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# ABSTRACTS

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ANDRÁS LÁNCZI

## POLITICAL KNOWLEDGE

„Our wisdom in social science questions is almost always retrospective only. This is, or ought to be, a humiliating experience for human beings: if justice is beyond us, we would like at least to claim knowledge.” (James Burnham)

Can you imagine that a Noble Prize is annually awarded in political science? Whereas in certain life sciences and in economics it goes without saying that there is some sort of a standard by which it is decided for what achievement the Prize would be awarded, it cannot be claimed to be so in political science. Actual achievements in politics are acknowledged for assisting creation or maintaining of peace thus accentuating man's profound yearning for security in the face of renewed hostilities between man and man which points toward the mysteries of human nature on the one hand, and the unresolvable character of politics on the other.

Does it imply that achievements in political science cannot be accurately measured, but even if they can, their acknowledgement cannot appeal to universal knowledge? The issue at stake is whether political science is capable of realizing a universal potential like natural and formal sciences based on „facts” and logical inferences in a closed system. One has to bear in mind that modern Western science is the very first system of knowledge and beliefs that seems to be successful enough to claim universal validity. Such religious aspirations all failed and have been confined to particular cultures that are limited by other cultures.

While political scientists pursue knowledge about politics, most of them take it for granted what they do as a political scientist. There is however a haunting question as to whether political science is identical with political knowledge. If it were then it is just a matter of time that political science achievements would be universally acknowledged like those of, say, chemistry. It may mean two things, firstly, that political

knowledge is a miracle and futile, or if it is a feasible pursuit, then the main task is to dissolve it from the particular culture, otherwise we have to observe Steven Shapin's claim that „the distinction between <truth> and <what locally counts as truth> can be adequate for some purposes while being fatal to others.” It is one of the oldest perplexities of human understanding whether politics can be studied with the slightest hope for acquiring knowledge about it. There are rampant sceptical views.

The enormity of the task is reflected by the lack of common standards of political science, and the essay, which is a written and extended version of a lecture delivered at the ceremony of the Bibó Prize Award in December, 2003, is an attempt to taking stock of the epistemological problems of political knowledge.

PÉTER PACZOLAY

#### THE HUNGARIAN CONSTITUTION AND THE ACCESSION TO THE EU

The paper analyses the constitutional aspects of Hungary's accession to the European Union.

There is an ongoing debate in Hungary on the need for a constitutional reform and the drafting of a new constitution. I have argued consequently in the last decade against a new constitution and in favour of preserving the present text that is based on the political agreements of 1989. The basic principles and institutions of the constitutional order are stable and there is no need to adopt a new basic law. The gradual amendments make the text flexible and open to answer to the new exigencies.

Hungary's accession to the EU was the reason for an occasional amendment. The so-called „EU clause” was enacted at the end of 2002 as a result of a political compromise. Both the accession and the constitutional amendment has modified the concept of sovereignty in Hungary. The list of unresolved problems include uncertainties concerning the limitation of sovereignty, the relation of community law and the national constitution, and the protection of fundamental rights. In the latter field the situation is already quite complex as far as fundamental rights are protected by national constitutions, community law, and the European Convention of Human Rights. If the EU Charter of Fundamental Rights becomes a legally binding document, the system of fundamental rights protection will be even more complicated. Competing judicial forums, and diverging jurisprudences could create difficulties.

The paper finally considers the possibility of transforming the European Union into a federal state. It concludes that the foundations of a real European constitution has not been laid down yet. It seems to follow the path of cautious reforms, and keep the democratic control at the level of the member states.

MRS. LACZKÓ, ÁGNES TUKA

#### EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT – A UNIQUE TRANSNATIONAL ORGANISATION

In her article the author seeks the answer how the European Parliament, the world's first directly elected international representative institution. In the first part of the article the author describes the struggles of the members of the European Parliament, the conclusion of which the European Parliament that had got earlier only the right of consultancy and low controlling jurisdiction, achieved the influence in the budget. Later, thanks to the direct election with the development of the integration it obtained co-legislative status.

The second part deals with the problems of the so-called deficit in democracy and the 'Euro-elections' (elections to the European Parliament). According to the author, though in the European Union member states comparing with the participation in the elections to the national parliaments the participation in the European Parliament elections is in lower level, however it does not question the legitimacy of that institution. The reason of the lack of interest is partly the fact, that these elections don't have the features of power and - on the other hand - the inhabitants of the member states are not well-informed according to the actual work of the European Parliament. The work of the European Parliament is directed by political groups which can create even specific forms. That fact is introduced in the third part, while at the end of the article we can acquaint the 'daily' work of the members of the European Parliament, among the others with the inner structure of the European Parliament and the cost of representation.

