
ABSTRACTS

ERZSÉBET SZALAI

POST-SOCIALISM AND GLOBALIZATION IN HUNGARY

The inner tensions generated by globalization, the contradictions of neocapitalism are especially vivid in Hungary where the crisis of state socialism and the roots of the transformation of the political and economic system based on it reach back deepest, to the 1956 revolution and the economic reform of 1968. It is no accident that after the first decade of the changed socio-economic system, the country displays an economic power organization strongly (more strongly than in the rest of the post-socialist countries) dependent on the west yet of a non-European type, together with a special social and political structure based on this economic layout.

The confrontation is between the concentrated proprietary and organizational structure of foreign predominance, tied strongly to western markets, with a western model of production organization and life style on the one hand, and a largely domestically dominated, deconcentrated organizational structure tied to the inner domestic market, a feudalistic, paternalistic model of production organization and the lifestyle built on this model, on the other. In this dualistic structure, the sector of foreign dominance is decisive.

ATTILA ÁGH

THE EARLY CONSOLIDATION AN EU-ACCOMMODATION IN CENTRAL EUROPA

The paper develops the concept that the tasks of democratic consolidation and the EU accommodation are deeply interwoven and they point to the same direction, to the direction of the completion of consensual democracy.

Democratic systems came to the political stage first as majoritarian democracies, but after the Second World War a strong tendency has appeared to the emergence of consensual democracy. The organization of the European Union, and even more its development into a genuine Union, has meant a decisive turning point in this process. Due to this dual – national and international – tendency, the young Central European democracies were organized from the very beginning as consensual systems. The further development of consensual democracy has become urgency for them when the perspective of the accession to the EU is so close by.

JUDIT HAMBERGER

SPECIAL CLEVEAGES AND CONFLICTS IN THE CZECH AND SLOVAK POLITICS IN THE NINETIES

In Czechoslovakia the nineties have brought to light cleavages and conflicts which indicated that in one common state different societies lived twobeside each other, considering their political scale of values as well. The Czechs had in view a political and economical state-formation which exceeded the notion of nation state, while the Slovaks, on account of their overdue historical and social development, wanted to create a nation state. This was a fundamental dilemma, which became fatal because of regionalism, integration-process and globalization. In the independent Czech Republic and Slovakia the double pressure of desintegration and integration resulted in special cleavages and this makes the development of the two political systems unique. Taking to itself and defence against external influences at Czechs and Slovaks occurred at the same time as the pressure of integration and globalization began. The Czechs in the nineties during the process of globalization realized the importance of the national interests' defence, and the Slovaks while striving for a stable civilization identity realized that in addition to national interests they have some global political and strategic interests too. One can detect these problems in the disagreements of the two republics' political elite about foreign affairs, the relationship between the state and the individual, or about the judgement of the civil society. There are special cleavages in the interpretation of the relationship between majority and minority and in the Czech and Slovak party systems.

IMRE SZILÁGYI

**THE TRANSITION'S EXPERIENCES OF NEW
NATIONSTATES IN THE WORLD OF GLOBALIZATION:
THE CASE OF CROATIA AND SLOVENIA**

There are some similarities and a lots of differences in political development of the two states. From the beginning of the nineties both republics have a multiparty sistem, a parliament with asymmetrical rule of two cameras. Croatia partly as a result of war till the end of 1999 was an authoritarian, semipresidential democracy in which government has a central position, while in Slovenia the president of the republic has only a symbolical authority and the parliament has very wide executive competences. The author demonstrates the cleveages inside the two societies (nation- and statebuilding Croats and Slovenians versus minorities, communists-anticommunists, liberals-clericals) and analyses the relationship between state and church. In Croatia from the very beginning to the end of 2000 was only the HDZ movement in power, while in Slovenia first the six-party DEMOS, from 1992 the liberal democrats formed coalition government together with various partners. On the basis of Sartori's and Lijphart's theory the author concludes that Slovenia has a consensus-orientated society, while in Croatia there were strong illiberal tendencies. In the process of transition and democratic consolidation the Slovenes overtakes Croats. Problems of european integration's or globalization's process caused a strong debate between Slovene intellectuals, who are anxious about sovereignty of the new state, but politicians in spite of a single conflict with European Union are uniformly integration-orientated. Tudjman's regime had many conflicts with European Union, but Croatia didn't face yet problems of globalization and the politicians are convinced that Croatia's place is in European Union and in Nato.

