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Governmental Systems of Hungary

History of Development and Structural Typology of the Government from 1848 to 2010

Thesis

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I. Theme selection, the delineation of the subject of research

The doctoral thesis would like to introduce a comprehensive picture of the governmental structure from the civil governance with the priority examination the last two decade from the political transition. In the last one and half century the changes of political structure were huge, there were nearly dozen political system transformations. In global the changes of the form of government was permanent, the main types of the political system were modified regularly, whilst the value of division of authority was showed up in different way, also the relative position of the authorities’ branches were reordered. Together with the transformations of the framework conditions of political system in public was modified the way of exercising power, the power range of practitioners what mostly might show the multiply conversions of party systems and the relatively short life of domestic parties. Also the institutional transformations’ measure was significant. The changing political institutions, as well as their functions and powers of modification formed a narrow government structure is parallel with its internal institutional system.

Beyond the existed power of attorney of the various political institutions, function is also constantly changing in sense of political science and sociological within its operating the political actors of values, institutional management and style of exercising power.

Several times it can be recurrently showed up totally disappeared or less used institutions in the operating of governance system. Likewise the rethinking of the classic authors and numerous lesser-known public law’s summaries, some institutional solutions in the earlier periods - not only of historical curiosity - can put a different light the newly reviewed assets of the government system.

The development of a system of government characterized by both organic and fractures associated with large "revolutionary" transformation, presence and permanence of certain elements of continuous variation can also be observed in the history of development. In addition to unique solutions for specific political and social development, it could impact on international trends and general civilizational and social changes as well.

1 The essay works up the structural modifications of the 2010’s government change, but the changes that have taken place from that time (the acceptance of the new Constitution, elections in 2014 etc.) only tangentially deals.
II. The structure of the thesis and the instruments of methodology

The dissertation methodology in basically want to follow institutionalist approach. Overall, not the “empty” theoretical (legal) analysis of the government institutions, but rather the actual role and weight of content to be carried out. In addition in many places shorter empirical comparisons will be provided. The research is based on the extensive use of Hungarian literature, as well as comprehensive use of some well-known international works where primarily comparative governance presented –and mainly laws, also other typical secondary source materials. Analysis of government efficiency seems equally important issue, but it would be difficult to measure without a normative approach. Instead of a normative or more critical approach it should be examined the conditions for the possibilities of effective and efficient governance, condition of operation, typically the institutional framework should be examined using empirical-analytic classification.

The essay is divided into five major chapters. The first two shorter chapters are giving the comparative classification background of the thesis. The first chapter helps in the further interpretation and analysis of the operation of the Hungarian government system which is the main topic of the thesis. In the next chapter, the general classification of the governmental systems will be done through the theoretical foundation; comparative historical analysis of the Hungarian government's power-sharing system and application of the principle of undivided power in terms of perform. In the third chapter there is shown the examination of member of the government and their created groups as internal institutions, their model generalization and theoretical categorization. The internal structure of Hungarian governments have primarily examined with analytical method. There is the detailed typology of each members, their deputies who are composed the government, also in general the government as a whole, and its formal and informal institutions and consultative processes and cooperative forms. In this chapter there is the comparative analysis of particular form of government’s membership’s (ministry without portfolio, peak ministry, deputy prime minister’s offices, government ministers, etc.) various types.

The fourth chapter is primarily about the changes of the ministerial structure and the position of the certain policies in the governmental system. It is reviewed partly in descriptive summary of each periods’ and governments’, the policies of human nature often with alternating designed management highlighted the many changes mirrored human policies and
partly it interprets with comparative method the diversified governance solutions. Beyond these there is a quantitative empirical research of laws and ministerial decrees related to the human nature portfolios. In the fifth, final chapter there is an assessment of the most important results of the dissertation, primarily the post-transition’s governments between each other and partly their empirical comparison.

III. The most important assumptions of the research
The Hungarian government systems were influenced by both internal and external circumstances. As external effect the general development of European civilization and the transformation of the exercise of power can be mentioned, also the domestic historical traditions are determined gravely. Although in the main periods of the transformation of constitutional and political system (1918, 1919, 1920, around 1944 or just over the state socialism) many parts of these were eliminated often, but in the future numerous elements of the government’s system were returned. The changes were born under the revolutionary, war end extraordinary periods proved to be mostly temporary, and in most cases usually remained the solutions of stable periods.

