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# ABSTRACTS

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KÁLMÁN KULCSÁR

## TRANSITION INTO THE XXI. TH CENTURY *The short XXth century*

A century does not mean always a historical unity. The XXth century – if we look at the continuity and interruption of historical processes – can not interpret as a century. From this point of view this century began around the first years of 1920<sup>th</sup> decade and finished around in 1990. This period produced great technical and biological results, and these were continuing further. From political and social point of view, however, the productions of this „century” were also world wars, the dissolution of colonial empires, and consequently a lot of new countries, some of them already not really prepared for independency. The second, from some aspect similar phenomenon are those of the end of the XX. century, included the dissolution of the former Soviet Empire, the rebirth of a lot of former independent states. From our point of view the most important event was the growth of the European Unity, which also became an attractive new and significant variant for most of the former socialist countries. The author tries to give some new features of the policy of these countries, those of European Unity connecting the expansion of the EU, and to sketch a potential possibilities.

ERVIN CSIZMADIA

## ADAPTABILITY OF THE PARTIES AND DYNAMICS OF PARTY COMPETITION CASES FROM WESTERN EUROPE AND HUNGARY

The authors' draft analyses the adaptability of the Western European and the Hungarian parties. He reveals that the Western parties have gone through different modes of

accommodation waves in the final period of the 20<sup>th</sup> century for enhancing of their competitive capacities. Two sections of the article introduce the seventies and the nineties, presenting the British, German, Italian, French and the Spanish models.

The author makes a trial to give some views of investigating the Hungarian party system, mainly the Fidesz. He regards Fidesz as an adaptable and competing party. The success of Fidesz is rooting in their organization capacity and adaptability.

Finally, the author strives to develop a new perspective about democracy theory, constructing a new term: the pillar democracy. According to the author's opinion Fidesz try to create a special form of democracy built on the Hungarian political and cultural traditions. This is termed as segmented or pillar democracy.

SÁNDOR PESTI

#### PARLIAMENT AND PARLIAMENTARISM IN HUNGARY (1848-1945)

The first part of the study, published in the current issue, surveys the implementation of parliamentarism and the parliamentary political system in Hungary during the time of dualism and the Horthy-era. It analyzes the realization of the most basic criteria of parliamentarism through concrete historical examples. Matters considered include the principle of democratic legitimation, the question of governmental responsibility, the interpretation of majoritarian rule, and (as a distinctly Hungarian phenomenon) the effect of the dualistic, federal system on the realization of parliamentarism.

The paper does not give a definitive answer to the basic question of whether we can talk of a parliamentary political system, in the modern sense, in Hungary during the era of dualism and between the two world wars. The author thinks that this depends to a great extent on our – partly subjective – view of parliamentarism, and also on our interpretation of the various elements of our definition of parliamentarism. Nevertheless he makes clear his view that in practice there does not exist one ideal version of parliamentarism (and neither does it possibly in theory), and we must be careful not to compare in an anachronistic way parliamentary systems functioning between the current legal, political and complex socio-cultural circumstances, to those existing decades, even centuries ago.

GÁBOR KUGLICS

## ON THE INITIATIVE OF "SHAKING HANDS FOR PEACE, 2000"

In the spring of 2000 the Hungarian Democratic Forum, the Hungarian Democratic People's Party and the Entrepreneurs' Party, continuing their good relationship, introduced a poster as a symbol of their collaboration. This became known as the Peace League 2000.

Their union had two main purposes. On one hand they advocated the importance of political discussions free from scandal and, on the other hand, the importance of a moderate centre right political force. With this they attempted to keep the disillusioned voters of the two major coalitional parties on the right.

The public, the press and the opposition parties celebrated the initiative, but the two coalition partners of the Hungarian Democratic Forum, the Alliance of Young Democrats and the Independent Smallholders' Party attacked the Peace League. They were afraid of losing their voters as a result of the initiative. After the national announcement of the Peace League similar cooperations arose among the three parties' organisations at county and local level. By the autumn of 2000 the initiative had spread all over the country. Joint programmes were organised, common candidates were placed at the country and local by-elections with good results.

