
ABSTRACTS

A. KORÓSENYI

THE STATE AND POLITICAL THEORY OF CARL SCHMITT

The article analyses the core of the highly debated state and political theory of Carl Schmitt. In the first part of the article the author reconstructs the five most important concepts of Schmitt's political theory: the concept of the political, the concept of the state, the sovereignty, the decision and the state of emergency. The focus is on the relation among these concepts, how they are built on each other, on one hand, and how the state, legal and constitutional theory of Schmitt is built on his political theory. In the second part of the article the author analyses issues from Schmitt's political theory, which are often criticized by contemporary political theorists. First, Schmitt's concept of the political, second, his critic on the pluralist theory of state and third, his critic on the anti-political character of liberalism. The author revises the critics and highlights, that some of these critics misunderstand Schmitt's position.

A KOPECKY-MUDDLE

WHAT CAN WE LEARN FROM THE EAST EUROPEAN LITERATURE ON DEMOCRATIZATION?

The authors have investigated the transition of the East European states from dictatorship to democracy. They conclude that there has hardly been any agreement between political scientists in the notion of consolidation. In their views in the minimalist sense of the expression „consolidated democracy” means that the behavior of the political figures meets the minimum functional requirements of democracy. At the same time they note also that the notion of consolidation should not be linked to the presence or absence of destabilizing

elements because the crisis of the state and the crisis of democracy are two different phenomena. Finally the authors draw attention stress the significance of this fact, because in political science, the placing of the various East-Central European transitions into international dimension is quite under emphasized. The authors' article is a pioneering achievement in this respect and is enriched by a thorough reference to the technical literature.

JENÓ BÓSZÖRMÉNYI

UNIVERSAL HUMAN RIGHTS AND INTERNATIONAL ORDER

The article wishes to define the place of human rights in the international system, the affect these rights make on state behaviour in the international arena. The author sketches out the historical evolution of human rights, and their appearance from the end of the second world war in several international instruments, and shows how their universal applicability as a major and relatively new component of the system is presumed. The two main challenges to their universality are that from development theories and the so-called 'Asian values' debate. The former argument states that the interests of fast economic development might "force" political and business elites to temporarily suspend human rights. The latter – more ferocious in our time – argues that human rights as a Western phenomenon are simply a new form of colonialism and the values forming their foundation, freedom and equality, are foreign to non-Western thinking, and favours such values as order, stability, hard work, self-discipline, etc. The article refutes these assertions. First, historical facts did not prove that a so-called development trade-off exists, on the contrary, we are not able to establish any, neither positive nor negative, connection between economic development and human rights. Secondly, although human rights were truly first conceptualised in the Western world, that does not infer that the embryonic ideas of freedom and equality that are indisputably present in almost every culture could not entail the possibility to develop to a full-blown system of human rights. The author concludes that though human rights became an important and probably an indispensable element in the fabric of international order, the system's basic Grotian character did not change, although took up (with such new institutions as the International Criminal Court) a Kantian look.

HIRATA TAKESI

PARTY SYSTEMS AND ELECTORAL VOLATILITY IN EASTERN EUROPE

There have been several elections in Eastern Europe for the past 10 years producing different party systems in the post-communist world having a number of common features. It is, however, not yet unanimously settled whether the stability of a party system is indispensable condition of democratic consolidation. The author examines the various responses to this question. The conceptual framework offered incorporates the relevant dimensions and evaluative tools like cleavages, alignment, dealignment, historical parties, catch-all-parties, and ideological commitments. Special emphasis is placed on studying electoral volatility. The author argues that the party systems of ECE comprise a centre-right and a centre-left group of parties, and smaller historical parties. Prof. Takesi also concludes that these party systems are not yet consolidated, and the connection between the electorate alignment and social cleavages is not clear either.

TAMAS CSAPODY-MIKLÓS MALOSCHIK

NATO ACCESSION AND THE MEDIA

Of those Central and Eastern European countries that waited for Nato membership, only Hungary held a public referendum on the matter. While the Polish public were very supportive of the issue, in Hungary and the Czech Republic, the public was divided, despite the enthusiasm of political leaders. The government, the Parliament and the parliamentary parties had done everything in the year prior to the referendum to persuade voters of the advantages of Nato membership. The parties continuously debated the referendum, which was not planned in the budget or of clear legality. But the stakes were enormous for Nato, the region and the country.

In this internationally sensitive position, a PR strategy was developed despite a lack of time and finances or previous similar experience. The efforts were effective. Hungarian citizens said "yes" to accession; in other words they bought the "Nato product". The public relations and marketing – involving the government, the Ministry of Defense and covert, latent strategies – can be called successful because 85% of those voted said "yes". But if we consider that fewer than 50% of those eligible to vote actually did so – not reaching the legal minimum

- and that it was validated only by a change in elections law, then we can only be sure of partial effect.

RUDIGER KIPKE

ONE STATE - TWO NATIONS?

The political geography of Europe has been redrawn as a result of the demise of communism. Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, not to mention the ex-Soviet Union, got split, whereas the German nation became one nation again. Or did they not? In 1990, the year of German unification it seemed that German identity survived the political and social division of 40 years of communism. Some 90 per cent of the „West Germans“ were convinced in 1990 that Germans share a common identity, and they constitute one nation. West Germany extended her political and economic system over to East Germany. A lot has also been done for the social unification of the two countries in the 1990s. Despite all efforts, profound and seemingly unbridgeable differences still divide the German nation. Mutual suspicion and biases have increased, disappointment is widespread. The author gives an overall view of Germany's economic, social and political trends of the 1990s. Related problems of political culture are also discussed. He concludes that changes in political culture can only be the outcome of a longer period of time.