The dissertation additional hypothesis that there were not made important changes in every system changing in the functioning of governmental system, the breakpoints can be appeared often in other places. The established stereotypical ideas about the impact of the political system changes in the system of government are not confirmed as well. We are trying to prove that the certain system changes such as 1945 and 1990 were not completely transformed with the changes of the governmental system. There is barely shown in the post-1990 governments’ ideological connections (similarities, breakpoint) in either with each other, or with other historical period. Other reasons can be observed behind the perceived ideological differences, changes. From the end of the 90’s the permanent conversion processes are characteristic which are infected the previously perceived stable elements of the political system. All of them can lead up instability, unpredictability even in whole the political system.

IV. The most important results of the thesis
At the beginning of the dissertation we are looking for common comparison points for the interpretation of historical change of the government system which later are used in the essay as well. We are narrowing and specifying the dimension of research: we are distinguishing
the various levels of the system of government. The study does not cover the broadest sense, whether including the political system as a whole which are expanded beyond the constitutional institutions to the areas out of the state’s operation, but it deals with the much smaller segments, primarily the government’s institution and its major corporation, as well the ministerial structured policy managing which are directly supervised by the government.

An important direction of the investigation is the review of the effectiveness of power-sharing idea, which also serves a yardstick in the examination of different types of government systems. The institutions struggling with dysfunctions and the damage of government decision-making sovereignty are separately examined.

The thesis cannot undertake to give the definition of governance, but it would rather show its characteristic elements are summed across examples of some more important, especially domestic authors from the end of the nineteenth century till the present day. For understanding the government is necessary the interpretation of the dual nature of governance, which shows well the difference between the concept of government and administration. Previously the dual nature was appeared functionally in different institutions itself over the centuries, finally it was came up as a public body in the civil governments which are responsible to the legislation, too. The dichotomy has resulted in new conflicts after the regime change also as the boundary between politics and public administration sphere movement, which in 2006, and in 2010 was changed after several de lege ferenda proposals. Political governance has been increasingly taking place in macro-political level, the government has been quasi managing. According to Maurice Duverger, the government's tasks are widening constantly which are more than the scope of implementation, thus becoming the general political leading organ, "national leadership" power with motivational function.

It is essential the explanation of some key concepts related to the governance such as the power itself, the domination, the sovereignty and the value of power-sharing for understanding the operation of the government system. But all the power, and in conjunction with the government, both closely linked to the issue of sovereignty and legitimacy, too. The sovereignty is related to the power of the state as underlying principle in the exercise of power.

\[\text{Fülöp, Gyula – Cserny, Ákos: }\text{A végrehajtó hatalom és a helyi- területi önkormányzatok alkotmányos szabályozása, BKÁE Államigazgatási Kar, Budapest, 2002, p. 6.}\]
\[\text{Duverger, Maurice: Állam és kormányzat. A kormányzat felépítése, In: Takács Péter (szerk.): Államtan, Szent István Társulat, Budapest, 2003, p. 419.}\]
and in the governance itself. The possible damage of the sovereignty of the government power eventually could raise serious legitimacy problems.

There have been many challenges – of course there would have been further – in the plural, democratic political systems which are based on power-sharing, such the deterioration of the balance in the operation of branches of powers from the inside. Hereby it can develop much stronger concentration of power in the government than it was previously which is reflecting the continuous transformation of government systems. It is significant prove the value of the power-sharing for the democratic function of the political systems. Its emergence, like the government system, can be interpreted on several levels, also it can be prevailed in further areas according to the different civilization, social change, or even in parallel with different interpretations of the scope of the system of government can be grasped more and more levels. While in the narrowest sense it can be interpreted as the limitation of power within the individual branches, in the broadest sense it can be extended beyond the constitutional system established areas and non-state institutions.

**IV.1 The governmental system’s transformation in different historical periods**

During the overall observation of the Hungarian government system of each historical period we can see the different forms of predominance of the power-sharing or the principle of undivided power.

The reborn civil parliamentary government system in 1867 with the 1848’s funds was rested by strong parliamentary values rested, until the democratic nature remained weak further on.

The nature of the party organization was able to maintain honoratorial character, while due to the limited competition stable government could work during the dualism without the risk of an unstable parliamentary system. In case of the internal distribution of power within the government the era’s heads of government had a relatively greater power than if they had a simple primus inter pares role. For many decades, the Prime Minister directed one of the most important ministries permanently. This increased the weight of the Prime Minister in the college, and later during the war or revolutionary periods was used this form as well. It was less typical example between the two world wars, but it was still known form in the exercising power for the head of government. At first typically during the period of Council
Republic was completely canceled the value of power-sharing which was the main foundation of the civil democratic political arrangement.