ATTILA ÁGH

#### EU ACCESSION AND INSTITUTIONAL REFORM-PRESSURE

The paper deals with the impact of Hungary's accession on its institutional system and its basic message is that the full entry to the EU presupposes a general reform of the Hungarian institutions that has been analysed in the paper in the respect of the institutions of social dialogue and administrative

structures. In such a way, the paper consists of three parts. The first part focuses upon the challenge of the accession and discusses it as both an external pressure for adjustment and an internal, long term need for modernization. This general institutional reform-pressure, in fact, is not alien from the Hungarian developments. Just to the contrary, it completes its long term process of modernization. The second part concentrates on the world of social actors and institutions, and points out that there are many EU regulations in this field, which are converging in a „social acquis”. Actually, in this part the Lisbon Strategy comes to the fore and jointly with the Tampere Programme it leads organically to the third part of the paper. Namely, in the third part the world of territorial actors has been investigated in harmony with the Lisbon Strategy, arguing that the Lisbon Strategy has its own territorial aspects, virtually producing a „territorial acquis”. Evaluating the EU regulations in both fields, the paper concludes that these regulations are more and more important for the EU and the successful membership of Hungary depends first of all on the adjustment of its institutional system to the EU.

ÁGNES LUX

THE COMPARING ANALYSIS OF THE  
INTERGOVERNMENTAL CONFERENCES OF THE  
EUROPEAN UNION FROM THE BEGINNING TILL  
NOWADAYS

Since the founding fathers of the European Communities in the 1950's, there are many answerless questions, such like the oscillating duel between the federalist-community method and the intergovernmental-nationstate method, and so far, the interesting issues, like the proportionality and the subsidiarity, also now the capability of the working with 25 members after May 2004. There were born many - more or less successful - solutions and reformplans, but among them the common sense is: the european decisionmakers always prepare and think these plans and proposals before they give them to the table of the European Council within the framework of the Intergovernmental Conferences (IGC).

In my study, I tried to compare the eight IGCs on the base of the supposed common features, like the planned goals, preparing and final documents, debate-themes, and the consequences.

As abstract, I should to make my point of view clear, that the Intergovernmental Conferences probably will stay the key institutions in the really successful decisionmaking, naturally together with other community method-face processes.

LÁSZLÓ PRÁGER

HUNGARY'S CATCHING UP: COMPETITIVENESS, SETS  
OF VALUES AND INTERESTS IN THE EARLY  
TWENTY-FIRST CENTURY IN THE SPACE OF THE  
GLOBAL WORLD AND THE EUROPEAN UNION

In the early 21st century Hungary has to place its political, economic and social existence in three spaces, such as: in the global world, in the European Union and within its own internal national framework. It means the harmonisation of three regions the interests and values of which often meet and several times differ. For politics and economic policy the identification of the aim is facilitated by the knowledge of the historical period of five decades following World War II and the almost 15 years that passed since the change of the political system.

After World War II Hungary was transferred from the developed Western (political and economic) world to the Soviet sphere of interest without being asked and against its will. Hungary however continuously attempted its reintegration into the developed world right from that moment in various ways, to varying extent and framework. A prominent stage of this attempt was the revolution of 1956, next the new economic mechanism of 1968 in a narrower framework, and then the theory and practice of openness of the 80s, and, apparently as a last step, came the change of the political system.

Yet today apparently the process of reintegration has not been completed with the change of the political system, and the real trend and structure of internal national development was even less outlined. The change of the political system was primarily change based on negation: overcoming the Soviet system, the Warsaw Pact and CMEA-membership. All this meant that the attention of those who accomplished the change of the system was more of an external nature, focusing on external relations. Thus Hungary stepped over to a new political and economic culture from the Soviet power system, into conditions of a multiparty system and market economy while essentially it has not realised its national role even for a moment. The Hungarian economy, the ownership structure and the internal market have simultaneously become international.

The postponed internal development began with a delay of one decade, but ultimately it is the task of the present to harmonise national interests with the space of the global world and with the European Union. Disregarding any line of force would be a fatal political, economic political and social mistake. Europe is European but at the same time it is part of the global world. Considering only the framework of globalism would mean the acceptance of being exposed to the set of interests and

values of the global world, whereas inward-looking autarky would mean a wrongly interpreted self-isolating nationalism.

