

Hungary

Rice

In 1919, Hungary was the scene of tumultuous political activity. It is not coded as a democracy, nor is there any established autocratic regime until 1920. On 11 January of that year, Hungary was proclaimed a Republic by its National Assembly, and Mihály Karolyi was elected to be provisional President (the spreadsheet says that his position was Prime Minister, but both my sources and Worldstatesmen.org contradict that—Károlyi served as Prime Minister before the Republic was declared, but afterwards [i.e., from 1919 on] his title was President). Karolyi was a member of the Independence and 1848 Party-Karoly Party (F48). His government did not last long, as opposition against it grew, mostly in the form of the Communist Party of Hungary (Tóth 2005, 486). As Károlyi attempted to form a government that mostly contained the Social Democratic Party, the Social Democrats began negotiations with the Communist Party to form a different government. They seized power from Károlyi on 22 March, and established a single-party Soviet Union-style government. A new party, the Socialist Party of Hungary, was formed and a Revolutionary Governing Council was created to direct the government. Though the official leader of this government was Sándor Garbai, the real power in the government lay with Béla Kun, one of the leaders of the revolutionary movement and an individual who had “direct contact with Lenin” (Tóth 2005, 487) (SOLS change).

However, this new single-party government, which began to collectivize land and create its own Red Guard, did not last long. The revolution had made the participants in the Paris Peace conferences nervous, and some of Hungary’s neighbors chose to intervene. Soon, both Czechoslovakia and Romania had invaded Hungary, and Hungary’s new Red Army was not victorious in the least. As the Romanian army marched on Budapest, the Revolutionary Supreme Soviet (formerly known as the Governing Council) resigned on 1 August and turned over the government to “a moderate [group] of Social Democratic politicians” (Tóth 2005, 491). This new government was led by Gyula Peidl, one of the leaders of the Social Democratic party (SzDP) (SOLS change30). This government perhaps could have been democratic, but it did not last long enough to really define itself. On 6 August, a counter-revolutionary group led by István Friedrich, a member of the Christian National Union Party (KNEP), overthrew the government and formed a new one, with the sanction of Archduke Joseph Habsburg (Tóth 2005, 492) (SOLS change).

Friedrich’s government appears to have been a single-party state as well (it also didn’t last very long). Its main goal was to eliminate any traces of the “Bourgeois Democratic Revolution”, and it did so by arresting anyone who had participated. 74 of these individuals were executed, and many intellectuals (such as teachers and civil servants) were brought before “Disciplinary Committees” and were fired from their jobs. Generally, there was a large amount of suppression of opposition, but Friedrich was not the center of power (Tóth 2005, 492). Further, his government had to deal with the Romanian army, which was still occupying Hungarian territory, and the challenge of Miklós Horthy, a former regional Minister of War who had gathered an army of 30,000 and was marching on the capital. And, Friedrich’s government lacked international recognition, further hindering his ability to govern. The country was practically in a state of anarchy when the Paris Peace Conference sent a British diplomat to Hungary to try and settle the political scene.

The diplomat (Sir George Russell Clark) immediately secured the departure of the Romanian army, but was unable to stop Horthy, who rode into Budapest at the head of his army.

A government was formed under Karoly Huszar in November 1919, who was a member of the KNEP but whose cabinet additionally contained ministers from the Christian Agricultural Worker's Party, the Liberal Party, The Social Democrats and the Peasant Democratic Party (SOLS change). This was 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. This government was recognized abroad, and was allowed to attend the Paris Peace Conference. A National Assembly was elected, and the process of forming a new Hungarian government began.

Though this may seem like a step towards democracy, all parliamentary parties quickly agreed that a republican form of government was not desirable—in fact, most of them hoped for a restoration of the monarchy (Tóth 2005, 494). But, as the Habsburg family was no longer eligible to hold the throne, the National Assembly invited a “distinguished Hungarian”—Miklos Horthy—to serve as Regent (because he did not wish to become King) (Tóth 2005, 494) (SOLS change). Hungary was a monarchy during this time. Society during Horthy's regime was “hierarchic and to a great extent exclusive” (Tóth 2005, 514). Though there was a legislative body, it was greatly divided. Horthy's powers included the ability to suspend parliament, and was able to veto acts of the legislature (or delay them for up to one year). Further, the legislature could no longer summon Horthy to make him explain any unconstitutional actions (Tóth 2005, 531). Horthy also had the right to name his own successor.

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/the Party of Unity (Nemzeti Egyesülés Pártja - NEP)” for 1922-43 as his SOLS (see Berg-Schlosser and Mitchell 2000, 252; Ek et al. 2013: 95-96).¹ Horthy was in power until 1944. He had originally sided with Germany in World War II, but as the war drew to a close, he attempted to switch Hungary to the Allied side. This was unsuccessful, and resulted in Germany and the Soviet Union using Hungary as a theatre of war. On 15 October, Horthy resigned from office. Archigos codes no effective leader until Rakosi takes power in January 1945.

