therefore the orientation became national liberal, conservative and a party structure underwent also a major change towards centralization.

This reorientation bear fruits in the 1998 election, which the Fidesz won, though it needed coalition partners in order to govern. The Fidesz government's years, 1998-2002, witnessed a further shift towards national conservatism, further centralization in the party structure. The government itself performed a program that was more than a change of government but was less than a regime change, since the coalition did not have a 2/3 majority.

In the same time, this period revealed a great weakness of Fidesz, namely its lack of nation-wide basic organizations. This fact backfired in the 2002 elections, when the ex-communists returned to power and began their 8 years long mismanagement of the country. The loss of the 2002 elections was probably the most profound turning-point in the history of Fidesz. Its orientation was fully converted to a right-wing people's party, which was achieved by expanding the social base via mass mobilization. The party structure was altered accordingly; civic circles were initiated nation-wide, and a very broad civic alliance was created.

These changes were necessary for the 2/3 majority win in the 2010 parliamentary elections, though the socialist-liberal mismanagement between 2002 and 2010 played a significant role too.

The volume '*FIDESZ and the Reinvention of the Hungarian Center-Right*' is a fascinating book, clearly presented through this framework and scientifically argued. For the international audience it is a valuable source since getting objective information from Hungary is still problematic due to language barriers and a still existing quasi monopoly of the ex-communist/liberal intelligentsia. This book explains why Fidesz could win in 2010 so overwhelmingly and why is this party-alliance the most powerful center-right political entity in Eastern and Central Europe, following a non-ideological, pragmatic course, combining center-right and center-left policies.



Author: Igor Janke

Title: Napastnik

— Opowieść o Viktorze Orbánie —

Publisher: Demart SA (www.demart.com.pl)

Year of publishing: 2012

Language: Polish

Number of pages: 300

ISBN: 978-83-7427-812-6



Author: Igor Janke

Title: Hajrá, Magyarok! — Az Orbán Viktor sztory egy lengyel újságíró szemével —

Publisher: Rézbong Kiadó — Aeramentum Könyvek (www.rezbong.hu www.aeramentum.hu)

Year of publishing: 2013

Language: Hungarian

Number of pages: 330

ISBN: 978-963-08-6617-0

The author, Igor Janke, was born in 1967 and he is a Polish journalist and publicist. Currently he is the chairman of the independent think tank *Instytut Wolności* (Liberty Institute) and the leader of the political blog-portal Salon 24.pl. Previously he was with the Polish news agency PAP as editor-in-chief, then with the daily newspaper Rzeczpospolita as chief publicist. He also worked for the Polish Section of the BBC. Igor Janke is the author of several hundred reports, analyses, and interviews. His book about Viktor Orbán became a best-seller in Poland. After its success in Poland in 2012, the book was published in Hungary in 2013.

Due to the fact that the history of Fidesz and the political career of Viktor Orbán are inseparable, the volume *'Napastnik – Opowieść o Viktorze Orbánie'* (in Polish), *'Hajrá, Magyarok! – Az Orbán Viktor sztory egy lengyel újságíró szemével'* (in Hungarian) has a similar structure to that of Edith Oltay's, chronologically at least. It is an excellent complementary volume because it provides an insight into the personality of Viktor Orbán, while maintaining the main narrative.

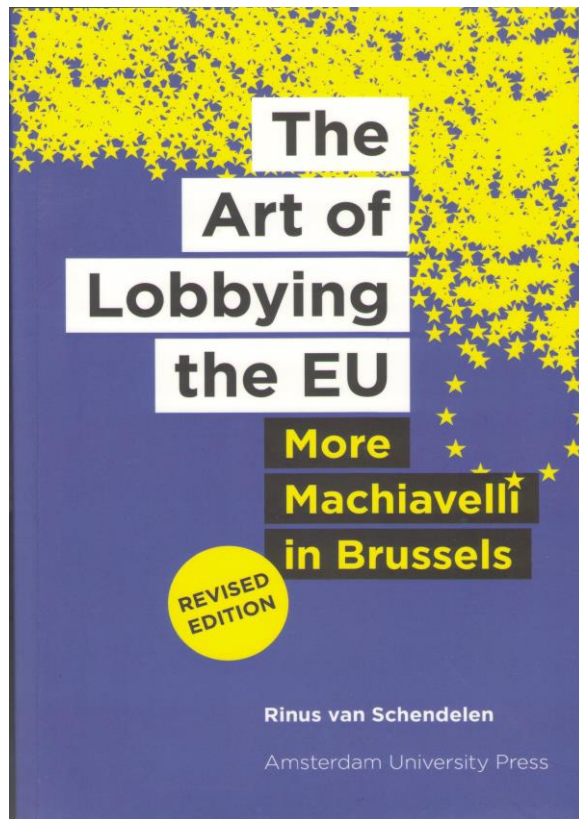
The book logically contains additional information on Hungarian history, culture, mentality, which would be superfluous for a Hungarian audience, but the author wrote this book for the Polish audience. The volume was written after several interviews and sessions with Viktor Orbán himself, interviews with colleagues, close associates, friends, political adversaries, former partners, etc. It was written by someone who has great experience in politics and political journalism. Its style is analytical on the one hand and informal on the other. A great reading, especially after one has gone through the book of Edith Oltay.

