

ABSTRACTS

Éva Ványi

REPLACEMENT AND LATE REPRODUCTION OF THE ELITE. GOVERNMENTAL ACTORS BETWEEN 1990 AND 2010

The paper studies the continuity of the state party in the governmental elite being shaped after the change of the system. It analyses to what extent the governments in power between 1990 and 2010 appointed such governmental officials and to what positions that had held decisive nomenclatura positions in the previous state socialist system. The main issue is what role the actors of the previous state party elite played in the shaping of the new elite, were it the main decision makers or the second line members who got an opportunity to fill the new roles in the democratic political system. The research does not only extend over the members of government in the narrower sense of the term, to the prime minister and to ministers but also to the political and administrative secretaries of state due to their decisive influence on political and decision making processes. It studies whether there was any difference between positioning political and professional leaders in this respect and how far the earlier position in the nomenclatura influenced appointments to positions of various natures.

Keywords: Government, elite, party state, nomenclatura, recruitment of the elite, circulation of the elite

Szilvia Horváth

IDENTITY, POLITICAL DISCOURSE THEORIES AND THE POSSIBILITY OF CRITICISM. SOME THEORETICAL ISSUES OF POLITICAL IDENTITY

The study deals with the questions of political identity formation in discourse theoretical framework. It aims at revealing the basic philosophical and theoretical assumptions about the construction of political identities, but also tries to offer a normative base for critical analysis, heading towards a democratic political theory. For this purpose it uses concepts and theories deriving from poststructuralist and hermeneutical discourse theories, e. g. Hungarian political discourse analysis (CEPODS, Center for Political Discourse Studies). The critical and normative interpretation of political identities is based on the assumption that identities are formed by constructions of discursive frontiers, but from a democratic perspective we should differentiate between them taking into account the intensity of frontier building. The hermeneutical approach points

to the importance of the existence of “the other”, and to the complexity of discursive positions and their constructions by political actors.

Keywords: Political discourse theories, political identity, democracy

Kálmán Pócza

THE ENGLISH PATTERN OF GOVERNANCE

At the beginning of the 20th century both countries, Hungary and the United Kingdom experienced serious constitutional crises. According to Vernon Bogdanor the constitutional crises in the UK in 1909–1911 (power of veto of the House of Lords), in 1914 (Irish Home Rule Act) and in 1931 (appointment of Ramsay MacDonald as prime minister) shed light on the fact that the British monarch would still have been able to exercise his royal prerogatives in spite of the gradual emergence of basic constitutional conventions of parliamentary government. The events in 1931 demonstrated that the monarch was still able to appoint a prime minister who did not enjoy the confidence of the House of Commons. The effective exercise of the royal prerogative to appoint a prime minister provoked an even more serious crisis in Hungary in 1905–1906. The appointment of his bodyguard (Géza Fejérváry) to prime minister, despite his explicit rejection by the parliamentary majority, revealed that the Austrian Emperor took his royal prerogatives very seriously in an exceptional situation. Since the competence of the monarch to appoint a prime minister – even in absence of the confidence of the parliamentary majority behind him – was one of the most discussed topics in both countries. I will try to compare the prevalence and exercise of this royal prerogative in both countries. After describing and evaluating the events of the constitutional crises at the beginning of the 20th century in both countries I also hope to draw a more sophisticated picture on the mechanism of instrumentalization of the image of the British parliamentary system in Hungary.

Keywords: Comparative political science, constitutional crises, parliamentarism, royal prerogatives

Milán Pap

„THE TRUE LOVE OF THE PEOPLE AND MOTHERLAND“. THE CONCEPT OF SOCIALIST PATRIOTISM IN THE KÁDÁR REGIME

In the last decade, several historical works on modern Eastern European history attempted to reevaluate the relationship between Communism and Nationalism. In the post-Stalinist era, the political-ideological experiments of the integration of the idea of nation into official Marxism-Leninism resulted in a great variety of Socialist Patriotisms in Eastern Europe. In Hungary, this process commenced

right after the fall of the revolution of 1956. This essay makes an attempt to follow and analyse the concept of Socialist Patriotism in the last three decades of the Kádár regime. Harnessing the methodological achievements of conceptual history, different layers of the meaning of Socialist Patriotism can be revealed in a diachronic analysis. In this text, I will refer to three main groups of this semantic field: Socialist Patriotism as a borderline concept of distinguishing between political enemies and friends; as a reference of the identity of a Socialist political community; and ultimately, as a historical stage in the line of Communist civilisational progression.

Keywords: Socialist patriotism, the idea of nation, socialism, Kádár regime, ideology, history of concepts

Pál Gyene

THE PERSPECTIVES OF THE KYRGYZ PARLIAMENTARY EXPERIMENT –
A DEVIANT CASE STUDY

In the nineties, related to the debate on the opening study titled “*The Perils of Presidentialism*” written by Juan Linz, in the special literature of political science a productive debate evolved regarding the effects exercised by the forms of parliamentary and presidential government on the democratic transition and the consolidation of democracy. Our study, using the theoretical frames of the “neo-institutional debate”, makes an attempt to analyse the experience so far obtained from the “Kyrgyz parliamentary attempt” which evolved in relation to the revolution in 2010. In our opinion, regarding several determining features of the Kyrgyz political system, it is similar to the “standard Central Asian model” represented by the other four post-Soviet successor states. The Kyrgyz political system can be characterized by a low level of institutionalization and party formation in politics, a strongly person-centred political culture, as well as the informal dominance of regional clans. In addition to this, in the southern part of the country, ethnic conflicts and Jihadist radicals becoming active in the recent years mean serious destabilizing factors. The change to the form of parliamentary government may cause permanent change of the above features in the long run: it may catalyse the process of party formation and reduce the person-centred nature of Kyrgyz domestic politics, as well as it may promote cooperation among the regional élite groups. By doing so, it may greatly contribute to the success of democratic transition in Kyrgyzstan. At the same time, parliamentary governance also involves serious risks in the present Kyrgyz conditions: if the role of the real programme-based political parties cannot be strengthened to the detriment of the informal clans then in the lack of real political parties at first the destabilizing effects of parliamentarism may emerge and then the whole Kyrgyz political system may even be destabilized.

Keywords: Central Asia, Kyrgyzstan, neo-institutionalist, parliamentary, presidential