
ABSTRACTS

TAMÁS FRICZ

THE PARTY DOES NOT DISAPPEAR, IT CHANGES?

In this study I attempt to answer the question: to what extent do the crisis phenomena in the functioning of today's German parties and party system, forecast a basic functional change of the parties in the 20th century? In this context a special emphasis falls on the media, the changing role of the media in politics, which change is an indicator, and at the same time, an initiator of the changes. First, the article examines the causes of the crisis phenomena and the reasons of the loss of confidence in the parties, making references to the major phenomena of the functional changes. Then I treat the markedly different role of the media, for the functional change of the parties cannot be understood without it. Finally, I try to show the interrelations between the changed political positions of the media and the changing functions of the parties.

One of the main findings of the article is that the disintegration of the conventional basis of the parties, the end of the communist regime, and the inability to solve problems, led to the crisis of the parties. They lost their traditional relations with the electors, and gradually became state parties or state institutions. As a reaction to this, the electors apparently lost their trust in the parties, and were/are looking for new ways of politicising through new organisations. This is mainly typical for the younger generations. They do not want to fight against the parties, they do not want to change them, but want to find solutions to their constant and changing problems. The second conclusion is that the parties are trying to overcome this crisis situation by dropping many of their functions, and by showing themselves as professional governing factors, indispensable democratic actors, or as serving institutions and networks, which can provide a carrier to those who are attached to them. The citizens do not disapprove of the changes in the functions, because, truly, the parties' abilities are the

best for governing. The civic sphere is unable to carry out the tasks of governing the society.

Finally, the article argues that the media appears as the manager of the whole process of crisis and functional changes, and thus the media gains a central role and acts as a quasi civil society which tries to bridge the gap between the parties and the citizens, and support the pragmatism of the parties, their humanistic features, and the personification of politics. At the same time, the media often distorts the citizens' picture of the parties and politics, and their role in the society.

ANTAL BIRKÁS

CHANGING PARTY-SYSTEM

The paper is about the 2001 General Election Campaign in the UK. Its purpose is to study the British party-system on the basis of the GE- campaign. The British- system is no longer a two party- system. It has changed a lot since the 1970's. Nowadays liberals are getting stronger and stronger. If the UK changed its voting system, the outcome would be a „three party- system” (with „Libdems” as the so called „England's third party”).

You can already see these changes: not in the House of Commons (because of the faults in the voting system), but in the campaign. You can already find a multiparty system present in the public opinion.

CSABA TOTH

THE MAIN DIRECTION OF HUNGARIAN PARTY SYSTEM DEVELOPMENT

The paper starts by stating and continues by supporting the thesis that the development of the Hungarian party system can best be described with the term “concentration”. In the first part of the study, a work-definition of concentration is developed. Then, some specific West-European examples are shown to illustrate the different degrees of party system concentration.

The second section of the paper provides evidence that by the end of the year 2000 the Hungarian party system has become significantly more concentrated than it was in the early 90s. In 1998, the two leading parties gathered 62% of the popular vote, as opposed to only 46% in 1990. The effective number of

electoral parties shrank from the original 6,7 to 4,5. Results of polls conducted after 1998 suggest that the concentration of the party system did not come to an end with the last general elections; the process continued until around 1999. By that time, as far as concentration is concerned, the Hungarian party system resembled the British and German “quasi” two-party systems.

The concentration of the Hungarian party system took place in three stages. In the first stage – the period of 1990-1993 –, the party system was fragmented with a number of medium-size parties. The beginning of the second stage was marked by the rise of the MSZP (Hungarian Socialist Party). This second stage – the period of 1994-1997 – showed the characteristics of a “quasi” dominant party system. The last stage of the development of the Hungarian party system has been characterized by the rise of Fidesz (Alliance of Young Democrats), and the decline of the once medium-size parties. It is yet uncertain whether these parties will be able to remain in Hungarian politics after the general elections of 2002.

GÁBOR TÓKA

RESEARCHING ELECTORAL BEHAVIOR

The article reviews the history and methodology of electoral behaviour research from the beginnings in the 19th century to the present day. The first section analyses the specific strengths and weaknesses of ecological, time-series, survey-based, and experimental studies as well as formal modelling in the study of voting. The section highlights the unique contribution of each method in advancing causal propositions about the determinants of vote choices. The second section revisits the oft-discussed competition – and opposition – between “sociological”, “psychological” and “economic” (or “rational”) models of voting behaviour. It explores the micro-logic of each major model, highlighting how their assumptions differ about the typical motivation of citizens’ political acts, and how the representatives of each model tried to justify the central tenets of their model. The article points out that many classic works identified with one or another model were open to reinterpretation within the framework of another model, and that – implicitly or explicitly – radically different accounts of voting developed within each major “school”. In the course of this the article reviews major methodological developments and findings in electoral research. The topics covered include

interpersonal and economic influences on the vote; the debate on the extent and forms of issue voting; directional vs. proximity voting; revisionist challenges to party identification theory and the recently emerging expressive models of the vote; cross-national differences and historical trends in the socio-demographic correlates of vote choice; the Hotelling-Downs model; and the role of information shortcuts in the electoral arena.

RICHARD S. KATZ and PETER MAIR

**CHANGING MODELS OF PARTY ORGANIZATION AND PARTY DEMOCRACY.
THE EMERGENCE OF THE CARTEL PARTY**

Many recent discussions of the decline of party are predicated on the assumption that the Duverger/socialist mass-party model is the only model for parties. We contend that this assumption is misconceived, that the mass-party model is only one, temporally limited and contingent model, and that it is necessary to differentiate notions of adaptation and change from notions of decline or failure. Following an analysis of how various models of party can be located in terms of the relationship between civil society and the state, we contend that the recent period has witnessed the emergence of a new model of party, the cartel party, in which colluding parties become agents of the state and employ the resources of the state (the party state) to ensure their own collective survival. Finally, we suggest that the recent challenge to party is in fact a challenge to the cartel that the established parties have created for themselves.

MÁTE SZABÓ

**ANTI-GLOBALIZATION MOVEMENTS AND PROTESTS:
THE NEW SOCIAL MOVEMENTS OF THE 21TH CENTURY?**

Since the Seattle protest, almost all meetings of the leading international political and economic organizations all challenged by groups of international protest movements. The anti-globalization protest is based upon a new type of international mobilization, based on electronic communication.

The global communication of qualified, high social capital groupings enabled them to organize rallies and riots, sometimes even non-conventional and violent ways, which raised the security costs of international meetings and destroyed their elite-planned PR.

Police and security organs are facing new challenge by these protests. Meanwhile the protesters are globally organized, the security organs are rooted in the hosting country. There are no possibilities to include the demonstrators in previous agreements with the police, because a „long distance activism” occurred and radicals from other countries or continents may influence the events.

The article analyze the trends of the mobilizations of the anti-globalization movements based on mailing list inquiries and relevant social science analyses of Manuel Castells, Martin Albrow , Ulrich Beck and Joachim Zürn. The prospects of the new movements are still uncertain, but they may influence a structural trend of the civil societies, where global conflicts may reappear in the environment of international meetings organized by a global network and challenging security organs and the global media.

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