To finding the direction and content of a successful catching up it is visible precisely by surveying the path of the EU Member States (presented in the paper) that it is the strength of the internal structures of the countries that have developed in their past which can ensure the economic and social cohesion offering a basis to the necessary adaptation, and that makes them competitive in the European Union and in the global world.

ZOLTÁN LAKNER

HUNGARIAN PARTIES AND THE EUROPEAN UNION. The *E. U. in the internal politics in Hungary 1990-2004*

The essay reflects on the debate between the leading Hungarian parties on the conditions of the joining to the E.U. According to the author this debate started too late, right before the negotiations' last turn in 2002, although the joining process had lasted since 1994. Before 2002 there had not been a deep discussion in the Hungarian society or in the political elite about the possible Hungarian role in the E. U. or the circumstances of the joining.

After 2002 these question are dominantly seen through the lens of the conflicts between the Hungarian parties, other point of views hardly have no chance to be paid attention to. Now the E. U. is not an independent policy issue but an „attachment” of the general problems of the Hungarian party politics.

Between 1990 and 2002 the E. U. was a distant goal, a desired but almost unknown destination of Hungary. A moderate optimism was the typical attitude among the citizens, but usually without established knowledge about the Union. The parties did not reflect on the questions and maybe doubts that arisen in the society, especially in the rural population.

In the fall of 2002 former Prime Minister Viktor Orbán was the first relevant politician lifted these questions and fears to the political agenda. But Mr. Orbán's was motivated not by the ambition to start the conversation about Hungary's European role. He tried to make his defeated party visible before the local election in October 2002 and tried to speak different about the E. U. winning the sceptic Hungarian voters' sympathy to enlarge his party's basis. Mr. Orbán risked his E. U. supporter image for gaining these voters' support.

The socialist-liberal coalition called him populist and E. U. sceptic and the government introduced itself as the only real supporter of the joining. So the debate has started in 2002 is not about Hungary's strategy in the E. U. but this is an illustration

of how the Hungarian political life works dominated by passionate conflicts without self-important issues. Because of that there had not been a political debate really on the future of Hungary in the E. U.

MÁTÉ SZABÓ

CIVIL SOCIETY IN HUNGARY AND EU-ACCESSION

Civil Society was on the forefront of democratic opposition programmes and discussions during the eighties within the Eastern Bloc, and had a longer lasting influence also on Western social science discourses. Students of civil society need to reflect the issues and changing meanings of the concept during this development, coming from Communist dictatorship and leading to the EU-accession of most former Communist Countries of Eastern and Central Europe. The analysis of East Central European states is actually reduced on Poland, Hungary, and Czech-Slovakia- produced ambivalent tendencies towards civic engagement and civil society in post- communist democracies. The author, as a Hungarian social scientist, tries to refer mainly to examples of the Hungarian development, which have some more general meaning for the sub-region with specific outlook on EU-Accession.

To sum up relevant pre-communist traditions for recent developments of civil society in Eastern and Central Europe, there is an ambivalent relationship between democratization-civilisation and of nation-building in this region. The emancipation from Soviet influence in 1988-89, and dissolution of Soviet Empire opened political space for the reconstruction of national sovereignty and to develop civil society and democracy in former Soviet-dominated states. The liberation from Soviet rule, and institutionalization of new constitutional structures was a “national” and „democratic” as well as „civic” issue. National unity, democracy and civic engagement of the civil society are reaffirmed and resurrected in post-communist politics as former neglected factors. In this “renaissance” in Eastern Europe, there are very different political traditions and tendencies awakened and reconstructed. Their relationship to the values of civil society, pluralist democracy and human rights is sometimes overshadowed by anti-modernist and traditionalist orientations.

Parallel to the tendency of stressing sovereignty of the nation-state and nation as ultimate values and actors of political universe, the political elite of new, post-communist democracies wish to join to Western European and North-Atlantic economic-political integration, to European Union and NATO. To get access they have to develop civil society and

democracy .Paradoxically, the same political forces, which preach national engagement, and rebuilding of nation-state , plea for European integration (or reintegration) as a precondition of stabilization of democracy and modernization of economic system. The new Eastern European nations all aim membership in the European Union. But this membership, which require high level of „civicness” and the same time involve limits of sovereignty of its member states, contradicts with the traditions of nation states in Eastern Europe. The European Union is the symbol of modernity, democracy and civic culture for East Europeans, the European Civil Society is a challenge for all of them.

