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# INTRODUCTION

It is really a pleasure for me to introduce the **Volume 17<sup>th</sup> of Central European Political Science Review**. After 17 years, the time has come to significantly improve our review both quantitatively and qualitatively. Starting with the present **64<sup>th</sup> issue**, we will publish all our issues in 2 thousand copies; furthermore, we will increase the length by one third, to 220-250 pages. We will try to get closer to the education content wise as well. On the one hand, we will deliver our publications to students participating in PhD programmes, to make them able to use our research results during their work, and on the other hand, we undertake publishing worthy works of one or two PhD students.

Beside the printed version of the **Central European Political Science Review**, we will also renew our electronic interface, where, for example, certain former issues will become freely downloadable, while others will be available on demand. We will retroactively upload the contents and abstracts of the older issues, to this way widen the reader base of the **CEPOLITI Review – CEPSR**.

According to our plans, in two years' time we would like to get into the top 20 most read and cited European social sciences reviews. The renewal and development of our journal is primarily made available by the aid of the Hungarian PAGEO Foundation, to which we hereby express our gratitude.

The main topic of the **Central European Political Science Review No. 64** is POST-GLOBALIZATION AND CENTRAL EUROPE. From the 11 studies, 8 is dealing with this topic. The editors of CEPSR continue to await region-related studies, conference reports, professional notices, and also books offered for review.

One of the main goals of the journal editorial board is to make it available to the broadest circle of readers from among experts and persons with a serious interest in the issues of the unique space of Central Europe, from the different perspective of international relations, history, political science, sociology, anthropology and art-sociology, respectively. The main reason for publishing the **CEPoliti Review** is to serve and to enhance Central-Europe, to broaden and to spread the thoughts of Central-Europeanism, and Europeanism.

We suggest you contact with our assistant if you have paper for **CEPSR** or any question: [kossuth.borbala@gmail.com](mailto:kossuth.borbala@gmail.com).

**János Simon**  
editor-in-chief

# MAIN ARTICLES

## **Quarterly of Central European Political Science Alliance**

# **POST-GLOBALIZATION AND CENTRAL EUROPE**

## **From the „Globaloma” to the „Immunoreaction” Notes on Globalization in the Dead End of History**

### **Introduction to the concepts**

The „thing” which is known by the common talk as the regime change, is to this present day an uncovered set of phenomena. More accurately instead, it is the helpless prey of the daily defining-power struggles of the oligarchic political „big corporations”. The false „rubber bone” debates about the change and similar stories also serve one purpose: to draw a discrete curtain around the real context of the issue.

Both the „non-existent” global empire and its local governors have an interest in the issue not to be uncovered. The main reason for this is that a formation of a speech-space trying to uncover the reality could point to the dramatic connection that all this series of changes not only has not created a more humane life for the residents of the region, but has pushed them to an even more dangerous slope of devastation. The material, physical, mental, moral and spiritual state of the loser majority of the Hungarian society is unambiguously worse than it was in the seventies and eighties! Before any misunderstanding occurs, from this it does not follow that the former regime was better (that is, „it was better under Kádár”), but that the present state is even worse than that. From this one can deduce that historical harm can occur in many different forms.

Thus the regime of the regime change is worse, although worse in an entirely different way, compared to the former one. The Hungarian folk language describes this with the joke, which says a man is taken to the ÁVO (State Protection Department) in 1952 and there he is told, well, friend, you have been caught, and we have heard you want the older



regime back. Me, the older regime back, what, complains our man, I can barely wait for this present regime to pass. Thus the great majority of the Hungarians even now are waiting for this one „to pass”, however, this one cannot pass, because there is no direction it can pass toward. I will come back to this „no direction” several times later in more detail. Since, as now there is not even hope left, unlike before 1990, when daydreaming about the „new regime”, mainly the reach of the living standards of the Austrians was awaited by the Hungarian people, lulled into childish illusions yet again.

(I only add in parentheses that today we are further away from the Austrian level than at any time in our history and based on income and wealth data, we were the closest sometime between 1974 and 1978. Statistically this precisely reads as the Austrian GDP per capita in the twenty-five years between 1989 and 2014 has increased 63%, while the Hungarian one only 24%).