JOHANCSIK, JÁNOS

LE PEN-ISME AND GLOBALIZATION

This study is a contribution to the discussion which developed about the new radical political movements forged ahead in the Western European countries. With analysing the identity, the political character, the specifics of the communication style, the political topics of the Le Pen's party - the french Front National - the author enlightens lepenism's nature. The party was founded in 1972 - which was started to get on in fact in eighties as the opposition of the socialist government - linked with a lot of ties to some earliest extreme rightist organizations. Its principal political topic is the defence of the national identity and the principle of "the national preference". Its main peculiarity is the ethno - nationalist opinion which represents exclusiveness and this opinion appears in various type of enemy. The populism by that it responded today's to the real social problems - and which Le Pen prefers nowadays the battle

against the globalization – coupled with ethno – nationalist ideological content. It is completed with authority principle line of Le Pen's political attitude. Despite of all formal difference from the former extreme right-wing movements the "principle of authority – national – populist" nature of Le Pen's movement the author makes it essentially related to the fasism and its leaders. In the debate on this movements of this kind the author distinguish two sort of approach: one of them wich putting it in the right-left dimension accepts the electoral or political cooperations with these organizations and the other considering the values of democracy exclude it.

GÁBOR TOROK

ISSUES AND POSITIONS OF THE ALLIANCE OF FREE DEMOCRATS (AFD): TWO YEARS OF OPPOSITION

The study gives an analysis of the position of the AFD in the last two years. We do not intend to provide an overall view, but attempt to look empirically at two aspects of its operation. First, *positioning*, political manoeuvring and political practice are discussed with a view at institutional and personnel changes within the party machine. Followingly, the issues represented by the party, questions of public policy, that is the agenda of thematizing is analysed.

Our current study concludes that the party has only executed minor changes, changes of emphasis in its political position. The new leader of the party defined the basic elements that were to constitute the backbone of AFD policy in the upcoming years. The idea of a 'third pole', that of a liberal centre party and of effective politics were not 'invented' by Gábor Demszky, but originally belonged to the terminology – at least on the level of declarations – of the AFD led by Balint Magyar since the electoral defeat in 1998. Positioning meant the support for a number of issues at the same time that were coined in terms of the 'quality of freedom'. These issues, however, failed to make the party attractive and did not help make the politics of the 'third pole' authentic in the eyes of the electorate.

We can draw the conclusion that no palpable tension could be felt between the positioning and thematizing by the AFD, however, neither could the issues strenghten or symbolize the new position nor could new politics be as authentic, and partly therefore, as exciting so as to make the issues represented by the party interesting for the public.

TAMÁS NAGY

SPORT AS PUBLIC POLICY

The paper discusses relationship between sport and policy in Hungary in the last ten years. In addition I outline the situation of sport before and analyse briefly its relation with European Union that is a current issue nowadays.

The aim of this analysis is to give a complete view of Hungary's sport system. On this basis other specific researches can be done in each subject.

This policy paper consists of three main chapters. At first the author examines the institutions of Hungarian sport, as leading structure, laws and subsidies from budget. He also publishes his researches of the role of sport in the Parliament. Then follows the "actors" of sport policy, through the analysis of government and political party programmes. In this part he tries to give an overall picture of civil organisations and an introduction to relation between sport and media in Hungary. Finally he mentions those main issues of sport, that appeared on the political agenda, like problems with football, sport huliganism, public debts of sport clubs, doping and participation in the Olympic Games.

Experts and public opinion say that sport is in crisis for the moment. The paper draws the conclusion that this fact is partly true, but we have to accept at present that sport is in a transitional period in Hungary. Our sport system has to be transformed to fulfil the requirements of market economy. The main "goal" is that sport can function nearly as a business organisation. For this process, state intervention is indispensable.

KÁLMÁN KULCSÁR

AFTER TEN YEARS

(Political perspectives and political problems)

1988 has been the year of political turning point of Hungary, though the changes of most important legal rules on the field of politic policy were introduced in 1989. The paper analyzed the last ten years taking into consideration the successful political achievements and the faults made by the first two coalitions and the present government. In the success and faults there were involved the political abilities of the political parties and the leading political parties and their politicians. In the different results of the tree voting process were morred the achievement of the governing parties, but much more the fault

in the forming of society. Therefore the mistakes made by the governments were at one punished by the voting citizens. The paper analyzed the factors involved in this phenomenon.

CONTENTS

BIBO AWARD ADDRESS, 1999

<i>András Korörsényi: Carl Schmitt's Concepts of the State and Political Theory</i>	5
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DEMOCRACY AND CENTRAL EUROPE

<i>János Simon: Political Conservatism in Hungary</i>	25
<i>Petr Kopecký-Cas Mudde: What does East European Literature Teach Us About Democratization?</i>	49
<i>Hirata Takesi: Development of Party Systems and Electoral Volatility in Central Europe</i>	75

GLOBALIZATION AND CHALLENGES

<i>Zsolt Boda: Global Environment Policy</i>	97
<i>Jenő Boszorményi: Universal Human Rights and International Trends</i> ...	121
<i>Tamás Csapódy-Miklós Maloschik: Joining the NATO and the Media</i> ...	145
<i>Rudiger Kipke: East and West in Unified Germany</i>	171

REGIONAL MEETING, 2000

<i>János Johancsik: Le Penism and Globalization</i>	185
<i>Gábor Torok: Political Agenda and Positions: Alliance of Free Democrats in Opposition in the Past Two Years</i>	197
<i>Tibor Löffler: Roots of Political Conflicts in the Political Programs of the League of Young Democrats</i>	215
<i>Tamás Nagy: Sports as Public Policy</i>	227

DISCUSSION

<i>Béla Galló: This and That</i>	265
<i>Zoltán Lakner: Prestige of a Discipline</i>	275

ABSTRACTS	339
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