Between the two world wars it was validated the reinterpreted principle of popular sovereignty, specifically it replaced the national sovereignty, in close contact with the Holy Crown doctrine. The doctrine of national sovereignty was caused a serious focus shift between the branches of power in the power-sharing. The real breakpoint was between the Head of the government and the Parliament (namely the nation’s political body). After the Second World War, it was prevailed the principle of popular sovereignty which was related to the traditions of the left party - whether it can be traced back to Rousseau – against the previous right-party’s priority of strong executive power centers. After the coalition era the power unit principled state socialist governance model has been replaced the previously weaker prevailing parliamentary system, from then to share more and more symbolic role of representative bodies, and especially their substitute institutions such as the presidiums subordinated operated the governments. The lack of separation of powers – we could talk only the division of labor between them. The actual power relation was interesting in case of the party’s and government’ organs, since the party had lad, for the government rested the narrower sensed implementation.

Later, they compensated with a “power-sharing” attempt in response to the personality cult, instead of the personal leadership they would strengthened the practice of collective leadership, for example: they supported the Presidium against the government and within the government they preferred corporate principle instead of the prime ministerial position.

During the transition to the new constitutional arrangement was again a parliamentary system of government. The most important constitutional foundation stones of the political system were laid down in 1989-90: in autumn 1989, the most important laws which modified the constitutional system, the result of the so-called four-yes-referendum which indirectly changed the role of head of state institutions and the type of government system, and the so-called Antall - Tögyessy Pact, whereupon it was established more stable and operable system of government in practice. Finally it could be realized a strong, chancellor type of governance, which were strengthened furtherly the decrees of the Constitutional Court in the early '90s.

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7 Dunay, Pál: A kormány felelősségének alkotmányjogi és politikai alapjai az európai szocialista országokban, ELTE-Állam- és Jogtudományi Kar, Budapest, 1988, p. 4.
about the discussions on head of state’s power. In effect it was unrolled a weak position of head of state, which can be call such a neutral power and only has a reserve powers. As soon as the parliamentary systems of government, the Hungarian were also generally characterized by the weight of government is the most important central state organs are: the parliament and the government. In case of the two organs basically the latter is more dominant. There is a strong tie between the two branches of power, since in the parliamentary system of governments that party (parties) can form a government who has majority in the legislature. Meanwhile the increasingly tendency is that in related to the relationship between the parliament and the government, the latter has a continuously growing role. The principle of the prime minister gets strengthen with varying intensity, but primarily steadily from 1998 under the successive governments. Finally both value of the concentrate - and distribution of power which were deepen the political changes were appeared two decades after the regime change with different intensity.

Though the Constitution made in 1989 did not care with the separation of power directly it has been widely building up since and more the regime change and it has been applied in wider interpretation levels. All of this took place in parallel with the political legitimacy, beside the democratic mandate government organs particularly the increasing role of the technocratic legitimacy institutions, also with appearance of new, similar institutions.

The preference of the controllability aspects is interpreted by András Körösényi as primarily in response to the observed extension of power-sharing after the regime change which is leading to the power-concentration. He defines the changes after 1998 as the given governmentality rectifying to the radical practice of power-sharing, and although the two processes is meet, ultimately, the government and the Prime Minister "public-political" recruitment took place.8

While reviewing the political changes in the direction of separation of powers and the power-concentration the strengthening of the governmental power-focusing trend is clear, but in the past two decades there appeared reinforcing factors in both phenomenon constantly in the function of the political system.

At the beginning of the regime change after the changes were made to increase the power-concentration in response to the fundamental constitutional pillar which was leading to uncontrollability. In the first two cycles of government rather strengthened the institutional framework of the extended powers in the first two cycles of government it rather strengthened

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the extended institutional framework of power-sharing. The role of the power-focusing in the governmental system was rising after 1998, and it had become a permanent process. The hegemony of radical interpretation of the power-division in the Hungarian public life, according to its broadest interpretation of democracy can only result in otherwise undemocratic, authoritarian marks appear in the political system, weakened. Even so in the subsequent years in case of lower-density areas and less relevant institutions it has been gotten on the practice of power-decentralization furthermore.