The arising tension from the collaboration within the party and attacks from outside all contributed to the withdrawal of the Hungarian Democratic Forum, the considered leader of the League, and its electoral cooperation agreement with the Alliance of Young Democrats. The other two parties were trying to cooperate for a while but as a result of their different interests their union has also dissolved.

ÁRPÁD DUCZON

## THIS STUDY GIVES AN OVERVIEW AND ANALYSIS OF THE TWO CAMPAIGN PROGRAMS OF THE CANDIDATES OF THE AMERICAN PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION OF 2000.

They are Vice President Albert Gore Jr. and Governor of Texas George Walker Bush. Issues of the candidates' agenda are compared using two methods of discussion. One is the weighted comparative analysis; the other is SWOT (Strengths, Weaknesses, Opportunities and Threats). The issues are taxes, budget, education, health care, social security, foreign policy,

defence, immigration, economy, trade environment, crime and guns. The survey devotes special interest to the issue of taxation and budget. Every important kind of taxation and tax relief (e.g. Retirement Savings Plus, Marriage-Penalty Relief, Child Tax Credit, estate tax, death tax, AMT) are examined. In the end the advantages and disadvantages of the campaign programs can be easily distinguished from the SWOT tables.

TAMÁS CSAPODY

**ATLANTIC SPRING AND THE WAR OF THE BIRDS**  
*The history of the Peace Movement of Balkanian*

In the spring of 1999, the 78 days long NATO bombing of Yugoslavia divided the Hungarian public opinion. In the movements sector of the Hungarian society there was established the Movement for the Peace of the Balkan (Balkán Békejéért Mozgalom, BBM), and its quasi counter-movement, the 82s (82-ek). This essay studies the mentioned movements according to the well-known threefold aspects of movement-sociology: the teleological, the morphological, and the structural one. From the teleological point of view, the aim setting and achieving activity is investigated of the BBM. The morphological aspect analyses the organization of the identity and integrity providing activities of the movement. From the structural point of view, role of the BBM in the society as a whole is analyzed. The BBM definitely had a substantive effect, while its procedural impression (restructuring decision making and consent creating procedures) can not be said important. However, it might have a long term transforming influence on the social structure. Its short term external (beyond the movement) and internal (inside the movement) effects were significant. One of the intended internal aims of the BBM was to obtain and organize an increasing amount of supporters, furthermore, influence the public discourse.

TAMÁS BERTALAN

**THE ROLE AND EFFICIENCY OF THE HUNGARIAN  
CULTURAL INSTITUTIONS ABROAD**

How effective can the Hungarian public administration be, how can it give adequate answer for those challenge, which call the improvement of efficiency and organisational process into action in the public sphere in the developed countries?

The research of the author is based on the function of the net of foreign Hungarian cultural institutes that is supervised by the Ministry of Cultural Heritage.

According to the author the organisational efficiency can not be divided off the process of democratic transition. The focus in this examination is on the interaction of the decision-making, the political and the executive functions.

In this point of view the question is how the management of government authorities can utilize their existing directing and influencing means for achieving their purpose.

In what way can the professional view function, how can the organizational rules work, without which any organisation (working in the competitive sphere, which is not as complicate as the public sphere) can not be viable and can not achieve their purpose.

According to the author the administrative authorities supply administrative service in indirect or direct way, by these way guarantee they the conditions of the service. The measurement of the task, and its level, and the realized purpose provide the opportunity of the measurement of the operational efficiency of the administrative authority.