From the personal life of Viktor Orbán we learn why his most favorite movie is *'Once Upon a Time in the West'*, why is he such a soccer enthusiast (as a private person he is a driving force behind reviving the Hungarian football), why is he so much focused in his career and on the other hand such a caring spouse, father and a 'jolly good fellow'.

It is no wonder that the book became a best-seller and the readers of the Polish weekly *Gazeta Polska* voted Viktor Orbán as *'Man of the Year 2013'*. You can love him or hate him, one thing is for sure: he is far above all the European political grey mice figures.

It would be a great win for the European general public to have an English translation (and possible others as well) of this volume.

The Art of Lobbying the EU



Author: Rinus van Schendelen

Title: The Art of Lobbying the EU

— More Machiavelli in Brussels —

Publisher: Amsterdam University Press

Year of publishing: 2013

Language: English

Number of pages: 387

ISBN: 978 90 8964 468 8

The author, Rinus van Schendelen, is professor of Political science at Erasmus University, Rotterdam, the Netherlands, a member of PA practitioner's groups and an advisor to interest groups in the EU.

In 2013 the fourth, fully updated and revised edition of this book appeared, published again by Amsterdam University Press. The first edition appeared in 2002 and in the meantime Czech, Polish, Bulgarian, and German translations of the book were also published. This on its own proves the value of this volume.

The book's greatest value comes from the fact that it aims at combining two objectives: firstly, to synthesize the theoretical knowledge of how interest groups can influence public authorities, and secondly, applying this knowledge in the case of the European Union. Thus the book is a first-rate navigator in Public Affairs Management (PAM) in general and its application to the EU in particular.

Several factors necessitated the revision of the volume. The most important ones are the increase of EU-competences due to the Treaty of Lisbon, and the enlargement of the EU from 15 to 27 member states.

Chapter 1 – The Europeanization of Public Affairs provides a brilliant example of how a theoretical framework can be presented using an appropriate example. In this case, the major building blocks of the Public Affairs Management field are sketched using the EU as an example.

Chapter 2 – The Playing-field: EU Common Decision-making the in and outs of the decision-making process is examined. This chapter provides answers to the key question: *How does the EU work?*

Chapter 3 – Pushing the Bottoms of ‘Brussels’ explores the possibilities and playing room for the interest groups that the EU offers. Also included are the lobbying patterns of the different member states of the EU, i.e. the five old larger countries, the ten old smaller countries and the twelve new Central and Eastern-European countries.

Chapter 4 – Getting Grip on an EU Arena examines the process of defining a lobbying strategy, including the selection of the lobbying arena. In this chapter the main characteristics of the volume come to the fore, namely an excellent combination of theoretical knowledge with ready to use practical information.

Chapter 5 – Managing the Home Front deals with the issues of how to best organize the lobbying organization in order to achieve success in the EU.

Chapter 6 – Managing the EU Fieldwork is the culmination of the previous chapters wherein the final link is established on how to execute the chosen strategy, with the built organization on the selected targets within the EU. Early, late and continual activities are also discussed next to an all-encompassing deliberation on timing.

Chapter 7 – The Limits of EU Public Affairs Management examines the different components of the limits at both the sender and the receiver side.

Chapter 8 – Public Affairs, Lobbying and EU Democracy is on the one hand a general reflection on the workings of democracy within the EU and on the other hand a practical examination of how it works in reality. The positive and negative effects of Public Affairs Management in the EU are considered together with correction mechanisms.

Every chapter is introduced by a well-chosen quote from Machiavelli’s *Discorsi*, probably one of the most influential (and less known) books in the area of political science. These and the overall handling of the subject throughout the book make it (and keep it) an indispensable source for every PA practitioner and the general public interested in the Public Affairs Management of the EU. A real milestone!