In accordance with the international trend we can speak about a new period at home from the beginning the 90’s. The traditional party-based democracy is sometimes called the period of the mediated, personalized democracy, where „government’s presidentialization” takes place. With the strengthening of presidential touches on governance the role of head of government in sociological perspective its political importance has clearly increased from the late 90’s, but the significant changes in legal perspective were made only by the Status Law of 2006. It was not made just smaller adjustments in the Hungarian government system, but they were significant changes in the political exercise of power fundamentally, especially in the prime minister's political role. The government change of 2010 and its result: the new Constitution have made significant changes in the structure and function of the governmental system not just quantitatively but qualitatively as well compared with two decades after the regime. In respect the practical realization of the value of the authority division has significantly shifted the governmental system. With cabinet system like structure the authority is even more concentrated within the executive power. The reduction of the decision-makers within the government, beside that creating a huge, integrated government offices within these significant-sized offices under-secretary of state which reminded of the classical ministries have further differentiated the function of government. As the government has become more hierarchical the head of government was able to rise from the ministers. The weight of the prime minister has furtherly increased with the obvious aim that instead of the narrower way of governing the exercise of power better able to proceed in the direction of government management. In effect in the period after 2010 the two-thirds majorities of government’s activities though not exclusively, but decisively have made stronger the tendency of the power-concentration within the most segments of the constitutional political system.

IV.2. The change of the government interior structure, the membership’s types of the government

During the overview of the government interior structure the different types of government members, the deputies of the government members, the various institutions, forums and the types of outside the government, formal and informal institutions consultative processes and forms of collaboration which are related to the government operation.

Considering the narrower legal perspective the government consists of the prime minister and the ministers, in political aspect it can be made much differentiated typology. We can distinguish trade ministers, ministers without portfolio, deputy prime minister, peak ministers, former ministers of state, etc. It could be appeared different types of each governmental member form in the view of legal and political. They have changed not only in time, but sometimes several subtypes have simultaneously functioned during the given period. The Hungarian government has always headed by a senior staff, the prime minister had called a variable (prime minister, chairman of the Council of Ministers, chairman of the revolutionary governing council, etc.), who defined the basic direction of government policy. In the course of selecting the members of government his purpose and exercise to make a correspondence within the government as corporation and create the cabinet-solidarity. In Hungary the prime minister de facto has always been superior among the ministers. His overbalance within the government has always been different, and has created with different tools. Firstly during the period of dualism and between the two world wars the prime minister could acquire a decisive role with having multiple portfolios. Some of the members of the government could hold more portfolios simultaneously, but the most common and significant, over time, become a tradition it was the prime ministerial trade activity. The great proportion of the prime ministers directed the most important ministries in parallel.

The most of the time during the dualism the prime minister lived with the institution of possession of resort portfolio. The simultaneously managed portfolio had been shown his importance within the governance over his own professional past and preference of policy. During the dualism they preferred to direct the for instance the defense affairs, after for long time the home affairs and financial or later the foreign affairs. The ministry’s management in many cases proved to be stable even if the prime minister was officially directed temporarily, since often they had been leading a ministry for so many years. In practice it could have been changed that the ministry has been acted in full or only nominally by the prime minister. Between the two world wars it was not typical the possession of resort portfolio, in this period – primarily at the beginning and end of the system – generally the foreign affairs was under
the direct control of the prime minister. Of course, the prime minister's political weight has always changed as regards the variants power-exercising.

In the revolutionary period after the fall of the dualist system the biggest break was brought by the Hungarian Soviet Republic since the Revolutionary Command Council, namely the government in addition to the internal fragmentation at the same time under the leadership of one person Commissar of interest could affect the actual power of government can slide rearward position. For example the five-members-directory which was composes by the member of the corporation was much more influential than the prime minister. In the governance system after the II. World War according to domestic political conditions the role of the prime minister was decreased against the stronger prime ministers between the two world wars. Finally with liquidation of the democratic and pluralistic nature of the system simultaneously the prime minister real political power was overwhelmed. The prime minister had a weaker position as previously result of the creation of new, socialist presidium in 1949 and party organs which supplied the public functions, also the new internal structuring of the government (steering committees, heads of government deputies). In sociological and political regard the prime minister was shown weak at the end of the system, following the legislative act (XI. /1987) birth despite a strengthened of the government with other actors of the government system. His previously dominant position really regained within the government and governmental decision-making only after the 90’s elections.

It has emerged stronger role of the prime minister due to the some important constitutional pillars of the new system such a constructive motion of no confidence or the Constitutional Court decision about restricting the scope for action of the head of state. There was instituted a bigger body of work next to the prime minister with establishing and reorganizing the Prime Minister's Office. The further strengthening of MEH was an indicator of the growth of head of government’s role. At first after the second term of government was created the possibility that the Office could have a leader of ministerial rank, and after 1998 it was not simply led by a minister but in regards the whole government working was increased significantly its role. The Prime Minister's Office among ministries - the then minister's phrase - worked as a flagship, it further strengthened the growing realization of the principle of prime minister in the government.

