

Post-Soviet Features of Hungarian Administrative Sciences

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ABSTRACT

The post-Soviet features of contemporary administrative sciences in Hungary are not just theoretical issues, they have a strong practical importance, as well. Our starting point is that the scientific field which does not have a clear relation to its own near past, may have neither a sound self-concept nor an exact vision of the future. One of the utmost weaknesses of Hungarian administrative sciences is the partial shortage of elaboration of inner processes after 1945 and the lack of systematic collection of scientifically relevant – but never published – documents of that period of time (1945–1990). Everyday tendencies of administrative sciences also offer some examples of post-Soviet features: the lack of the culture of criticism that is observable within the characteristics of scientific journals, and also within the features of professional record and qualification. Moreover, the positivist way of thinking of representatives of administrative law (and other administrative sciences) results in the dominance of commentaries, i.e. the philosophical and future-oriented, strategic scientific approaches to the problems are often secondary, residual. Actually, these effects in Hungary, compared with the situation within those countries that earlier also belonged to the Soviet bloc, do not show real differences as it has been proven by a questionnaire-based research conducted by the author.

Keywords: Hungary, administrative sciences, post-Soviet features, international comparison

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1 Introduction: Goals and Methodology

What does the expression 'post-Soviet features of sciences' mean, especially related to the current Hungarian administrative sciences? If we can unfold the meaning and content of this notion we will be able to detect those fields or aspects that may influence the contemporary Hungarian administrative sciences.

As a preliminary question, we must make it clear that the given attribute, the notion *post-Soviet* does not refer to the particular practices of the current post-Soviet states (also collectively known as the former Soviet Union), rather to the specifics of a broader range of countries that belonged to the Soviet sphere of interest in Central and Eastern Europe before 1989, including Hungary. So, post-Soviet, in this regard, is a kind of equivalent or synonym for the expression *post-communist*.

We have to begin with the fact that the Soviet system of science reflected the broader economic and political order of Soviet society, in that it was 'centralized and authoritarian' (Graham & Dezhina, 2008, p. 163). The researchers were distributed across three main locations of scientific activity: a university system, the Academy of Sciences system of research institutes and research bodies within the ministries or other forms of central public administration (Rowe, 2013, p. 17). Scientists were successful in using their scientific expertise to influence government action only if a given issue, such as environmental problems, was already on the political agenda. (Rowe, 2013, p. 18).

'Before *glasnost*' serious Soviet analyses of science often overlapped with those of western experts in concluding that the Soviet scientific system underperformed. Scholars on both sides saw Soviet science as basically healthy but held back by the rigidities of bureaucracy. Since *glasnost*' Soviet and post-Soviet assessments have been less sanguine, seeing science as having been penetrated by the bureaucratic system to the point where the quality of scientific personnel has been seriously depleted. This suggested that science emerged from the Soviet experience with a lower potential for regeneration than had hitherto been thought' (Kneen, 1993, p. 251).

So, the main task of this article is to give answers on such questions like 'Is it true that the three main pillars of Hungarian science – mentioned above – remained relatively unchanged in their structure?' or 'Do political factors' still negatively influence or overwhelm the representatives of the given field of science'? If so, is there any correspondence between the current situation and the remaining factors of the Soviet past? To what extent are current features the results of that past?

Within the scope of the post-Soviet features of the Hungarian sciences of public administration², firstly we should collect and introduce those traditional public policy processes that are stable and span over several political courses, and their most relevant elements which directly or indirectly influence the possible methods and results of scientific researches, as well. Secondly,

1 Political factors are the results of government policy, such as new legislation or regulatory shifts and further political conditions that affect the features of democratic or non-democratic operation and create the context of the external environment in which – among other fields of social life – science also functions.

2 The science of public administration is rather a whole collection of sub-disciplines dealing with public administration using distinct methods. Nevertheless, some disciplines do have a major role, as they consider the study of the main aspects of public administration their key task. These are the science of administrative law, political science and management sciences, etc.

it is unavoidable to list those stereotypes that regularly evolve within the contemporary scientific descriptions of the era of state socialism in Hungary, but lack adequate scientific arguments. Thirdly, we must show and construe the current symptoms of administrative sciences in Hungary that reveal a close relationship with processes before 1989. And lastly, it is important to put this question in a broader context, inasmuch as the findings and statements related to the current Hungarian administrative sciences have become more approachable and interpretable by the results of a survey on the post-Soviet features of other states that belonged to the Soviet bloc.

It must be underlined that the aspects mentioned above are slightly unfolded within administrative sciences: public administration in post-Communist countries is a subject not researched sufficiently. It means that basic research is possible and needed because academic antecedents and previously collected data to lean on are rare. Fortunately, there are some newly published books that aim to fill this gap in the literature by examining newly independent states of the former Soviet Union and countries in Central and Eastern Europe (see e.g. Liebert, Condrey, & Goncharov, 2013).

In accordance with the methodology used in this article we must take notice of the fact that impacts and consequences of politics with regard to both Hungarian public administration and administrative sciences are almost the same in several cases, nevertheless we made an attempt to separate them where it was possible.

First of all, we must introduce the most meaningful features of the Soviet-type state operation (and also those of public administration) in the former 'Eastern Bloc'. These peculiarities do have a threefold importance related to the situation of contemporary administrative sciences in Hungary: firstly, these features and facts are or can still be relevant facts if someone researches on current administrative institutions, secondly, these data fit for an international comparison on certain developmental factors, and thirdly, we must predict that those specifics deeply influence the current practices not only within public administration but also within the scientific community - even two or three decades later...

'Under the impact of the well-known historical circumstances, the national systems of public administration, conditioned as they were by different patterns of historical development, adopted the Soviet model with the following major features:

- uniformisation, with their national peculiarities fading out or vanishing;
- a strict hierarchical regime of subordination and centralisation, with an appearance of elements of self-government;
- narrow margins of local initiative and voluntary action, with a general climate of „top-down expectations“;
- subordination of local and territorial public administrative organs to party organisations of the appropriate level;
- political reliability of the personnel being the basic requirement;

- the main function of public administration being to act as a surrogate of the executive apparatus of the one-party system.

These features were common to public administration in Central and Eastern Europe during the past period. It should be noted, however, that the said specifics varied in intensity by country, depending on more or less felxible forms of the one party system, and even experienced shifts in different countries and in different periods' (Baka, 1993, p. 16).