JÓZSEF JUHÁSZ

**THE MILOSEVIC'S REGIME AS AN ILLIBERAL
DEMOCRACY**

The article analyses the political system of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. In the first part of the article the author shortly characterizes the western liberal democracy and presents the systems of government of the former Yugoslavia. In the second part of the article the author analyses the illiberal

character of the serbian society and political culture, the post-communist traditions, and presents the serbian-albanian relations in the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. The third part of the article analyses the Milosevic's regime: democracy without the rule of law, presidential system of government without checks and balances, federal form of the centralization, multi-party system and elections without competition.

JÓZSEF BAYER

GLOBALIZATION AS A CHALLENGE FOR POLITICAL THOUGHT

The author analyses the impact globalisation has on political theory. Globalisation is defined as a multifaceted and contradictory historical process that has been accelerated heavily in the last decades, due to the effects of the information revolution and the development of information and communication technology that rendered connection of financial markets, the rise of transnational corporations, intense flow of capital, goods and services, people and information. Its political consequences are both integration and fragmentation processes. It shifts the meaning of traditional notions and themes of politics. Globalisation dissolves the so called westphalian state order: sovereignty becomes empty, social integration weak, and the governability of modern societies declines. Every party has to cope with this problems, and looks for different answers. Strong anti-globalist movements come up nurtured by a new political fundamentalism and xenophobia. Democracy and constitutional state are challenged in a globalized world which is less unified than divided.

The constraints on the nation state, the economic and cultural impacts of globalisation lead to the new claim of „global governance“. This is, however, despite of growing number of international actors, still weakly institutionalized. Maintaining democracy and its international extension would require decisive reforms of the established institutional world order. In this, however, differ the „realist“ and „idealist“ visions of international politics the most.

WOLFGANG MERKEL

THREE ROADS OF SOCIAL DEMOCRACY INTO THE 21ST CENTURY

The author analyses the alternative roads of social democratic policy both from a theoretical and practical point of view. First he describes the theoretical conception of the third way, which leads now not between capitalism and communism, but rather between neoliberal economic policy and etatist-corporatist social democratic policy. Globalisation is regarded in this respect both as a constraint on traditional welfare policy and as a new source of economic development. Leading idea of the concept is not egalitarianism, but the preventing of social exclusion and guaranteeing equal chances.

The author compares the national variations of the realisation of this new policy. He analyses the fiscal, employment and social policy of the british, scandinavian, the dutch and the french social democratic governments, looking for their strengths and weaknesses. Although there is no ideal solution, one conclusion seems to be clear: for the contemporary economic, employment and social problems there can be only europeanwide solutions. Therefore, social democracy had to elaborate an active common European policy.

GYULA GULYÁS

PARADOXES OF PUBLIC SERVANT'S ACCOUNTABILITY

The paper is about the paradoxes of moral responsibility, keeping in sight the characteristics of the political-administrative sphere, the problem of the "many hands-symptom." It examines the different responsibility-principles, the dialectical process of responsibility, the trade-off between just and efficient accountability in details. Analyzing the criteria-system of the hierarchical, collective and personal responsibilities, the author tries to concretize the possibilities of being holding someone responsible in different situations in the sphere of public policy.

ESZTER SZÓDA

IMPORTANT „QUESTION”

Empirical policy-researches – especially about central institutions (government and parliament) – are some of the vulnerable points of the hungarian political science. We can find mostly investigations of primary statistics. The aim of this paper is to look empirically a little slice of hungarian parliamentary geunes. It gives an analysis of questions delivered in the Parliament of Hungarian Republic between 1990 and 1998.

The study consist of three main chapters. At first the author looks over the different instruments of parliamentary control on executive authority. Then she examines the current regulation. After all these follows the analysis of „questions” from 1990 to 1998.

Compared with „immediate question” and interpellation, question is a fairly „soft” instrument on the hand of the opposition parties to control the government. On the other hand special functions of „questions” were developed so az to adjust to its special fundamentals. Among them information and lobby functions must be highlighted.

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