
ABSTRACTS

ANGELUSZ, RÓBERT-TARDOS, RÓBERT

A BACKGROUND PILLAR OF ELECTORAL BEHAVIOUR

While literature on electoral behavior in Hungary tends to agree on the pivotal role of the generational factor and religion and treat the significance of social stratification as a more controversial issue, ex-party-membership (belonging to the HSWP, the former Communist party) as a latent determinant has received much less attention. This negligence seems unjustified in the light of the few data related to this factor as regards both the 1990 and the 1994 elections. Analyses, in fact, prove to place it second or third among the studied objective determinants, and it stands out even more concerning the affiliation to the largest left-wing party, the HSP (Socialist Party).

The 1994 elections, won by HSP at a large margin, attached special relevance to this issue. The three-wave panel study, serving as a basis of the authors' study, has revealed manifold data on ex-party-membership (including spouse's membership, too). A significantly larger part of the population than usually estimated have turned out to be ex-party-members (or their spouses). Among certain strata (such as middle-aged or older cohorts of managers, professionals) taking special role in processes of political opinion formation, these figures reach a particularly high level (in certain cases even forty-fifty per cent). Based on findings proving the strong impact of family ties in party preference, as well, the authors point out some significant (direct and indirect) effects of former political commitment.

BÖRÖCZ, JÓZSEF

A FEIGNED MAJOR TRANSFORMATION?

Informal way out of state socialism

In the countries of our region there had been a societal experiment going on for four and a half decades following World War II. In this framework state authority guaranteed the development and survival of the so-called socialist ownership at first by open, and subsequently

by increasingly covert violence. This form of ownership and the socio-political system linked to it were created by military conquest and its maintenance depended on two external factors: its political-strategic element linked the societies of our region to the state-socialist imperial centre, whereas its economic component to the key actors of world economy. The present transformation has begun mostly under the influence of external factors: the resources available to the state-socialist imperial centre abated, the empire collapsed, and West European integration has tangibly started to develop. In this respect the internal transformation of certain East Central European societies can be interpreted as such a reflex of adjustment which was provoked by the fundamental reorganisation of the big power logic of the inter-state system. Thus the starting point is the elimination of state socialism as a systemic principle, which can be traced back to the collapse of the state socialist external system of dependence. However, this fact in itself offers little basis for the direction of transformation and for its socio-morphological specificities.

In this paper it is studied how turning away from state socialism takes place in the field of ownership relations. At first the institutional alternatives of the removal of state dominance are surveyed at any of the state socialist economies right at the outset, in other words, pretending for the sake of analysis only as if there were only the institutional interrelationships deriving from the generic model of state socialism, then an attempt is made to analyse the experiences of the first two and half years of the transformation of ownership in Hungary with the help of this set of concepts. Finally I venture to project a few suppositions concerning the presumable socio-morphological consequences of the informal way out of state socialism.

BRUSZT, LÁSZLÓ

WHY ON EARTH WOULD EASTERN EUROPEANS SUPPORT CAPITALISM?

The paper contrasts two diametrically opposing views on the relationship between democratization and economic development in Eastern Europe. It bridges the gap between the macro-political arguments of these two approaches and their assumptions concerning the micro-foundations of individual postures with regard to capitalist development based on the analysis of the results of a comparative survey research done in 11 new democracies in Central and Eastern Europe. According to the results of the analysis, support for capitalism is not a direct function of economic performance, and besides the lack of alternatives, it is mainly trust in political actors and institutions, that forms the basis of support for the new socio-economic regime.

KOVÁCS, ÉVA

“HERE IT IS AND HERE IT ISN'T.”

Excluding procedures in the Hungarian dispute on the issue of historical justice, 1990-1992.

In Hungary public debate on historical justice has been going on since 1989. The present paper analyses the discourses in the media of the 'peak period' between 1990 and 1992 with the method of Foucault's discourse analysis. Topics to be analysed contain the dispute on the issue of historical justice, the Dunagate scandal, the Justitia plan, the Zétényi-Takács bill, Kónya's paper, the Small-holders' X-raying, on the modernisation of the secret services, and disputes about the agents of department III/III.

The analysis has shown that historical responsibility and the topic of doing justice were separated at an early stage and emphasis was laid on *doing justice*. It was also proved that historical (moral) justice could not be operationalised by legislation, the institutionalisation of doing justice led to *challenging the legitimacy* of the new democratic institutions, further on the dispute over doing justice with legislation has degenerated into a *dispute on removing the communists*.

A further result of our study was that it turned out: though at the first sight the disputes on doing justice seemed to be *unlimited* discourses, strong exclusive procedures were hidden in them. Our study has focused on the most characteristic exclusive procedures of some subordinate discourses. The vehemence and redundancy of the discourse can be explained by the “*Here It Is and Here It Isn't*” discourse evolving around the list of agents. In fact disputes on doing justice took place in public while the list was known only by a limited group of those participating in the discourse, while everybody was referring to it. ‘*Circular*’ fear has become the driving force of the discourse.

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