Based on the main features of the public policy/administrative environment it must be stated about Hungary in advance that a) due to the traditional 'from top-to down' system (Jenei, 2003, p. 127), a general – and tendency-like – weakness is the lack of democratic control, accountability and transparency; b) due to the politicised and instable practice of the reconciliation of interests (Gerő & Kopper, 2013), the quality of the decisions made in the public sector is often inadequate, as is their execution; c) public policy has balance problems; the weight and coordination of the relevant players is disproportionate and incalculable due to the extreme politicisation³, and to the fact that political predominance characterises the relationship of the political-administrative system and society; d) the final phase of public policy is missing; public policy processes begin but they often do not get to the end (Rixer, 2015, pp. 58–61). There is no evaluation phase and closure in many cases (Pesti, 2001, p. 206). Within the scope of the latter evaluation, the preliminary and subsequent impact studies are determinative, the main goal of which is grounding the decision-making situation of the legislator, in so far as the analysis expands the pool of factors the consideration of which is – or should be – essential for a carefully planned, grounded decision (*Aspects prepared by...*, 1995, p. 5).

The inner dynamics of decision-making processes remain almost the same, while metapolitics (Jenei, 2003, p. 129) shaping the casemaps of public policy decisions and actions indicate serious changes: e.g. as if the adoption of the new Fundamental Law of Hungary, the reform of the main service providing systems and continuous changes within the legal system would imply the intrinsic change of the decision-making processes and would broaden the scope of the participants within this process. In the Hungarian model of public policy decision making – as mentioned before – the 'top-down' approach is dominant, in so far as the institutional mechanisms of the involvement of interest protection-integrative organisations operate only formally (Jenei, 2010, p. 95). It is inseparable from the latter fact that the traditional features of the Hungarian political culture are paternalism, intolerance

3 Concentrating on the relationship between the sphere of politics and public administration we must ask 'How deep is the politicization of the public administration? How can we measure that politicization? The most frequent indicator is the extent of political appointments within the superstructure of public administration' (Vass, 2010, p. 69). The politicization of the leading positions (above the position of the head of a certain department) within Hungarian public administration was observable already in the past, and as a result of the transformation of some laws, it has increased since 2006, even though according to a new survey 98% of the civil servants refuses career based on political merits (Józsa, 2011, p. 169). It must be emphasized that when we speak about politics or party-politics related to Hungary, it does not necessarily mean a political system and a party system built up along traditional, western-type political ruptures (Hanley, 2004).

and the transformation of personal relations into political ones (Kulcsár, 1995, p. 336), and last, but not least the presence of corruption phenomena, which may be observed at a degree exceeding the average of the surrounding area (Building a Better..., 2010). Among the classic governmental failure phenomena – which are not traditionally Hungarian, but may definitely be observed here as well – the theoretical difficulties of setting and measuring public policy goals may be mentioned, as well as the influence of strong interest groups, the difficulties related to the size and complexity of governmental activities, and to the causal interconnection of certain public policy problems (Hajnal, 2012).

It is also important that in Hungary '[the] all-time present stands out by the strong and unreasonable delegitimizing of the all-time past, instead of putting forward its own performance' (Szigeti, 2008, p. 17). In this field of force even the changes of the governmental course have 'disastrous' features. The phenomenon of value crisis known in sociology can arise following such legitimacy struggle... (Szigeti, 2008, p. 17).

One can easily think that several allegations within this subsection are partial, incomplete or one-sided scientifically, but it must be emphasized that the facts and theoretical standpoints mentioned above do express the scientifically formed opinions of the vast majority of the representatives of social sciences in Hungary – and outside Hungary.

Panning out about the corruption issue, one of the most important elements of the traditional public policy processes in Hungary is the underdevelopment of forms of legal and moral responsibility towards clients and customers (beyond forms declared within criminal law).

Provisions of public sector ethics – even the Ethics Codes made by self-governments – usually stick in declaring some general demands of behaviour, that is, they do not provide details, examples, concrete recommendations (Bencsik, 2015, p. 54–55). Moreover, 57% of the lobbying outside the Parliament tries to influence the competent authorities (*szakhatóságok*) concerning particular cases (decisions of the Executive). These characteristics increase the risk of both bribery and corruption (Simon, 2009, p. 135). Personal (i.e. non-institutionalised) interest enforcement is a strong tradition in Hungary and politics nourishes this practice.

2 Contemporary Delusions Concerning Public Administration and Administrative Sciences of the Soviet-Era in Hungary

Several stereotypes have been evolved in the last 25 years related to the preceding Hungarian public administration and administrative sciences, and here are some of them.

'Non-democratic, i.e., underdeveloped'

András Tamás warns of excessive generalisations about Hungarian public administration, saying, '[The] public administration of state socialism is effective and cheap in many respects, while in reality it is absolutist and less democratic: but it would be a mistake to consider it "underdeveloped".' (Tamás, 2001, p. 104)

'Public administration and administrative sciences existing before 1945 did not have any influence on post-war public administration and administrative sciences'

By losing its political identity, Hungary did not lose fully its legal and administrative identity (Tamás, 2001, p. 106). We may talk about some kind of continuity not only in the sense that our public administration has kept (preserved) some kind of European spirit also in the era of state socialism, but also that '[the] organisational activities of our public administration, the rules of management, its sample documents, moreover, file cover documents in 1989 are very much like the K. und K. administration of the era before the Great War' (Tamás, 2001, p. 108). Lajos Lőrincz (1991, p. 1064) considers this – if we like, material, if we like, formal – continuity the conservatism of Hungarian public administration: '(...) the advantage of the cursed slowness of Hungarian public administration is shown now, in so far as forty years was not enough to live up to its latest idol: due to its recklessness it failed to break up all its connections to Europe.' So in Hungary the certain 'deep structural' continuity of civil values was observable even in the Soviet-era (Hankiss, 1986, p. 92). Continuing this logic, there are significant reasons to believe that the values, attitudes and expectations of communism have persisted after the political transformation as well. This 'instinctive logic' and often unwitting motivation may not only be observed on the side of administrative clients, but – as referred to before – on the side of the administrative staff, as well. So, this system of values is observable mainly in the sphere beyond itemised law, in the attitude and self-image of the staff of public administration, and in the social expectations placed on public administration.

'Reappearance (revival) of certain solutions of the Kádár-regime is restauration of state socialism'

It is a fact that '[the] collapse of an empire-like public administration has a great sucking force which is able to bury a lot of things underneath' (Tamás, 2001, p. 104). However, it may also be observed that as we are getting further away from the 1980s, instinctive opposition towards the earlier solutions is disappearing: partly the fading of memories, partly the instinct of returning to the previous patterns, partly the need for adequate and practical answers given to necessities emerging from the different crises weaken the uniformity of rejection which gave a definite 'no' to everything which was somehow related to the power and administrative solutions of state socialism.

In some fields, the solutions of the Kádár-era have reappeared, even though, it must be added, not with the intention to return to Kádárism [many of them were not even evolved (created) within the era of state socialism], but mainly because these solutions seemed to be adequate answers to the new problems, especially in those fields where the possibility of state – and material – control significantly decreased after 1989: e.g. in the field of public education supervision we may experience the return of some important elements of the structure which existed till 1985.

Within this scope, the disposition of certain tasks to unsuitable types of organisations or levels after the transition has been another reason. In this regard it is enough to refer to the notion of district (*járás*); the name (and partly the institutional structure) abolished in 1984, returned to Hungarian public administration law in 2010 as an old-new institution.