OUR AUTHORS

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Dr. Ananyeva holds a Ph.D. degree in philological sciences; she is Professor, and Head of Department of Analytics and Foreign Literary Connections of M.O.Auezov Institute of Literature and Art, Ministry of Education and Science. In 1980 she graduated with honors from Cherkask State Pedagogical Institute named after the 300th anniversary of unification of Ukraine and Russia, in 1985 as a post-graduate student of M.O.Auezov Institute of Literature and Art. In 1986 she defended her thesis «Modern Russian novel in Kazakhstan (Issues of poetics)». She was awarded the State Award of Russian Federation «Medal of Pushkin» (Moscow, 2013). Joint monograph «Modern Foreign Literature» under her editorship won the International Competition for the best scientific publishing project «Scientific Book-2012» in the category «Social Sciences» of the International Association of Academies of Sciences of the CIS (Moscow). The countless monographs and research works of Dr. Ananyeva were highly praised in Russian, Kazakh, and European newspapers and journals. Next to that she is member of editorial boards of several journals.

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Ms. Basu got her doctorate from the Centre of Central Asian Studies and is now working in the higher education department of the J & K Government.

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2004: graduated from Altai State University (Barnaul), specialty “History, International Relations”, had linguistic practice in the Informational Center of Science and Technology Institute of Xinjiang Department of the Chinese Academy of Sciences (Urumqi City, China) as translator.

2005-2007: worked in Khovd (Mongolia) as a teacher of Russian and gathered material for dissertation.

2008-2010, 2011-20013: took part in joint Russian–Mongolia grant projects on researching cultural collaboration between Russia and Mongolia.

Since 2007 she is teacher of Chinese, Russian (for foreign students) and History of Arts at the Altai State Technical University (Barnaul).

2011: Candidate of Philosophy; author of 21 scientific articles and 4 collective monographs.

FARKAS, Flórián

Mr. Farkas was born in 1967 in Kolozsvár/Cluj/Klausenburg. He holds a M.Sc. degree from Technical University of Budapest, Hungary and Ecole Normale Supérieure de Cachan, France and an MBA degree from Henley Management College, UK. Since 1992 he is living in the Netherlands. He cofounded the Foundation Mikes International in 2001 in The Hague, the Netherlands.

KISAMOV, Norm

Born and educated in Moldova, Mr. Kisamov spent a 40-year career as an industrial automation engineer. He emigrated from Russia to the USA in 1978, when the USA patronized immigration of educated people from Russia. For the last 15 years, he was the webmaster of the site <http://turkicworld.org>, which serves as a non-commercial, educational publishing outlet for the Turkologists who could not propagate their studies in Russia and whose works were unknown to the Western world. He has translated a number of Turkological books to English, most of them were posted at that site, a few were published in Russia, in post-Soviet countries, and one was supposed to be published in Germany. Mr. Kisamov was assisting the writers as a volunteer. In his 15 years of working with various aspects of Turkology, he has amassed a significant collection of Turkisms cited by various authors, who were pointing out Turkisms in English and/or Germanic languages. Tracing and verifying etymologies of the cited lexemes, he encountered numerous other cognates, which led him to assemble a draft of the article that is published abridged in this issue, and unabridged as Supplement. By that time, the volume of the lexicon far exceeded accepted criteria formulated to discern random borrowings from genetic kinship. Mr. Kisamov is not a linguist, nor does he pretend to be a scholar. However, with some kind help from the sites contributors, he was able to systemize and organize his collection, and prepare etymological comments. His interest in Turkic history arose quite accidentally, but it quickly riveted him, he was growing into it for the last 25 years, and still, after a quarter century of reading and translating, he has only scratched the surface. Previously, he has authored a couple of articles on Turkological subjects related to the Scythian history.

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Dr. M Rafiuddin Makhdumi is head of the Mongolian Studies in the Centre of Central Asian Studies, University of Kashmir. He has the research experience of more than two decades. He has attended 40 national and international conferences and seminars and has to his credit more than two dozen research papers, which have been published in national and international journals and proceedings. In 1993 he was awarded fellowship by the Mongolian government. He has travelled to Hong Kong, China, Mongolia and in 2007 he made extensive field study in Kazakhstan for a project assigned by the University of Kashmir. In November 2012, he was invited by the Foreign Ministry of Mongolia and Mongolian Academy of Sciences to attend the International Conference on "Chinggis Khan and the Globalization". More recently on 2nd July

2013, Dr. Makhdumi has been entrusted by the President of the Centre for the Military and Strategic Research, Astana, Kazakhstan, Dr. Bakytzhan Abdiraym, to make the necessary beautification to the tomb of Mirza Haidar Daughlat, a 16th century Kazakh ruler of Kashmir, who ruled Kashmir from 1540-1550 A.D.

MIRABILE, Françoise

Graduated from the University of Vincennes-Saint-Denis, Paris VIII, where she obtained her Master's Degree in Modern French Literature, and from INALCO (Institute of Oriental Languages and Civilisations) in Hebrew language and civilisation, Mrs Mirabile has worked in high schools and universities in Istanbul, South India, China and in Siberia, where she has taught French as a maternal and foreign language, French literature and Latin. She also participates in inter-religious associations, notably Jewish and Christian, and gives conferences and contributes articles concerning Jewish-Christian dialogue. Mrs Mirabile is at present teaching in Istanbul.