What are the distinctive features of the development of civil society and engagement between the East and the West in Europe? After 1989, the West stood there with well being, resources management and participation experience within the process of European integration , the East with „heroic tradition” but without comparable public and private experience within the framework of the re-emerging national states, and facing national and ethnic conflicts. A „revolution of catching up” was the challenge after the regime change, with Western aid and latter within the Europeanization processes also with more and more openness and support of the own government and politics toward the development of civil society. We may assume that it is so compared to the established Western democracies, or making measure the expectations of the actors of the regime change about an active participating new political culture, some explain sinking participation with the forced mobilizations of the Communist era, others with a fast development of the transition movements to political parties. The avant-guard function of civil society, its initiating role and „watchdog” function in a new democracy interacting with political society, bureaucracies and the rule of law is a common feature of democratic transitions according the result of these discussions. The internal composition of civil society and its role in the transformation processes in the different stages need further and detailed comparative analysis. NGO's network were developing fast and effective having ties to European and the global civil society and regional networking is also there for example in the form of Euro-regions. Strategies of governments toward EU-accession made based upon EU -policies the civil society for an important factor within the Europeanisation process, where government and civil society partnership had to happen. Regional cooperation is seen recently in East Central Europe as directly connected to the prospective of West-European integration, or as formulated in the slogan “come-back to Europe”. “Citizenship”, the “spirit of constitution”, “the patriotism of the constitution” should be the

integrative element of new democracies in their way towards the EU. Of course, the EU could be only a “rival principle of association” to “national renaissance” in Eastern Europe, if there are plausible prospects for new democracies to reach the level of EU countries in modernization and democratization within the process of Europeanisation.

ÁDÁM KÉGLER  
LOBBYING IN THE EU

Modern government implies close co-operation with stakeholders from all sectors of society.

Therefore, civic and producer interests contribute to the perception, presentation and definition of issues in European Union policy-making. European Institutions recognise the benefits of being open to outside input and consultation mechanisms form part of their activities throughout the whole legislative process. There are already institutionalised advisory bodies established to assist the European Commission, the European Parliament and the Council of the EU, namely the Economic and Social Committee (ESC) and the Committee of the Regions (CoR). As the Commission stresses in one of its recent communications, „the role of these advisory bodies does not exclude direct contact between the Commission and interest groups. In fact, wide consultation is one of the Commission's duties according to the Treaties and helps to ensure that proposals put to the legislature are sound”. According to Protocol n° 7 annexed to the Amsterdam Treaty, on the application of the principles of subsidiarity and proportionality, „the Commission should [...] consult widely before proposing legislation and, wherever appropriate, publish consultation documents”.

This analysis would like to resume the phenomenon of the EU lobbying. The main purpose of this article is to arouse business and civil sector's curiosity and make them prepare for the new conditions whatever European interest enforcement capability means, that's the key to be a successful EU member country.

PÉTER HALMAI  
EU ADOPTION OF THE AGRICULTURE  
*Potential pressures, economic and social challenges*

EU adoption takes place just after a transformation crisis which was accompanied by a significant loss in the role agriculture plays in the national economy in the new EU member states of Central and Eastern Europe. This time can be characterised as

a transformation depression. Agricultural policy was not able to manage the crisis and the depression and structural problems. This study takes Hungary as an example in order to analyse the above propositions.

Adoption opens up new possibilities, but, on the other hand, is accompanied by deep rooting pressures, which can emerge even in the short run, mostly because of the inherent agricultural structural problems and failures of agricultural policy. These pressures are the following:

- difficulties in adopting the relevant acquis;
- turmoil in the institutional adoption of the EU support system;
- short run financial difficulties, cash flow gap may emerge as regards agricultural producers;
- significant disturbances on product markets, adoption shocks can be expected (especially in certain livestock sectors);
- due to the above mentioned facts adoption related loss, less favourable transfer balance and significant decrease of agricultural performance is possible.

These pressures and some other factors may result in significant medium and long term problems:

- permanent competitiveness problems may arise in certain sectors, which has already been in critical situation;
- further loss in the role agriculture plays in the national economy and decreasing agricultural sustaining ability can be expected;
- threatening assimilation turmoil of the agricultural structure;
- potentially unfavourable developments of the EU Common Agricultural Policy (e.g.: re-nationalisation).

