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# ABSTRACTS

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ERVIN CSIZMADIA

## PARTIES, BRAIN TRUSTS, THINK-TANK ORGANIZATIONS IN WESTERN EUROPE AND HUNGARY

The author deals with the think-tank organizations in Western-Europe and in Hungary. At first, he tries to clear the notion and the definition of think-tanks. For example the author emphasizes that think-tanks are groups that can substantially influence the parties and policy-makers in informal ways and methods. On the other hand, they are basically different from other organizations with informal means for example from trade unions.

In the second part there are two phases of development of the think-tank organizations in Western-Europe introduced. The first of them took place from 1945 to 1975. This period can be characterized as the pragmatic tradition of think-tanks. From the late 70ies there has been a new period with ideological orientation. This latter is demonstrated by the example of the British Conservative Party: that redefined the doctrine of conservatism and Margaret Thatcher became an ideologically positioned party leader. These statements are proved by detailed analysis.

In the third part the author introduces the Hungarian case. In Hungary the think-tanks are an unknown sphere. The main thesis is that from 1996 to 1998 many new think-tanks has been created on the side of the conservative-liberal parties, mainly on that of Fidesz. The author sketches up a provocative thesis concerning the relationship between the success of Fidesz during the elections and the think-tanks. The author's hypothesis is that Fidesz have exploited the advantage of think tanks. The other parties have fallen behind in this respect.

ZOLTÁN LAKNER

## IMAGE OF HUNGARIAN SOCIALIST PARTY (HSP) AND ITS POSITION IN HUNGARIAN POLITICAL SYSTEM

The objects of this study the former state-party, which changed its name and image in 1989, and became a participant of competitive political

system. HSP was a relatively small opposite party between 1990-1994 and won the election in 1994. In 1998 although HSP was able to stabilise its circle of voters the party went into opposition again.

The first part of this article focuses on the position of HSP in Hungarian political structure and the political structure itself. According to the article the usually used theories about political structure – right-left position, cleavage theory – inapplicable in Hungary, considering political passivity and abstain from ideological opinions of Hungarian voters. Half of the voters are unstable, 30 % completely passive and just 20 % of the voters have lasting political alignment to a party, which based on identity. The latter gather round 3, possibly 4 society integration model represented by different parties. Among national and liberal the third important block is the socialist and its party is HSP. Regular voters of HSP are high-position citizens or those who have stable life-conditions before 1990 and since that they went down. These voters connect their present or past positive status with the former regime.

This group was the main supporter of HSP from 1990 to the middle of 1993, when HSP's supporters was only who judge positively the state-party system. Typical voter this time of HSP was a middle-aged who lived in Budapest had a diploma and was a member of the former state-party. HSP practise successful catch-all-party strategy from the middle of 1993, which results in majority with the third part of votes in 1994. Features of HSP voters' group were similar to the average of Hungarian society in almost every respect. Expectations of returning the former political system's positive characteristic were an important factor of HSP victory in 1994. After the election most of the HSP voters left the party, but it stems from Hungarian voter's generally passive behaviour. A large amount of voters returned from May of 1997, and socialists had a great advantage over rivals before the campaign. From March of 1998 unstable voters slowly but continuously left HSP, and it caused that HSP couldn't longer represent the average of Hungarian society. Further cause of defeat was the serious antipathy toward HSP, and that almost every leaver chose the same rival party.

Finally the study provides a brief survey of HSP's image. In 1990 HSP's was an ideologically confused party. Instead of solving out ideological contradictions HSP tried to become a pragmatic party, which could avoid ideological struggles. It was a successful change: pragmatism was an important component of 1994 victory as well as nostalgia. HSP made effort to maintain its successful image as a governor party despite impact of Bokros package, and corruption scandals. In February of 1998 HSP was the favourite of the election; cause of defeat was the poor campaign, and the wrong political tactics in spring of 1998.

CSABA TORDAI

## FROM THE SOCIAL AGREEMENT TO THE DECISION OF THE CONSTITUTIONAL COURT

In his article the author examines the place and role of the President of the Third Hungarian Republic in the state administration. He presents the opposition ideas about the presidency before the change of regime and after that - first time in the national technical literature - he tries to reconstruct the process concerning this topic on the hearings of the National Roundtable subcommittee. He sets forth the compromises of the modifications of October 1989 in the constitution. Later, he analyzes the Antall-Tölgyessy Pact and examines the related decisions of the Constitutional Court and the political liability of the President. Finally, in the appendix he informs us of the suggestions given by the Opposition Roundtable to the National Roundtable on the modification of the constitution.

ATTILA ÁGH

## THE PUBLIC POLICY OF THE EUROPEAN UNION AND THE HUNGARIAN ACCESSION

The Eastern enlargement – currently embracing Poland, the Czech Republic, Hungary, Slovenia and Estonia – fits well into the series of the former enlargements as a geographic extension of the EU but it has some new features, too. It concerns former state socialist countries which are much less developed economically than EU average. Hence, the EU needed some years to develop a coherent policy towards the new entrants. It began in Copenhagen in 1993 and finally the Luxemburg EU summit gave a green light to start the accession negotiations with the above mentioned five countries.

The paper discusses the contradictions and difficulties on both sides from the period of association to the period of accession. It has not been an easy process on the side of the EU either, since parallel with the enlargement the EU has needed a series of structural institutional reforms, designed at consecutive Intergovernmental Conferences. The Central European countries concerned have had to cope not only with the problems of economic adaptation and legal harmonization, but also with the fact that they are small states and they are not prepared enough to represent their national interests properly in the accession negotiations.

THOMAS KÖNIG – THOMAS BRÄUNIGER

## THE TRANSFORMATION OF EU IN VIEW OF EXPANSION

The reform of the Union's institutional framework is especially important with regard to parliamentary integration and further

enlargement. It is feared that a wide enlargement will dilute the Union's legislative activity, though present members have in fact made further enlargements dependent on the Union's ability to reform the institutional framework in order to maintain efficiency. Today's member states are looking for procedural settings to increase decision probability for European legislation but with (slight) parliamentary integration and without raising the risk of their exclusion by weighting their involvement in decision making. The 1997 Amsterdam Draft Treaty offers two options on how to redistribute the inclusiveness of member states: first, a re-weighting of Council of Ministers votes with the prevailing 71,2% threshold; second unchanged Council of Ministers votes and 71,2% threshold with the additional provision that at least 60% of the Union's total population be represented. Both options have been rejected, and we show the reasons for their failure.

In this paper, we apply our concept of inclusiveness which is particularly relevant to the topics of enlargement and parliamentary integration, to analyze the options for reforming the Union. Inclusiveness expresses the decision probability on the system level and the risk of being excluded on the individual level. However, diverging goals of European institutional politics have to be decided: functional and parliamentary integration as well as the preservation of (in) equality between member states, threatened by further enlargements. Applying our concept to the inter-institutional interaction of the Commission, the Council of Ministers and the European Parliament in the standard and the codecision procedure, our findings on former enlargements and both Amsterdam options show the continuous decrease of legislative decision probability since the mid-80s. Moreover, we also outline that member states have been and will be affected differently by former and potential enlargements. In response, we present an efficient way of conducting institutional politics on which all member states can agree consensually. In addition to the Amsterdam proposals we show a scenario of how to reduce the gridlock danger in a further enlarged Union.

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