

Theses of the doctoral (PhD) dissertation

GYULA JUSTH'S POLITICAL CAREER

– PROSPECTS OF THE INDEPENDENCE LIBERAL POLITICS OF FORTY-
EIGHTERS AT THE TURN OF THE 19TH AND 20TH CENTURY

Ákos Szendrei

Supervisor: Dr. János Veliky



UNIVERSITY OF DEBRECEN
Doctoral School of History and Ethnography

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I. Objectives and Choice of Matter

The primary objective of the dissertation has been the portrayal and description of the career of a significant opposition politician of the previous turn of the century: Gyula Justh. In spite of the fact that this politician was working for more than three decades as one of the leaders of the independence opposition of Ninety-Eighters, and thus was in fact a key formulator and critic of the age, his detailed scientific biography has never been written.

By analyzing individual perspectives and positions, as well as the debates among the leaders of the political party, in addition to the presentation of the strictly understood biography an overview on Justh's career is suitable for the examination of the general history of independence opposition (Independence Party of Forty-Eighters, Independence Party and Forty-Eighters), as well as the description of the potentials of independence political thinking. The exposition of his work contributes to the study of the internal contradictions and ideological distortions prevailing in the independence opposition, the blind alleys and points of potential breath-through for independence-oriented politics. Besides, this dissertation has called for an ideological overview and examination of his political career in the general context of the age. Therefore, the dissertation makes an attempt to find a place for Justh's work of life within the political labyrinth of system criticism and/or system alternatives.

II. Methods, resources and structure

When writing this biography of Gyula Justh, I relied on the conventional and modern – sometimes micro-historical – means of the examination of a historical biography. The analysis involves a number of new resources that have not been processed so far, whereas in relation to some of the known resources I have striven for drawing further conclusions. In addition to the traditional means of studying political history and ideological trends, the new resources have given way to the discussion of issues of social and family history, topics related to historic life styles. A large proportion of the resources used belong to the materials of MOL. To study the history of the family before 1526, I have used the materials of the resource collection of *Pre-Mohács Collection of the Archives of Diplomacy*, *Photo Collection of Diplomacy*, as well as the materials edited from the archives of the Justh family for 1274–1525, while the historical studies concerning the 16–19th century have relied on the *Royal Books of the Hungarian Chancellery* and the *Royal Books of the Ministry of Court Relation* (Libri Regii). In view of the resources for the 19–20th century, essential materials have been obtained from the microfilms entitled *the*

Legacy of Gyula Justh and The Archives of the Justh family, as well as certain parts of the *Documents of the Members and Presidents from the Archives of the Parliament*, *Minutes of the Meetings of the Cabinet* and *Documents of the Ministry of the Interior*. The *Diaries and Rolls of the House of Representatives* containing the speeches, proposals of Justh have also been necessary for the proper processing of the said resources. From among the publication of resources collecting his speeches at the comitat assembly, the publication entitled *Gyula Justh's speeches in relation to universal and secret suffrage, 1911–1913* has key significance. In this research, the documents entitled the *Minutes of the General Assembly of the Municipality of Makó, 1872-1944* have also offered important materials; they are available in the Branch Archives of Makó of the Archives of Csongrád County and the National Archives of Hungary. Important additions to the topic have been obtained by having an overview on the correspondence of contemporary politicians, in particular Ferenc Kossuth and Mihály Károlyi. Certain elements of the *Collection of Manuscripts, Correspondence and Analekta of the National Széchenyi Library* are also important supplements to the correspondence of Gyula Justh.

In terms of structure, my dissertation discussing the political career of Gyula Justh consists of five major chapters. The first chapter describes the methodological issues in connection with the processing of the topic, and then presents the groups of resources used in the writing of the dissertation, and offers a historiographic overview on the history of the independence opposition. The second chapter explains the genealogy of the Justh family, the environment of socialization and social status of Gyula Justh. The third and longest part of the dissertation examines the individual phases of the political career in a chronological order. The fourth chapter discusses the major ideological or thematic issues of the age that intertwined Justh's career, and have been mentioned, but not analyzed in details within the framework of the chronological study. The fifth chapter concludes the analysis with the evaluation of Justh's career by the contemporaries alongside with the associated explanations, as well as an independent historic of the political career.

