

ABSTRACTS

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**Future vision of parliaments in the practice of European parliaments
– foresight studies and technology assesment**

The study describes parliamentary foresight studies and technology assessment, based on institutional approach. Various types of future studies, such as research forms that support decision-making and assess the expected long-term effects of technological development and human activity, have been present in the lives of some developed countries' parliaments for decades. More recently, the term future oriented technology analysis is also used, which combines the concepts of technology foresight, technology forecasting, and technology evaluation. First the study introduces the basic concepts. As part of the explanation, we will briefly learn about the American roots of technology assessment and then the temporal and institutional background of its expansion in Europe. Subsequently, a number of specific European examples will be presented of the various but mainly internal parliamentary institutional solutions for foresight and technology assessment studies. Finally, the institutional grouping of all known European parliamentary practices are part of the analysis. Foresight and technological assessment analysis activities are reflected in Parliament's three core functions. First and foremost in the legislation, as these forms are supporting parliamentary decision making processes. At the same time, these new methods strengthen and broaden parliament's political discussion function by involving members of parliament along with experts and citizens in the foresight research procedure. In countries, where the government carries out this research activity, the primary function of parliament is to provide the oversight function by controlling government thus a major function of parliament is exercised: controlling government. The various institutional and organizational solutions are linked to core functions of parliament: legislation, discussion and oversight. Therefore different functions of parliament have gained importance in practice of different countries. To sum up, the study shows that, based on the examples reviewed, parliamentary organizations or independent research organization entrusted by parliament for foresight and technology assessment studies can be successful in the long term if they are also part of a networked innovative scientific ecosystem. Therefore, successful operation is primarily to be found in these networks rather than in individual institutional solutions.

Keywords: Parliamentary foresight research – Parliamentary technology assessment – Future oriented technology assessment – Future research – Parliamentary innovation.

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EDINA PÁLFI

Why exactly political?**Analysis of the vetos of President of the Republic between 2012 and 2019**

The use of veto is a tool of power for the President of the Republic, which means an opportunity to influence the legislation. According to the Hungarian regulations, the President of the Republic shall submit two types of veto: political or constitutional.

But where are the boundaries between the constitutional veto and the political veto? This paper investigates the political vetos of the incumbent President of the Republic, looking for the reasons behind these vetos. The study focuses on the factors, that play role in the head of state's decision between the two vetos, seeking for answer to the question: for what reasons he decides to submit a constitutional or a political veto.

The President of the Republic has the freedom to decide the type, the reasons for returning are not defined, the Fundamental Law – and previously the Constitution – does not include any limit for the content of a veto. The reasons for a political veto – contrary to its name – may include not only political reasons, but they may also be disagreeing with the spirit of the law, and even conscientious, professional, legal, or legal-technical reasons are possible, that do not yet reach the constitutional level.

Keywords: President of the Republic – vetos – constitutional veto – political veto – preliminary norm control

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John Stuart Mill and the „Majoritarian“ Representation

John Stuart Mill, the prominent British philosopher of the nineteenth century, had to face a number of transitions in the reforming age: the transition from the classical liberalism to social liberalism, the gradual shift from individualism to collectivism, and the gradual extension of universal suffrage as well as the problem of political representation of the people. According to Mill „good“ government is representative government, or representative democracy which is founded on the principle of elected officials (people voting for representatives), representing the members of a society. This process however is not devoid of danger, because it could easily turn into the tyranny of the majority, which is in fact the inherent weakness of the majority rule. This, in turn is – according to Mill – a permanent threat of democracy leading not to the development and happiness of a society composed of free and creative individuals, but rather to the triumph of ignorance and stagnation in which individuals are oppressed by (the tyranny of) the majority.

The gradual shift to democratic government thus needs careful and precautionary steps as well as deliberate measures, because democracy needs majority rule, but the majority of an electorate might easily pursue its own interest at the expense of those in the minority (tyranny of the majority). Mill's thoughts on majority and majority rule are worth considering for those who are interested and involved in the theories of democracy and/or in the dilemmas of majority rule. His ambitious thoughts can be considered as timely and relevant messages even today.