What is socialism? A common joke started with this question back in the seventies. And the answer was, socialism is nothing but the cruellest way from capitalism to capitalism. And indeed, we can ask the same question today, what is socialism? Although the truth cannot be told today in a more striking way than in the joke. The question is otherwise legitimate because the simplest definition today of the complex, also called the alias regime change, could be that the regime change is the process during which the Hungarian society transitions from socialism to capitalism. So far it would great, only the three „tiny” questions remain in obscurity, what is socialism, what is capitalism and, what is the Hungarian society. Thus however amusing it sounds, I would first try to discuss what should we think through to be able to define these apparently evident concepts. According to the false self-definition of the set of phenomena calling itself socialism, it arose as an

alternative to the set of phenomena called capitalism in the stage of history, thus firstly it seems convenient to start with the definition of capitalism. The western modernity unfolding from the 14<sup>th</sup> century has called itself since the 19<sup>th</sup> century as „capitalism” in a simple way, implying that its essence is the accumulation of capital. The fundamental question, where does this capital accumulating ability originate from in time and space, is covered by a discrete shroud, even though the answer would be simple. The „original accumulation of capital”, which capitalism usually refers to during its apologetic self-introduction, hides an incredibly devastating historical process. During the 15<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> centuries this in fact was nothing else than the destruction of the sacred thousands of years old order of agriculture, the elimination of the closed, sacred peasant society, the sacking of the peasantry, and then the degradation of the penniless masses of peasantry to wage-workers, forcing them into the city manufactories.

If this sounds suspiciously similar to what „attic sweeping” and the labourer life in Sztálinváros meant, then it is not a mere coincidence. The social-organizational system calling itself socialism in fact only existed as a brutal political capitalism, whose fundamental function was to achieve the accelerated elimination of the Eastern and Central European peasant societies in 15-20 years instead of 150-200 years. Since the crush of the existential organizational system of „traditionality”, which was most accurately described by the work of Károly Polányi titled „The Great Transformation”, there is nothing else in the world but capitalism, thus the set of phenomena calling itself socialism not only did not exist, but would not have even been any kind of alternative to capitalism. The regime change thus was not anything else but the elimination of this social organization structure called socialism by the global system of authority. This elimination took place simply because

after it had done its job of eliminating the peasant society, it served no further purpose.

### **The Hungarian society, as the „bio-scenery” of the transition**

The story of its incredibly (even more, suspiciously) fast, simple and mainly „cheap” dissolution could have drawn our attention the most to the artificiality of socialism and the Soviet Union, however the reflection on the conclusions drawn has not been made to this day. The set of phenomena called regime change (that is the elimination of the so-called „socialism”) thus was the „project” of the global system of authority the same way the creation of „socialism” was back in the time.

Neither for its creation nor for its elimination the active participation of the partaking Central and Eastern European societies were not particularly needed. These societies merely played the role of „bio-scenery” in this play, visual technology properties only, for the most part they have no idea what is happening to them, and on the contrary this does not even concern them. If it had concerned them, then for example they would have voiced their „concerns” regarding the process as a result of which in Hungary the real wage per wage earner in 1996 was 35% lower than in 1978.

In the case of the Hungarian society this vulnerability and deception was perhaps the most dramatically shown in the case where the Szabad Demokraták Szövetsége (Alliance of Free Democrats), created and maintained, and then dissolved as a „corpus delicti” as a local agent network of the global system of authority, almost made itself the strongest party in the first „free” elections. The quotation marks refer to the fact that the adjective „free” can at most meant the complete freedom of the manipulation mechanisms of the political formations serving the global system of authority. The triple catchword of the SZDSZ, „Tudjuk, merjük,

tesszük” (We know, we dare, we do) in the elections of 1990 by the way indeed described the essential part with professional precision. For the social action („we do”) in fact knowledge („we know”) and courage („we dare”) are needed. However, the Hungarian society, as a community did not have neither knowledge nor courage, or it did not even understand, „*did not know*”, what is happening with it, or if it knew, it „*did not dare*” to put it into well-thought and well-coordinated social „*act*”, which would have fundamentally come from the idea of self-defence.

However, the main problem is that the intellectual elite of the community of people called Hungarian nation was also not able to do all this. That is, they did not have the knowledge, courage and let us add, honour either. They were not able to intellectually comprehend what happened, and even if in some cases they understood the essence of the changes, they did not have the courage to act. And what is perhaps even more painful is that in many cases they did not „serve”, but rather „gave up” the people sacredly trusted on them, that is they did not even have honour. Perhaps this is the brief summary of the essence of another great historical failure. Even though nowadays we do not need to asseverate the failure of the regime change, but let us see the most important data which statistically prove this.

