
ABSTRACTS

HELLER, ÁGNES

THE CONCEPT OF THE POLITICAL REVISITED

The concept of the 'political' as a philosophical category was unknown to pre-modern thinking. Only the actions decided upon and implemented by the members of the political classes, and the institutions established and run by them were regarded political. Modernity is a turning point of history in so far as the universal values become politically effective here and now. The attempts at laying the foundations of the philosophical concept of the 'political' — such as the theory of action by Carl Schmitt, the Lukácsian and Heideggerian version of existentialist radicalism used in political philosophy, and Hannah Arendt's theory, surveyed by the author — have resulted in the lesson that the concept has to express clearly the tension between *Sein and Sollen*, its existence and *modus operandi* in the modern societies. The radical philosophies of our century have made mythology out of politics: they have confronted political action and choice with the 'banal', ordinary issues.

The paper sets out from the dynamics of the three trends of development of modern society when recreating the concept of the 'political'. It studies three independent, but co-existent and conflicting logics: the development of modern technology, the functionality of the social division of labour, and the practice of government keeping in view the universal values, which acquire their concrete form in industrialisation, in the competitive market society, and in liberal democracy.

In the final part of the paper the author defines the concept of the 'political' modern; and primarily analyses the definition, namely the realisation of freedom in the field of publicity from the angle of its mediating role between *Sein and Sollen*.

SZALAI, ERZSÉBET

THE STRUCTURE OF POWER AFTER THE CHANGE
OF THE POLITICAL SYSTEM

The power structure that has emerged after the change of the political system has been extremely malleable, and for the time being it cannot be described by such homogeneous categories like class, or estate. The main trend of conflicts characterising the power structure is between the new technocracy and the new clientele, while the new technocracy starts to disintegrate: its eminent members back out from the state sphere and create the germ of new economic and power centres in business life. The second and third rate of the new technocracy partly join the new-power group and new clientele, by entering into compromises with the new power groups mostly recruited from among the intelligentsia of the countryside, selected by the existing authority and committed to it. On the other hand, these two groups are in constant struggle against each other partly because of their different roots and partly because they compete for power, hence the internal relations of the new clientele are characterised by constant struggle, by the frequent changes of power relations, and by unpredictability. The initial power position of the managers of large companies is weakened but it persists. The domestic entrepreneurial stratum crosses the borderline of the power structure and — as several signs indicate — wishes also to come forward as an autonomous factor of power.

Social tension is increasing but the extreme right of growing strength is unable to find a broad social base. Meanwhile the basic question, whether the following three tasks can be performed simultaneously under the given and expected internal and external economic conditions, remains unanswered: is it possible to encourage the birth and growth of the entrepreneurial middle strata, to stop the process of falling behind by the middle class, and to safeguard the basic living conditions of the poor.

TÓTH, ISTVÁN JÁNOS

ORGANISATIONS OF ECONOMIC INTEREST
AND METHODS OF INTEREST ASSERTION
IN THE ECONOMIC TRANSITION OF 1990-1992

The paper studies the situation, objectives and methods of interest assertion of a group of the interest organisations of Hungary in 1992. It seeks answers to questions a) how far the organisations of economic interest have been able to consolidate themselves during the period of economic transition; b) how do they wish to assert their interests; c) what relationship have they developed with the Parliamentary parties; d) consequently what structure of interest assertion appears to emerge in Hungary?

The surging ahead of the private sector, the ownership structure resulting from privatisation, which had different effects upon the individual organisations, has provoked different strategies. The differences can be grasped in the efforts of the organisations to attain exclusiveness or inclusiveness, in the different degrees of heterogeneity, in the goals of the organisations. From other angles, such as the stability of organisations, the selective incentives applied by them, the identities are more characteristic. Almost every organisation tries to develop good relations with the governmental sphere, or tries to keep equidistance from the various Parliamentary parties.

The organisations under survey avail themselves of the existing formal opportunities of interest assertion, but consider the channels of informal interest assertion more effective because of various factors.

If the extent of the influence of the interest alliances on the government is compared to the situation in the capitalist countries, it can be seen that the evolving structure of interest organisations is in close proximity to the German model.

CONTENTS

PAPERS

<i>Heller, Ágnes</i> : The Concept of the Political Revisited	5
<i>Szalai, Erzsébet</i> : The Structure of Power after the Change of the Political System	19
<i>Tóth, István János</i> : Organisations of Economic Interest and Methods of Interest Assertion in the Economic Transition of 1990–1992	41

DISCUSSION

CIVIL SOCIETY IN EASTERN EUROPE

<i>Molnár, Miklós</i> : The Dawn of Democracy in the East <i>Civil Society and Communism in Eastern Europe: Poland and Hungary</i>	74
Opponents' views: <i>Agh, Attila; Liván, György; Szelényi, Iván</i>	91
Answer to the opponents' views	104

END OF THE MILLENIUM SCENARIOS

<i>Lengyel, László</i> : On the Road. <i>Hungarian Politics at the Turn of the Millennium</i> . . .	112
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THE SITUATION OF POLITICAL SCIENCE

<i>Pokol, Béla</i> : Professionalisation, Intelligentsia and Politics	135
<i>Lánczi, András</i> : On the Condition of Political Science	141
<i>Csizmadia, Ervin</i> : Hungarian Political Science — Present without Past?	152

ORIENTATION

<i>Szilágyi, István</i> : Political Science in Spain	159
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ON BOOKS

<i>Becskeházi, Attila</i> : Political Culture	175
Selected Bibliography of Hungarian Political Science	189

NEWS	193
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ABSTRACTS	207
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