III. Results

When examining the political career of Gyula Justh, one cannot neglect the studying of the history of the Justh family having lived in Hungary since the late Middle Ages. The early history of the Justh family has been partly discussed in the works of Iván Borsa publishing the archived materials of the family from the Middle Ages with notes, as well as one publication by both Elemér Mályusz and Mór Wertner. The first part of Chapter 2 of the dissertation offers an outline

of the family's history in the 15–19th century as a result of my independent processing of the associated resources. In the middle of the 19th century, some members of the family moved from Turóc Comitát in Upper Hungary to the south-eastern corner of the Great Plains, and finally settled in Békés, Arad and Csanád Comitát. Beside their regional roles, both branches of the family acted as the formulators of national politics, and thus in the second half of the 19th century several members of the Justh family held chief comitat head position, were members of the Parliament.

The further parts of the second chapter examine the family background, education, social and cultural environment, status of Gyula Justh. As a result of this study, I have drawn the conclusion that by the end of the 19th century this politician initially living as a mostly well-to-do medium-sized landholder, gentry (with a 2,500-acre estate, castle, duels, offices in the comitat, etc.) adopted civic characteristics in terms of social status, values and habits (legal studies, market-oriented management of the estate, acquisition of company shares, bank deposits, renting of a mansion apartment in the city center, etc.), and therefore his social status involved a blending of the gentry and civil ways of life. This change in his social standing and lifestyle occurred and can be interpreted in parallel with and as accompanied by the transformation, expansion of political objectives. However, this process was not only typical of Justh's personal career, but can be regarded to be one of the determining process of social history those days, which witnessed the emergence of multi-dimensional social layers with mixed lifestyles.

The first part of the dissertation focusing on political history (Chapter 3) gives an overview on the career of Gyula Justh in terms of election history. This study has analyzed the results of ten elections taking place from 1881 to 1910 with their national and local implications. The name of Makó as a permanent electoral district and that of Gyula Justh inseparably amalgamated in the course of the general elections in the age of Dualism. One key outcome of the study is the statement that the last 30 years of the 19th century saw the strengthening of the role of Makó in the history of elections, which was tightly associated with Gyula Justh's political career.

A separate subchapter focuses on the first two decades of the activities of Justh as a member of the Parliament. The Hungarian House of Representatives was a key scene of Gyula Justh's political career and activities. The 1884–1903 years of this long presence in the House of Representatives – the first mandate and the beginning of the great crisis – are described mostly in a chronological order. His speeches anatomizing and formulating issues of the promotion of local, electoral interests (construction of the dam and schools, remuneration of the public employees of settlements emerging by way of colonization of new lands, etc.), as well as national political conditions are analyzed in details. In addition to the general objectives of

independence and state relations (independent military control and finances, economic compromise, etc.), his political opinions reflected the program of the modern civil state (freedom of press, conflicts of interests in the activities of MPs, separation of state and church, civil marriage, etc.) and the broad-scaling promotion of social interests (expansion of the scope of elective franchise, and then universal suffrage, etc.) from the very beginning. The dissertation claims that the political disagreement between Gyula Justh and István Tisza arriving at an absolutely inflamed phase around 1910 rooted in the early years of the 1880s. This examination of the MP's career has also concentrated on the rise of Justh within the Independence Party and the national political scene. The subsequent stages of Justh as an MP belonging to the followers of Dániel Irányi and then earning his first parliamentary mandate in 1884 are revealed. In relation to the internal transformation of the independence opposition and its generational change, by the 1890s Gyula Justh became an important personality of the parliamentary fraction of the Ninety-Eighters, then in 1891 he was elected to act as the Vice-President of the Independence Party of Ninety-Eighters; in 1893–1895 he was the President of this political party. After Ferenc Kossuth's return home and becoming elected to be the president of the party, and years later after the approach and eventual affiliation of Albert Apponyi's National Party Justh remained the leader of the liberal wing of the Independence Party. In his personal political career, important milestones came in the years after the turn of the century: the broad two decades from the 1880s to the first years of the new century meant a period of rise in his political career and popularity. By the beginning of the 20th century, the opposition politician having run a significant political career so far had the opportunity to be an uncircumventable actor both in his own party and the House of Representatives.