Keywords: liberty – representative government – order and progress – tyranny of the majority – majority of the majority – democracy

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ANDRÁS TÓTH

Elections in the United Kingdom

The 2019 elections were a key election for Britain. Voters had to decide on two important issues that divided the voters. One of the crucial issues was the issue of secession from the European Union (EU), Brexit. The other crucial question was whether or not Britain should move in the democratic socialist direction put by Jeremy Corbyn on the political agenda.

The article reviews the development of the English electoral system, the change of the party system and the change of the political profile of the parties in the XX. century,

In doing so, he shows that both issues have shared English political life for decades. When United Kingdom joined in 1973 and since then, it has been a matter of heated debate over participation in the European project. As for Corbyn's program of democratic socialism, it was in many ways a warm-up to the program of English socialism implemented in the second half of the 1940s, and which went bankrupt in the 1970s.

The 2019 elections decided two issues that have divided English society for decades: the re-election of Boris Johnson has secured the UK's exit from the European Union, and also that England will not return to warming up the once bankrupt English socialist model.

The aim of the article is to analyze how the decision of these two fateful issues was influenced by the English electoral system and how the party system developed until election day, leading to the political situation of having to make a fateful decision on the two intertwined issues. In the last section of the article, the 2019 election result provides an overview of how the possible election transformation of the party system may be influenced.

Keywords: Brexit – United Kingdom – Elections – Socialism Parliament

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**Functioning of the Spanish parliamentary and political system:
What is behind the growing political instability?**

The article investigates the changes in the preferences of the Spanish electorate during the past decade, and the impact these changes have had on the strength and representation of the political parties, as well as on the person of the head of government. The article gains its current relevance from the recently held parliamentary, European, municipal, and in some cases regional elections. The past three years have seen important changes in the Spanish political system. The authors present and analyze the electoral results while trying to find out about the reasons behind the fragmentation of Spanish politics, assessing the related processes in the context of the past decade characterized by a stable loss of popularity of the traditional big parties (PP, PSOE) and the surge of smaller populist or even regional formations.

Keywords: Spain – Catalonia – parliamentary elections – local elections – European Parliament elections – Mariano Rajoy – Pedro Sánchez

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ZSOLT CSEPREGI – PÉTER KRISZTIÁN ZACHAR

**A turning point in the political system of Israel?
The anatomy of three elections 2019–2020**

Three elections have taken place in Israel within a year and so far no stable government has been established. So far, these elections have not led to an absolute majority of any of the opposing political blocs, so the executive government of Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu has been ruling the country for almost a year. The composition of the forthcoming Israeli government is of basic importance for domestic and foreign policy reasons, of which this study focuses on the internal context of the Israeli elections and political system, presenting the processes and historical context of the three elections between 2019 and 2020. What factors led to the failure of Israeli parliamentary democracy to produce a new majority coalition government in three elections? The study presents the new fractures and political blocks, their thinking, their place in the political system. It also covers the topics, lessons learned, and scenarios expected from the election campaign.

The most important lesson of the last three elections is the restructuring of the Israeli political system. Former categories often no longer seem valid. The Left is only able to gain a few mandates in the Knesset with a single alliance, while the religious ultra-orthodox parties, often called “messianic”, have clearly strengthened. Alongside them, there was a secular, on several issues liberal group, whose main message was to replace Netanyahu.

Based on the three elections, there are four possible outcomes of the government formation mandate and subsequent negotiations. They are, in order, 1. a narrow right-wing religious government led by Netanyahu, 2. a liberal-left minority government led by Benny Gantz, 3. the formation of a unity government, 4. the announcement of new elections. It is true for all four options that sophisticated political tactics for weeks will pre-empt any decision and social pressure on political forces will be high in order to avoid a fourth parliamentary election within a year. However, this public sentiment alone is unlikely to be sufficient to resolve further domestic political crisis situations.

Keywords: Israel - elections – political system – parties – connection between religion and politics

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