In 1945, at the end of WWII, Hungary was “turned over” to Soviet control. The provisional government, which had been established in 1944, was dominated by the Hungarian Communist Party (MKP), though its representatives governed on a committee with the Social Democratic Party and the Peasant and Smallholders' Parties. Elections were held in 1945, and the Smallholders party (FKgP) won the majority of the vote. From 1945-1947, the FKgP under Zoltán Tildy headed the formal government in coalition with the MKP, and the previously mentioned parties, which had comprised the provisional government. However, actual power was in the hands of Rakosi, who was the General Secretary of the MKP (Archigos). Since Rakosi had a different SOLS than the last regular leader of Hungary, we code a SOLS change upon entry of the MKP dominated government in 1945.

Following elections in 1947, the MKP gained formally control of the political system, which is not a SOLS change. Rakosi became the head of government, and all opposition parties were

¹ Although Morby lists Horthy as part of the Hapsburg-Lorraine Dynasty, he was not a member of that family. Also since we code him as a personalist, his SOLS should not be Hapsburg-Lorraine Dynasty.

forced to merge with the MKP by 1949 (United States Department of State 2009). The new party that was formed as a result of the mergers was the Hungarian Worker's Party, originally abbreviated as MDP. In 1956, the MDP changed its name to the Hungarian Socialist Worker's Party, or MSzMP. The MDP government also created a new constitution that made Hungary into the communist Hungarian People's Republic.

From 1948 until the fall of communism in 1989, GWF code Hungary as being a single party state. In 1953 (another event not noted on the spreadsheet), Rakosi was replaced as Prime Minister (though not as General Secretary) by Imre Nagy, due to widespread economic difficulties. Nagy reversed some of Rakosi's more repressive policies, but the economic difficulties continued and Rakosi was able to undermine Nagy's reforms (United States Department of State 2009). Rakosi then forced Nagy from power in 1955, and returned to office once again. This interlude would not be coded as a SOLS change, but perhaps should be coded as a Leader change, even though the spreadsheet lists the MDP General Secretary as being the position of leadership in Hungary during this period.

Rakosi remained in office until 1956. That year, after Khrushchev's Secret Speech, Moscow intervened in the operations of the MDP, forcing it to undertake a leadership change (Molnár 2001, 309). In July, Rakosi was dismissed and sent into exile in the USSR. Leadership of the party then passed to the former second-in-command, Ernő Gerő (no SOLS change). However, Gerő was still a Stalinist, and his policies did not liberalize Hungary to the degree that was expected. In October, student demonstrations in support of Poland's Wladislaw Gomulka led to party leadership calling upon the Soviet army for assistance. This led to violence, and the party leadership panicked. They called upon Imre Nagy, a prominent Anti-Stalinist (who was very popular with the people) to take over leadership of the MDP, and he accepted (no SOLS change) (Molnár 2001, 312). Nagy immediately began the process of liberalization, and in order to quell the violence, reinstated a multi-party system and withdrew Hungary from the Warsaw pact. These acts did not sit well with the government of the Soviet Union, who ordered its troops to invade on 4 November. The Red Army was victorious, and Nagy took refuge at the Yugoslavian embassy (he was later executed). Janos Kádár, the only member of the MDP leadership who was not imprisoned (because he had defected from the Nagy cabinet), became the head of the government. The MDP was renamed the MSzMP, and Kádár began to consolidate his power. He also enacted many liberalizing measures in both the political and the economic sphere.

In 1988, Kádár was removed from power and replaced with Károly Grósz, who attempted to control the situation as pressure for democratization grew (no SOLS change). On 23 October 1989, the forces lobbying for democracy were victorious, and the Hungarian Republic was declared. Mátyás Szűrös, a member of the Hungarian Socialist Party (MSzP, the successor party of the MSzMP) became the interim President until elections could be held later in 1990 (no SOLS change). The President in Hungary holds a largely ceremonial role, but in the absence of a Prime Minister, they are the head of state.

When elections were held, in May 1990, the newly formed Democratic Forum (MDF) won the largest number of seats and its leader, Joseph Antall, became Prime Minister (SOLS change). The MDF governed in a coalition with the Independent Shareholder's Party (FKGP) and the Christian Democratic People's Party (KNDP). Antall remained in office until his death in 1993, at which point he was succeeded by Peter Boross, also of the MDF, who governed with the same coalition (no SOLS change). In 1994, Boross lost the parliamentary elections to a coalition led by Gyula Horn, a member of the MSzP (SOLS change). The coalition was with the Alliance of Free Democrats-Hungarian Liberal Party (SzDSz). Horn remained in office until 1998, when

it was ousted in elections by a coalition of the Fidesz-Hungarian Civic Union (MPP), the FKGP and the MDF. The leader of the MPP, Viktor Orban, became Prime Minister (SOLS change).

Orban was in office until 2002, when elections returned the MSzP/SzDSz coalition to power, this time under the leadership of Péter Medgyessy (SOLS change). Medgyessy was in office until August 2004, when he resigned following a failed cabinet reshuffle and a loss of coalition support (United States Department of State 2009). He was replaced by Ferenc Gyurcsany, also of the MSzP (no SOLS change). This coalition was reelected in 2006, and Gyurcsany remained in office until 2009. It is important to note that as of April 2008, the SzDSz pulled out of the coalition, leaving the MSzP to form a minority government. This is coded as a minor SOLS change.

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