TAMÁS SZÁVAI

## PARTY BUDGETS AND CAMPAIGN FINANCE

In order to ensure their transparency the political parties are obliged to publish the data of their management of the previous year, and in case of a parliamentary election also the financial management of the campaign, in the Hungarian Gazette. According to the survey the reports published by the parties do not fully ensure the requirement of the realization of transparency. The basic problem is caused by the fact that the report showing the management data, specified in the political parties act, also in its form as well as in its content completely differs from the report and balance statement of other profit oriented organizations and it is not organically built on the prescribed bookkeeping practice, whereas the political parties act has not given any instruction about making a party report, and the content of a few lines remained unclear. That is the reason why the report of some parties cannot be compared concerning their content. As the Law of accountancy came into force in 01.01.1992 the political parties act was amended without taking into account the new requirements defined by the act concerning the content of the reports and the remarks of the State Audit Office. The election act also needs amendment. In three reports of the State Audit Office (reports on the 1998

elections, by-elections) based on the experiences of auditing, the attention of the legislation had to be called three times to the necessity of refining the political parties act, without which the transparency of the source and use of campaign moneys cannot be guaranteed and the control carried out by the State Audit Office, based on the obligation of the law, can only be considered formal. Despite previous warnings, the amendment of the act will not be executed prior to the parliamentary elections of 2002.

MAX KAASE

### POLITICAL SCIENCE AND THE INTERNET

The Gutenberg invention of printing has been a major precondition for the development of present-day science and the science system. With this historical analogue as a starting point, the article addresses the present and future impact of the emergence of electronic communication networks as epitomized by Internet and the World Wide Web on the future organization and operation of the science system, including political science and the effects that can already be found in the science system. The analysis finds that the impact of electronic communication is already strongly felt in the "hard" sciences, but much less so in the humanities and social sciences, although its potential there is also large. Electronic communication is a field where the social sciences should engage much more in research than is presently done.

BALÁZS KISS - ZSOLT BODA

### POLITICAL COMMUNICATION ON THE INTERNET. AN OUVERTURE.

The study, which is the departure point of a four-year research, gives an overview of the most important theoretical, as well as practical, issues concerning the new opportunities that the Internet offers to political communication, some others, like the idea of an accelerated democracy and an efficient e-government, have yet remained promises. In dealing with the problematic the study follows the logic of three main actors of political communication: that of the political institutions, the mass media, and citizen groups. The main arguments serve as underpinnings for the coming empirical investigations.

## CONTENTS

### BIBÓ AWARD

---

<i>Kálmán Kulcsár: Transition to the 21st Century</i> .....	5
---	---

### PARTIES AND PARLIAMENTARISM

---

<i>Ervin Csizmadia: Adaptability of Parties and the Dynamics of Party Competition</i> ...	29
<i>Sándor Pestl: The Parliament and Parliamentarism in Hungary (1848-1945)</i> .....	57
<i>Gábor Kuglics: On the Initiative of "Shaking Hands for Peace, 2000"</i> .....	77

### AMERICAN PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS

---

<i>Árpád Duczon: A Comparative Analysis of American Campaign Programs in 2000</i> .....	97
---	----

### PUBLIC POLICY

---

<i>Tamás Csapody: Atlantic Spring and the War of the Birds. On the History of the Movement for the Peace of the Balkans</i> .....	121
<i>Tamás Bertalan: The Role and Efficiency of the Hungarian Cultural Institutions Abroad</i> .....	153
<i>Tamás Szávai: Party Budgets and Campaign Finance</i> .....	193

### INTERNET, COMMUNICATION, POLITICS

---

<i>Max Kaase: Political Science and the Internet</i> .....	215
<i>Balázs Kiss - Zsolt Boda: Political Communication in the Internet</i> .....	239

### TRADITIONS OF THE HUNGARIAN POLITICAL SCIENCE

---

<i>Győző Concha: Politics</i> .....	269
-------------------------------------	-----

**BOOK REVIEW**

---

<i>János Fazekas: A Landscape During the Battle.</i>	
Scenario of Regime Change .....	287
<i>Sándor Karikó: In the Captivity of Social Philosophy</i> .....	297

<b>LIST OF NEW TITLES</b> .....	<b>305</b>
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---

<b>ABSTRACTS</b> .....	<b>312</b>
------------------------	------------

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