In addition to the professionally and properly reasoned conscious steps the – previously mentioned – unconscious mechanisms work too: earlier researchers believed that citizens favoured/favour the village meeting and the institution of community debate to a public hearing (Hóbor & Varga, 1998, p. 291), for which the reason, in the case of the village meeting, is probably – in the opinion of the researchers – that the institution originates from the era of councils (Act I of 1975 on councils introduced it), and thus, it has a tradition of several decades in villages, and has been built into public knowledge as a 'classic' legal institution (Kiss, 2013, p. 20).

However, in summary, it may be stated that a return to models and institutions similar to the administrative solutions of the Kádár-era does not primarily result from nostalgia for socialism, but from two other factors: on the one hand, it is the result of a special and continuous 'swinging', on the other hand, the forces of the global economic crisis lead to solutions which shift the diverse administrative institutions (institutional systems) towards the growing need for state control and centralising solutions. The notion of swinging refers to the phenomena that at the time of the change of regime the rejection of the solutions of the previous system showed constrained forms: staying away from the magnified disadvantages of the previous solutions understated by politics often buried the viable (partial) solutions, well-operating practices, but with regard to these, the two decades, which have passed, clearly showed which elements should be considered really antidemocratic, contrary to real public interests, maybe restricting individual freedoms, or which disregard the requirements of basic transparency and effectiveness, and of which partial reintroduction – in line with the requirements of the rule of law (typically ensuring some kind of legal remedy) – may be reasonable.

In addition to the above-mentioned information, the fact of the crisis resulted in the revival and spread of institutions – earlier linked to socialism – such as the conscious support of co-operative forms, which existed before, and the introduction and strong support of new forms of these co-operatives,

also via organisation, coordination and information supply (naturally, not by the pattern of the forced formation of co-operatives which happened in two waves in the 1950s and 1960s).

Some implications come from these stereotypes: even though these statements are oversimplified, they result in precaution even in the examination and also in the propagation of the re-invention of particular institutions or solutions set up or used in the Kádár-regime.

3 Peculiarities Observable in the State-Socialism and the Survival of Which Can Be Proven

What are those specialities – both within administrative sciences and within public administration practice⁴ – that show a kind of continuity spanning over the last fifty plus years? The main findings of the author's research work were as follows:

1. Positivist approach

Hungarian public administration and the science of public administration – traditionally – are very much of legal character. This is not changed by the fact that the most acknowledged researchers of the science of public administration (earlier Zoltán Magyary, in the near past, Lajos Lőrincz) often expressed their concerns about the one-sided legal analysis of public administration. Nevertheless, the analysis of public administration primarily with jurisprudential methods and from a legal approach is comfortable, because '(...) the questions of public administration may be homogenised legally, and its mechanisms have been consciously based on law since the beginning of the 19th century' (Tamás, 2011, pp. 67–68), therefore, this is determinative also in practice. According to the data of a survey published not long ago, the civil servants questioned – in their own opinion – spend exactly two-thirds of their office hours on legal activities, and this rate is slightly higher in the case of jurists working in public administration (68%) (Gajduschek, 2011, p. 395).

The latest article of Márton Gellén (2014, p. 111) also states that the basic framework of public administration education – as a major driver of public administration culture – is still dominantly legalistic. Although the National University of Public Service (NUPS) is the primary promoter of non-legalistic general PA in Hungary (launching a doctoral school is the first tangible step), for the time being NUPS cannot entirely detach itself from its heritage. Changing the curriculum will still require a lot of effort (Gellén, 2014, p. 119).

⁴ Administrative sciences and practice of public administration are deeply interconnected and because of that one of the basic premises of the given article is that several tendencies and relevant features gained from the Sovietic past do have an interpretable meaning for both phenomena. That is why we do not separate the consequences and implications caused by certain influences of the past in several cases within these two fields.

Legal-type examinations are still dominant; science concentrates on the present, and commentary becomes the most frequent type of Hungarian scientific literature. According to its self-concept, its role mainly consists of reactive and interpretative activities.

One of the main effects on the present state of modern law and jurisprudence originates from the break up with the exclusivity of divine natural law: the transcendent (moral) verification of the validity of positive law made by man was profaned in form of rational natural law (Cs. Kiss, 1994, p. 8). Even though the need to verify the validity of positive law with transcendent, the so-called meta-juristic (moral) principles have not vanished yet, the verification problem itself shifted into the dimension of the history of the non-created world. Pál Kecskés (2002, pp. 219–220) wrote, 'As the conservatism of the historical-legal school established in the concept of Romanticism considered customs, which appeared in the historical spirit, the origin of positive law, with the urging of the historical method, it significantly facilitated the creation of legal positivism', which, by rejecting metaphysics – thus the existence and role of God – considered only concrete, positive law as the only existing and valid law (therewith that in its opinion the only possible background reason of the created rules must be found in historical circumstances). In this approach, the notion of law is limited to the material (positive) law, of which only origin and, therefore, the interpreter is the state or the will of the state.

With the advancing of the positivism of the law, the separation/division of ethics and law (morality and legality) from the strengthening of legal positivism pushing the natural law approach to the background, there has been the following alternative solution to the question of the 'origin and nature' of legal validity: positive law becomes valid either through a decision delivered in a rationalised (legal!) procedure, and it does not need any transcendent justification beyond law, or there is a need for external justification, reliance on metajuristic (moral) principles (Cs. Kiss, 1994, pp. 8–9). At this time it must be stated that nowadays we may witness the slow strengthening of the natural law approaches, interpreted in the broadest sense. Regarding legal positivism, which can still be considered the ruling approach, the assumption is realistic according to which '[law] as momentum related to the system of norms and values, requires the certification of its validity, and the changing world of positive experience cannot serve as sufficient justification; it could remain in the shadow only till the wise spirit is tied down by one-sided natural scientific knowledge' (Kecskés, 2002, p. 220).