My analysis of political history examines Justh's activities during the crisis of 1905–1906, and as a result it turns out that the politician had major influence on political events on several occasions (e.g. forging of the opposition coalition, announcement and organization of the resistance of comitats in the House of Representatives, etc.). He unavoidably came in conflict with the key politicians of the government: with the Minister, Fejérváry urging an increase in the number of representatives, as well as the “strong man” of the Sixty-Sevens, István Tisza wishing to restrict the political potentials of the opposition. It was the general elections of 1905 concluded with the victory of the opposition that raised Justh to the position of the Chair of the House of Representatives. This period at the steer of the House of Representatives still has not been studied so far; it was in fact an important period of his career that on the other hand brought him restrictions in his political activities, and as a consequence his concepts concerning elective franchise had to be suppressed. The personality, political qualities of Gyula Justh could surface only partly in the position of the Chair of the House of Representatives, and in 1905–1908 he

was unable to act as the head of the Independence Party and the separate groups of Forty-Eighters in the Parliament like he had apparently done in the former years. During his years as the Chair of the House of Representatives in 1905–06, due to the deep political crisis Justh had no opportunity to play a classic role as the head of the House of Representatives, but in the light of the particular situation in domestic politics he aimed to support the opposition coalition in their way to power. After the 1906 general elections, Justh was repeatedly elected to be the Chair of the House of Representatives. When studying his activities from 1906 to 1909 as the Chair of the House of Representatives, the principal topics to be analyzed include the application of the rules of procedures of the Parliament, the management of the course of discussions, direct political positions and Croatians obstructions. Until the winter of 1908, he rarely participated in day-to-day political debates, yet he was influenced by the dissenting ways that smaller independence groups, István Szappanos, György Nagy and in particular Károly Eötvös standing out for universal suffrage. In 1909, conflicts within the coalition and the Independence Party, as well as the emergence of various political groups directly affected Gyula Justh. In the early stage of the bank crisis, Justh acted as a politician strengthening the position of the advocates of independence within the coalition, and then took an increasingly firm position in favour of the independent bank, which finally led to the splitting of the party in November 1909 (Independence Kossuth Party of Forty-Eighters, Independence Party and Forty-Eighters).

The end of the period of the government formed by the opposition coalition witnessed the increasing weight of Justh within the party, as he became one of the potential key actors of the current processes. During the crisis of 1909–1910 lasting for more than a year, he attended altogether three royal audiences in association with the exchange of political opinions and development plans (26 January 1909, Vienna; 06 May 1909, Budapest; 30 December 1909, Vienna), and his name was also mentioned as a potential candidate for ministerial positions. Justh acted in favour of the establishment of an independent national bank and military forces, as well as the issue of universal suffrage. The actual tasks of the provisional government planned from the spring of 1909 and involving the independent advocates headed by Justh would have included the placement of the state budget on firm grounds, the introduction of universal suffrage and the organization of the general elections on the basis of universal suffrage. Nevertheless, within the context of the preliminary agreement Gyula Justh stated that he considered the guarantees provided by the court in relation to the independent national bank to be insufficient, and therefore he wished to obtain the approval of the majority of the people's parliament to be elected on the basis of universal suffrage for this plan. By the end of the year, however, it became clear that the ruler was interested in strengthening and raising Sixty-Sevens still not

represented in the Parliament into power (National Club, National Party of Work), and thus in January 1910 appointed Károly Khuen-Hederváry to be the Prime Minister.

