

## Hungary

### Vanderbilt

Hungary is considered authoritarian from 1919 to 1945. 1919 was a tumultuous year—Hungary had just gained independence from Austria in November of 1918. The first PM was Mihály gróf Károlyi de Nagykároly of the “Independence and 1848 Party” - Karoly Party (F48). Károlyi had been appointed by King Karl, Emperor of Austria and King of Hungary, in 1918. Karolyi was a “a pro-Entente liberal and leader of the Party of Independence” (US Library of Congress) and his cabinet included members of the “Party of Independence, the Social Democratic Party, and a group of bourgeoisie radicals” (US Library of Congress).

Under Karolyi Hungary became an independent republic and Karolyi also assumed the role of provisional president. When Karolyi was unable to prevent the dissection of Hungary following World War I, he resigned “and turned power over to a coalition of Social Democrats and communists, who promised that Soviet Russia would help Hungary restore its original borders. Although the Social Democrats held a majority in the coalition, the communists under Bela Kun immediately seized control and announced the establishment of the Hungarian Soviet Republic” (Library of Congress). This is a SOLS change since Kun was clearly not Karolyi’s pre-designated successor.

In August Kun’s troops were ousted by the Romanians, and Kun was exiled to Russia (US Library of Congress). The moderate Gyula Peidl of the Social Democratic Party (SzDP), a labor union leader, became PM (Roman, 218). This is another SOLS change, but because he was in power for only a few days, this is a solschang30. (It is an ABC-scenario from the codebook.) Peidl resigned after he was asked to by military officers associated with Horthy (Roman 2003, 219). The next leader was István Friedrich of the Christian National Union Party (KNEP), a factory owner (Balogh 1976, 280; Roman 2003, 219). This is a SOLS change since Friedrich was certainly not Peidl’s pre-designated successor, given that he hailed from a very different political and social group.

Friedrich had very little public support (Roman 2003, 219) and in November 1919 Friedrich was removed and Károly Huszár, KNEP, became PM. Huszar’s government an interim government (Lojko 2006, 21; New York Times 1920, 17-18; Protheroe 2012). It was put in power by the international community and recognized there, and it was supposed to be unity government to unite the country and stop the ongoing fighting. Thus, this is not a SOLS change.

The rapid leadership changes in 1919 show the turmoil that Hungary was in at the time. During the time, Admiral Miklós Horthy de Nagybánya started to amass power with an army of 100,000 (Roman, 219). Horthy’s claim to power was supported by the military that was under his command, the Inter-Allied Military Commission and the Small-holders party. He marched into Budapest in November of 1919 and formally took power in March 1920 when the monarchy was restored but the Habsburg family was not reinstated. Miklós Horthy de Nagybánya, “a former commander in chief of the Austro-Hungarian navy--was elected regent and was empowered, among other things, to appoint Hungary’s prime minister, veto legislation, convene or dissolve the parliament, and command the armed forces” (US Library of Congress). This is a SOLS change.

When Horthy came to power, the “old aristocratic class regained its power in Hungary, and Horthy’s prime ministers in the 1920s were chosen from the ‘old guard’ (Berend, 141). After 1921, when Karl IV died, and after starting to work with Bethlen (a social democrat), and the creation of the Party of Unity (Nemzeti Egyesülés Pártja - NEP), i.e. the government party, one

can say Horthy's hold on power was consolidated although the nature of the regime was not yet clear. There was a personality cult around Horthy. In the mid-1920, "political observers had to grant that Horthy had not established a military or totalitarian dictatorship" (Sakmyster 1994, p.143). But "he managed to use his position as head of state to augment his personal power and promote his dynastic ambitions (Roman 2003, 493)". Based on the Library of Congress' focus on the individual PMs that Horthy put in place it seems that Horthy himself stayed out of day-to-day politics. This is confirmed by Roman (2003, 493) who states that for the first 10 years Horthy "left most of the business of governing in the hands of his premiers." In the 1930s, however, he became more active in daily politics. Tucker (2005, 560) provides the following description of the regime: "Initially the political system was a semi-dictatorship, a monarchic form of government without a king. After 1937, this dissolved into a strong presidential system."

Horthy's regime is difficult to characterize. It probably most closely resembles a personalist regime, although he was not a classic personalist dictator in the sense that he largely abstained from day-to-day politics. Horthy successfully turned Charles away and didn't allow him back, and Horthy took power because of his military force and not due to his relationship with the monarch. We code a personalist regime when Horthy came to power on March 1920 (through 1944) and code "mil" for 1920 and "mil/NFP" for 1922-43 as his SOLS (see Berg-Schlusser and Mitchell 2000, 252; Ek et al. 2013, 95-96).