But the position of the prime minister has become stronger than his minister mates during the next governments, primarily from the summer of 2006. By this time born status law confirmed the enforcement of the principle of prime minister in the governance in several ways. They not simply intensified the previous trends in practice but also in law was reformed
the institutional framework for the exercise of power. Namely it has been formed a more significant power-concentration around the prime minister. These included the enlargement of the prime minister’s appointing and supervisory powers, and the strengthening of the Prime Minister’s office also indicated the same trend. The Office was furtherly centralized, its weight was improved in the government’s policy formation like the growing influence of the government’s regulations. It was not just simply reorganized the mechanism of the ministries’ management and controlling, they were set up new state secretary posts, but in effect the prime minister’s appointing (and dismissal) power was grown in the top of the executive level, moreover his decision right was increased to specify the various allowances and salaries.

The centralizing logic was also shown in the direct prime minister’s ordering of the ministers and government departments leaders what the status law was explicitly provided, and new institutions which were set up by the head of government’ direct control such as the three commissary institution created in the summer of 2006. In addition it was appeared the previously observed phenomenon that the ministers’ power in the developing of the common governmental policy has been weakened in favor of the prime minister.

Two years later as result of the minority governance and then the specific political state of the new government erected in 2009 the position of the prime minister has been modified, but the global transformations in the governance’s area in 2010 have been continuing the extension of the principle of prime minister as the long-standing trend. One of the most spectacular changes: the radical reduction in the number of members of the government alone can assist for the formation of more concentrated power in the government. Despite the increasing weight of ministers which may be due to the expanding, wide spectrum covered portfolio the position of prime minister was not weakened, but – mainly due to the new situation in the created structure – rather was strengthened. There were two important fundamental changes in the prime minister's replacement and the set up Premiership in connection with it. Among the several improvements these two relevant modifications assisted in the additional power-concentrating.

In the previously used practice in the substitution of the prime minister they altered particularly since it was not only solved in institutional but also it was took place for double replacing: there were an appointment of a political and a permanent operation deputy. The latter is standing at the top of the administrative super ministry established in 2010 may have been appointed with the original purpose as remove the burden from prime minister’s shoulder, so the prime minister can rather concentrate on the strategic issues beside the daily
activities. The Premiership’s re-erection, taking out from the earlier Office was not a simple organizational differentiation but it was expressed the prime minister’s intention his further taking out from the governmental structure, similarly the duplication of governmental communication in 2010 which was served of his secession from the other government ministers.

The number and type of members of government beyond the head of of also has changed significantly over the decades. In the certain historical periods was different the average number\(^\text{10}\) of the government but non-ministerial ranked individuals could get into the government by irregular status. In legal terms there is a little difference between the members of the government but in aspects of sociological and political there can be performed many different typologies in case of the governments’ ministers. It can be separately categorized the different types of the deputy prime ministers and ministers without portfolio which has changed a lot over the past century. But the real political weight of the ministers was continuously transformed which mostly determined by relation to the prime minister and to each other, closely related to the weight of their controlled policy.

The institution of having multiple portfolios was previously one of the characteristic factors of the certain portfolio’s role in the hierarchy of the government structure. Approximately the four-fifth part of the dualism period the prime minister took another portfolio, too, about this half was the home affairs, and then the second most preferred was the financial portfolio. Between the two world wars and under the revolutionary periods the foreign affairs rather become in the highlight. But it stayed generally typical during the whole period of socialism that the Ministry of Finance, the Planning Bureau and the economic ministries were at the peak of the governance specific internal hierarchy, while the other ministries, typically the ministries of human brought up the rear. After the political transformation of course the Ministry of Finance and the Ministry of Interior were furthermore the most influential ministries among all levels of government, till 1998 when these ministries were deliberately weakened and from that time the Prime Minister’s Office become the strongest.

Earlier, The Ministry of Justice who had also key role earlier from the 90’s continuously lost from its coordinative function. After 2006 the Ministry of Interior and the Ministry of Justice, then in 2010 the Ministry of Finance lost its former autonomy. After 2010 the integrated portfolio structure created a totally new situation. The tool of the specific

\(^{10}\) Only highlighted two extreme examples there was fivefold difference (for instance in 1910 there were period when only 6 and in 1953 there were 30 members of the government).
hierarchy within the government was the solution of substitution the prime minister. By virtue of numerous factors might be categorized the possible forms of replacing the prime ministers. In one hand by organizational aspect it can be work as unipersonal or more personal institution or as an independent institutionalized form of position or ministry as leading institution. On the other hand by functional aspect might be developed specifically policy governing tasks, managing, mainly with operation task charged or a coalition deputy typed solutions. The most typical form of substitution of the prime minister in Hungary was the ministry managed, unipersonal operational natured substitution, which left typical after 1990. The number of deputy prime ministers grew after 2009, since then they became both political and operational substitute of the prime minister. A year later the new government has institutionalized the position of deputy prime minister, which is still operating.