Justh's failure to form a government or be appointed to be a minister oriented the political activities of the independence left towards the formulation of a new program with the primary focus on the issue of universal suffrage. This program with universal suffrage in the core was a distinct element among the alternatives offered by independence politics, and thus had emerged in association with the forging of mass support to the political party as early as in the last period of the government formed by the coalition. In the spring of 1910, the Justh Party was forced to follow an apparently unchangeable political course, and found itself in opposition with both the groups of Sixty-Sevens in power and its former parliamentary ally that in theory should have criticized the system. Looking at the problem from a broader perspective, one can claim that the Justh Party in fact was to face the large majority of political forces – both in power and opposition – within the Parliament. Perceiving the diminishing political potentials within the House of Representatives, the Independence and Forty-Eighter (Justh) Party saw the only potential point of breakthrough in opening up social and political relations widely, and therefore in preparation for the general elections to be held in the summer of 1910 the party started to organize people's assemblies. Its supporters mostly originated from the ranks of landholding peasants, the petty bourgeois and intellectuals, and the party also tried to have a reach towards the upper layers of workers. The 1910 campaign saw loose cooperation among the advocates of the expansion of elective franchise. The various political groups and parties often put forward their reform concepts independently from each other, in opposition to the governmental power, while their common interests pointed towards the need to find political allies within their own ranks. The National Suffrage Association was established on 21 April 1910 to embrace forces both from outside (Independence Party and Forty-Eighters, Dezső Bánffy's group and Vilmos Vázsonyi's group) and inside the Parliament (Hungarian Social Democratic Party, civil radicals, agrarian parties, etc.). The failure at the 1910 general elections brought Justh's political impetus to a halt, and induced the fundamental re-consideration of the stated demands. So far, the political position of the party leader had included the necessity of the independence-oriented reform of the Dualist system and the expansion of the elective franchise, but thereafter he saw the basis of all the required transformation in the expansion of the scope of suffrage as a crucial issue of the day. By bringing suffrage into the foreground of the program of the party, the Justh Party created proper pre-conditions for its own restructuring and broad-scaling alliance policy. In parallel with the traditional activities of the Justh Party in the House of Representatives, the party played an ever-intense role in activities beyond the Parliament by driving the claim for democratic rights. The momentary and medium-term political expectations of the two parties

could be aligned with each other. The enormous significance of universal suffrage was clear to Justh, and therefore this claim went beyond the program of the expansion of elective franchise, could be interpreted as the very foundation of the process of democratization. The real importance of the cooperation between the Justh Party and the social democrats (with the subsequently joining of civil radicals) can be perceived in the fact that political groups starting out from different backgrounds recognized the potentials of joint actions, which meant an outbreak from the formerly narrow, limited bounds of policy-making for these political forces. On the other hand, coordinated actions for elective franchise widened the scope of realistic political expectations, highlighted the contours of new general political objectives, offered and gave grounds to the unification of such factors of party politics that represented differing positions in a single, progressive camp of political alternatives. Those days, Justh's activities in the House of Representatives seemed to be inseparable from the program of organized policy-making at the people's assemblies, while he popularized their counter-actions against the efforts of military politics in the Parliament, and linked this issue up with the democratic rights. In the light of the adoption of strict rules of procedures in the Parliament in June 1912 initiated by István Tisza, then Chair of the Parliament, it can be claimed that the fundamental political settings and the potentials of policy-making were subject to major transformation, the conventional vehicle of the opposition to influence politics by means outside the Parliament was blocked. Concurrently, the health conditions of Justh deteriorated, and his political activeness considerably flagged.

