

ABSTRACTS

András Körösesnyei – Gábor Illés – Rudolf Metz:

CONTINGENCY AND POLITICAL ACTION

THE ROLE OF POLITICAL LEADERS IN CRISIS SITUATIONS

The interaction between crisis situations and political leadership has long been an eminent topic in political science. However, political leaders are often seen as merely reacting to exogenous challenges (such as natural catastrophes, economic crises, terrorist attacks). In contrast to these structure-oriented approaches, the present paper emphasizes the role of political agency in shaping or deliberately creating crisis situations. It is done through setting up a typology based on the differentiation among various forms of contingency. In the second half of the article, the usefulness of this typology is illustrated by analyzing empirical examples, focusing primarily on cases where political leadership truly made a difference in a crisis situation.

Keywords: crisis, political leadership, political theory, Machiavelli, Weber, Viktor Orbán, George W. Bush

Dániel Kovarek – Attila Farkas

ANALYSING JOBBIK'S MOVE TOWARDS MODERATION IN LIGHT OF THE

CANDIDATES FIELDDED IN SINGLE-MEMBER DISTRICTS

Jobbik (The Movement for a Better Hungary) is generally the subject of scholarly attention due to the anti-gypsy sentiment typical of the party, its tone of speech ignoring political correctness, and its far-right connections. Nonetheless, in the past three years the tone of Jobbik's campaign messages has become substantially more moderate, party officials distanced themselves from racist and anti-Semitic statements, eventually declaring that the aim of Jobbik is to reposition itself as a 'real people's party'. Given the freshness of this transformation process, only a handful of scholarly works investigated the topic until now, and even if doing so, the literature almost exclusively focused on the analysis of Jobbik's parliamentary elite, and its management. This article seeks to analyze and understand the process by comparing Jobbik's candidates fielded in single-member districts in 2010 and 2014. Conclusions are drawn from quantified content analysis of short candidate introductions (résumés and

pledges), accompanied by the analysis of databases with variables on political career, electoral experience and former partisan affiliation.

Keywords: radical right, Jobbik, quantified content analysis, single-member districts, parliamentary campaigns

Balázs Böcskei – Csaba Molnár

THE RADICAL RIGHT IN GOVERNMENT?

THE PLEDGES OF JOBBIK IN HUNGARIAN LEGISLATION (2010–2014)

It has been a recurring topic of Hungarian public speech since the change of government in 2010 that Fidesz–KDNP, in government with a qualified majority, puts the political program of the opposition party Jobbik (Movement for a Better Hungary) into practice. Studying the election programs of both parties, our research investigates which party's topics are more in line with the legislation agenda of the period 2010–2014, and what kind of strategy Fidesz used to oppose the major election pledges of Jobbik. We argue that the themes of Jobbik's program resemble the legislation topics of the second Orbán government more than that of Fidesz. The qualified majority dominated by legislation took on a typically adaptive strategy against the radical opposition, therefore the widespread opinion that Fidesz implements the program of Jobbik concerning matters important for the latter is to be treated with reservation. Although in matters prioritized by Jobbik the qualified majority opted for an adaptive strategy in nine cases out of eighteen major topics, in three of these cases the issues were considered important by Fidesz–KDNP as well, and in five further cases we can talk about ideological similarities. The remaining case is considered as a general strategic government goal.

Keywords: Fidesz-KDNP, Jobbik, pledge research, Hungarian Comparative Agendas Project

Péter Bajomi-Lázár:

BETWEEN AUTHORITARIANISM AND LIBERALISM

PARADIGM SHIFTS IN THE RELATIONSHIP OF HUNGARIAN POLITICS
AND MEDIA

According to Siebert et al. (1956/1963), media systems are of two basic types: authoritarian or liberal. Each country belongs to these categories, or represents a blend of the two. The present paper reviews the history of the relationship between Hungarian politics and media after the political transition of 1989–90, divides it into periods, and aims to place these periods on the axis of the au-

thoritarian and liberal systems in the light of a set of criteria more suitable for the mapping of the relations of present-day political and media systems than the original, sixty-year-old model. Four periods have been identified: those of the transition, the media war, the consolidation of the freedom of the press, and its deconsolidation; and these periods have been studied along four dimensions: media policy, control of the media, political communication, and ideological landscape. An attempt is also made to identify some reasons for the paradigm shifts in the relation of politics and media. Finally, it argues that the relapse of the freedom of Hungarian press experienced after 2010 diverges from regional trends. This divergence is explained by the particularity of the Hungarian constitutional system: the conjunction of the mixed election system, and the media law requiring constitutional majority.

Keywords: media policy, freedom of the media, comparative study of the media

Ferenc Tallár

POPULISMS AND DEMOCRACIES, OR THE REFABRICATED
STAGE OF POLITICS

In the first decades of the 21st century, the slogan of the End of the Political is gradually replaced by the slogan of the Return of the Political. Another typical feature of our days is the rapid spreading of right and left wing populisms. Primarily based on the theory of Ernesto Laclau and Chantal Mouffe, the paper argues for the close correlation of the two phenomena. After a brief review of the ontological background of their theory and its social and political distinction, the process from building up a social state and its neutralizing-legalizing tendencies to the neo-liberal disintegration of the society and the concept of the End of the Political is highlighted. Finally, as a result of this process, an attempt is made to interpret the phenomena of the Return of the Political, the birth of populisms, and the delicate relation of populism and democracy.

Keywords: populism, democracy, the Return of the Political, neoliberalism, political elite

Katalin Mérő–Dóra Piroska

BANKING UNION AND BANKING NATIONALISM
THE HUNGARIAN CASE IN A CENTRAL AND EASTERN EUROPEAN CONTEXT

The purpose of this study is to understand Hungary's opt out position from the Banking Union (BU). The Banking Union is compulsory for Eurozone member states and optional for non-Eurozone member states. From the Central

and Eastern European (CEE) region only Romania and Bulgaria decided to join. Firstly, an attempt is made to explain the different positions of CEE governments based on structural characteristics of the CEE banking sectors, but no substantial difference is found between the opt-in and opt-out countries' banking sectors. Secondly, we look at the role of state's capacity to maintain a stable banking sector, and find that state's capacity is a necessary condition for opting out. Finally, through a detailed Hungarian case study we argue that the Hungarian government opted out because its government's policy preference of banking nationalism conflicts with the BU's ideals. With regard to the Polish and Czech governments' decision, the existence of banking nationalist policy preferences is indicated but not proved.

Keywords: Banking Union, Central and Eastern Europe, Hungary, banking nationalism, financial nationalism, bank regulation