

**EVOLUTION OF MULTI-PARTY SYSTEM  
IN  
HUNGARY ~~Since 1920~~**

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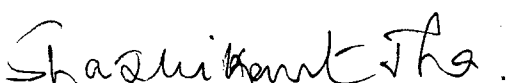
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## CERTIFICATE

This is to certify that the dissertation entitled EVOLUTION OF MULTI PARTY SYSTEM IN HUNGARY : 1989-1989 submitted by PARTHA SARATHI DAS, in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the award of the degree of MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY (M. Phil) of this University, is his own work and has not been submitted for the award of any other degree of this University of any other University.

We recommend that this dissertation be placed before the examiners for evaluation.

  
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*To*

*My*

*BAPA (FATHER)*

*WITH LOVE*

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However, the entire responsibility for the shortcomings in this manuscript is absolutely mine, and I am alone to be held responsible for it.

New Delhi  
21st July, 1998

PARTHA SARATHI DAS

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## **CHRONOLOGY OF KEY EVENTS IN HUNGARY SINCE 1946**

<b>1946</b>	Hungary proclaimed itself as a Republic
<b>1949</b> August 20	Communist People's Republic established
<b>1956</b> October 23 November 4	Anti-Stalinist Revolution breakout. Armed intervention by the USSR; Establishment of Hungarian revolutionary workers and Peasants Government under Janos Kadar.
<b>1958</b> June 16	Execution of Imre Nagy.
<b>1967</b> September 7	Twenty Year Treaty of friendship signed between Hungary and the USSR.
<b>1968</b> January 1	Inauguration of New Economic Mechanism (NEM)
<b>1984</b> April 18	Kadar endorses a 'New Development Path' for Hungary's Economic Development.
April 25	Beginning of Soviet troop withdrawals from Hungary.
May 9	HSWP surrenders its nomenklatura rights to the government.
June 14	Beginning of the National Round-Table (NRT) negotiations.
September 18	NRT Agreement signed by regime and opposition.
October 6-10	Last Congress of HSWP; founding Congress of the Hungarian Socialist Party (HSP).
October 23	Hungarian People's Republic renamed as the Republic of Hungary.

## **1985**

April 26 Hungary's membership in the Warsaw Treaty Organisation is renewed for twenty years.

June 8 Multi-candidate election for the Parliament and the local Governments.

## **1987**

September 27 Founding Conference of the Hungarian Democratic Front (HDF).

## **1988**

January 29 HDF sponsored public debate on demonstration and political pluralism.

March 15 15,000 demonstrators demand democracy and human rights.

September 3 HDF declares itself as a "Democratic Spiritual-Political Movement".

October 2 First Congress of the League of Young Democrats (LYD)

November 13 The Alliance of the Free Democrats (AFD) established.

## **1989**

February 10 Central Committee, Hungarian Socialist Workers Party (HSWP) endorses political pluralism in Hungary.

March 19 AFD becomes a political party.

April 12 Christian Democratic People's Party (CDPP) established.

## **1990**

March 25 First ever democratic election held.

April 29 Political agreement between the HDF and the AFD

May 22 Installation of the Hungary's freely elected coalition government headed by HDF (Jozsef Antall).



Antall became the 1st Prime Minister in the Post –Communist era..

**1991**

June Land Compensation Bill passed.

**1992**

February Independent Smallholders' Party (ISP) withdraw support from the government.

June Public disagreement arose between Jozsef Antall and President Goncz.

October 10,000 demonstrators demand press freedom

**1993**

January Demand for holding early election.

December 21 Jozsef Antall died.

**1994**

March 4 Mass demonstration in Budapest for the freedom of press.

April 1st country to apply for full membership in the European Union.

May Second General Election held in two rounds.

July 15 Gyula Horn formed the Socialist government.

## ABBREVIATIONS

AFD	Alliance of Free Democrats (SZDSZ)
AYD	Alliance of the Young Democrats
CC	Central Committee
CDPP	Christian Democratic Peoples' Party (KDNP)
HCP	Hungarian Communist Party (MKP)
HDF	Hungarian Democratic Forum (MDF)
HSDP	Hungarian Social Democratic Party (MSZDP)
HSP	Hungarian Socialist Party (MSZP)
HSWP	Hungarian Socialist Workers Party (MSZMP)
HWP	Hungarian Workers Party (MDM)
ISP	Independent Smallholders' Party
LYD	League of Young Democrats (Fidesz)
NEM	New Economic Mechanism
NDP	New Developmental Path
NRT	National Round Table
PB	Politburo
PP	People's party
RA	Reform Alliance
YCL	Young Communist League (KISZ)

# PREFACE

The breakdown of communist regimes in Eastern Europe has been one of the most dramatic events in recent history, particularly since the end of World War II. This revolution has brought crucial ideological, economic, political and cultural transformations in the region. By dismantling the Stalinist regimes, in Eastern Europe that had entrenched, themselves in the postwar period; the revolution of 1989 paved the way towards the establishment of new democratic systems.

Hungary has been one of the East European Countries, where initially steps towards democratic transformations were taken. Some of those initiatives date back to mid sixties. The transition towards democracy in Eastern-Europe in its essentials includes the conscious attempt to establish constitutional democracy and rule of law, political institution building, development of political parties and pressure groups, protection of right and liberties of individuals and groups as well as creating conditions for a healthy civil society.

In many of these respects Hungary has been ahead of the other countries of Eastern Europe. Particularly the evolution and crystallisation of party system in Hungary has been far more significant than any other field of democratic transition. The post-communist Hungary has to its credit the development of a group of political parties which are distinguished by a neat and clearly defined ideological polarisation.

So far as the emergence of party systems in developed countries is concerned, they have been largely historical. But unfortunately Hungary did not have time to develop political parties and party systems gradually. With the collapse of the communist regimes in 1989,

competitive elections were thrust upon most of the countries of the region (including Hungary) in 1990. Instead of patiently building party strength and gradually obtaining electoral success and parliamentary seats, Hungarian parties had to suddenly contest elections with little practise, organisation and political skill. Contemporary instances prove that Hungarian parties had no clear social basis and their voter had little party identification. Instead of gradually incorporating centre-periphery, state-church and worker-owner cleavages into a party system as in western Europe - Hungarian voters tumbled into a confusing unfocussed situation in which the only fixed pole was opposition to the old Communist party regime.

The gradual evolution of social cleavages and their attendant parties and party system in Hungary, typical of Western Europe was frozen by communist control and this has left Hungarian politics unstructured and volatile in the post communist era.

So far as the evolution of multiparty system in Hungary is concerned, for the first time in March 1988 on the 40th anniversary of 1948 Hungarian uprising against Austrian rule, some 10,000 people took part in an official march through the Capital Budapest demanding multiparty system, freedom of association, freedom of press and introduction of genuine reforms. But that protest was halted by the authorities. Later, in February 1989 the HSWP (Hungarian Socialist Workers Party) agreed to support the transition to a multiparty system and also to abandon the clause in the constitution-upholding the party's leading role in the society. In the following month an estimated 100,000 people took part in a peaceful anti-government demonstration in Budapest in support of demands for democracy, free elections and withdrawal of Soviet troops from Hungary. Finally, everything came into reality on 23rd October, 1989, when the Republic of Hungary was proclaimed.

In preparation the national Assembly approved fundamental amendments to the constitution including the removal of the clause guaranteeing one party rule. A new electoral law was also approved and the presidential council was replaced by the post of the President of the Republic. In order to know the present political condition of Hungary we should have a look at the election as it gives a snapshot (which includes parties number, strength, position in the political spectrum and relation with other political parties) of party systems at a given point of time.

Till today, Hungary has already been passed through at least two free elections. In the first multiparty election held in the year 1990, newly formed Hungarian Democratic Front (HDF) won a substantial plurality of seats. On May 23, its Chairman, Jozsef Antall installed a Centre-right coalition government by taking the help of the Christian Democratic People's Party (CDPP) and Independent Small Holders Party (ISHP).