With policy-making at the people's assemblies becoming impossible, the stricter rules of procedures in the Parliament, as well as the narrowed scope of actions owing to the illness of Ferenc Kossuth and Gyula Justh facilitated the transformation of the opposition in the House of Representatives, as well as the unification of independence parties coming on the agenda. Eventually, the Unified Independence Party and Forty-Eighters was founded on 14 June 1913 on the basis of Irányi's program – but without the dominance of the anti-German tone of foreign policy that had been given an emphasis in the Justh Party and Károlyi Group – under the executive presidency of Mihály Károlyi, with Apponyi, Kossuth and Justh acting as the co-presidents. As after the first year of the Great War, owing to their being in opposition the left wing of the advocates of independence could not influence the foreign policy of the Monarchy, while they disapproved the idea of calling the nation to stand up against the war and the government, under the given circumstances the only way they could follow was the open criticism of the wartime government and the promotion of peace with a compromise on the medium run. After the realistic estimation of the confronting military forces upon the emergence of the Italian front (23 May 1915), Batthyány, Holló, Lovászy, Beck, Károlyi and Justh regarded

the defeat of the Central Powers to be unavoidable, and moreover realized that such a course of events would seriously threaten the territorial integrity of Hungary. On 17 June 1916, the Independence Party and Ninety-Eighters was established under the presidency of Mihály Károlyi – as proposed by Justh – and with the vice president being Tivadar Batthyány. Following the concept of the leaders, the newly formed political party wished to serve as a basis of a broad-scaling democratic block that was open for affiliation by other political organizations, as well. Nevertheless, Gyula Justh could not see the evolvement of this process: on 09 October 1917, he died in Hotel Hungária.

Beyond the description of this career, the dissertation also discusses and gives an overview on the ideological background of the political thinking of Justh via the dominant issues of the age (church policy, suffrage, nationality issue). Considering the results of such studies, it can be claimed that the actions of Gyula Justh taken in the course of the debate on church policy (1893–1895) fundamentally determined the acceptance of the proposed reform. Justh regarded support to the liberal reform of church policy to be unavoidable as a claim of the independence opposition having been stressed for long decades. Advocating the introduction of civil marriage, he attributed equal importance to the transfer of certain powers of the church (e.g. registration activities) to the state and the independence of the religious beliefs from the state, i.e. the proper separation of responsibilities. With this approach, he insisted on the consistent liberal interpretation of law, and encouraged the majority of the members of the party to follow his attitude, and therefore he largely contributed to the success of one of the most modern reform proposals during the age of Dualism.

Justh took a similarly determinant position in the suffrage issue. As the successor of early independence politics also pursuing democratic goals, he belonged to those claiming universal, equal and secret suffrage; emphasizing this objective seemed to be unavoidable towards the clarification of political dividing lines, yet as a realistic politician Justh was aware of the fact that the involvement of a ten-fold number of voters was unfeasible on the short run. Basically, he saw the need to transform elective rights completely, and towards this end he intended to promote cultural census instead of the prevailing tax-based census. In terms of eligibility, his associated concepts framed in the spring of 1912 considered three fundamental principles: 1) age limit, 2) intellectual–cultural census, 3) tax-based or property census as a supplementary aspect, or other requirements (domicile, membership in sickness benefit societies, etc.). As a result, cc. 2.7 million of the 4.5 million men over the voting age (15% of the total population) could be granted elective franchise, which would have doubled the eligible

population. In view of these numbers and percentages, his draft proved to be the most significant suffrage reform concept of the age.

