The early consolidation in Hungary and the Europeanization of the Hungarian Polity

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Attilla Agh

Hungary was a focus of international attention in the first ten years of its democratization process and a substantial amount of literature discussed its progress. After these ten years, one may begin to summarize the results of its democratization process; but it is even more important now to outline the new problems facing Hungary in the second decade of democratization. Thus, this chapter has two main messages. The first is about the past, the first decade, that some years ago Hungary finished the stage of democratic transition. The second message is about the present that Hungary has entered the new stage of early consolidation that characterizes its second decade.

Hungary is no longer a "transition country" with a mixed economy and transformation recession, since it has embarked on the stage of economic and political consolidation. In 1998 already the third free and fair elections took place and since 1996 there has been a sustainable economic growth of about five percent. Thus, the basic economic and political criteria of democratic consolidation have been met domestically and with NATO membership the international situation of Hungary has begun to be secured. However, Hungary - like the other ECE countries - has not repeated the South European (SE) way of democratization that took place in a bipolar world and with an active promotion of democracy, i.e. with a substantial economic and political assistance of the West. Therefore, the Hungarian transition was more difficult and longer than in Southern Europe. Thus, the East Central European (ECE) democratizations have to be separated from the former Third Wave as a Fourth Wave. They have entered only the new stage of early consolidation that makes them markedly different from the previous SE democratizations, which took much less time to consolidate. This chapter tries to arque that democratic transition has left behind a series of unsolved issues to be resolved in democratic consolidation. Also, the external factors have been less beneficial than in SE, so that the domestic and international circumstances together necessitate this special period. The terms and concepts of Fourth Wave democratization and its early consolidation suggest a need for a new approach to the systemic change theory in ECE based on the experiences of the first decade in order to express its markedly regionspecific features."

These two messages can be also taken as hypotheses to be discussed in this chapter, which focuses on the particular character of early consolidation in Hungary in the ECE context. Hungarian democratization has usually been described as an elite-

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