For the second time, elections held in Hungary in the year 1994. That election resulted in a clear parliamentary majority for Hungarian Socialist Party (HSP) which received 33% of the votes for the regional party lists and won 209 of the National Assembly's 386 seats. Finally, on July 15, Gyula Horn, leader of the HSP formed the government along with the AFD's support.

The third general multi party election in Hungary held in two rounds on 10th May and 24th May, 1998. In this election Alliance of Young Democrats - Hungarian Civil Party emerged as the single largest party, and its leader *Victor Orban* formed a new coalition government by taking the help of the ISP (Independent Smallholders Party and the AFD (the Alliance of Free Democrats).

Here though seven years have already passed since the demise of communist rule in Hungary, the collapse of the communist system did not necessarily lead to the demise and disappearance of the communist parties. Now, the former communist parties are playing a vital role in conditioning the scope and development of politics in the new democracies of Eastern Europe.

In conclusion, we can say that there is great political fluidity. A definite constellation of political parties has not yet emerged. Though a clear party structure seems a pre requisite for the crystallisation of political opinion and for unveiling political preferences of the people but it is yet to be developed. Party formation is driven from above by political entrepreneurship located primarily in election contests and in parliaments. Parties tend to be cadre configuration not mass organisations. Despite progress to date, parties and party systems remain weak and unconsolidated. This has made Hungarian politics unstructured and volatile in the post tyranny era. For that cause, now they (same educationalists) do favour to establish a partyless "civil society" - which will be a blue print of democracy.

Whatever that may be the strengthening of party system in Hungary requires the grounding of political parties in an organisational capacity that forges established links to mass memberships. Democratic stability is dependant on such institutionalisation and not merely on substantive alignments along social cleavages or policy preferences. For that reason greater attention to organisation strength is required in the characterisation of party system in Hungary.

Here, the proposed study aims at making a critical analysis of the formation and development of political parties in post communist Hungary; their ideological programme; electoral performance and contribution to the strengthening of the democratic system.

The first chapter gives the theoretical framework of party system and critically examines the nature of Hungarian party system.

The second chapter gives an historical account of the political development in communist Hungary including the rise of people's movement and its role in bringing about the collapse.

The third chapter attempts to analyse the evolution of multiparty system; the fragmentation of political parties in the initial phase of political transition; their ideological programme and their electoral performance in the last three general elections (1990, 1994 & 1998). The last chapter, which is the conclusion critically evaluates the role of multi party system in strengthening democratic system in Hungary.



# *CHAPTER I*

## *POLITICAL PARTIES IN A DEMOCRATIC SYSTEM: A THEORETICAL BACKGROUND*

The role of political parties in the system of representative government is not only important but also creative and comprehensive. The political parties are in a unique position to transform broad popular preferences into specific actions, thereby providing the main channel through which, democratic systems can be made responsive to the citizens. A party is the political force that has emerged to make democracy workable in its indirect form, when its classical order had become unworkable in western mass societies. The parties serve as the firm foundation of representative democracy and perform all its major institutional and functional activities. They are the great inter-intermediaries which link social forces and ideologies to official governmental institutions and relate them to political action within the large political community. They do provide the indispensable links between the people and the representative machinery of government. Besides, the parties provide a stable basis for the majority principle in democracy and make it legitimate and realizable.

Political parties in essence and concept are relatively modern. It emerged only in the 19th Century with the development of representative government and the expansion of the suffrage in Europe and the United States.

Drawing on their functioning we can postulate a number of operational factors. A fairly sharp growth in the amount and complexity of the work needed to run a society places the task beyond the competence of a single man to organize. Hence, there is a growing need of organising candidates / specialists in competing teams i.e. political parties. Besides this there is also a great need of the mass public to be involved in this process which shape their lives.

Parties seek to channelise and give expression to different feelings amongst the governed. One theory links the development of parties to the extension of the suffrage. In its widest sense this has a good deal of truth. Universal suffrage gives an indispensable role to the parties as the link between government and governed. On the other hand, the quest for extension of suffrage in pre-democratic countries plays an equally formative role in party development.

While defining the term 'political party' Edmund Burke says "it is a body of men for promoting by their joint endeavours the national interest upon some particular principle to which they are agreed".<sup>1</sup> A party often promotes its principles tend to divide it as much as they unite. It does not invariably act in joint endeavour and its members tend to form groups and resort to infighting on issues and its branches individually pre-occupy themselves with varying local causes. Moreover, the party of Edmund Burke is not necessarily a seeker of political power, for its sole objective of promoting national interest can be achieved by being outside government and being independent of governmental assistance. In the words of Gettel "A political party consists of a group of citizens, more or less organised, who act as a political unit, who by the use of their voting power, aim to control the government and carryout

their general policies"<sup>2</sup> Austin Ranney writes "A political party is an autonomous body, organised in group that makes nominations and contests

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<sup>1</sup> Edmund Burke quoted in Theodore W. Cousins, *Politics and Political Organisation in America* (New York : The MacMillan & Co., 1948), p.10.

<sup>2</sup> R.G. Gettel, *Political Science* (Calcutta : The World Press Limited 1959), p.11.

election in the hope of eventually getting and exercising control of the personnel and policies of government"<sup>3</sup>. Max Weber, identifies a political party as 'an associative type of social relationship, membership in which rests on formally free recruitment ..... devoted to secure power within a corporate group for its leaders in order to attain ideal and material advantages for its active members which may consist in the realisation of certain objective policies for the attainment of personal advantages or both."<sup>4</sup> Leon Epstein considers a party in any western democracy to be a group, however loosely organised, seeking to elect governmental office holders under a given label".<sup>5</sup>

At the beginning of the century in Britain, there were Miners' candidates for parliament, yet one could hardly have talked of miners as a political party. They ought to be considered an interest group pursuing ends through various means including the political. It would be appropriate to add to the Epstein definition that the groups primarily aim is to seek political power. Since the latter should not be considered indivisible this covers also the case of the party with no aspiration to anything other than minority status.

According to Duverger a "party is a collection of communities, a union of small groups dispersed throughout the country (branches, concensus, local associations, etc) and linked by coordinating institutions"<sup>6</sup>. In the words of Friedrich, a political party is a group of human beings, organised with the objective of security and maintaining for its leaders

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<sup>3</sup> Parmatma Saran, *Comparative Government and Politics* (New Delhi : Meenakshi Publication, 1988), p.596.

<sup>4</sup> Max Weber, *The theory of social and economic organisation*, (London:William Hodge & Co., 1947), pp. 372-374.

<sup>5</sup> Leon Epstein, *Political Parties in Western Democracies* (Pall Mall, London., 1967), p. 27.

<sup>6</sup> Maurice Duverger, *Political Parties – Their Organisation and Activity in Modern State* (London:Methuen & Co., 1954), P. 4.

the control of a government, and with the further objective of giving to members of the party through such control, ideal and material benefits and advantages".<sup>7</sup> 'Political parties' observes Raymond Aron, 'are ..... voluntary groups, some more organised, some less, which claim in the name of a certain idea of the common interest and of society to assume, alone or in coalition, the functions of government"<sup>8</sup>.

While most of these definitions are applicable to parties of every kind, Naumann introduces an element which provides the essential distinction between the party conceived in democracy and those of the totalitarian order. According to him "Political party is the articulate organisation of society's active political agents those who are concerned with the control of governmental power and who compete for popular support with another group or groups holding divergent views. As such, it is the great intermediary which links social forces and ideologies to official governmental institutions and relates them to political action within the larger political community"<sup>9</sup>.

Here he says that political party in a democracy is an association of persons contributing to some common objectives and endeavouring to attain political power through free and competitive electoral process in order that it may implement its policies and promote its interests using mainly the organs and resources of government. A democratic party comes to power by institutional means, remains in power on the strengths of its own majority and goes out of power through a constitutional exit.

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<sup>7</sup> Parmatma Saran, *op. cit.*, p. 596.