Beyond the examination of the government narrower institution the dissertation also give a short review of the most important decision-preparing institutions, forums and processes which are involved the decision-making of the governmental system. The intra-governmental institutions, bodies and forums, as well as formal and informal consultative process, cooperation forms have emerged in the last more than a century, of course many solutions have disappeared over time. The dissertation is focusing on the most important institutions in regards the decision-making and decision-preparing, especially who struggle with the democratic deficit.

Among these institutions after the transition to map the government’s internal hierarchy the cabinets can assist as the types of the cabinets and their composition’s transformation can conclude as well the certain policy’s priorities, internal operating principles and the balance power within the government.

After the first free elections the government cabinet has become the most important cabined despite that the economic cabinet was created first and the government cabinet only shortly thereafter. After 2002 its role was decreased then for a while was ceased but late it was re-erected. Several other cabinets was working for longer or shorter period often reflecting to the, many of the government's policy priorities, under various names as social or human resources, national security, European integration, development policy, etc. affairs practitioners. During the similar era of state socialism the governing councils had also decision-making powers. Beyond the government the largest achievement in the areas of the formal consultative processes and institutions of the broader range of government’s system was the establishment of Permanent Secretary Meetings. Its initial lack slowed down the functioning of the government after the transition.
In the aspect of the value of the power-sharing enforcement and the sovereignty of the government’s decision-making, those corporations, institutions are important which have impact on the governance decision-making particularly on economic and financial fields. Without being exhaustive the dissertation would like to analyze the function of some of these important institutions. The members of these institutions in terms of recruitment were from outside the government or partially overlap with it, whether it could influence the enforcement of the power-sharing. For example the Supreme Economic Council set up after 1945, then the National Economic Council. In 2006, the institution system around the development policy (Development Policy Steering Committee and the National Development Council), where due to the specific personnel overlap there was less transparency between the institutions, the National Development Council quasi functioned as shadow government so it caused democratic deficit in the government's decision-making. They would like to create a non-political but technocratical control on the government’s fiscal policy with established another institution after 2008, the Fiscal Council which was rapidly changing in its role.

IV.3. The different managing of policies
In addition to review of the operation of the system of government it can be important the assessment of the performance is, however, the dissertation does not deals with the normative evaluation of the efficiency and performance. Conversely the result of the operating of governance system is assigned by the framework for the structure of insurance policies and the operating environment of government structure. For examining the practice of government policies the nascent legislation provide support as output of certain policies.

The government structure has changed a lot in the past one and half century, almost every elements have transformed by today. For a long time the constancy and the slow organic development while the certain transition periods also the last one and half decade were characterized by a deep and dense transformations. In Europe also in Hungary the technological, civilizational development of the society followed by the administrative structure transformations.

The detailed examination of changes in the ministerial structure clearly shows that the larger, structural changes are generally not linked to the regime changes, but indicates other fault-lines in the development of governance system. But it was not made just a sudden
conversion, there were born numerous reform ideas with the aim for converting the governance system different quantity and character. Some part of these have been achieved, some parts less.

In Europe in the XIX-XXth century they especially tried to deal within the policing administration the new regulated activities, the various economic, health and social fields. As well in Hungary only in 1918 had been established the first independent social welfare ministry. After the quick and in several areas serious modifications as result of the revolutionary period with the consolidation of the new system is largely restored the structure of the dualism’s era, this continuity along the entire remaining period of the system features.

There were two major changes in the portfolio’s structure, on the one hand there was the integrating of the social welfare in the home affairs, on the other hand there was the separation of industrial and commercial areas along the ideas of Gömbös’ economic policy.

There was not a full structure change after 1945, only after 1949 it started a deep change series. In the first half of the 50’s – likewise the other socialist countries – the overall modifications reached each areas of the governmental system, but the most irrational changes were made in the economical portfolios regarding the managing of policies. The government throughout the period of state socialism was seen as an economic cabinet, however during the Kádár regime it had been felt the intention for rationalization. At the end of 1987 the new wave of restructuring in certain policies was the results of further changes have been made within the political leadership. The return of social policy - in nearly four decades later - of the high-level ministerial administration also signed the beginning of the transition.