How do these approaches fit together with public administration, especially with the Hungarian public administration? As Rabin (2003, p. 7) states:

'In the philosophy of law, a major division exists between those who assume laws to be human artifacts without any inherent moral value (the positivist school) and those who assess laws in terms of their relation to a higher law

standard (the natural law school). Each school generates numerous ethical positions, but for our purposes we offer them in caricature as the positivist ethics of obligation and the naturalist ethics of conscience. As applied by those who are held accountable, the ethics of obligation calls for adherence to the explicit rules that define a situation. Here, we find the ethics of neutral competence that has been so central to the norms of (...) public administration. The ethics of conscience, in contrast, is manifest in efforts to have public administration adhere to some „higher standard” when engaged in the enforcement or implementation of the law. Here, again, we find various standards from „regime values” and „public interest” to „social equity” and „justice-as-fairness”.⁵

The strengthening natural law approach of law may be viewed as a relative natural law system of reasons which is strongly formalised in space and time, in so far as its direct point of reference is often the direct pressure imposed by the crisis, i.e. the financial and other (e.g. natural⁵) crises ongoing since 2008. However, it must be noted that different natural law principles and approaches did not appear in Hungarian law/legal life longer than just in the past few years; it is a phenomenon which shall be viewed as a process and which has become ‘more significant’ in the reviewed period, mainly after 2010. The Hungarian restitution process was realised along the ‘actualisation’ of certain natural law principles (Prugberger & Szalma, 2003), in so far as the partial correction of the previous lawful decisions became possible because they were unjust, realised ‘arbitrary deprivation’ in a lawful way. Despite the process-like, gradual and ‘periodic’ features of the realisation of this new Hungarian legal and normative development (and also in the narrowly interpreted public administrative law) there is a slight possibility for a positive law – relative natural law – Christian natural law ‘line’. The newest natural law – on a possible Christian basis and with such content – is new because it does not trace back the provisions of positive law exclusively to the establisher of the substantive law or to the ‘historical’ principles, but considers the general principles and certain specific expectations of the given – in Hungary Christian – system of beliefs – with wide-scale social support – as a direct justification and necessary origin of a given rule. The appearance of rules directly referring to Christianity, or originating from it or having Biblical background is registered in Hungarian substantial law, with special regard to self-definition and to the form of program norms (Rixer, 2012, pp. 41–43).

This paper does not want to introduce the scientific methods and new paradigms that are to overcome the one-sided jurisprudential methods of analysis of public administration in a more detailed way. Nevertheless, as it has been obvious for a long time, a sort of inter- or multidisciplinary method is needed for a strong scientific and material framework,

5 The so-called red mud catastrophe of Kolontár has been the most serious environmental catastrophe of Hungary: on 4th October 2010 approximately 700 thousand m³ strongly corrosive dangerous sludge covered Devecser, Kolontár, Somlóvásárhely, Tüskevár, Apácatorna and Kisberzsény, because a supporting wall of the red mud storage basin of the privately owned aluminium factory in Ajka broke.

which allows further conclusions. And on the other hand, beyond multi- and interdisciplinarity, it is unavoidable to re-establish the philosophic synthesis between legal norms regulating public administration and the facts of real operation. In general, it may be stated that due to the crises social sciences shall start examining the broader frameworks of the analysed phenomena more and more, instead of using descriptive methods analysing exclusively the ways of operation.

2. Lack of strategic way of thinking

Hungarian public administration and the science of public administration must be oriented by certain facts of the future. Regarding Hungary, such questions are the Roma issue (Rixer, 2013) and the possible effects of climate change.

Attila Ágh (2008, p. 11) states in one of his articles, 'The underfinanced and marginalised social sciences do not meet the needs of strategic planning within the society; they broke up into introverted sub-disciplines that mostly do not communicate with each other'. This phenomenon is to be avoided by contemporary administrative sciences in Hungary.

If we had to determine what the core characteristic of the 'good state' is, we could say that it is the ability to reflect on real social problems. Under ideal circumstances, we could also add that the fact and content of material response for real questions should not depend on what short-term political consequences it has for the decision maker...

It is a pre-question in the examination of public administration, positive law, the performance of public administration and the effectiveness of law enforcement that at what degree the state and society will provide answers to the urging questions of the coming years and decades.

3. Undue carefulness concerning the new methods and techniques for effective teaching

When the scope of administrative sciences comes to an expansion, the reasons behind that are not only external ones, but they also relate to the changes in educational methodology and didactics. To mention only one example, public administration and fiction is an emerging discipline also in Hungary, which aims at revealing the literary context of legal and administrative phenomena.

Nowadays 'Law and literature' courses become more and more popular worldwide and also in Hungary. Examining these attempts we may conclude that legal problems do reach the students through mainly fictitious literary stories instead of real cases. Accordingly, the idea of 'Public administration and literature' courses can be proposed as well.

Among the reasons to introduce such courses we could detect new demands on the side of the students, the pretense for the methodological renewal of teaching and also the fact that the National University of Public Service already offers MA levels in administrative sciences.

The author's latest paper – providing several examples – summarizes the main fields and subjects of public administration shown in fine literature and it also collects the genres by which those administrative topics are most frequently introduced (Rixer, 2015a).

4. Shortages within critical thinking, restricted scientific debates

The development of critical thinking traits is of central importance because the healthy operation of any science requires the existence of substantive critical attitudes.

The elimination of the most natural mechanism of healthy science in the era of state socialism, i.e., the partial abolition of free critical thinking, led to the situation in which real scientific debates have disappeared from Hungarian administrative sciences, mainly from administrative law. On the one hand, it means that there are almost no reactions to particular articles in the next issue; and on the other hand, reviews (*recenzió*) do not contain parts that point to the shortcomings and other weaknesses of the given book. It also refers to the problem that there are only two scientific journals out of seven in 2015 that provide substantial expert review/peer review (*lektorálás*).

5. Influence of party-politics on sciences causes classification of researchers by political considerations.

One of the prerequisites of scientific objectivity is the clear demarcation between political and scientific values that is provided by well detectable and reachable guarantees. Unfortunately, even under democratic circumstances we see examples of strong self-censorship (Takács, 2005).

6. Restricted influence of the sciences of public administration

The starting point is the dilemma: to what extent is science able to influence the creation of public policies, the law-making processes and the content of individual administrative decisions?

The Hungarian scientific literature shows that the relation between law-making entities and administrative sciences is occasional and the utilization of the results is doubtful and hardly plannable. It comes from the fact that public policy processes begin, but they do not often get to the end. There is no evaluation phase and closure; moreover, there are almost no programs that span over political courses.

The fragmentation of the relationship of sciences and living law is also caused by the fact that legislative impact studies – either preliminary or subsequent (posterior) analyses (law-reviews) – are very rarely added to the detailed legal provisions. However, it is also a fact that by the time anyone could start such a subsequent impact study, the given legal instrument is not in effect any more (Fazekas, 2011, p. 38).

All in all, it may be stated that the relationship between the results of the science of public administration and the standard of legislative

and law enforcement products exists, but – due to the strong politicization and the practical *lex imperfecta* nature of certain legislative rules – it is not consistent.

The state-political practice not only failed to hinder the examinations of the different segments of administration but, though selectively, it used the science if its aims and interest needed so. Nothing proves this better than the fact that numerous government decisions⁶ defined different goals and tasks from term to term, even though they contained common recurring items (Józsa, 2014, p. 166).

However, it would be a mistake to accuse exclusively politics of the problems of the relationship: we must ask the question whether the representatives of administrative sciences did their best to make this relation an organic one. It is obvious that in order to strengthen this connection it is the given scientific field that must show inner integrity in advance.

We may detect the lack of stable research institutes independent from the state budget and/or political parties in Hungary as well.