<sup>8</sup> Raymond Aron, *Democracy & Totalitarianism* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1968), p. 71.

<sup>9</sup> S. Naumann, *Modern Political Parties, Approaches to Imperative Politics Contribution*, 2<sup>nd</sup> Imp. (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1957), p.396.

In the first half of the 19th century, when people referred to parties, they were thinking primarily of ideologies, rather than the man who subscribed to them. During that period of time, European political life was dominated by the conflict dramatised by the French Revolution of 1789. In the second half of the 19th century another type of conflict appeared which was between the feudal lords and peasants the one between Socialists and Capitalists. At first, it interfered with the earlier struggle and finally replaced it. Both conflicts were simultaneously class struggles and ideological struggles, which eventually found expression in organised parties.

The expansion of the term "party" to include organisations with varying goals has resulted in the scarcity of viable party theory. Apart from the pioneering works of Moisei Ostrogorskii<sup>11</sup> (1902) and Michels<sup>12</sup> (1911), there exist mostly descriptive studies of parties in individual countries (e.g. Naumann<sup>13</sup> 1956). The most ambitious attempt to carry party theory forward has been that of Maurice Duverger<sup>14</sup> (1951).

Duverger uses a historically determinist framework which makes the mass membership party the inevitable product of universal suffrage and renders archaic many existing and seemingly durable electoral parties. In contrast this discussion will focus upon the political organisation which actively and effectively engages in the competition for elective office.

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<sup>11</sup> Moisei Ostrogorskii-1902 *Democracy and the Org. of parties*. 2 volumes (London, Newyork - Macmillan 1964).

<sup>12</sup> Robert Michels - 1911 : *Political parties - A Sociological Study of the political tendencies of modern Democracy* (Oxford University Press, Oxford, London, 1951).

<sup>13</sup> S. Nauman – *Modern Political Parties : Approaches to Comparative Politics* (Chicago : University of Chicago Press, 1957).

<sup>14</sup> Maurice Duverger – *Political Parties, their organisation and their activity in modern state* (New York, 1962).

This emphasis makes it possible to resolve at least one issue which has hampered the development of party theory, the function of the party within the political system.

For making a complete analysis of political party, Durverger says that all the aspects including ideological, social, structural and organisational should be taken into account<sup>15</sup>. At the outset, he himself by taking all these aspects into consideration distinguishes between elitist or traditional political parties and mass parties.

By and large, the conservative, liberal and radical parties of present day Europe have retained on the whole the structure they acquired in the 19th century and they are the prototype of the elitist party. These parties do not aim at recruiting the largest possible membership but at enlisting the support of notable individuals : they are more concerned with quality than with quantity.

The difference between flexible<sup>16</sup> parties (without disciplined voting) and rigid parties (with disciplined voting and greater centralisation in general) is an important difference between traditional parties and mass parties, although most mass parties are rigid and most elitist parties are flexible. Great Britain offers the example of rigid elitist parties - conservative and liberal. On the other side, the technique of organising mass parties were invented more than half a century ago by the Socialist movements and later communist parties and, more recently, by parties in developing countries.

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<sup>15</sup> *Ibid*, p. 7.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid* p.8.

By taking these two concepts into consideration La Palombra and Weiner<sup>17</sup> differentiate between internally and externally created parties. The former are the groups of people already involved in governmental and normally on the legislative side who organise parties and only latter seek a mass base. On the other hand, externally created parties emerge independently of the government processes. They may define their goals in terms of working through the established system and by trying to overthrow it. In Britain the conservative party and liberal parties can be considered as internally created and labour party as externally created. However, differences in origin do not necessarily imply variations in contemporary structure.

Besides these two types of parties, there are also another two kinds of organisations which stand between the mass parties and the elitist those are indirect parties and the parties in developing countries,<sup>19</sup> both of which are closer to mass parties than to the traditional parties.

By classifying the party organisation in the above mentioned way, Duverger differentiates four types of basic unit : the caucus, the branch, the cell and the militia.<sup>20</sup>

The caucus is the favoured form for a cadre party. These are groups of elites who do not seek party strength through mass membership but rather through family links, traditional influence and governmental manoeuvre.

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<sup>17</sup> La Palombra & Weiner "*Political Parties and Political Development*" (Princeton : Princeton University Press, 1966).

<sup>19</sup> Maurice Duverger, *op. cit.*, p.8.

<sup>20</sup> Stanley Heing "*European Political Parties*" (London, 1969).



Originally all internally created parties operated through the caucus but increasingly today they use other forms of organisation as well.

Most major, modern parties in west European countries cater for a mass membership and are organised through branches. This does not necessarily imply that the members have complete democratic control over the party; it does, however, indicate a function expressed in terms of gaining popular support. The cell too may be a feature of mass membership parties although it resembles the caucus in exclusiveness and secrecy. Specially, it is an invention of the communist movement and each cell operates as the chosen instrument of the central party organisation in electoral contests and in efforts to penetrate other organisations. Finally, the Militia is a regular weapon of parties designed in fact as well as in theory, for the rapid revolutionary overthrow of existing government. The party becomes a kind of private army and its co-existence on a long term basis with parties organised in alternative ways seem improbable. According to Duverger, none of the parties can be found in reality. Parties in reality will always be having mixed structures.

In thinking of differences in the patterns of interaction among party unity, one variable has always come first to mind. The member of interacting units and in other words the extent to which party systems are consolidated and fragmented. In fact this is not just the foremost but the sole dimension on which most existing studies distinguish party systems. Much the most frequently used typology of party system has been a purely numerical division into three classes: single party systems, two party systems and multiparty systems, with occasionally the single party

systems subdivided particularly to distinguish dictatorial from representative structures.

If party system involves interactions among party units in the process of electoral competition then the idea of one party system is logically absurd for one cannot have a competition and an interaction with only one actor. In a one party state only the single party system is tolerated and organised through itself. Duverger, for example, includes the category like many other writers - the American South as well as Nazi Germany, Fascist Italy, Portugal under Salazar and Turkey from 1923 to 1950.

So far as bi-party system is concerned, it is not logically absurd but two party systems in the literal sense are extremely rare, though they are existing. There are three principal situations. First, the two parties may be almost equal in size over a fairly long period of time in which case a very slight shift in the election can alter the majority, which depends for victory on a small number of marginal votes. This means that governmental power may be transformed from one major party to the other at rather frequent intervals.

Second, if the two parties are not similar in size, and one has a substantially greater following than the other then the larger party is assured of being in power for a prolonged period of time, during which a slow process of erosion gradually weakens its hold and enables the opposition party come to power. In this case, changes in government occur frequently.

Finally, there is the situation in which the differential in size is so great that the smaller party has virtually no hope of attaining power except over a very long period of time. At this point we are closer to the 'dominant party system' than to a genuine two party system.

"Dominant Party System"<sup>21</sup> according to Duverger, is a kind of party system which is represented as a half way between a pluralist system and a one party system. A party is termed "Dominant" if it displayed the following two characteristics in a two or a multi party system : 1) It must clearly outdistance its rivals over an extended period of time. (even if occasionally sustaining an electoral defeat : (2) it must identify with the nation as a whole - its doctrines ideas and its style coinciding with those of the times for example (INC in India during 50's and 60's).

The last but not the least of party system category which poses a logical difficulty is multiparty system. From the standpoint of numbers, the types of multiparty systems are ; -

theoretically unlimited (two plus party system as it is called) but practically speaking the situation is much simpler. Actually there are three main categories of multiparty systems-

countries such as Belgium and Austria with a three party system; Countries like France, Italy and Northern Europe, for example, with four to six parties to which a small parliamentary groups sometimes added artificially increasing the figure; and finally countries such as India, Hungary with a very large number of parties. This last type seems to reflect the addition of ethnic and regional divisions to political divisions.

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<sup>21</sup> Maurice Duverger, *op. cit.*, p.24.

It is found from the above that if the categories one party, two party and multiparty systems are taken at face value they yield a classificatory scheme that simply does not classify. Taken literally all but a very few ideosyncratic cases fall in to the third category. Since the first is logically untenable and the second is empirically nearly empty.