As I mentioned in the introduction, in a material, physical, mental, moral and spiritual sense the majority of the Hungarian society is in a worse or much worse condition than it was before the regime change. But before we commence this, let us see an article from The Economist, more precisely, its starting sentence from the issue of 23<sup>rd</sup> November 2009. „Foreign direct investment helped „*catapult*” Central Europe „*to prosperity*” over the past 20 years. To escape the current recession, it will need more of it. But a populist response to the economic crisis is pulling

in the opposite direction, as recent incidents in Hungary illustrate.”

As *The Economist* is one of the most prestigious media in the global press-power, let us see what truth lies in this powerful opinion! If we were „catapulted to prosperity” in the twenty years between 1989 and 2009, then this should have definitely been followed by the growth of GDP, employment and the acceleration of the growth of real wages. However, the numbers do not support this, but on the contrary!

### **The downhill of the Hungarians**

The preceding twenty years, when not only foreign capital was not present, but it could not even enter, that is between 1969 and 1989 the annual average economic growth was more than 4%. However, in the twenty years when the foreign capital could enter and did enter (1989 and 2009), the annual average rate of growth did not even reach 1%, that is instead of acceleration a catastrophic deceleration occurred.

If we also include that the profit of the foreign capital working here also counts to the GDP, but if it takes it abroad, then it is „not available” for us, well, in this case the realistically available GDP in 2009 is not greater, but smaller than it was in 1989. That is to say, as the Hungarian common talk states, „hozam helyett viszem” (Hungarian wordplay, literally: „Instead of yield [bringing it], I take it away”). But before that let us see what happened to the employment rate and the real wages. In the period between 1969 and 1989, the number of employed people grew by 350 thousand, between 1989 and 2009 however it shrunk by more than a million. This also does not reinforce the feeling of being „catapulted to prosperity” in us.

Finally, examining the real wages, we can state that essentially they stagnated in both periods, but between 1969 and 1989 annually on average they grew by 0.8%, while

between 1989 and 2009 they grew by 0.2%, so the period of the capital importation did worse here as well. The real value of the present average wage is at most 10-12% higher than the level of 1978, therefore we have not succeeded in noticeably moving away from the level of the late Kádár era to this day. Furthermore, today the income gap is greater, and this also aggravates the positions of the losing majority.

Also worsens the situation that in contrast to the year 1975, when 70 thousand state apartments were built, today at most a few hundred are being built annually. Below or around today's average Hungarian wages, the expenses of living are simply „not in”, among others this is the reason why the tragedy of the foreign currency debtors was able to unfold, which now has cost at least 1500 billion forints of damage to the Hungarian society.

Another thing which is also interesting is, as I mentioned earlier, the economic growth of Austria was three times as fast between 1989 and 2013 compared to Hungary, and as a result, the three and a half time difference in 1989 grew to more than fourfold. In the past thirty years, according to the data of the international research institute Tax Justice Network, 242 billion dollars were taken abroad from our country illegally. The legally extracted profit and interest were around 350 billion dollars perhaps, so the national wealth shrunk by around 600 billion dollars, that is around by half. All these are of course estimates, because since 1989 the taking the nation wealth into account ceased to exist in the statistical system.

That is to say the Hungarian society lived and still lives today also one of the most dramatic periods of its history, while not having any clue what happens with its national wealth. The just formed Fidesz-government in August 2010 accepted a decision that the minister responsible for the national resources must create within one year the conditions

for making a national wealth inventory each year a possibility, for the government to report it before the Parliament each year. Unfortunately, nothing has happened so far in favour of this. All these connections suggest that Hungarian social, economic and political elite groups until 2010 were unable to stop the degrading processes ongoing since the seventies, even more to comprehend them.

I will make a deeper analysis about the transformations processes started in 2010 in the last part of my study, for now, I would only note that the new government, having two-thirds majority, had fundamentally right strategic recognitions. The Hungarian society reached its final physiological limits regarding the exploitation in 2010, and the government had to react to this, since this was the reason it was given the then unprecedented authorization. Without other resources, it progressively had to tax the global financial structures. However, before I discuss this, it would be worth also to review how the Hungarian society has managed in the past decades its own „physical body” (population and health) and as well spiritual, moral, mental goods, its wealth.