So, what are the general and constant features of public policy determining the relation of administrative sciences and public administration in Hungary?

A starting point of this point is that new Central-Eastern-European democracies established after 1989 did not build the political system on layered, sophisticated consultation procedures and institutional systems based on wide scale social participation, but – almost exclusively – on the Parliament-centred formation of political structures based on the principle of representation. Many believe that one of the great problems of societies getting out from under a dictatorship is that due to the lack of civil society filling the space between individuals and the state during their socialisation, the members of these societies could never naturally learn the identification of problems, the formulation of their interests, the exchange of their thoughts, and the harmonisation of different opinions, due to which the various problem-handling methods were not developed, either. From the public policy side it may be stated that in Hungary the legal and institutional requirements of representative democracy were fulfilled after 1990, but since then no material change has occurred towards participative democracy; this means that Hungarian democracy 'has frozen into' the level of representative democracy (Jenei, 2010, p. 95).

A further tendency, a feature which may be hardly separated from the one mentioned earlier, is that the all-time state – formed after the transition – imitates, reconstructs and replaces the civil sector through its conscious efforts, making it weaker. During the analysis of this, it must not be forgotten that in the economic and sociological literature of the past one or two decades the state, by undertaking the 'replacement'

⁶ Since 1990 until now more than 50 Government Decrees was accepted on the modernisation of Hungarian public administration.

and 'simulation' of the organisation of market and self-regulating social mechanisms, and the political organisation of society, eventually hampers the connection between political decision-making mechanisms and the actual fragmentation of the interests of society.

Within the state-led and legal type transition at the very end of the 1980s, organised civil society, even though it is obvious that it was strengthening during that period, 'was not the foundation nor the driving force of that transition' (Rixer, 2015b, pp. 74–90). That transition appears mainly as a non-organic, non-revolutionary shift, which took place due to predominantly external and economic reasons. The weakness of the civil sphere was detectable not only in political, social, religious and other autonomous fields, but also within the features, integrity and power-dependence of scientific communities. The biggest danger concerning administrative sciences existing after the collapse of communism is that it tends to accept unnatural things as during the 'change of regime', conscious and natural mechanisms of proactivity beyond mere defence had not been built up. This approach to science is limited to commenting what happens, and though with critique, it is ready to accept whatever comes...

In addition, it must be mentioned that such scientific descriptions of public administration do also exist, which do not show or even hide the current reality by introducing the possible scenarios for the future. For example, the traditional Weberian concept of bureaucracy is still strong and dominant in public administration, and this fact has been questioned rather in academic debates (Johnson, 1999, p. 204) only within political and administrative sciences offering brand-new models.⁷

7. Weaknesses in terminology and dogmatics

Related to the linguistic tasks the most important question is whether there is a real need of an institutionalised, conscious neology in Hungary let it be everyday language or the special terminology of administrative sciences. The language, linguistic environment, the framework with which its highly regulated nature keeps together and from several aspects determines certain features of, and the dogmatics of, public administration. Language, expert terminology/dogmatic continuities, and their role in influencing scientific-professional, scientific-ethical directions are impossible to overrate (Rixer, 2014, p. 48). In the case of small languages shaping and actuation of scientific communities especially require the existence and continual maintenance of an independent specialised terminology. The UNESCO 'Guidelines for Terminology Policies Formulating and Implementing Terminology Policy in Language Communities', published in 2005, urging the establishment and upkeep of national terminology policy, draws attention to the fact that if the professional terminology of a language does not develop in certain subjects or the development is very slow, it may happen eventually that in today's speedy technological

⁷ See e.g. the description of subsidiary model of governance (Frivaldszky, 2012).

development material communication cannot be performed after a while in the given language in certain professional fields (this means that the functional loss of language functions may occur), and this may lead to the exclusion of unilingual communities from scientific development (Böcskei, 2011, p. 28). This problem may be raised in relation with the direct use of English language terminology in the science of public administration – in the lack of Hungarian equivalents.⁸

The contemporary Hungarian terminology is poor in some aspects, e.g. the word *kormányhivatal* – as a legal term – has two different meanings in today's substantial law in Hungary: on the one hand, it appears as a type of central state administration organisation (translated as government agency) with nationwide competence, and, on the other hand, it is the territorial (county and metropolitan) state administration organisation of the government with general competence (translated as metropolitan and county government offices).

The dogmatics of administrative law needs a renewal in many ways in Hungary. Such questions are the problem of para-administrative organisations (Lőrincz, 2005, pp. 141–142) or the need for the elaboration of a theory of administrative legal relations. The differentiation of the notions of co-regulation and co-decision seems to be unavoidable as well.

If we would like to find the most important reason behind the shortages within the dogmatics of administrative law, we must realise that Hungarian administrative sciences have chosen 'conservation supplemented by constrained adaptation' instead of the renewal of dogmatics.

'The further existence of the practices of state socialism and its „recanonicalisation” in the process of the transition are not only present in the basic elements of public law/political/state organisational establishments, but also in the sciences of public administration. The continuity of dogmatic and scientific approaches means, at the same time, the presence of highly similar notions and terminology (specific linguistic expressions) appearing at the level of legal norms, and of the continuous revival of scientifically accepted approaches, paradigms, canonised by the few players who know each other well' (Rixer, 2014b, p. 53).

8. Shortages of relations with Hungarian scientific communities working outside Hungary

The intensification of relations with Hungarian scientific communities working outside Hungary/beyond the borders of Hungary is needed (Rixer, 2014a, p. 16). Such relations are mostly missing or are accidental; programs of those communities or independent researchers are isolated from the representatives of the mother country who work within the same field of science. In connection with this it must also be mentioned that even though the most widely interpreted administrative disciplines

⁸ The conference entitled 'The Renewal of the Hungarian Language and Hungarian Legal Language', organised by Lőrincz Lajos Research Group on 5th December 2013, also drew attention to the importance of that question.

(basics of management, public administration law, etc.) are present at courses of the neighbouring countries conducted in Hungarian (or are available in Hungarian, as well)⁹, it may be observed that the results of publication activities of researchers – with Hungarian as their mother tongue – teaching and living there are available mainly in English or German language publications.

9. Researchability of Hungarian public administration. Accessibility of materials in English

Having scientific ‘catalyzers’, by which particular institutions and certain solutions of a given state can be observed within their broader context, serves as a precondition for participation within international public life of science. It results in a situation in which foreign researchers do not have to ‘excavate’ the whole legal system and the superstructure of the administrative system of the given country again and again, one by one.