Besides this, Duverger<sup>22</sup> in connection with party strength classifies parties into four types:

1. Parties with a majority bent, that is, capable of commanding a absolute parliamentary majority.
2. Major parties, which cannot normally command absolute majorities but can overn with some external support;
3. Medium parties which can participate in government only by playing a subordinate role in coalitions and which cannot get an opposition to coalise round them and
4. Minor parties, which are so small as to be incapable of playing any significant role in government or in opposition.

Party strength, however, is not a matter of quantities pure and simple, not that Duverger's criteria for classifying parties according to their strength are to explicitly numerical but are concerned with the actual and potential role of parties in government and opposition.

Sartori<sup>23</sup> in his classic book "Parties and Party Systems (1976)" has effectively classified parties into five types which include :-

1. Witness parties, those interested in votes and in maximising votes;
2. Ideological parties, those interested in votes primarily through indiscriminate.
3. Responsible parties, which do not submit policies for maximising votes.
4. Responsive parties for which winning elections or maximising votes take priority and
5. purely dogmatic, irresponsible parties, which are only vote maximisers.

Besides this he has given a much more diverse classification of systems covering several sub-varieties within the one party system. He differentiated the two party and multiparty systems on the basis of 'pluralism and atomism'.<sup>24</sup>

According to Sartori, the single party system is one where political competition between different political parties is either non-existent, or is not very effective. The single party mode may be said to have three varieties. It is monopolistic when political power is wielded by one party

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<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, p.27.

<sup>23</sup> Sartori Giovanni, *Politics and Party System : A Framework for Analysis*, (London: Cambridge University Press, 1976), p.222.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 210.

alone and no other party is permitted to exist at all. Such a party system exhibits three sub varieties. It is totalitarian and has the rubric of 'dictatorship' when the degree of coercion is very high; policies adopted by it are highly destructive to the opponents, only official ideology is sacrosanct. No autonomy to other groups is sanctioned and the element of arbitrariness is unbounded and unpredictable.

It is authoritarian when the criteria of ideology is weak and non-totalistic; degree of coercion is medium and some autonomy is available to different groups. It is pragmatic when the hold of ideology is very feeble, even irrelevant; degree of coercion is quite low, sub-group independence is also allowed and the element of arbitrariness is limited.<sup>25</sup>

While the totalitarian and authoritarian parties assumed to reflect different ideological intensities the one party pragmatic presents that end of the continuance at which an ideological mentality gives way to a pragmatic mentality. Totalitarian and authoritarian appear as different points of an ideological scale whose lowest point is called pragmatism.

Another variety of the single party system is its hegemonic position where the existence of other parties is allowed and only one party counts more than all the other parties. The other parties live like its "Satellites"<sup>26</sup> and subordinate entities without posing any challenge to its hold. The hegemonic party neither allows for a formal nor a de facto competition for power, other parties are permitted to exist, but as second class licensed parties for they are not permitted to compete with the hegemonic party in antagonistic terms and an equal basis. Not only does alternation

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<sup>25</sup> *Ibid*, p. 211.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid*, p. 223.

not occur, in fact it cannot occur, since the possibility of a rotation in power is not even envisaged. The implication is that the hegemonic party will remain in power whether it is liked or not. The case of hegemonic party has two sub-varieties ideological or pragmatic. In the ideological hegemonic party system the ruling party is committed to a particular ideology like the erstwhile communist party of Hungary. It is pragmatic when the ruling party has no such commitment like in the case of the institutional Revolutionary Party of Mexico.<sup>27</sup>

Another variety of a single party system is the predominant party system where a power configuration exists in which one party governs alone without being subjected to alternation as long as it continues to win absolute majority in the election.

According to Sartori, a bi-party system is one where the existence of third parties does not prevent the two major parties from governing alone and, therefore, coalitions are unnecessary. It involves these important conditions, two parties are in a position to compete for the absolute majority of seats; one of the two parties actually succeeds in winning a sufficient parliamentary majority and this party is willing to govern alone; and alternation and rotation in power remains a credible expectation.

Sartori's bi-party and multi-party systems embody the characteristics of "polarised pluralism."<sup>28</sup> In a case of polarised pluralism, different parties exist and operate including those relevant anti system ones that may go to the extent of undermining the legitimacy of the regime. There exists bi-lateral and multi-lateral opposition and counter oppositions with the result

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<sup>27</sup> *Ibid*, p. 230.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid*, p. 118.

that interaction maybe biangular triangular and quadrangular. Irresponsible oppositions, governmental instability and shifting coalitions are common features of the political system.<sup>29</sup>

Sartori propounds a case of extreme pluralism which is the hallmark of an 'atomised' party system. A multiparty system having a highly fragmented character leads to the existence of highly fluid party politics. Here no party is in a position to cast a noticeable effect on the other.

An atomised party is fragmented leader by leader, with very small groups revolving around each other. As such, it had no significant factional articulation beyond the face value of all that characterises a political party.<sup>30</sup>

In the final analysis it can be argued that neat and water tight classification of the party systems is an impossible task.

In the view of Michelo Crotti<sup>31</sup> "Essentially party signifies a group of people who hold certain political beliefs in common and who are prepared to support the party candidates, work together for electoral victory, attain and maintain political power. He formulated the "Iron law of Oligarchy"<sup>32</sup> to explain the triumph of the leaders ambitions for office over the membership's revolutionary goals. According to him, political parties are specialised organisations whose purpose is to secure power within a corporate group for their leaders in order to attain ideal and material advantage. They may spring up within trade unions,

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<sup>29</sup> *Ibid*, p. 132.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid*, p.75.

<sup>31</sup> Michelo Crotti, *Comparative Government and Politics*, (New York :Harper and Collins, 1968), p.165.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid*, p.168.



corporations, universities, parliaments and the state itself in which latter case they are political parties. Parties are thus specialised associations and become more complex, organised and bureaucratic as society approaches the modern type.

The central object of a political organisation is to capture power either singly or in collaboration with others. It is this goal of attaining political power that distinguishes political parties from other groups in the political system, although the distinction is rather blurred at times, especially in regard to pressure groups. Michels 'iron law' is the product of his preoccupation with the German Social Democratic Party and his disdainful neglect of the party system in which that organisation developed.

### NUMERICAL APPROACHES<sup>33</sup>

Analysing European party systems through numerical relations among parties has its roots in two seemingly rather different approaches.

One is the traditional dichotomising between two party systems and multiparty systems in which the first stood mostly for the British System and latter for the party systems of the French third and fourth Republics.

The approach derives a substantial number of logical consequences from the difference of two and more than two, e.g. in relation to the formation of the majorities, the changes of voters directly to determine the choice of government, the likelihood of alternation of office the opportunity for

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<sup>33</sup> Hans Doulder & Peter Mair, *Western European Political Systems* (V.K. Sage Publication, 1983), p. 28.

clear decisions and definite electoral accountability and the degree to which parties must choose a moderate course.

The second approach had its origin in rather different attempts to validate specific propositions with the aid of cross-national data on election results and the compositions of Parliaments and cabinets. This approach tries to study the relation between votes and seats in different electoral systems the duration of the cabinets (government); the chances of specific parties on office and offices and more generally the validity of different formal coalition theories.<sup>34</sup>

### Parties and Social Cleavages

Like the approach through numbers, analysis of party systems through the cleavage structures they are taught to represent has an old linkage in political science. To Hume, "parties of interest" were much more normal than the most extraordinary and uncountable phenomenon that has yet appeared in human affairs - "parties of principle". Traditional analyses described party conflict in terms of specific cleavage divisions a matter of course e.g. town versus country, church versus anti-clerics, one estate against another and later of classes which were to be inevitably in conflict with one another. In modern times, social cleavages do play a vital role more (in terms of class, religion, age, sex) in developing countries rather than in developed countries.