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Born in 1971, Budapest, Hungary. Received her diploma (M.Sc.) in Agricultural Sciences and her Doctorate (Ph.D.) in Plant Physiology, in 1995 and 2001, respectively, both from the Szent István University of Gödöllő, Hungary. In 2003 she graduated as an engineer in Plant Protection at the University of Veszprém, Hungary and worked for the Hungarian Plant and Soil Protection Service. Between 2004 and 2005 she worked as a postdoctoral student at the Technopôle Brest-Iroise in Brest, France. She is specialized in the physiology and molecular biology of halophyte plants. Between 2007 and 2012 she studied fine arts at the Academy of Fine Arts of The Hague, The Netherlands until her graduation in 2012. Her special field of interest is the artistic depiction of organic growth processes.

NAMATOV, Mirlan

Mr. Namatov was born in Kyrgyzstan and received his M.A. degree in Kyrgyz and other Central Asian Languages and Culture at the Kyrgyz State University, Bishkek, Kyrgyzstan in 1995. Then he earned a Ph.D. degree in Cultural Anthropology (Middle East and Central Asian) at the Aegean University in Izmir, Turkey in 2002. In 2009 Mr. Namatov earned a second Ph.D. degree at Hannover University, Department of Sociology (Social Anthropology). Between 2003 and 2006 he was lecturer and visiting scholar at Frankfurt University, Department of Middle East Studies and between 2006 and 2008 he was member of a research project at the University of Hamburg, Institute of Asia and Africa. Mr. Namatov is currently with the Department of Sociology (Social Anthropology) at Hannover University. His language skills cover Kyrgyz, Dari, Uzbek, Turkish, Russian, English and German.

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Ms. Namatova earned a BA degree (1989-1993) from the Kyrgyz State High College of Cooperation Trade, Bishkek, Kyrgyz Republic, an MBA degree (1996-1999) from the Dokuz Eylül University, Dept. of Business Administration, Izmir, Turkey then a PhD degree (1999-2005) from the same university. This was followed by a Postdoc program at the Nuremberg-Erlangen University, Institute of Middle East Economic Studies in 2005, Nuremberg, Germany. Between 2005 and 2011 she worked at the Kyrgyz-Turkish University "Manas", Faculty of Communications, Public Relations Department. Since 2011 she is teaching at the Canakkale 18 Mart University, Biga, Turkey.

NAGY, Ildikó

Economist and sociologist, freelance researcher. Between 1996 and 2004 she worked as research-fellow at TÁRKI in Budapest. In 2004 she completed her Ph.D. thesis at the Budapest University of Economics and Public Administration (today Corvinus University of Budapest). Between 2001 and 2009 she was the co-editor of the report series "*Changing Roles. Report on the situation of women and men in Hungary*" and between 1998 and 2011 she was a project editor of the *Social Report* series of TÁRKI.

SHEIKH, Ab. Hamid

Mr. Sheikh has completed his M.Phil Degree in History from the Centre of Central Asian Studies, University of Kashmir and is pursuing his Ph.D. studies at the same University. He has Qualified National Eligibility Test for lectureship in History conducted by University Grants Commission, India in 2012. He is working on the revival of Silk Route and has three international papers to his credit.

SHISHIN, Mikhail Yurievich

1987: Graduated from the Ural State University (Sverdlovsk City), specialty "History of Arts".

1980-1989: researcher in Altai State Museum of Fine Arts.

1990-2005: vice-chancellor at Altai State Academy of Culture and Arts.

2004: Doctor of Philosophy, Professor.

Since 2005: head of UNESCO Department of Altai State Technical University.

In 2005-2007, 2008-2010, 2011-20013 he took part in joint Russian–Mongolia grant projects on researching cultural collaboration between Russia and Mongolia.

Author of 15 monographs (including collective works) and 156 scientific articles.

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Dr. Verman is a Senior Research and Teaching Associate (History), School of Social Sciences, Indira Gandhi National Open University (IGNOU), New Delhi, India. She received a Ph.D. degree in History at Indira Gandhi National Open University (IGNOU), New Delhi; the topic of her thesis was '*Textiles in Ancient India: Crafts, Designs and Motifs (Indus Valley to Guptas)*'. Her prior qualifications include: Master of Arts degree (MA) in History with 1st. Class from Jadavpur University, Kolkata, India. Bachelor of Arts degree (BA) with History Honours from Jadavpur University, Kolkata, India. Bachelor of Education degree (B.Ed).