The measure of the conversions after the change of regime exceeded the previous historical periods’ changes. All this goes beyond the successive political governments, as well as the consequences of civilizational transformations. It can be hardly discovered significant relationship between along the governments’ ideological differences in the case of the fractures in the ministerial structure. After the first free elections it was rather characterized by the renaming than the deeper transformations. More serious changes have taken place at another level, at the national sphere corporations. At the peak of the structure of government the managing in the area of the policies’ transformations quotation system change can be dated from 1998. These changes have been achieved in most ministries, the most significant

11 For example: the detailed researches by Zoltán Magyary or István Bibó and Ferenc Erdei, as well Károly Mártonffy before the war, and in the last period of Lázár-government another researches issued by the Administration Organization Institute, after the regime transition the Imre Verebélyi or Tamás Sárközy’s became more popular.
measure of human nature, but the economical and general management, the ministries overseen maintenance did not stay out of this. In the period of the left-wing governments after 2002, the more often appearing modifications in the ministerial-level policies have become a permanent process. By 2010 this flew into a more comprehensive and significant transitions, which also meant a paradigm shift in the policy management of the system of government like many other areas and for the moment it seems stable.

Thus the system is in constant change which suits the necessary political, social and civilizational development, though the recent cycles permanent changes made unstable the Hungarian government structure, it had an impact on governance as well.

After examining the governmental structure’s general development, we are reviewing the ministerial managing related to the smaller policies of human resources. These policies typically reflect the variability of internal relations of the whole government system. We are giving a closer look in a separate chapter for the practical operations of the governance beyond the quantitative of the governance structure in ministerial level. Also there is the empirical quantitative examination of the laws after the regime change in human policies’ segments (mainly social and cultural policy) within the whole government activity to give a view to the major trends in the legislative processes.

V. **The scientific results and the further recovery possibilities**

According to the major international trends, the development of the Hungarian civil system of government has been affected by the social, civilizational processes, in addition to these of course, many institutions with historical tradition are become stable as special solutions. In the last decade, however, the seemingly in long term stable institutions significantly changed or discontinued. Often the elements of the system of government changed significantly in content, or even similar functions under different names returned. Significant parts of the changes of the periods temporary, emergency (revolution, war, etc.) were eliminated over time until the earlier, more stable solutions regularly came back.

Overall, the different types of the dominant system of government and non-exclusive national traditions were not evolved, while many basic values could prevails in the long run. Some political arrangements and core components had disappeared provisional already in their birth and the structures were generated by the revolutionary periods and system changes proved to be only temporary. Lack of deeper roots also helped the continuous changes.
After 1990, this is particularly true the simultaneous release of the two phenomena, the stability and variability in the government system. In fact the last one and a half decades, in the whole government system, and in parts thereof on the basis of the elements contemplate whether in aspect of institutional or functional, or forms of exercising power, more significant transformations have taken place, more than during the previous regime changes. This may indicate the latent transformation process of the whole political system. But not only in itself a significant change, but rather their permanent nature, the quick, sometimes opposing concepts continuous rotation also bear similarities the accomplished process during the most unstable periods of the past one and half century’s.

The dissertation’s hypothesis was confirmed that the Hungarian government system structural transformations - as opposed to the stereotypical assumptions - not necessarily coincide with the constitutional and political system changes. Not every political transformation was associated with remaking the foundations of the government system, but seemingly stable periods are characterized by much more serious transformations. Behind the changes rarely can be discovered ideological fault-lines.

Not only the value of separation of power prevailed in different form in each historical eras, but even after the regime change the institutional and other power-exercising changes of power-decentralization also the power-concentration were appeared with different intensity. The funds of ’89 based on the decentralized power-exercise were soon supplemented by the steps to aim stable governance which was created the possibility the increasing power-focusing around the government. Then through two decades with different intensity there were changes in the government in both directions. In context of the enforcement of the value of separation of powers particularly the institutional changes in the government decision-making sovereignty were among the more significant. In addition to the numerous historical example for narrowing the institutions of government’s economic policy there were more institutional solutions after the transition, for example in connection with development policy. Beside the institutional arrangements which were caused by democratic deficits and dysfunctions there were several changes which rather strengthen the technocrats’ legitimacy instead of the traditional democratic popular representation, caused institutional arrangements in addition to a number of changes have taken place that would strengthen legitimacy technocrats instead of the traditional democratic popular representation, all this also affects the foundations of the governmental system.

In the last decade not only the “heavier elements” of the governmental system as institutions, operational processes, in general the functioning of the legal environment
changed over, but were changed the "softers" as well. In the center of the transformations there are the governance’s presidentialization and their associated processes. Instead of the traditional party-based democracy it appeared in a qualitatively new form of government from the late 90’s, the so-called personalized or mediated democracy. There are numerous denominations which try to describe the different aspect of the phenomenon such populist democracy etc., the most prevailing,\textsuperscript{12} became the leader democracy used by Max Weber which was added with new content.