### Spatial Approaches

In a flourishing literature basically steaming from Schumpeter (1942) and Dorrons (1957), parties are portrayed as unfettered entrepreneurs, rationally making their strategic channels of electoral success by

embracing programmes that should win them a maximum number of votes.

In such views parties clearly must not be tied down to any bond. Since Downs's pioneering study authors in this tradition have generally reasoned in spatial terms locating voters and parties in a presumed common place in which both parties and voters move to obtain the maximum possible success. The literature is highly complex and often very abstract and hence not easily applied in practice.

When one speaks of party systems, then one speaks at bottom of interactions in a particular kind of political process. That process however is closely tied to certain political structures and functions. So far as their functions are concerned, they do a vital role in fulfilling their role in a democracy:

1. They recruit the personnel for government, particularly in legislative and executive side.
2. Through their political discourse, they continuously provide political education and inculcate political skill.
3. They define the political issues.
4. They bridge the distance between the people and the government.
5. They assume responsibility after the services.
6. They fulfil a useful function in acting as the catalyst for political discussion.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid*, p. 29.

Thus, the role of political party in a democratic state can not be ignored. By glorifying the role of political party in present day democracy some one has said "Democracy is neither a government of the people nor a government of the majority of people but a government by the leaders of the party which secured majority in the legislature - more precisely it is "protocracy".<sup>35</sup>

On that ground 'party' commented Jonathan Swift with his usual irony "is the madness of many for the gain of few".<sup>36</sup>

By taking this point into consideration (evils of party politics) many political scientist have tried to drop the assumption of party as a unitary actor. But in reality it is next to impossible.

The fluidity of party systems in Eastern and Central Europe is self evident, if only through the collapse of Communist domination, the founding of democratic institutions, and the consolidation of democratic structures. The appearance and disappearance of political parties, the formation and breakdown of governing coalitions, the rapid swings in voter support, all testify further to the evolution of parties and party systems during the transition period. There are important variations among the individual countries of the region in terms of the pathways taken to build a stable democratic order, although a common conceptual typology can be applied to understand the stages of party formation and system structuring.

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<sup>35</sup> S. K. Jain, *Party Politics in India*, (New Delhi, 1985), p. 6.

<sup>36</sup> Jonathan Swift quoted in Richard Hofstadter *The Idea of Party System* (New York, 1969), p. 2.

To represent an ideal typical central or East European Party System we might divide it into those parties that spun off from the original catchall and those who had an existence independent of the catchall. In time, the origin of parties - inside or outside the catchall may not matter but for the present we gain some clarity by dividing them in this way. Accordingly, our spectrum of political parties would have two axes, the conventional horizontal left-right, plus a vertical axis of former Catchall and parties of independent origin.

The path to democracy is a process built on the experience of the past. It is important, then, to begin with an examination of the nature of the hegemonic party system<sup>37</sup> dominated by the ruling communist parties. The conditions contributing to the collapse of the system and extent of political opposition help to define the extra active mode and emergence of a Polarized Party System<sup>38</sup> - constituted along the poles of communist and democratic support.

The political bifurcation was more than a reflection of the past than the future; and thus give way to a Fragmented Party System<sup>39</sup> characterised by numerous political parties competing along sexual dimensions of Societal conflict. The unregimented, even chaotic, nature of such political inter action was gradually reduced through political mechanisms and socio-economic changes, leading to the polarization of the party system.<sup>40</sup>

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<sup>37</sup> J. Bielasiaak, "Development of Party System in East Central Europe", *Communist and Post Communist Studies*, Vol 30, no.1, p.28, 1997.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid*, p. 30

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid*, p. 30.

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid*, p. 30.

These conditions create the potential to form a stable, self sustaining party environment along well defined axes of competition, culminating in a polyarchial party system<sup>41</sup>

Whatever that may be the movement from party fragmentation to a Pluralist Party System in ECE is evident, but not complete. For that reason it is more appropriate to talk about the pluralization of the party system then to proclaim the stability of a Polyarchial Party Structures defined by strong parties with roots in the constituency.

### SARTORI' Polarised Pluralism

Does the distribution of parties in Central and Eastern Europe fit Gioranni Sartoi's model of "Polarized Pluralism"<sup>42</sup>? Yes! Briefly, such system contain more than five or six relevant parties (extremely multi partism) with some of the parties anti-system, confronting the ruling party with "bilateral opposition" on both the left and the right.

In Eastern and Central Europe we do find the aspects of polarised pluralism. And that have produced counter fleeing tendencies that have already led to the break up of one country. The Economic Strains of Marketisation and the jealousies aroused by privatisation put regimes and party systems under incredible pressures. But many Central and East Europeans understand the difficulties they face and are prepared to stay with non-extremist parties.

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<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.* p. 30.

<sup>42</sup> Michel G. Ruskin "The Emerging Party Systems of Central and Eastern Europe" *East European Quarterly*, Vol. 27 No. 1, March, 1993.

## *CHAPTER II*

### *EVOLUTION OF MULTI PARTY SYSTEM IN HUNGARY: THE TRANSITIONAL PHASE*

"Continental European parties", one of the Hungarian Veterans has written, "are the remnants of the intellectuals social movements of the 19th Century. They have remained glued to the spots where the ebbing energy of such movements deposited them some decades ago."<sup>1</sup>

Political party development in Hungary especially began during the 1840's with the efforts of Lajos Kossuth and Ferenc Teak in uniting a liberal grouping in the subsequent Hungarian legislature.<sup>2</sup> The goal was to reestablish Hungarian Autonomy with a series of governmental reforms. However, the efforts were pre-empted by the 1848 revolt of the Hungarians against Hasburg rule. Although unsuccessful the revolt forced a series of changes in the then Hungarian political system. The ancient parliament was reformed, suffrage was broadened and cabinet responsibility was instituted.

Later the Austro-Hungarian empire began to disintegrate in the last months of world War I.<sup>3</sup> Austria and Hungary came under pressure from the Allied forces to settle on peace agreements including recognition of independence for Greeks, Yugoslavs and Poles. Following this incident Hungary's Prime Minister Sandor Wekerk declared Hungary's independence from Austrian rule in all matters except recognition of the throne. Thus, the kingdom Hungary reemerged but without its precious held land in Czechoslovakia, Romania and Yugoslavia.

<sup>1</sup> Stanley Henig & John Pindor, *European Political Parties*, (George Allen & Urwin Ltd., London, 1968), p. 432.

<sup>2</sup> E. Micheal & Skowsonki *Political Parties of Europe* (Green Wood Press, USA, 1983), p. 232.



In 1919, a brief communist rule under Bela Kun was followed by 25 years of right wing authoritarian government under Admiral. Miklos Horthy who bore the title of the regent.<sup>4</sup> Having recognised Northern Transylvania from Romania under the 1940 Vienna award, Hungary joined Germany in the war against Soviet Union in June 1941 and was occupied by Soviet forces in 1944. As a result Horthy was replaced by Ferenc Szalasi of the Naziist Arrow Cross party who served as acting regent and prime minister. During the Szalasi Nazi regime, the communists formed the peace party which was joined by the Independent Small Holders Party, the Social Democrats and agrarian elements in establishing the National Independence Front.

With the arrival of Soviet army a provincial government was set up under Soviet auspices in December, 1944. As a result the Szalasi Government eventually collapsed and Hungary was declared liberated in early April, 1945.<sup>5</sup>

After the second World War the Soviet model of social, economic and political organisation, was imposed on Eastern Europe and the Balkans - a group of states sharply distinguished from the Soviet Union itself by their histories, cultures, political traditions and social economic structures. As an important state of the region, Hungary was not an exception to this process.

Thus, in Hungary the Soviet model of socio-economic and political system was consolidated by the local leaders (communists of local origin) according to the suitable

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid*, p. 241.

<sup>4</sup> *Statesman Year Book*, 1996.

local conditions. It allowed them to establish or to reestablish communist party organisations in Hungary and so also led to the establishment of communist dominated coalition governments in the immediate post-war period. These soon gave way to straight forward communist rule. The local leaders, attempted to carry out the economic development to manage competing claims for resources to forestall and, when necessary, suppress the emergence of competing political claims; and thereby to hold on to political power.