The third relevant question of the age was the nationality issue. In this context, our starting point should be the fact that the national interest and the preservation of the territorial integrity of the country were essential points in Justh's liberal national attitude, yet he was not considered to be an expert of national or nationality politics. On the other hand, his approach to the nationality issue mainly stressed in the period of 1910–1913 in connection with universal suffrage is unavoidable in the interpretation of his career. Openly, Justh never questioned the concept of the uniform Hungarian political nation regarded to be one of the basic motifs of the compromise of 1867 or the Nationality Act of 1868, but in several respects he formulated his position rather at the confines of the classic liberal nationalistic and Hungarian nation state concept. His point of reference in nationality politics was the optimistic approach to general civil–national (constitutional, legal, economic) development that tended to regard the spontaneous assimilation of nationalities to be one of the key consequences of modernization, and expected the establishment of a Hungarian (liberal) nation state to be the final outcome of the process. In his expectations, the evolvment of national independence (Hungarian army, representation of Hungary in foreign countries, independent national economy, etc.), constitutional civil development (freedoms and liberties, church politics, reinforcement of the civil society, etc.), as well as the consistent widening and deepening of social reforms (general, equal and secret suffrage, free public education, emergence of a steady civil middle class, strengthening of the society of farmers, etc.) indispensably resulted in the Hungarian assimilation of nationalities, the consolidation of the nation state. After the splitting of the Independence Party in November 1909, the (parent) party headed by Gyula Justh seriously discussed the issue of the Romanian National Party. It is apparent that the advocates of independence led by Justh did not have a uniform position in the handling of this question. The dissenting opinion from the majority of the Parliament gave rise to a position that involved the promotion of democratic universal suffrage, and was rather open towards the interests of nationalities – quite in deviation from the official independence politics having been represented so far. Justh's openness in nationality politics can be interpreted within the context of the democratization trend that in general surfaced in his political thinking after 1910. Justh's concepts in relation to the nationalities did not really differ from the general approach advocated by the dominant national liberal values, but the social openness of his attitude intended to involve the citizens of nationalities in the scope of the expansion of civil freedoms and liberties. Therefore, Justh's program offered the national correction of the then effective suffrage system and the over-representation of the Hungarian population in certain regions alongside with the opportunity to

increase the number of nationality voters to a large extent, which was otherwise unavoidable for nationality parties.

The dissertation draws to its end via the evaluation of Justh's career by the contemporaries. From among the peers of fairly varied attitudes, Lajos Návay proved to be the most critical one, because in spite of the good initial relations he came to stand far away from Justh's political thinking due to the broad-scaling opening in society with reference to the material threats such a move promised in relation to the future of the country. Then, the Lajos Beck's perception of Justh – he was regarded to be a close follower of Justh – is examined: he saw the essence of the activities of the politician in drawing the contours of popular politics. After several decades, in his writings put down during the Second World War, Beck listed Justh as one of the greatest politicians of the turn of the century, and he found the long-term justification of the political significance and tactics of the independence left in the program of national democracy stressed by Justh after 1910. Concerning the post-1910 allies, some writings by Oszkár Jászi, György Bölönyi, Zsigmond Kunfi and Endre Ady are analyzed. When evaluating the activities of Justh, they all pointed out the importance of the move from the traditional political goals of the opposition towards the broad-scaling promotion of social interests. In their perception of Justh, an essential element was his description as an allied politician from the independence side. Ady's view on Justh strongly influenced the historical literature of the future, and therefore its brief discussion is unavoidable in the presentation of this political career.

Gyula Justh's activities can be regarded as efforts to identify alternatives for independency politics. The independence concepts he stood out for went beyond the limitations of the Forty-Eighter politics mostly and sometimes exclusively emphasizing public law affairs, and thus by shouldering the cause of democratic suffrage he indeed joint those claiming reforms. His objectives are considered to mean strong criticism for the prevailing regime, yet in view of the final outcomes they were not too closely related to the ideas of social democrats or civil radicals promising such political, social and economic alternatives for the existing system that would have affected the property and fundamental cultural relations, as well. The entire role that Justh took can be interpreted within the liberal paradigm, and thus by type it corresponds to democratic liberalism.

