

**Gábor Kovács: Democracy, Crisis, Legitimacy**

The paper analyzes the notions of democracy, crisis, and legitimacy, investigating the relations between them in the twentieth century history of political philosophy, as follows: 1. the emergence of modernity as overall crisis of the ancient political system by Alexis de Tocqueville; 2. the identification of the history of European civilization with the history of the principles of legitimacy by Guglielmo Ferrero; 3. Max Weber's theory of legitimacy which became a classical approach for the subsequent sociologists' and philosophers' generations; 4. democracy as a proper method for the selection of political leaders in modern mass societies by Joseph Schumpeter; 5. Carl Schmitt's model which gave an overall critic of liberalism; in this view there is a deep contradiction between liberalism and democratism which inevitably leads to the crisis of the modern pluralistic democracy based upon many-party system; 6. Seymour Martin Lipset's investigation of the interrelation between legitimacy and efficiency; the application of these abstract concepts in modelling of concrete historical situations; 7. Hannah Arendt's revaluation of the basic notions of political philosophy; 8. Jürgen Habermas' overall theory of legitimacy crisis in late capitalism; 9. David Beetham's strongly anti-weberian theory of legitimation.

**Attila Farkas: Legitimacy Crisis  
and the Loss of Authority**

This research tries to contribute to the understanding of the problems that occur when discussing legitimacy and authority in modern age. To understand these issues we need to investigate the complexity of different phenomenes the notion of modernity includes. The components of this complexity are those moments in social communication that led to the change of view-points on legitimacy and authority relations. There are three relevant levels in the history of these moments: a) the mental revolution of early radical Enlightenment; b) the organizing and the problems of the classical state of law and of the welfare state; c) the consequences of political system change in Central and Eastern Europe. This overview outlines the relations established between legitimacy and authority on the one hand and public sphere, public opinion and climate of opinion on the other hand, contributing all in all to the understanding of the political manipulation's role in modern, respectively postmodern democracy.

## Béla Mester: Authority, Power, and Legitimacy

This paper offers an analyse of the concepts of title, supported by examples both from history of ideas, and the contemporary discussion. The author shows the double meaning of the term *authority* on the basis of R. B. Friedman's expressions – to be *in* authority, and to be *an* authority – in the first part; and exemplify the appearance of the same conceptual problem by the teaching of Han Feizi and his *fǎjia* school, without using European nomenclature, in the second. The main part of the writing analyses the connections of *authority*, *power*, and *legitimacy* in early modernity and in contemporary debates. The author used for it Max Weber's expression of "usurpation of the right of power by cities", some early modern commentaries of the 13th part of *The Epistle of Paul the Apostle to the Romans* (Calvin; Petrus Melius – "the Hungarian Calvin"; and Locke), and some examples for the underestimated legitimacy of institutions in the contemporary political philosophy. The conclusion of the paper is that there is a need of separation between persons and the authority of institutions they represent.

## Szilárd Ilyés: Whether Political Authority has a Chance or the Chances of Authority

This essay explores where political authority "stands" in nowadays democratic political system. It outlines the limitations of the authority concept by means of Hannah Arendt's and Robert A Dahl's ideas; it tries to clarify the distinction between person's and institution's authority. It analyses which are the institutions that have or claim to have authority in contemporary political practice and it ponders on the question how and on what terms this claim is legitimate. In the end, the author indicates the desired position of political authority formation.

## Attila M. Demeter: Legitimacy and Representativity

The research tackles the problem of legitimacy argued by the agreement motive, in the context of the two classical democratic state forms, that is representative and participatory democracy. The topical approach is due to the fact that worldwide, those practices and democratic participatory forms expand, which try to castigate the democratic deficit (inevitable in the representative democracy) through immediate involving of citizens in democratic decision making. It is less known that even in the U. S. A., the native country of modern representative democracy, there already was at the very beginning of the republic, a strong opposition to the practising of the representative principle. First, the opposition between the representative and the immediate participation became obvious in the argument of the Republicans and the Federalists, but this contradiction of ideas still defines american public political thinking. The research offers an inward look into the past and present of one of the parts, the american "democratic" thinking, enumerating the arguments that plead for the idea of immediate participation.

Ulrich K. Preuß: Whether the State  
Looses from Its Powers

See Ulrich K. Preuß: Entmachtung des Staates? In Stefan Gosepath - Jean-Christophe Merle (Hrsg.): *Weltrepublik: Globalisierung und Demokratie*. C. H. Beck, München, 2002, 99–110.

Jean-Christophe Merle: Are Global Social  
and Economic Rights Fundamentable?

See Jean-Christophe Merle: Lassen sich Sozial- und Wirtschaftsrechte im Weltmaßstab rechtfertigen? *Rechtsphilosophische Hefte*, 7/1997, 7–24.

Index 29