Horthy ruled until the beginning of World War II. In 1944 Horthy abdicated and Hungary was occupied by Germany. Based on our rules, this is not coded as a SOLS change. Archigos codes no leader between Horthy's resignation and Rakosi's entry into power in 1945. However, there seems to have been a Governing Council (Regency) made up of Károly Beregfy, Mil, Ferenc Rajniss, Non-Party, Sándor Csia of the Arrow Cross Party-Hungarist Movement (NPHM, fascist), and Ferenc Szálasi, NPHM.

From 1945 to 1989 Hungary is considered a non-democratic country under Soviet influence. It was ruled by a single-party, the Hungarian Workers' Party (MKP/MDP), later renamed as Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party (MSZMP). At the end of the Cold War, Hungary became a democratic country under a parliamentary regime. We code a SOLS change when Rakosi, from the Hungarian Communist party, assumes power in January 1945 since his SOLS was different than Horthy's. The provisional government was supposed to be replaced by a coalition of the Independent Smallholders party, which won the November election, and the communists. The communists, however, undermined the coalition and ultimately established control over the government in 1947. This is when GWF code the start of the single-party regime that lasts until 1990.

Rakosi ruled the country until 1956. His government was marked by an extreme authoritarianism even more severe than Lenin's, including purges within his party, arresting people, and killing opposition leaders. As a result, the USSR forced him to resign in 1956 because Khrushchev launched a de-Stalinization program. Gero, Rakosi's deputy, succeeded him as leader of Hungary but his tenure was short. He was seen as too closely tied to Rakosi's and met resistance within the Hungarian Communist party, which had shown outright opposition to Rakosi, and in the public. Public protests erupted and many soldiers joined the uprising against Gero, the Communist Party, and the USSR. Gero called for the Red Army to help repress protesters but Hungarians fought back against Soviet troops. The protesters demanded that Nagy, who had been PM under Rakosi and undone many of Rakosi's more radical policies until he was dismissed, be put in charge of the country. The Central Committee of the Party then named Nagy PM. Nagy created "a new government consisting of both communists and non-communists,

dissolved the state security police, abolished the one-party system, and promised free elections and an end to collectivization” (US Library of Congress). He also declared that Hungary would henceforth be neutral and withdraw from the Warsaw Pact. As a result, the USSR surrounded Budapest and forced Nagy to flee. With Soviet support, his second in line, Kadar, took over the leadership of the country and re-established order. None of these changes are SOLS changes.

Kadar stayed in office for more than three decades until 1988 when he was replaced by George Grosz as Secretary General of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party. So, this change is not a SOLS change. After Grosz, the MSzMP renamed itself the Hungarian Socialist Party (MSzP), and Matyas Szuros assumed as Hungary’s interim president (Europa review 2004, p. 169 and Elster 1996, p. 78). Thus, the change from Grosz to Szuros is not a SOLS change because the latter was an interim ruler.

The next year there were the first free parliamentary elections in Hungary in which a coalition led by the Hungarian Democratic Forum (MDF) won, and Jozsej Antall was appointed as prime minister of the country. So, the change is a SOLS because it means a transition to a democratic regime, and because Antall did not belong to the Hungarian Socialist Party that had ruled the last decades.

Antall stayed in office until 1993 when he was replaced by Peter Boross who was in office one year until 2004. Thus, this change is not a SOLS because both belonged to the same party and they also had the same coalition: MDF/FKPG/KDNP. In the 1994 parliamentary elections, a coalition headed by the MSzP won and appointed Gyula Horn as prime minister. So, this change is a major SOLS change because they belonged to different parties. In 1998 there were new parliamentary elections in which the center-right party Federation of Young Democrats-Hungarian Civic Party (Fidesz-MPP) unexpectedly won majority of seats and Viktor Orban became prime minister. Again, this change is a SOLS change. In April 2002 there were parliamentary elections in which the MSzP (in coalition with the SZDSZ) won (SOLS change). So, in May they appointed Peter Medgyessy as prime minister. In 2004, the prime minister resigned and was replaced by a member of his party, the MSzP, Ferenc Gyurcsany. Gyurcsany headed the same coalition as his predecessor so this change is not a SOLS change. In April 2008, the SZDSZ pulled out of the coalition, leaving the MSzP to form a minority government, which is a minor SOLS change.

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