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# ABSTRACTS

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ISTVÁN SCHLETT

## THE RESTATEMENT OF LIBERALISM IN HUNGARY AFTER 1849

(On the basis of two treatises by Zsigmond Kemény and *The Influence of the Dominant Thoughts of the 19th Century on the State* by József Eötvös)

Throughout Europe, so in Hungary as well, the events of 1848-1849 cast doubt on the validity of the Liberal cause even among the adherents of Liberalism. What earlier had seemed so easy now turned out to be impossible: The principle of the peoples self-determination could not be reconciled with Europe's state-structure, the inherent contradiction of the Liberal Triad had become conspicuous, Liberalism's propositions concerning conflict-resolving techniques (such as rational discussion) and institutions (e. g. the parliament) had also failed, and Liberalism's anthropological presuppositions had proved to be questionable, too. Owing to these circumstances contesting ideologies the different forms of Conservatism and Socialism had established themselves, while the number of the adherents of Liberalism – at least on the Continent – had remarkably decreased. Even those who remained within the paradigm were bound to reconsider Liberalism, especially if they wanted to take part in the political struggles of the age successfully and if they were indeed looking for the way out of the crisis. This lecture aims to show by analysing works written in the early 1850s by two significant Hungarian thinkers (and politicians) what motives lay behind this restatement of Liberalism and in what sort of conceptual framework and with what results it took place. In fact, the works discussed here foreshadowed the situation that developed after 1867 concerning both the relationship of Austria and Hungary and the fundamental features of the social and political system of that time. A national, elitist and partly interventionist variant of Liberalism emerges from these writings, certainly with great differences. Kemény, looking for political solutions, focused mainly on the conditions in Hungary, while Eötvös, hoping to find theoretical answers, carried out his examinations on a European horizon. It is Eötvös who could resist the "spirit of the age" more and who looked for new solutions both to the settlement of the Austrian-Hungarian

relations and to the questions of the state-structure (e.g. with his attempt to deprive the national question of its political status and by outlining a system of public administration richly layered with self-governments and autonomies) Kemény, on the other hand, sought rather pragmatic, realistic solutions. Both authors, however, did face the dilemmas of Liberalism, and did venture to appraise and criticize the Liberalism of the pre 1848 times, while they remained Liberals, standing firm against all the fashionable anti-liberal ideologies of the time. Their achievement was the transformation of the questions and answers of the activist stage of Liberalism to meet the needs of its establishing or accommodating stage.

GÁBOR SUGATAGI

#### THE SELECTION AND CAREERS OF POLITICIANS

The composition of the new political elites that came to power with the changing of the political system has constantly been in the centre of scientific interest. This is by no means accidental granted that there are certain questions which can only be answered on the basis of information available from the study of elites. Such questions are for instance that who got hold of political power were conflicting or consensus-oriented elites, that if we have a single or fragmented elite, and that if the changing of the system meant as well changing of the guards in the political echelons. If one extends the analysis from the composition of elites to the recruitment and the selection of policy makers, this allows insight into the growing professionalization within the political sphere, as well as into, the methods of reproduction of party bureaucrats, the democratic standards or authoritarianism in the candidate selection of the parties. The analysis of selection may take the form of career-analysis which keeps track of the careers of high level policy makers from their first political undertakings of their arrival in power. The degree and process practice of the availability of necessary skills, of and of professionalization are signed by the length and the posts of the career, and provides information about the significance of in-party supporters and about influential positions.

Since in Hungary the 1990 parliamentary elections were seconded by an almost complete replacement of the old elites and in what follows political novices flew into the top positions, career-analysis would only confirm this view of professionalization that they were not by any chance professional but political outsiders who set the system into motion. Notwithstanding, the mapping of elite-selection may throw light on the problem of the strategies of getting into the elites, that if they existed or not, of the difference between the selection mechanisms of different parties, and of the disparity in the selection process between the long-established Western democracies and Hungarian one just in birth, and also of what factors would have a lasting

influence on the careers of our politicians. In his analysis the author first surveys what can be held as determining factors over political selection in the advanced representative democracies, and also the results of empirical selection analysis in the FGR and France. He finally makes an attempt to account for the tendencies that are observable in present-day Hungary.

PÉTER BÉNDEK

#### THE INDIVIDUALIST POLITICS OF JOHN LOCKE

In this paper an attempt is made to clarify the meaning and place of liberalism in history. Its main tenet that liberalism versus conservatism is a false and misleading opposition is shown in the first chapter and further discussed in the second, where individualism as the methodological criterion of "pure" liberalism is also introduced. The paper goes on with the falsification of the individual-based theory of social contract as presented by John Locke in his renowned *Second Treatise on Civil Government*. It is then argued that in so far as the contract theory is incapable of establishing rights and obligations there should be found other more capable means and to this effect efficient government is suggested. This is not to be said however that efficiency per se is the only normative condition of legitimate government. Rather, it is demonstrated that efficiency in the long run creates and thus involves growing trust on the subjects, part, which infiltrates into and conditions not only policy-making but social cohesion as well. This is the very idea, moreover, by which is shown that Locke becomes quickly obsolete in modernity and that the chances of any individual-based politics are strongly relativized.

## CONTENTS

### PAPERS

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- István Schlett*: The Restatement of Liberalism in Hungary after 1849 . . . . . 5  
*Gábor Sugatagi*: The Selection and Careers of Politicians . . . . . 29  
*Péter Béndek*: The Individualist politics of John Locke . . . . . 53

### DISCUSSION

---

#### ETHNOPOLITICS, BIOPOLITICS – OLD AND NEW PERSPECTIVES

- Csaba Gombár*: The Ethnicization of Our View on Society . . . . . 78  
*Ágnes Heller*: It Happens More Often that in the Dispute of Universality  
and Divergence the Individual Takes the Losing Side . . . . . 116

#### SYSTEM OF DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTIONS IN HUNGARY

- Péter Kende*: Does the Institutional System of Democracy Work in Hungary? . . . . . 126  
*Attila Ágh*: The System of Conditions in a Democratic Transition . . . . . 139  
*András Arató*: Notes on the Lecture by Péter Kende . . . . . 146

#### A COMMENT

- Gábor Halmai*: Should we Fecide by Rousseau? . . . . . 153  
*Béla Pokol*: Reply to Gábor Halmai . . . . . 159

### ORIENTATION

---

- Edmund Wnuk-Lipinski*: Political Science and Transition in Poland . . . . . 169  
*Zdenka Mansfeldova*: Political Science in the Czech Republic . . . . . 179  
*Sonia Szomolanyi*: Present-Day Political Science in Slovakia . . . . . 186

### BOOKS

---

- Tibor Löffler*: Youth and Political Science . . . . . 199  
Selected Bibliography of Hungarian Political Science . . . . . 211

- NEWS . . . . . 215
- 

- INFORMATION . . . . . 225
- 

- ABSTRACTS . . . . . 245
-