In 2010 a project was completed under the supervision of academician and professor Lajos Lőrincz, which aimed at analysing the public administration of each EU member state based on previously selected aspects [the result of the research is the following work: Szamel K., Balázs, I., Gajduscek Gy. & Koi, Gy. (Eds). (2011). *Az Európai Unió tagállamainak közigazgatása*. [Public administration of the member states of the European Union] Budapest: Complex. Moreover, the enhancement of the research of Hungarian public administration by external actors (by researchers from abroad) was also needed. This goal was facilitated by the book entitled *Hungarian Public Administration and Administrative Law*, presenting Hungarian public administration as a whole and in a complex way in English. It has come to fruition as a result of the cooperation between Lajos Lőrincz Research Centre for Public Law and the National University of Public Service (NUPS). Publishing the *Hungarian Public Administration and Administrative Law* was especially reasonable, because no book presenting the Hungarian public administration as a whole and from the aspects of several fields of science has been published in English or in any other foreign language before.

There are several explanations for the preceding lack of a comprehensive work presenting the Hungarian situation. Among these the most obvious is the one that assumes the relative isolation of the science of Hungarian public administration and supports its findings mainly with the internal structure of the science of public administration, with the traditional and significant relationship of public administration to a specific form of state, and with reference to linguistic limits.

9 E.g.: Babeş-Bolyai Science University, Faculty of Law (Cluj Napoca, Romania); Selye János University, Faculty of Economics (Komarno, Slovakia); Novi Sad University, Faculty of Economics (Novi Sad, Serbia); College of Nyíregyháza, Faculty of Economics and Social Studies – Berehove Campus (Berehove, Ukraine). Regarding certain relations of Hungarian erudition abroad which exceeds the limits and subject of this essay see Fábri (2011).

In addition, there is also a special reason behind the partial isolation of contemporary administrative sciences in Hungary that evolved within the era of state-socialism (Halász, 2015, p. 32):

'The Soviet legal norms and the works produced by the Soviet legal science had to be translated (...) [but] the personal contacts with Soviet scholars and colleagues were very limited because the 'iron curtain' existed not only between the socialist states and the western countries but also between the socialist countries and the Soviet Union. These contacts were more or less occasional'. These circumstances and the consequences of the abovementioned effects do have a strong impact even today, related both to the knowledge of foreign languages and the number and intensity of scientific relationships with foreign researchers.

10. Dominance of individual researches

A trend is to be shown in Hungary both in political sciences (Antal, 2011, p. 136) and in social sciences in general: the representatives of these sciences do seek international connections individually. Moreover, the dominance of books written by one author (without co-author) is visible, while prosperity of a given science depends on the existence of prestigious authors having multiple relations.

The Hungarian science of public administration has always been person-centred with some outstanding researchers whose interest field and orientation determined not only the characteristics of education and research but the line of the professional resupply, as well (Józsa, 2014, p. 165).

11. Shortages of the connection between representatives of administrative sciences and administrative authorities in Hungary

Related to the fact-finding researches we could say that scientific collaborations do operate mainly by the involvement of local self-governments (*helyi önkormányzatok*); the cooperation with state administrative organisations (*államigazgatási szervek*) is really rare, moreover, the forms of such cooperation are still rudimentary.

During the era of state socialism science had been under the control of the state; nowadays the state just fears the researchers and carefully backs off in many situations. The result is almost the same: the existence of a public administration that is hardly accessible for sciences. Nevertheless, there are some up-to-date initiatives, e.g. an important empirical research was carried out by the 'MTA-DE Public Service Research Group' of the Faculty of Law at the University of Debrecen and the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, headed by professor Tamás M. Horváth. The local government of Hajdúböszörmény also assisted that work by providing the necessary public data and information, as well as in finding the way to actors/representatives of bodies being in charge of the respective services at local level (Horváth & Bartha, 2014). Moreover, the assessment of the experiences of the existing pilot projects and the recovery

of the researches based on the utilization of the knowledge obtained from self-made pilot projects is also a promising development within the direct analysis of administrative practices in Hungary (see e.g. the results of the Ereky István Research Group of PPKE JÁK, Budapest) (Gerencsér, 2013).

During Socialism the methods of the analysis of the work processes were quite prevalent; since the fall of the Iron-curtain there has been a strong decrease, but the increase of such methods, ways of research is predictable again, parallelly with the development of the scientific frameworks.

12. Lack of processing the achievements of the Hungarian sciences of public administration between 1945 and 1990

The shortage of the presentation and evaluation comes at least partly from the fact that the grouping of the authors and the existence of stable sights and consensuses for the evaluation of contemporary administrative sciences are almost completely missing. It seems as if the representatives of contemporary Hungarian administrative sciences deal more with the institutions of public administration and the situation of administrative sciences in the era of dualism (1867–1918) and with the period between the two world wars rather than with the similar phenomena of the post-war period (1945–1990) (Aczél-Partos, 2008; Halász & Schweitzer, 2015; Koi, 2015; Koi, 2013; Verebélyi, 2010).

The most intrinsic problem comes from the fact that any science which doubts its own past will be always sceptical towards its present and future. The difficulties of the research work in this field come from the fact that the comprehensive evaluation of the given discipline, the evaluation of the post-war period has not happened yet. There are so many reasons for that, the most important of which are the following:

- a) The lack of clearly separable scientific schools. It comes from the relatively small number of the representatives of the given fields, which results in the constant pressure for cooperation. On the whole, real competition conditions have not evolved yet. We may mention only different streams, directions, influential tendencies – instead of separate schools. Moreover, these ‘streams’ do not compete with each other, they rather follow each other.
- b) Those studies which undertake a kind of evaluation related to administrative sciences after 1945 often introduce their findings in extreme ways: they either absolutize negative tendencies (Jakab, 2008), or exaggerate the positive ones (Józsa, 2014; Szamel, 2010).
- c) The lack of serious political impacts on the given fields of science, visible personal continuity, the fact that researchers were charged with significantly growing researches in numbers, the growing number of researches financed from abroad, and the rising international relations made it possible and also necessary to avoid the comprehensive evaluation of administrative sciences after World War II.

- d) It also serves as an obstacle for the elaboration of post-war trends within administrative sciences that personal, political and professional aspects are fairly often mixed up concerning a given scholar. Moreover, some opinions do still function as political statements.
- e) Low availability and accessibility. Nowadays approximately 90% of all the scientific contributions are published somehow, and it reaches the broad public, but before the 1990's the very same index number was not more than 15–20% in Hungary [in the author's estimation]. In addition, even if some of those materials were printed by former techniques, the number was limited to 2 to 5 copies in many cases. Unfortunately, the collection, conservation and processing of materials written or printed between 1945 and the fall of the Iron Curtain is not organised or ordered at all; many of the most important materials still belong to private libraries of individuals.
- f) Memoirs and edited reminiscences are completely missing among the scholars belonging to this field of science; i.e. the indirect information on the public administration and administrative sciences of the era in question is still missing. Even though the development of technical tools is accelerating, this knowledge of intrinsic tendencies and other 'secrets' disappears easily within a few years or decades without gathering consciously the basic elements of the 'oral history' from the older generation.