The provisional government was composed of members from the prewar political groupings who had agreed to form a government of national unity. Elections were held on November 4, 1945 resulting in a majority of seats (245 out of 409) going to the independent Small Holders Party and as the single largest party it formed the government. The communist came in second place by securing 70 seats. The new National Assembly voted on 31 January, 1946 to declare Hungary a Republic.<sup>7</sup>

Although the communists had received only 17% of the vote in 1945, they managed to obtain key governmental posts with the help of the Soviet military authorities. As a result of electoral irregularities and various political manoeuvrings designed to discredit the anti-communist elements, the communist party dominated block secured a majority vote (271 out of 411 seats) in the 1947 elections, and succeeded in forcing Tridly from the Presidency. The Independent Small Holders Party had dropped to third place in the popular vote. By the end of that year the communist party had emerged as the leading

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<sup>5</sup> E Michale & Skowsonvski , *Political Parties of Europe*, (Green Wood Publications, USA, 1983), p. 243

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid*, p. 244.

political force. The communists merged with the social democrats to form the Hungarian workers party in June 1948. A people's Republic was established in August, 1949.<sup>8</sup>

The early communist rule in Hungary was headed by Matyas Rakosi, who governed the country dictatorially. Following Stalin's death on 5 March, 1953 and the ensuing relaxation of Stalinism in Eastern Europe, Rakosi was deposed in July, 1953 and replaced by Imre Nagy. By the spring of 1955, Nagy was out and Rakosi returned to power and remained until July 1956, when he was again removed and this time replaced by Erno Gero.

As it has been mentioned, totalitarianism was imposed upon Hungary, by the Soviet army. This is why it could never be completely assimilated and did not develop its specific traits to the fullest scale. The people's resistance played an important part and it did some reluctance of those who were implementing it. This was especially true of the cultural domain. However, it was the resistance of the people, the resistance of the "social texture" being "processed" that played the major role.<sup>9</sup>

Besides this, Nagy's "new course" and destalinisation had helped to set a new mood. On 23 October, 1956 students and others demonstrated in Budapest in sympathy with Poland's anti soviet resistance movement. Events moved swiftly as the demonstrators went on to call for an independent national policy and urged the return of Nagy. When (Fero) accused them of slandering the soviet union the demonstrators reacted by smashing the

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<sup>8</sup> *Hungarian Political Year Book* - 1996.

<sup>9</sup> Bigler M. Robert "Communist Democracy", *East European Quarterly*, Jan 1992, . 232.

huge statue of Stalin. Finally, the Hungarian revolution of 1956 erupted due to police interference.

Despite all these happenings the people demanded the reinstatement of Nagy. Gero, was compelled to concede by asking Nagy to reassume the Prime Ministership.

Nagy's cabinet finally comprised a majority of non communist ministers drawn from the Small Holder, Social Democrat and National Peasant parties. While "negotiating" for the withdrawal of their troops from Hungarian soil, the Soviets began moving yet more troops into Hungary; and on 4 November they commenced an attack; terminating the revolt by the end of the year. Approximately 200,000 Soviet troops were involved, Casualties in the households and an estimated 150,000 to 200,000 Hungarians fled the country under fear of deportation or execution. Finally, the Revolution of 1956 came to an end. Nagy was removed and eventually executed and replaced by Janos Kadar.<sup>11</sup>

Thus, in order to understand the process of transition in its entirety and complexity, it is not enough to analyse the events that preceded the formation of democratic government in 1989: one has also to keep in mind the preliminary process that began as early as 1956 - and prepared the ground for the breakthrough of 1989.<sup>12</sup>

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<sup>11</sup> *Europa Guide- 1996*, Publication on Hungary.

<sup>12</sup> Węsoloski "Transformation from Authoritarianism to Democracy", *Social Research*, Vol. 57, No. 2, Summer, 1990, p. 437.

Many Hungarians perceived the system as aggressive as early as 1945 but they were muted and their influence was limited especially on the young. The post war generation recognised the system's real traits in their own experiences.

Concerned primarily with consolidating its position the Kadar government was initially rigid and authoritarian. However, the 1962 Congress of the Hungarian Social Workers Party (HSWP) marked the beginning of a trend towards pragmatism in domestic policy combined with strict adherence to Soviet pronouncements in foreign affairs.<sup>13</sup> The latter was most dramatically demonstrated by the participation of Hungarian troops in the Warsaw Pact invasion of Czechoslovakia in August, 1968. At the same time, the country's domestic pragmatism was demonstrated by the implementation of a programme known as New Economic Mechanism (NEM), which allowed for decentralisation, more flexible management strategies and incentives for efficiency and expanded production of consumer goods.<sup>14</sup>

Strikes and riots of 1970's discredited the system politically. They totally eliminated the illusions that the communist party represents the working class. The party and government could not represent the workers when using violence in dealing with protests against the malfunctioning of industrial management and against inhuman bureaucracy. In the years 1976-80 the system received another severe blow, the discreditation extended to its economic base. Despite western credits, the logic of the economy resulted in increasing strategies of goods and in growing economic inefficiency.

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<sup>13</sup> George Schopflon "End of Communism in Eastern Europe" *East European Quarterly* 1992, p. 271.

<sup>14</sup> *Statesman Year Book*, 1995.

Following the experiences, the early 1980's became a period of eloquent criticism of the existing system in all its aspects, as well as the period in which down to earth attempts were made to oppose the system. The Solidarity represented all strata and became a counter force to the authoritarian government. The power of this organisation was formidable. That is why the reaction had to be adequate: the imposition of martial law. even these drastic steps however, could not eliminate the resistance from society. In the late 80's the people of Hungary started to organise themselves for the next battle which was fought in the year 1988-89.

### **Causes for the Negative Reaction**

What were the reasons for such a strong negative reaction against socialism in Hungary after more than 40 years of Socialism?

First, in Hungary socialism was imposed by the Soviet Union with the help of Red Army after the IIInd World War. There was no real and meaningful involvement of the people in it. And this was done in total disregard of the claims of other partisans. Socialism did not come to Hungary either through a liberation struggle of the people or through a class struggle in which workers aided by peasants and other allied classes could play an important role. And in such circumstances a new system, though a socialist one, was not acceptable to a large section of the people, and to them it was a kind of colonial imposition from above.

Secondly, there was a strong feeling everywhere against the Soviet Union for their control in military, political and economic spheres of their lives. Though the second World War ended in 1945 and the German occupation forces left all these countries including Hungary, the Soviet Army had to remain there from that time because of the aggressive attitude of the western powers against there from the very beginning. In political sphere also the system had been totally controlled by the Soviet Union.

Thirdly, before the second World War a kind of feudal system was existing in Hungary which was not democratic in nature. When, after the war, an "advanced form of Socialist System" was introduced in that country with a feudal culture, it did not adjust itself to the local conditions. Besides this the capitalist development was incipient and working class was weak.

Fourthly, since the very beginning of their existence in the late forties, the Socialist countries of East Europe had to function against the threat of an aggression from the west. In such a situation a kind of command system developed with the help of Soviet army and socialism which has emerged in these countries is linked to a military or "barrack communism".<sup>16</sup>

Fifthly, though elections have taken place under the socialist system in all these countries at regular intervals, they were not considered as free, mainly because of the absence of choices between candidates and because there were no political parties. Election under the system was described as the one horse race. For the large section of people, therefore,

there was neither psychological nor physical involvement in the decision making process of the country.<sup>17</sup>

Sixthly, since there had always been one party and one leader at the helm of affairs, there developed a system of monopoly of power which sometimes became responsible for many difficulties, including corruption.