IV. Publications in relation to the topic of the dissertation

Studies in reviewed collections of studies

1. *Jelöltek, kerületek, választások. A Román Nemzeti Párt szereplése a képviselők választásokon (1905, 1906, 1910) [Candidates, districts, elections. Performance of the Romanian National Party at the general elections (1905, 1906, 1910)].* In. A Kárpát-medencei népek együttélése a XIX-XX. században [Co-Existence of the People's in the Carpathian Basin in the 19-20th Century]. Ed. by Gábor Egry & István Feitl. Budapest, Napvilág Kiadó, 2005. ISBN 963 9350583. pp. 257-276
2. *Három audiencia: Ferenc József és Justh Gyula találkozásai [Three audiences: Encounters of Franz Ferdinand and Gyula Justh].* In. Állam and Nemzet a XIX-XX. században [State and Nation in the 19-20th Century]. Ed. by Erzsébet Bodnár & Gábor Demeter. Debrecen, 2006. pp. 289-300
3. *Tíz választás egy képviselő [Ten elections, one MP].* In. Tradíció és modernizáció a XVIII-XX. században [Tradition and Modernization in the 19-20th Century]. Ed. by Erzsébet Bodnár & Gábor Demeter. Budapest, Hungarovox Kiadó, 2008. ISBN 9789637504914. pp. 190-202
4. *A függetlenségi politika lehetőségei a dualizmus korában [Prospects of independence politics in the age of Dualism].* In. Tollpróba [Experiments with the Pen]. Ed. by Gábor Demeter. Accepted for publication.

Studies in reviewed collections of professional journals

5. *A függetlenségi baloldal vezéralakja – Justh Gyula politikai pályája [The head of the independence left – Gyula Justh's political career].* In. Történeti Tanulmányok X. [Historical Studies 10] (Acta Univ. Debr. Ser. Historica. LIV.) Ed. by Péter Takács. ISSN 12174602. Debrecen, 2002. pp. 121-137
6. *Debrecen parlamenti képviselői a dualizmus korában [Members of the Parliament delegated by Debrecen in the age of Dualism].* In. Debreceni Szemle 2003/4. [Debrecen Review 2003/4] Chief editor: Péter Gunst. ISSN 1218-022X. pp. 532-547
7. *A Román Nemzeti Párt választási szereplése és tevékenysége 1905-1910 [Performance and activities of the Romanian National Party at the elections, 1905-1910].* Múltunk, 2006/2. [Our Past, 2006/2] ISSN 0864960X. Editor in charge: Balázs Sipos. pp. 54-92
8. *„Ezerholdas” nemes vagy polgár? Justh Gyula társadalmi státusai és szerepkörei [Gentry or Bourgeois? The Social Statuses and Roles of Gyula Justh].* In. Történeti Tanulmányok XVI. [Historical Studies 16] (Acta Univ. Debr. Ser. Historica. LX.) Debrecen, 2009. Ed. by Ferenc Velkey. ISSN 12174602. pp. 239-252
9. *A liberális politikai útkeresés formái és lehetőségei Magyarországon a XIX–XX. század fordulóján [Forms and prospects of liberal political alternatives in Hungary at the turn of the 19-20th century].* In. Mediarium 2009 tavasz. [Mediarium, Spring 2009] Chief editor: Zoltán Völgyesi. ISSN 17890357. Accepted for publication.

Editing, stewardship, foreword, introduction

10. *Editing, stewardship, epilogue (Benedek Jancsó)*. In. Benedek Jancsó: *A román irredentista mozgalmak története [History of Romanian irredentist movements]*. Máriabesenyő-Gödöllő, Attraktor, 2004. ISBN 9639580015. p. 484, pp. 463-471
11. *Editing, stewardship*. Miklós Asztalos: *A korszerű nemzeti eszme [The modern concept of nation]*. Máriabesenyő-Gödöllő, Attraktor KFT. 2004. ISBN 963958018X. p. 235

Conferences, reviews, lectures:

12. *Jelöltek, kerületek, választások. [Candidates, districts, elections]*. Conference entitled A Kárpát-medencei népek együttélése a XIX-XX. században [Co-Existence of the People's in the Carpathian Basin in the 19-20th Century]. 11-12 December 2003. Budapest, Institute of Political History.
13. *Három audiencia: Ferenc József és Justh Gyula találkozásai [Three audiences: Encounters of Franz Ferdinand and Gyula Justh]*. Conference entitled Állam és Nemzet [State and Nation]. 31 December 2006. Seat of the Debrecen Committee of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Debrecen.
14. *Tíz választás egy képviselő [Ten elections, one MP]*. Conference entitled Tradíció and modernizáció [Tradition and Modernization]. 15 November 2007. Seat of the Debrecen Committee of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Debrecen.