For example, the most important features, directions and scientific results of the Magyary school, which existed before World War II, are well presented – but we still do not know how Magyary was able to influence and affect the poorly paid members of his team... This piece of information could be obtained only from records of scholars around Magyary.
- g) It was not a prevalent or even an acceptable practice to criticise living people, belonging to the same scientific field, publicly.

4 Comparative Aspects

Beside the internal analyses of administrative sciences of a given country, international comparison gives a broader and more detached picture. Moreover, the best solution is the analysis of countries, the history of which makes it possible to compare the Hungarian processes with those of the countries with fairly similar past. Actually, it requires an inquiry reflecting on the particular differences and similarities of countries that formerly belonged to the Soviet-bloc.

The quality and the transparency of governance is an important dimension of any state, moreover, it is also an important aspect by which states can be easily compared by independent researchers and also by international actors such as Freedom House or Transparency International. According to our current issue,

the comparison of the features of particular fields of public administration of the countries of Central and Eastern Europe has been mainly founded on the grounds of surveys in 'transitional states' or 'post-communist states'. We can observe that the most regular aspects of comparison were – and they still are – the steps of institutional transformation of the political and economic superstructures (Soós, 2011; Cook, 2007; Jackson, Klicj, & Poznanska, 2005; Felkay, 1997), the corruption (Sajó, 2007), the instruments of civil control over the public administration (Ekiert & Foa, 2011), the human resource management in public administrations (Houston, 2014), the new forms of the provision of financial resources of local self-governments (Coulson & Campbell, 2008; Elander, 1997) and some specific fields of growing importance (Carmin & Fagan, 2010; Lazdinis, Carver, Lazdinis, & Paulikas, 2009).

The author has made an attempt to clarify the absolute position of the approaches and the attitudes of contemporary Hungarian administrative sciences towards their recent past. It was worked out by a questionnaire (survey) sent to 125 scholars representing 18 countries (Albania, Armenia, Bulgaria, Croatia, Czech Republic, Estonia, Georgia, Hungary, Kazakhstan, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Romania, Russia, Slovakia, Slovenia, Serbia, Ukraine) that belonged to the former Soviet-bloc (plus Yugoslavia). There were three questions on the list, the first two of which were closely connected with the post-Soviet issue:

'Currently I research the past, the present and the near future of Hungarian administrative sciences. Working in this field it occurred to me whether the experiences and main observations in this context are the same in other states that formerly belonged to the Soviet bloc or not. I have formulated three questions, and I would be pleased if you could answer them – even if your answer is really short.

1. Do you face any direct consequences (implications) of the era of state socialism within the contemporary administrative sciences of your country? If yes, what are these [e.g. personal continuity, lack of external relations, lack of knowledge of languages, weaknesses and shortcomings of dogmatics, permanency (endurance) of old terminology]?
2. Have handwritten, typed or other not printed materials, documents of high value (belonging to the field of administrative sciences), from the era between 1945 and 1990, been collected, catalogued and processed consciously in your country since the change of the regime?
3. (...)

Forty detailed answers arrived from 14 countries at the beginning of the previous year (2015), and this number was high enough to draw some conclusions.

Ad 1. The vast majority of the respondents alleged that personal continuities linking sciences of the Soviet-era with the last 25 years have ceased

by that time. Nevertheless several phenomena of the past influencing contemporary administrative sciences (mainly administrative law) were mentioned. There is a lot of evidence about path dependence: a) though not the same persons are within the same positions, the selection and career mechanisms are still almost the same, and cause many problems, even contraselection; b) many respondents mentioned weaknesses in dogmatics and terminology; c) the lack of proper knowledge of foreign languages is also detectable; d) in many post-Soviet countries the absence of PhD in public administration can be seen; e) there are several old reflexes in the representatives of administrative authorities related to scientific researches; f) public administration education is still dominated by legal subjects in most of the countries.

Beyond the persistent impacts of the Sovietic era on administrative sciences, the notion of path dependency is often connected with several aspects of the current public administration as well. The strategic dilemmas and problems of institutional design involved in the transition from state socialism to democratic and market-orientated societies are almost always addressed in the articles and scholarly essays that try to tackle the issue of path dependency in post-socialism (Hausner, Jessop, & Nielsen, 1995; Johnson, 2003). As Magnin (2002, p. 73) states: 'However, Hungary is still facing serious problems of sectorial, regional and social disparities. The major part of these disparities has been inherited from the socialist period, such as the development gap between the eastern and the western part of the country or the Roma situation'.

Nevertheless, the post-communist features do not show up as if they were the only heritage of the past: the defense or the restoration of certain pre-1989 structures and values is often coupled with the defense of national identity, a national path of modernization in face of a global supranational capitalism, in form of a stronger representation of nationhood and the nation state (Márkus, 1998).

Ad 2. A detailed description of the administrative sciences of the given era is missing almost everywhere. Among the reasons we may find a) insecurity and fear deriving from over-politicized public life; b) conscious collection of written and other materials created during that period is missing in most of the countries; c) moreover, the lack of memoirs that contain elements of the 'oral history' is a constant phenomenon in the whole region.

5 Conclusions

To sum up, we have to list some suggestions as well. Suggestions that could be helpful in connecting the recent past of administrative sciences in Hungary with their present and future.

Firstly, all the scientific journals must be peer-reviewed – not only formally, but in reality. Secondly, the renewal of terminology shall not be avoided; this renewal can not be confined to the adaptation of the adequate EU terminology and wording. Thirdly, deliberate gathering of all the materials arisen within that period of time is enormously important, also. At least partly, it can be done by the extension of the LUDITA (Ludovika Digital Knowledge Repertory and Archives). LUDITA is a digital knowledge repertory which represents the intellectual wealth and research productivity of the National University of Public Service and is able to store and make documents, which were made during the educational and research work, and are worthy of preservation, researchable in full text and other multimedia formats (<http://ludita.uni-nke.hu/ludita>). Its purpose is to index, publish and archive educational and research achievements made at the faculties and their organisational units, inter-faculty institutes, doctoral schools, academic study groups and special colleges. LUDITA contains six repositories – separated in themes, divided into collections –, as well as a university academic cadaster.

And lastly, there is an urgent need for life story interviews with the most accepted and influential elderly representatives of the given field of science. The importance of these interviews comes from the fact that facts can be collected without the direct evaluation of any person; though the chances for this are given to the next generations.

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POVZETEK

1.04 Strokovni članek

Postsovjetske lastnosti madžarskih upravnih ved

Pojem »postsovjetski« se nanaša na posebnosti širšega območja držav, ki so bile pod sovjetskim vplivom v Srednji in Vzhodni Evropi pred letom 1989, vključno z Madžarsko. Postsovjetski je v tem pomenu neke vrste sinonim za izraz »postkomunističen«.

