
ABSTRACTS

BIHARI, MIHÁLY

THE INCOMPATIBILITY OF MPS AND THE DIVISION OF POWER

The rules of the incompatibility of MPs represent the personal guarantees of the division of power. The prohibition of the simultaneous holding of an MP's position and other positions that are deemed incompatible wishes to exclude the concentration of power through individuals and the possibility of undesirable influence of interests.

Thus checks and balances, further on incompatibility are supposed to hinder the concentration of power. Separated authorities and incompatibility are qualified positions, representing checks and balances to each other.

The creation of the rules of incompatibility compulsory for MPs is one of the most intricate legislative tasks of every parliament, requiring the most circumspect regulation. There has been no Act on incompatibility since 1946 in Hungary.

The existence and maturity of the rules of incompatibility are measures of democracy. It is a grave omission of Hungarian democracy that it has failed to elaborate a comprehensive bill, going beyond the rules of incompatibility spelt out by the Constitution and by the Act LV of 1990 on the legal status of MPs by the first freely elected parliament, elected after the systemic change, and so far by the second freely elected parliament either. Public opinion clearly and unambiguously demands such a regulation and each of the political parties have promised to pass rules of incompatibility in respect not only of MPs, but of members of local assemblies, civil servants, ministers and members of the government and other public employees within a relatively short time. Apparently passing the special laws and rules on incompatibility, belonging to the safeguards of democracy, would still take up a long period of time.

ÁGH, ATTILA

**BUSINESS INTEREST ASSOCIATIONS AS POLICY ACTORS:
THE CASE OF HUNGARY**

The democratic institution-building process, by and large, has come to an end in Hungary by now and currently there is a process of transition from democratization to political modernization, that is, from the creation of the democratic institutions to their effective workings. There is, however, a big delay in some parts of the democratic institutionalisation, namely that of the organized interests, the so called political meso-system, and within that, first of all in the belated emergence of the business interest associations (BIAs). This paper analyses the formation of the Hungarian BIAs from the late eighties until now in three major periods. First, it investigates the special circumstances of the emergence of the Hungarian BIAs during the democratic transition within the tripartite system of the National Interest Reconciliation Council. It was a policy-making body created by the government in December 1988, the very first body of such kind in the East Central European region. In the second period the tripartite system was reorganized into the Interest Reconciliation Council with extended rights and the BIAs were very active within it in the early nineties. But the real functional differentiation of the meso-system came only with the third period, beginning in March 1994, when the Chamber Law was passed by the Hungarian parliament and, of necessity, the functions of BIAs and Chambers were separated. In the second half of the nineties the BIAs are already rather well developed, still both the tripartite system and the individual interest organizations have a lot of problems, listed in the closing part of the paper with some policy recommendations.

GYÖRGY G. MÁRKUS

**THREE FAMILIES OF CLEAVAGES IN THE PARTY SYSTEMS
OF EAST CENTRAL EUROPE - THE CASE OF HUNGARY.**

Although a certain *freezing* of political cleavages and party systems in ECE has taken place, it has not happened in the "classical" Rokkanian way. There is a parallelism between stabilization tendencies on the one side, and constant change, *fluidity* on the other: cleavage-based polarisation on the inter-party and inter-bloc level versus fragmentation on the intra-party level; parties as principal actors of the transformation versus volatility and weak party identification not excluding a considerable role¹³ of sociological characteristics as explanatory factors of voting attitudes; the weight of history versus autonomous political actors not just reflecting, but shaping cleavages. The contradictions evidenced by empirical observations can be explained by the preponderance of cultural-ideological conflicts which alienates a citizenry preoccupied by socio-economic issues treated in

a subordinated way. The dominance of cultural politics conducive to friend-foe relations is an obstacle to democratic consolidation.

The classification and the typology of cleavages as major axes of party competition in ECE countries can pave the way to a meso-theory of political parties in the region. Three sets of cleavages are identified: the families of 1. structural-political, 2. cultural and 3. socio-economic cleavages.

The *structural-political* divide relates to the *recent past*. Although this is often 'dressed up' in the classical ideological form of the Communism versus anti-Communism conflict, its core is a dual society including two types of interests, values, attitudes and mechanisms of political and economic decision-making: a sector rooted in state socialism, especially in its reform communist variety, and a sector of emerging capitalist market economy and bourgeois democracy. This dualism is, however, more than just co-existence as described by M. Bernhard; we witness their interpenetration expressed, among others, in the frequent leading role of old elites - with their *old* methods - in shaping and taking the economic, the social and the political realms of the *new* sector.