Of course it is not comparable the various types of government’s forms moreover because of the normative approach in aspect of the evaluation of governance effectiveness, efficiency would exceed the dissertation institutional outlook. Therefore it is rather examined the possibility of stable governance in context with the conditions of the effective and efficient governance. Despite the fact that not all stable government are also effective, but one of the basic conditions of governance is the stability. After the transition the governments appeared to be stable in primary point of view, because, unlike several countries from other regions the parliament always filled the mandates and “interim” government change was always made without new elections. However, measurement of the lifetime simplistic measure of government efficiency is not the right solution, even sometimes it can be misleading. Even so there is not shown stability in case of the certain institutions, functioning, structure of governmental system, in their certain elements they went through in permanent transformation. The changes also had an impact on each other, which was not only weakened the stability of the government’s system, but most of all affected the entire constitutional and political system works well. The dissertation is empirically examined by several factors the certain governments after the regime change along the permanence, continuity / transformation and dichotomy change. There have been changes almost in every important areas since 1990, in many cases the transformations strengthened from the third governmental cycle.

Overall it can be stated that the changes in the government system were permanent featured, in many aspects it can be observed of willingness to variability. Typically it has been experiencing since the late 1990’s that these continuous changes not only in the comprehensive framework of government structure, but in many parts of the elements of its internal operation and the prime ministers’ political culture, its weight in the governmental system, in the whole governmental philosophy, in general, in the power-practice’s methods

have taken place in the same way. The continuous transformations in the last one and half decades has proven that there were transformed the above-mentioned institutions’ significant circles closely related to the changes outside the institutional system. It was expected that it will be appeared the variability in the seemingly stable areas such as in the wider sensed segments of the governmental system which seemed stable for longer period, thinking of the party structure, the layer of the political leaders, the separation of powers, the form of government, and in general the whole of the constitutional and political system.

The results of the dissertation research can be utilized in several areas in the future. In one hand similarly for re-reading classical thinkers’ work, for reviewing the solutions of the previous historical epochs, the organizational and operational forms of the former institutions, we can rethink the current internal process of the governmental and in general the political system, to understand them easier. On the other hand the current governmental system go through significant changes, the way of the political power-practice is under transformation etc. In Hungary the persistence of variability coincides with the strengthening of prezidentialized governance. It was expected that if the so-called leader democracy’s phenomenon will be strengthened in the long term, the prime minister and the role of government will be fundamentally different. It can be growingly felt both in domestic and international level the strengthening of governance’s practice of power-focusing, but the legitimacy of democratic political systems is also under changing. In addition to the democratic marks the strengthening of the technocratic legitimacy, the representative democracy and the changing relationship of governance are also announced a new direction. In the thesis is no longer it took place, but in the future it might be worth further consideration of the further challenges which are anticipated by the conflict between the democratic legitimacy and the technocratic governance, revaluation of separation of powers, and the real decision-making role of government institutions under public law or further transformation and functions’ modification of the sovereignty of some government’s institution. Beside these it can be become easier examined by fitting in typology the subsequent structural and functional changes of the Hungarian governmental system framework was developed during a research.

The noticeable series of changes in the most of the elements of the governmental system in historical perspective may indicate that among the bigger and more stable terms’ temporary periods we are under transitional changes of governmental system. In the last one

and half decade *is the most uncertain historical period* in the Hungarian governmental system’s life since the formation of civil governmental system one and half century ago.
**VI. Important publications**

**Paper, book chapter**
- Hierarchikus kapcsolatrendszer a kormánytagok között 1990-ig. In: Róka, Jolán (szerk.) Annales Tomus VII. Academia Budapestiensis Communicationis et Negotii 2015

**Conference presentations**
- Hatalomkoncentráció vs. hatalomdecentralizáció érteke a magyar kormányzati rendszer működésében a rendszerváltozás óta. (Conference entitled Közép-Európa: együttműködés és versengés. A Magyar Politikatudományi Társaság XIX. Vándorgyűlése, 30th, May 2013. - június 1., Kolozsvár.)
- A változékonyság és instabilitás mértéke a magyar kormányok rendszerváltozás utáni szerkezeteiben. (Conference entitled A rendszerváltozás húsz éve. A Magyar Politikatudományi Társaság XV. Vándorgyűlése, 3-4th, July 2009., Miskolci Egyetem.)
- A kormány mint intézmény belülről. A kormánytagság eltérő típusai Magyarországon. (Conference entitled Az Egyszer volt, hol nem volt az állam..., 13th, April 2007., ELTE-ÁJK.)

**Review**