The population of the Hungarian society since 1980 has been continuously, even more, *continuously acceleratingly* decreasing, and with this beside Ukraine, Romania and Bulgaria we are one of the fastest dwindling nations in Europe (and with this in the whole world). This grave, destructive downhill seemingly sealing our fate, already cast its dark shadow forward since the years after 1956, but at that time the growth of life expectancy at birth for a time covered the increasingly, dangerously falling rate of fertility. Back in the first decade after the war twice as many were born than how many died, and in the 2030s we will reach the state where in every year twice as many people will die compared to how many will be born. That is only a length of a



lifetime is required for *life and death to switch places*. In the 40 years between 1916 and 1956 there were two world wars, a great depression, the holocaust, the „málenkij robot” (forced labour in the Soviet Union), the terror of the fifties, 1956 itself, and still, the population living within the post-Trianon borders has grown by two million.

During the fifty years between 1980 and 2030 there is already peace, and then democracy, and even more, European Union membership, and yet our population will decrease by two million. Therefore, against the traditional bloody weapons we have successfully defended ourselves demographically, but against the „weapons” of peace democracy and the European Union membership it seems we are helpless. And if a community of people is not even able to bring to this world and then in physical-mental health raise the next generation, then „in general” it can be the most glorious nation in the history of the world, but, since as time passes, it will simply will „not be”, therefore every other question becomes meaningless.

The set of phenomena called „made immigration” sheds an unusually bright light on all this, where the whole European white civilization is attacked with demographic weapons. They can do this, because the fertility rates of the European white race have been decreasing for decades and today practically they are all under the threshold of holding the same level in every European country.

However, the population does not only have quantity but quality as well, which is called physical-mental health. In the quarter century between 1970 and 1995 the general health of the Hungarian society dramatically worsened. Even though in the twenty years since then this has not continued, but we have found ourselves at an enormous distance from the Western countries, with which were once on the same level. The most shocking event was the dramatic deterioration of the data on morbidity and mortality rates related to malignant tumours, especially among middle-aged men. In the beginning of the seventies of course the Hungarian, Austrian and Western European data are the same, however twenty years later three times as many



Hungarian men died in cancer than in the neighbouring Austria. If with a great amount of people, for a great amount of time something very bad happens, that may not be a coincidence. And according to the international cancer registry, regarding the morbidity and mortality rates related to cancer, Hungary for a long time has been in one of the worst positions in the world. We would hardly make a great mistake if we thought that our material, physical downhill of degradation has its deepest reasons in the mental, moral and spiritual nature.

This decline has been going on for a long-long time, we may not yet even have the wit to think about how long. Our unprocessed history of suffering is making our body, spirit sick deeper and deeper, and for me to finally say it, the world of politics could hardly change it or help with it. Hardly, because the political democracy of the Western modernity is based on the fatal life-fallacy, that the majority is always right, or at least is right more probably, compared to any minorities. As if truth has anything to do with how many people represent it. If, „horribile dictu”, no members of a community represented the truth, that is the parliamentary representation of truth was zero, then the truth would still be the truth, because the truth simply exists, regardless of how many people realize it or if anyone realizes it at all. Therefore, the majority everywhere and always is an artificially created, unnatural majority, and however good is its basis, in the end it is a majority generated by some kind of manipulation.

### **Conclusions, reflections or waiting for an immunoreaction**

To avoid misunderstandings, all this does not mean some kind of actual political hint, and I do not think resignedly that it is no matter what political power is governing, but the sad fact is still there that neither during the quarter century

of the regime change, nor during the former century were we able to stop in the downhill of destruction. The political systems and formations that have existed so far all in all have all failed, so this fact seems to reinforce that politics per se is not really able to influence the „complex social recreational processes”, as much as we have thought before.

The question is, what is the conclusion from all this, how should we judge the possible future scenarios of the world, of Europe and of Hungary? We can clearly state, that the Western modernity ruling the world, and the self-existence denying superstructure granting its foundation is self-consuming and self-destructing. As a spreading cancer – as a „globaloma” – it drains the resources of the world, and empties the end products of its metabolism (as an ecological contamination, or as a „cultural stain” of the commercial media) on the world, and with it, by destroying the world in the end it in fact commits suicide. There is not one actor in the world today who is able reverse all this back, therefore the end of the world would become avoidable only by a today yet unknown „immunoreaction”. From the internal logic of things this could only be a mental kind of change, the essence of which is best captured by the ancient Eastern proverb, which states *„if you want change, you yourself must be the change”*.

The restoration of the sacred inner balance of the created human spirit can be the only starting point to avoid the end of the world, and in it, the end of Hungarians. The conclusions drawn from the regime change can perhaps help us in this. My reflections presented here were meant to contribute to this.

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