Seventhly, the collapse of the Kadarist centre was another cause which was responsible for this transition. As it is known, Janos Kadar was the political leader, the embodiment of a paternalistic style of governance, and the bearer of personal, political and moral responsibility for his record of strategic decisions since 1956. As most Hungarian saw it, Kadar symbolised the political regime and as an "ism, a way of life as well"<sup>18</sup> He began his reign with the bloody suppression of national aspiration of freedom and independence yet over time he became synonymous with public perceptions of political stability and social peace. In 1989 the Hungarian leadership was confronted with a set of policy decisions that ultimately sealed the Kadarist centre. Foreign indebtedness, balance of payments deficits, the terms of Hungarian Soviet Trade and Inevitably domestic living standards were the principal terms. As a result a suitable and successful successor of Kadar could not emerge in Hungary.

Eighthly, the slow rate of economic growth in most of the Socialist countries including Hungary and comparatively better economic developments in the neighbouring capitalist

<sup>16</sup> R Tokes *Hungary's Negotiated Revolution* (U.K.: Cambridge University Press, 1996), p. 366.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 368.



countries like the Federal Republic of Germany led to the belief among the people in these countries (in Hungary also) that capitalism would be a better economic system for them.<sup>20</sup>

Finally, the reforms introduced by Mikhail Gorbachev in the Soviet Union i.e. "Peristorika" and "Glasnost" greatly influenced the process of democratisation in Hungary.<sup>21</sup>

All these factors led to the outbreak of the Hungarian revolution in 1988 and latter paved the way towards the establishment of a new democratic system.

### **1988 : Beginning of the Transitional Era**

In March 1988, on the 140th anniversary of the 1848 Hungarian uprising against Austrian rule, some 10,000 people took part in an unofficial march through Budapest demanding freedom of press, freedom of association and the introduction of genuine reforms. The protest was not halted by the authorities (in contrast to demonstration held in February and March 1986 which had been suppressed by the police). This incident laid to the foundation stone of the great Hungarian Revolution.<sup>22</sup>

In April, 1988 four prominent members of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party (HSWP) known to favour radical political and economic reforms were expelled from the

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<sup>18</sup> Nirmal Bose, "East Europe in Turmoil", *Indian Journal of Political Science*, July 1991, p. 211.

<sup>20</sup> *Europa Guide*, 1992.

<sup>21</sup> Nirmal Bose, *op cit.*, p. 212.

<sup>22</sup> *Europa Guide*, 1992.

party.<sup>23</sup> All four were associated with an unofficial political group, the Hungarian Democratic Forum (HDF). At a special ideological conference of the HSWP held in May, major changes in party personnel and policy were approved. Janos Kadar was replaced as General Secretary of the central committee by Karoly Grosz. Kadar was promoted to the newly created and purely ceremonial post of HSWP President but lost his membership of the politburo. But one third of the members of the Central Committee (in particular, conservative associates of Kadar) were removed and replaced by younger politicians. The new politburo included Imre Pozsgay a prominent advocate of reform and political pluralism and Rezső Nyers, who had been largely responsible for the economic reforms initiated in 1968 but who had been removed from the politburo in 1975. Grosz declared his commitment to economic and political reforms although he executed the immediate possibility of a multiparty political system. In June 1988 Dr. Bruno Frenne Straub, who was not a member of the HSWP, was elected to the post of President of the Presidential Council, in succession to Karoly Nemeth. In November Miklos Nemeth, a prominent member of the HSWP, replaced Karoly Grosz as Chairman of the Council of Ministers.

In the months following Grosz's appointment as leader of the HSWP, there was a relaxation of censorship laws and the independent political groups (including the HDF) were formally established. In July 1988 the HSWP voted overwhelmingly in favour of an austere economic programme, designed to revitalise the economy within 10 years. The principal tools for the achievement of the desired results in the economic field were

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<sup>23</sup> *Ibid*

'Market'. "Money Control", "Decentralisation" "Deregulation", "Privatisation", "Currency Devaluation" and "Hard Budgetary Constraints" on spendthrift enterprises. <sup>24</sup>

An examination of the particulars of each plan reveals a number of unstated assumptions.

These may be summarised under four headings.

1. The Hungarian political system was wholly without the will and administrative resources to regulate the economy in a 'reform conform' manner. Only 'non-negotiable' external pressures, such as IMF-mandated spending caps, could prompt the political authorities to act.

2. An effective program of economic stabilisation had to be based on the principles of a free market and private enterprise. Neither of these was acceptable to the interpenetrated branch ministry heavy industry and manufacturing policy lobby and their supporters in the party and state bureaucracy.

3. The states economic role had to be confined to the amelioration of the social costs - unemployment, welfare, pensions, public health services of the reform programme.

4. Hungary's share of the costs of alliance maintenance - military, internal security and uneconomical CMEA trade and investment obligations - represented critically important

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<sup>24</sup> Rodolf E Tokas *op cit.*, p. 421.

budgetary commitments of unknown magnitude that could thwart any reform program, no matter how well designed.

Thus, in order to solve economic problems the government introduced "liberalisation" that included an electric package of minor budget cuts, deregulation, currency devaluation and a free hand for the "red barracks" to make the most of new opportunities for decentralisation and various schemes of self-privatisation.<sup>25</sup>

The regime's apparent free fall toward public confrontations among the leaders and political chaos was temporarily halted at the November 1-2, 1988 meeting of the Central Committee. The party's premier deliberative body received and discussed the Politburo's theses on the internal political situation and the party's tasks.<sup>26</sup> The bluntly worded document spoke of the eroding legitimacy of the party and the government and concluded that as far as the extent of institutional and policy changes were concerned "the Stalinist model still existed in Hungary"<sup>27</sup> The real problem was the escalation of "reform rhetoric without structural change" whilst the party was still captive to "extreme centralisation"<sup>28</sup> and its provincial government / organs were crippled by corruption cases and conservative resistance to external reforms.

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<sup>25</sup> Zita Mania Retschning "Economy on the Shadows of Political Change in Kurtan (ed)" *Hungarian Political Year Book 1996*, pp. 79-85.

<sup>26</sup> *Reform Party Evenings* Vol.III, Budapest, 1988.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>28</sup> Rudolf E Tokas, *op cit.*, p. 427.

In late November, 1988 Lenin's classical question "who shall prevail?"<sup>29</sup> became the central issue of Hungarian politics. November 29 is an important date in the history of the old regimes' collapse. On that day a group of party intellectuals in Szeged announced formation of the HSWP's first "Reform Circle".<sup>30</sup> It was also the day when Karoly Grosz gave a major two hour policy address at a mass rally of the Budapest party organisation. Unlike his usually carefully prepared speeches this was an election campaign style diatribe that sought to appeal to the emotions of the frustrated middle aged and elderly audience of party activists.

Grosz's main point was that the reform process had gotten out of hand and that the threat of "white terror"<sup>31</sup> was looming on the horizon.

Although a week earlier, he had conceded to his Politburo colleagues that the one party system was "untenable",<sup>32</sup> Grosz assured his cheering listeners that the one party system albeit in a somewhat pluralist form.

### **Negotiated Revolution of 1989 : From the Opposition Round Table to the National Roundtable**

The year 1989 has been called "annus Mirabilis". The phrase is apt but like the labels 'Velvet', stormy and indeed 'negotiated' that chronicles have used to characterise the

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<sup>29</sup> *Ibid*, p. 429.

<sup>30</sup> *Delmagyarország*, November 29, 1988.

<sup>31</sup> *Hungarian Political Year Book, 1989*.

<sup>32</sup> *Hungarian Political Year Book, 1989*.

Czech, East German and Hungarian events of that year, it can be misleading.<sup>33</sup> In the present context one would understand speedy replacement of the old regimes and the installation of the democratic pluralism, the rule of law and a market economy.