The accession process push therefore vigorously to the surface the inherent Hungarian agricultural structural problems and unsolved questions of the transformation crisis and depression. Successful agricultural adoption is unimaginable without the management of the basic structural problems. Sectoral policies play an important, but not exclusive role in the management of these problems. Management of the agricultural crisis and depression, and finding the devices that cover wider nexuses is a challenge also for the wider economic and social policy.

BÉLA BÍRÓ

#### MYTHS OF THE NATION-NOTION

The paper attempts to clarify the relationship between the two very debated nation-notions: the civic (or political) and the ethnic (or cultural).

The author tries to demonstrate that the two different (and contrasting) notions are the different sides of the same phenomenon: the modern nationalism. These notions rank the same constituents differently with essentially identical result.

On *political level* the adepts of the so-called civic nation consider the question of the cultural identity as irrelevant, and the question of citizenship as most relevant. For the adepts of the so-called ethnic nation the cultural identity is the most relevant and the citizenship the irrelevant.

But at *administrative level* the ranking it turns: for the adepts of civic nation the cultural identity turns into the main condition of the social integration, the citizenship on the other hand becomes irrelevant, because all administratively integrated people are citizens. It results the *cultural unification (homogenization) of the state*. But for the adepts of the cultural nations the citizenship turns into the main condition of the national integration and the cultural identity becomes irrelevant, because all members of cultural community have the same cultural identity. It results the endeavor of the *creation of the (culturally homogeneous) own state*.

The author minds, that the different notions of the nation are only theoretical tools for the different kinds of nationalism: on one hand for the nationalism of the dominant cultural communities (civic nation), and on other hand for nationalist ambitions of the dominated cultural communities (cultural nation).

In conclusion they may be equally dangerous for the multicultural societies.

SÁNDOR PESTI

#### CAN GOVERNMENT PERFORMANCE BE MEASURED?

The study examines two questions which, according to the author, are related. The first question concerns the possibility of judging the performance of a given government: has it performed 'well', or 'poorly', either as a whole, or in certain areas? And not by the standards of political, critical-intellectual or everyday thinking, but by those of science. The author is interested in the problem of what kind of answer science – in its classical sense, mainly associated with the natural sciences, dealing with reality, oriented by the binary code 'true/false' – can give to this question, if any at all. Do the relevant social sciences – including, of course, political science – have ways and means for operationalizing governmental performance; how, and to what extent can this kind of research be verified; what degree of consensus can be reached concerning the acceptance of the results among the professional elite of the field?

The author is highly sceptical as to these questions, and he tries to support empirically the reasons for his doubts. He examines in most detail the economy – as one of the most consequential sub-systems of society – and economic policy in this regard.

In the second half of the study the author broadens the horizon of his analysis, and reflects on the extent to which the social sciences – political science, economics, criminology, constitutional law, media-sociology etc. – can be considered ‘scientific’ in the traditional, natural science-mathematics sense of the word.

BALÁZS KISS – KATA BERTA – ZSOLT BODA  
ELECTRONIC DEMOCRACY AND ELECTRONIC  
GOVERNANCE.

*Opportunities and Realities*

The paper gives an overview of the problems of electronic government. First it summarises the predictions different authors have raised since the beginning of the era Internet on the opportunities and threats the new medium entails. Afterwards a characteristic typology of electronic governance elaborated by Christine Bellamy is presented in order to let the reader see what kind of approaches to the use of the new medium in the relationship between the governments and the citizens have been produced so far.

The more theoretical parts are followed by two surveys on the Hungarian situation in the middle of 2003. The first analyses the ways thirteen local governments designed and organized their portals and used them in the communications with the local communities and with the virtual guests. The second study, based on interviews with the staffs in charge of the portals of four local governments, focused on the back office conditions and the administrative past, present and future of electronic governance in the respective governments.

JÁNOS SZABÓ

THE OPPOSITIONAL POTENTIAL OF MILITARY REFORM

While the newspapers in Hungary are indignant about the fact that the mothers of Hungarian servicemen are unable to send even a bar of chocolate to their sons in Iraq and the public is entertained with the dilemma whether our soldiers have impossibly expensive equipment or we have really spent on them enough enabling them to properly execute their missions, at the same time it is becoming increasingly clear that the

public discussion on domestic defence and security is changing course. According to this approach Hungarian soldiers do their most important jobs abroad and for this preparations must be made not only in the fields of modernizing the system of defence institutions but also in the domestic public discussions. Not only the administrative and military top leadership with functional responsibility should be involved in this preparation but also the opponents who articulate the opinion of skeptics either officially or semi-officially and continuously in the media.