

THE ROLE OF THE POLITICAL CULTURE IN DEMOCRATISATION BLOCKS AND CHALLENGES IN THE *ILLIBERAL* POLITICAL SYSTEM(S)

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ABSTRACT

At the beginning of the 1990s, Ralf Dahrendorf outlined that political or constitutional changes can be made in 6 months, economic reforms over 6 years, and solid democratic foundations, in the form of an active civil society in 60 years. The political culture of consensus or its absence critically influence the way that transformations are made, the formation of political structures. Why did illiberal political systems emerge in Central Europe, especially in Hungary? The paper will mainly try to analyse the social/cultural factors behind the political institutional changes. Can the democracy be learned? What factors influence the learning-capacity of post-communist societies? Can a democratic political system that negates liberal values be reconciled with contemporary theories of democracy?

Keywords: political culture, civil society, freedom, tolerance

INTRODUCTION

The *democratisation* as a complex political process articulated in distinct phases that begins with the crisis of an authoritarian system, often stimulated by successful attempts at liberalisation, continues with a period of transition that may lead to the emergence of a new democracy, and ends with the consolidation or a new crisis of the newly established political regime. During the transition is distinguished the phase of procedural democracy, which denotes the institution of certain procedures such as regular elections, based on some kind of universal suffrage and pluralist political participation and contestation, to produce a legitimate government form the phase of substantive liberal democracy. The European constitutionalism that emerged from the Enlightenment and the political revolutions enshrined fundamental rights such as the freedom and equality of all human, the separation of powers, and the independent judiciary. Liberal democracy has two fundamental pillars: democracy and constitutional liberalism that developed in Western Europe and the United States. Following the regime changes of the post-communist countries in the last decades of the 20th century (which was called by Samuel Huntington [1] the „third wave of democratisation”), significant differences emerge in the character of transition and political community formation.

I argue for two hypotheses, one that the illiberal turn - as distinct from illiberal swerve [2] - is not a democratic political system, although it is a very controversial term in political sciences. The other argument is that in the illiberal turn that built up in the