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# ABSTRACTS

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KONRÁD, GYÖRGY — SZELÉNYI, IVÁN  
INTELLECTUALS AND DOMINATION  
IN POST-COMMUNIST SOCIETIES

The intelligentsia have played a key role in the East Central European post-communist transitions. They occupied a decisive position during the period between the decay of the old bureaucratic elite and the emergence of the new bourgeois elite. The paper written in 1990 analyses the transformation and embourgeoisement of the cadre elite, the limitations of the class formation of cadres and intellectuals. The authors highlight the petit bourgeois transformation of the Kádár period and the victory of the critical culture of the opposition (mediacracy) over the party jargon of the cadre elite. The authors draw the conclusion that their book written in 1974 on the class formation of the intelligentsia entitled *The Intellectuals on the Road to Class Power* has withstood the times in several respects, and the elite of the intelligentsia may acquire major authority as a kind of 'politocracy' besides the bureaucracy and the nascent new bourgeoisie.

HOFER, TAMÁS  
SYMBOLIC STRUGGLE FOR THE POLITICAL TRANSITION  
IN HUNGARY:  
*the march 15, 1989 demonstration in budapest*

In Hungary, 1989 was a year of great parallel, pro-government and oppositional demonstrations and of a rapid and thorough remaking of the public memory. According to the author's opinion, the struggle in the symbolic sphere was a major factor contributing to the dissolution of the Communist power. The paper presents an analysis of the March case study of the symbolic struggle.

March 15 commemorates the (defeated) revolution of 1848 which is considered in Hungary as the founding act of the modern nation. March 15 was restored as a national holiday in 1989. The government wanted to underline the reconciliatory, reform course of its policy by that gesture; 31 newly formed oppositional organizations, however, did not join the government celebration and called their sympathizers to a separate counter-commemoration. The „battle of numbers” showed an overwhelming advantage on the opposition’s side. The demonstration became the performative act of a new oppositional identity, and of a new policy of confrontation (replacing the former negotiations for reform). The demonstration acquired a sharp anti-government edge by including commemorations of the 1956 uprising and the bloody retaliation following it. Integration of 1956 into the mainstream of Hungarian national history was equivalent to a de-legitimization of the Kádár-government, installed by Soviet troops in 1956. The interconnected personal histories of the executed Imre Nagy and János Kádár, further, the government’s former refusal of a decent burial to Imre Nagy created a public moral problem, and contributed to bring about an anti-government national consensus.

HUORANSZKI, FERENC

SOME PROBLEMS OF „MODERN”

CONTRACTARIAN THEORIES

The paper provides a game theory interpretation of some classical and modern theories of contract. After describing the general structure of contractarian justification of political obligations it classifies Hobbesian and Lockean theories with respect to the differences in the formal interpretation of their conceptions of “state of nature”. Choosers in Hobbesian state of nature must face a situation which can be represented as a Prisoner’s Dilemma in its structure. In such a situation collective (Pareto) optimality and individual rationality (the non-cooperative strategy, as the solution of the game) come into conflict so that a massive intervention is invoked to make them harmonize. Lockean state of nature can however be interpreted as an Assurance Game in which the cooperative strategy could be dominant with minimal interventionism. The author concludes that while Hobbesian justification of political obligation leads to paradoxes, the Lockean interpretation too gives rise to serious difficulties. He suggests that the possible solution of the problem may be founded on Rawlsian interpretation of state of nature as a rational decision under uncertainty.

BRUSZTI, LÁSZLÓ — SIMON, JÁNOS

### THE GREAT TRANSFORMATION

*Theoretical approaches and citizens' views on democracy and capitalism*

The paper confronts the major theoretical approaches to the transformations taking place in Eastern Europe with citizens' views and the results of empirical surveys. The first part outlines the theoretical approaches which attribute a decisive role to the contradictory demands — and the ensuing tension — of the transformation of the economic system and those of democratic consolidation in shaping the East European developments. It presents the concepts emphasizing the deterministic role of the environmental (economic, social, cultural) factors of 'politicking', and also the purely 'politological' approach which tries to understand the dilemmas of the new systems exclusively by the characteristics of the political institutions and agents. The second part attempts to clarify the validity of the concepts mentioned in Hungary, on the basis of the representative survey conducted by questionnaire in November 1990 by the authors. Finally, some conclusions are drawn and some new questions are put, to be answered by further research.

KOVÁCS, ÉVA — TÓTH, ISTVÁN JÁNOS

### WHO HAS SAID AND WHAT IN 1990?

*Content analysis of the election manifestos of parties*

The self-image and the advocated political values of the major Hungarian political parties were studied by the quantitative and qualitative content analysis of their 1989/1990 election manifestos and programme declarations. Attempts were made to measure the political and ideological 'distance' (and relationships) between the various parties on the basis of these programs and by the study of their explicit political and economic goals.

The basis of the study of self-image consisted of the 'predecessors' referred to, of the historical roots, the explicit and implicit self-definitions and the political enemies.

With the approaching elections the party programmes became more clarified and the advocated political values more consistent. The groups defined by political values and goals were tested by cluster analysis.

ÁGH, ATILA

THE PARLIAMENTIZATION OF POLITICAL PARTIES  
IN HUNGARY (1989-1991)

The paper deals with the emergence of the Hungarian party system as the central process of the democratic transition. (This process has been analyzed in an East Central European context and based on a South European comparison.) The author states that the emergence of the Hungarian party system can be basically explained by the wellknown Lipset — Rokkan hypothesis but completed with two other, historical hypotheses of Central European character.

First, the emergence of the Hungarian party system has to be seen not as a democratization, but a re-democratization process, in which the continuity of the political sub-cultures contrasts with the dominating discontinuity of the party organizations. (This is the way to describe the „three generations” of the new parties and their „natural selection” by the general elections as the start for their recent parliamentization process.) Second, there has always been in Hungary an external power centre which has forcefully influenced internal party structure. This time, in the democratic transition, the external influence appears as the Europeanization process which sets standards and norms also for the emerging party system.

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