The above described cleavage family is intertwined with the cultural type of cleavages confronting *Westernization* and *traditionalism* in a mutually reinforcing way. One pole of this major and - in a number of ECE countries - preponderant cleavage is the particularist defense of the historical continuity of national, cultural and territorial identities, the other is radical adjustment to the 'West' as the 'universalizing' Centre. (*Gemeinschaft* versus *Gesellschaft*.) Following the collapse of the Soviet empire - as the late successor of the East Roman Empire - we witness here, in a Rokkanian manner, *a cumulation of territorial and cultural cleavages*.

The deformed and underdeveloped *socio-economic* cleavage family reflecting the gap between the majority of losers and the minority of winners and the rivalries within both macro-groups is, on the one side, *subjugated* to the first two types of fault lines, and, on the other side, is *determined externally*: by the global centre-periphery conflict. The traditional left-right continuum seems to have lost its relevance. The organization of cleavages in ECE countries adequately reflects *the global dichotomy between 'the economism of the North and the culturalism of the South'*. (A. Touraine) It might anticipate similar developments in Western Europe.

The three families of cleavages identified are closely linked together and have a *common denominator*: *the structural heterogeneity of regional and global 'development' expressing itself in historically rooted dualisms*.

MÁTÉ SZABÓ

MOVEMENT AND COUNTERMOVEMENT MOBILIZATION:
RIGHT-WING RACIST, AND ANTI-RACIST PROTEST
MOVEMENTS IN HUNGARY

In the following I will present some material to be discussed on the mobilization processes of right wing racist groups and of anti-racist movements in Hungary. The study focuses on the violent subcultures against ethnic groups, skinheads, and on the other side the anti-racist Martin Luther King Association. There are differentiated networks of groups existing nowadays in Hungary on both sides, but I decided to focus the research on one more or less well identified group because of scarcity of time and space to present information and to be interpreted too. So we will have a look on selected case studies, and no comprehensive picture of both "families" of social movements, which are quite numerous in the present day Hungary. Characteristics of social movements have to be discussed shortly, because there are arguments and counterarguments about how far the racist violence in Europe in the beginning of the 1990s may be traced as a mobilization of social movements. Movements are forms of social mobilization, their dynamics is connected with the mobilization of human and material resources. Social movements are the expressions of social-political conflicts and protest. Their macrosocial and political function is social-political innovation, challenge for organized politics, characterized by a high degree of problem consciousness but low degree of problem solving capacity, disproportion between efficacy and democracy. We may differentiate between unorganized mass behaviour, social movements and political organizations, represented here by the political party, regarding their goals, organization patterns and actions.

Mass actions may be stabilized as social movements, and from social movements parties or other sociopolitical organizations may emerge. Not all mass actions conclude in establishing a social movement, and not all movements build up political parties. There are dynamic interactions inbetween the three categories. Racist violence may appear as unorganized mass action, without having a social movement character. But if the individual or small group violence is manifested in the framework of culturally and symbolically integrated social networks of subcultures, there is a social movement structure to be documented. Leaders, distributors of symbols, media specialist organizers are indicators, that certain role differentiation, division of labour is there. Goals may be overlapping between groups and organizations being part of the network and infrastructure of the extreme right building up a loosely coordinated social movement from the street corner societies up to the political parties. According to my view, racist violence in the beginning of the 1990s in Hungary is a context where on all the three levels, in mass action, in the emergence of social movements from subcultures, and in the

reactivated or newly established right-wing parties and other political organizations the same mobilizing social trend will be articulated. The study analyses how the mobilization of skinheads and of antiracist movements occurred in Hungary after 1989 in the new democracy, libertarian and right wing movements relate to each other and to the state and the public in a specific way.

ANDRÁS BOZÓKI

THE POLITICS OF MOVEMENT-INTELLECTUALS
AFTER THE REGIME CHANGE:
THE DEMOCRATIC CHARTER IN HUNGARY

This paper outlines the history of a political movement of intellectuals, the Democratic Charter. The movement which peaked from 1991 to 1994, served as different groups' umbrella organization to their various demands: a reawakening of a formerly politically active civil society that seemed to have been drained as a result of party pluralism (which came into being in 1989); an articulation of a democratic consensus that could surpass partial interests; an opposition to authoritarian tendencies; an emphasis on the idea of participatory democracy as opposed to the practice of an élitist democracy based on the idea of representation; and, finally, the creation of an experimental field for a possible socialist-liberal political alliance within a political movement. Social, cultural, and political goals were mixed in the movement, of which not only participants but also organizers were often unaware. This paper delineates and analyses these varied characteristics through an empirical analysis of the Democratic Charter.



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