Sovjetski sistem znanosti se je odražal v širšem gospodarskem in političnem redu sovjetske družbe in je bil centraliziran in avtoritaren. Raziskovalci so bili porazdeljeni v treh glavnih področjih znanstvene dejavnosti: v univerzitetnem sistemu, v sistemu raziskovalnih inštitutov Akademije znanosti in v raziskovalnih organih znotraj ministrstev ali drugih oblik državne uprave. Znanstveniki so s svojim znanjem lahko vplivali na državne ukrepe le, če je bilo neko vprašanje, na primer okoljska problematika, že na političnem dnevnem redu.

Pred *glasnostjo* so se resne sovjetske analize znanosti z analizami zahodnih strokovnjakov pogosto ujemale v ugotovitvi, da sovjetski znanstveni sistem ni dosegal dovolj dobrih rezultatov. Strokovnjaki na obeh straneh so sovjetsko znanost dojemali kot v osnovi zdravo, njen razvoj pa naj bi ovirala okornost birokracije. Od glasnosti dalje pa so bile sovjetske in postsovjetske ocene manj optimistične, saj so ugotavljale, da je v znanost prodrl birokratski sistem, in sicer tako močno, da je bila kakovost znanstvenega osebjja zelo osiromašena. Kazalo je, da je posledica sovjetskih izkušenj potencial za regeneracijo manjši, kot so domnevali.

Glavni namen tega članka je podati odgovore na vprašanja: »Ali je res, da je struktura treh glavnih stebrov madžarske znanosti ostala bolj ali manj nespremenjena?«, oziroma »Ali politični dejavniki še vedno negativno vplivajo na določeno znanstveno področje?«. Če je tako, »Ali je trenutno stanje povezano s preostalimi dejavniki sovjetske preteklosti? V kolikšni meri so trenutne lastnosti posledica preteklosti?«

Za analizo postsovjetskih lastnosti madžarskih upravnih ved bi morali, prvič, zbrati in predstaviti tradicionalne procese javne politike, ki so stabilni in so prestali več političnih sprememb, kot tudi njihove najpomembnejše elemente, ki neposredno ali posredno vplivajo na metode in rezultate znanstvenih raziskav. Drugič, treba bi bilo opredeliti tiste stereotipe, ki se redno pojavljajo v sodobnih znanstvenih opisih v obdobju državnega socializma na Madžarskem brez zadostnih znanstvenih argumentov. Tretjič, treba bi bilo predstaviti in pojasniti trenutne značilnosti upravnih ved na Madžarskem, ki kažejo tesno povezavo s procesi pred letom 1989. Nenazadnje pa postaviti ta vprašanja

v širši kontekst, saj so ugotovitve in ugotovitve in trditve, povezane s sedanjimi madžarskimi upravnimi vedami, postale lažje dostopne in razložljive, če jih primerjamo s postsovjetskimi lastnostmi drugih držav, ki so spadale v sovjetski blok.

Navedeni vidiki upravnih ved niso dovolj pojasnjeni; javna uprava v postkomunističnih državah je tema, ki ni zadostno raziskana. To pomeni, da so osnovne raziskave mogoče in potrebne, saj so akademski predhodniki in predhodno zbrani podatki, na katere bi se lahko oprli, le redki.

Glede na metodologijo, uporabljeno v tem članku, je treba poudariti, da so vplivi in posledice politike glede madžarske javne uprave ter upravnih ved v več primerih skoraj enaki, kljub temu pa smo jih poskusili razložiti, kjer je bilo mogoče.

Najpomembnejše lastnosti delovanja države sovjetskega tipa (kot tudi javne uprave) v nekdanjem »vzhodnem bloku« imajo trojni pomen glede stanja sodobnih upravnih ved na Madžarskem: prvič, te lastnosti in dejstva so relevantni še vedno lahko, če nekdo raziskuje današnje upravne institucije; drugič, ti podatki so primerni za mednarodno primerjavo nekaterih razvojnih dejavnikov; in tretjič, predvidevati moramo, da te posebnosti globoko vplivajo na trenutno prakso in to ne le javne uprave, ampak tudi celotne znanstvene skupnosti – celo dve desetletji ali tri desetletja pozneje.

Poleg analize upravnih ved določene države daje mednarodna primerjava širšo in bolj nepristransko sliko. Najboljša je analiza držav, katerih zgodovina nam omogoča, da primerjamo madžarske procese s procesi v državah s podobno preteklostjo. Pravzaprav bi bila potrebna raziskava, ki bi ugotavljala razlike in podobnosti držav, ki so nekdanj spadale v sovjetski blok.

Kakovost in preglednost upravljanja sta pomembni razsežnosti vsake države, poleg tega pa sta pomembni kot vidik, na podlagi katerega lahko neodvisni raziskovalci in mednarodni deležniki, kot sta *Freedom House* ali *Transparency International*, primerjajo države. Primerjava lastnosti določenih področij javne uprave držav Srednje in Vzhodne Evrope je večinoma temeljila na anketah v »tranzicijskih« ali »postkomunističnih državah«. Vidimo lahko, da so bili – in so še vedno – najobičajnejši vidiki primerjanja: potek institucionalnega preoblikovanja političnih in ekonomskih superstruktur, instrumenti civilnega nadzora nad javno upravo, upravljanje človeških virov v javnih upravah, nove oblike financiranja lokalnih samouprav in nekaj pomembnejših specifičnih področij.

Avtor je poskusil pojasniti odnos sodobnih madžarskih upravnih ved do nedavne preteklosti z anketo, poslano 125 strokovnjakom iz 18 držav (Albanije, Armenije, Bolgarije, Hrvaške, Češke, Estonije, Gruzije, Madžarske, Kazahstana, Latvije, Litve, Poljske, Romunije, Rusije, Slovaške, Slovenije, Srbije in Ukrajine), ki so bile del nekdanjega sovjetskega bloka (ali Jugoslavije).

Na seznamu so bila tri vprašanja, od katerih sta bili prvi dve tesno povezani z lastnostjo postsovjetskosti.

Večina anketiranih je navajala, da so se osebne vezi, ki so povezovale upravne vede sovjetske dobe z zadnjimi 25 leti, do zdaj prekinile. Kljub temu obstajajo številni pojavi iz preteklosti, ki vplivajo na sodobne upravne vede (večinoma upravno pravo). Veliko je dokazov o odvisnosti od preteklosti: a) čeprav iste osebe niso na istih položajih, so izbirni in karierni mehanizmi še vedno skoraj enaki in povzročajo veliko težav, celo kontraselekcijo; b) veliko anketiranih je omenilo pomanjkljivosti v dogmatiki in terminologiji; c) mogoče je zaznati pomanjkanje ustreznega znanja tujih jezikov; d) v številnih postsovjetskih državah je mogoče opaziti odsotnost znanstvenih doktoratov v javni upravi; e) pri predstavnikih upravne oblasti ostajajo številni stari odnosi, povezani z znanstvenimi raziskavami; f) pri izobraževanju na področju javne uprave še vedno v večini držav prevladuje pravna tematika.