The general trends of systemic change in the 1980s in communist party states showed unambiguous evidence of political entropy, economic stagnation and rising social discontent. However, none of these symptoms of decline had been a conclusive predictor of the East European regime collapse by the end of 1989. At that time the available political options for Hungary still provided for several possible outcomes ranging from "more of the same" to sharp clashes between the people and the regime.<sup>34</sup>

With respect to transition contingencies the co-relation of political and social forces in Hungary in the late 1980's included three constant and several variable, therefore, inherently unpredictable factors. What seemed as given was the incumbents evident desire to share with the opposition political responsibility for the short falls of the Kadarist legacy of economic and social policies. On the other hand, the ruling party's endorsement of political pluralism and Grosz's offer to open negotiations with the 'alternatives' contained no provisions for either good-faith negotiations or guarantees relative to the terms of future sharing with the non-communist political parties.<sup>35</sup>

Another constant was the top Hungarian party leaders divergent, yet at last at that time not necessarily irreconcilable, personal political ambitions. As Kadar's political and

<sup>33</sup> Rodolf E. Tokas, *op cit.*, p. 438.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid*, p. 446.

ideological heirs Grosz, Pozsgay, Nemeth, Berecz and Nyers had much in common, they had not been destined to find themselves at opposite ends of the year. Until mid-1989 there was still ample room for compromise among the incumbents. The third constant was the shared objective of all opposition forces to avoid public confrontations with the regime and to come to terms with the powers that be at the bargaining table. As Peter Tolgyessy, one of the key negotiators at the National Round Table explained five years later, "The alternative to a negotiated transition would have been pressures from the streets. This form of mass pressure was alien to Hungary's political culture in the late Kadar era".<sup>36</sup>

At the outset of the year 1989, an estimated 100,000 people took part in a peaceful anti government demonstration in Budapest, in support of demands for a multiparty system, democratic government, free elections, the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Hungary and an official commemoration of the 1956 uprising and the execution of Imre Nagy in 1958.<sup>37</sup> In June 1989, Nagy was officially rehabilitated. In the same month the bodies of Nagy and his four associates were reburied at a state funeral in Budapest which was attended by an estimated 300,000 people.<sup>38</sup>

During 1989, there was increasing evidence of dissention within the HSWP between conservative and reformist members. In the first three months of the year more than 20,000 members left the party (at least 100,000 members having tendered their resignation between late 1987 and early 1989) In April Grosz was reelected General

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<sup>35</sup> *Ibid*, p. 387.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid*, p. 389.

<sup>37</sup> *Europa Guide* - 1996 on "Hungary", p. 1443.

<sup>38</sup> *Europa Guide*-1996 on "Hungary", p. 1445.

Secretary of the party and the politburo was replaced by a smaller body. In May the Council of Ministers declared its independence from the HSWP. In the same month Kadar was relieved of his post as President of the HSWP and of his membership of the central committee of the party; officially for health reasons. In June a radical restructuring of the HSWP was effected, following increasing dissatisfaction with Grosz's leadership by party members. While Grosz became the General Secretary<sup>39</sup> Nyers effectively became the leader of the party.

Later the National Assembly of Hungary for the first time enacted two laws that guaranteed the right to demonstrate freely and to form associations and political parties independent of the HSWP.

In early 1989, the fate of the Hungarian transition rested on the fragile pillar of the old and new elites ambiguous consensus on the political essentials of this process. No one knew at that time what the desired outcome might be a Czechoslovak or a GDR-style token multiparty system under a reform communist hegemon, Polish style bicameral ersatz two party system or a combination of the two. Finally a new kind of system came into existence in Hungary in the name of "Two-plus" party system.

At the end of 1988 in Hungary there were twenty one new or recently formed political associations (not political parties) that identified themselves as "society", "league", "association" and the Independent Small Holders Party (ISP)<sup>40</sup> But in February 1989 when the HSWP agreed to support the transition to a multi party system, the process of

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<sup>39</sup> David L. Bartlett, "Democracy in Institutional Chains in Hungary" *Europe Asia Studies*, 1996.

<sup>40</sup> *Hungarian Political Year Book - 1988* edited by Sador Kartan, Peter Sandor & L. Vass



party formation peaked, - sixty six political parties registered and nineteen non registered political parties and nine electoral coalitions.<sup>41</sup>

The key internal players were the HSWP, the Independent Lawyers Forum, the Hungarian Democratic Forum, the Alliance of Free Democrats and the League of Young Democrats. The main young external actors were the government and the state bureaucracy, the lame-duck parliament the Hungarian media, the intelligentsia and the new parties grassroots political activists. Public and informal interactions within and among these clusters of political actors were responsible for the outcome of the National Round Table negotiations.

Later Round Table discussions were initiated between the HSWP and representatives of opposition groups in June 1989. The negotiation centered on holding a multiparty election and changes to the presidential structure, amendments to the constitution and economic reforms. Evidence of the opposition's increasing strength was provided at a provincial by-election in July when a joint candidate of three main opposition group, the centre right HDF the liberal alliance of Free Democrats (AFD) and the Federation of Young Democrats (FYD) defeated a candidate of the HSWP, thus becoming the first opposition deputy since 1947 to win representation in the legislature. Four of five further by-elections to the National Assembly were won by opposition candidates in July, August and September, 1989.

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<sup>41</sup> *Hungarian Political Year Book* 1991, p. 47

At the 14th HSWP Congress held in October 1989, delegates voted to dissolve the party and to reconstitute it as the Hungarian Socialist Party (HSP) to symbolise a break with the crimes, mistaken ideas and incorrect methods of the HSWP.<sup>42</sup> Nyers was elected as the Chairman of the HSP and Imre Pozsgay was nominated as the Party's candidate for the forthcoming Presidential election.<sup>43</sup>

The HSP failed to attract a large membership. The HSWP activists declared that their party had not been dissolved and that it still retained a membership of around 80,000. Gyula Horn was elected the HSWP President.

On October 23, 1989 (the anniversary of the 1956 uprising) the Republic of Hungary was proclaimed.<sup>44</sup> In mid-October the National Assembly approved fundamental amendments to the constitution, including the removal of the clause guaranteeing one party rule. A new electoral law was approved and the presidential council was replaced by the President of the Republic. Matyas Szuros the President of the National Assembly (Speaker) was named President of the Republic on an acting basis.<sup>45</sup>

Thus all these events led to the establishment of new democratic system as well as the western style of multiparty system in Hungary. On the other side this system also empowered scattered opposition groups to legally participate in the political process;

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<sup>42</sup> *Europa Guide* 1995 on Hungary, p. 1446.

<sup>43</sup> *Hungarian Political Year Book*, 1991, p. 49.

<sup>44</sup> David L. Bartlett "Democracy, institutional change and stabilisation policy in Hungary". *Europe Asia Studies*, Vol. 48, No. 1, 1996.

<sup>45</sup> Rudolf .E. Tokas, *op cit.*, p. 412.

marked the end of the party's reargued strategy and beginning of a new era in Hungarian politics.<sup>46</sup>

### Conclusion

Without any previous experience as of constitutional democracy and now passing through serious economic problems, there is a rough road ahead for Hungary. It is apparent that the enforced communist values of so called socialist construction, morality, the leading role of the party, anti-imperialism directed at the United States, anti-individualism, anti bourgeois, and anti-religious attitudes and socialist internationalism have never penetrated the popular culture. The forty years of communist rule and indoctrination failed to produce "New Communist Individual" living in a "new communist society"<sup>47</sup> What is apparent today in Hungary is the reemergence of political and cultural values and attitudes characteristics of the pre-communist era, the ability to learn from past experience and the emergence of a new experience in democratic constitutionalism.

It is fair to assume that the Hungarians did not fight so hard for freedom only to give it up upon encountering the first difficulties in the transition from communism to democracy. Having been in the forefront of change from the beginning of the revolutionary upheavels in Eastern Europe in 1989. Hungary is determined to forge ahead. More than Forty years after the bloody revolution of 1956 and almost nine years after the peaceful over throw of the communist dictatorship the incredible victory remains

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid*

intact despite the many strains of making the transition to a democratic system based on a market economy.

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<sup>47</sup> Robert M. Bigler "From Communism to Democracy" *East Europe Quarterly*, XXV, Vol. 4, Jan 1992, p.271s

## *CHAPTER – III*

### *DEVELOPMENT OF MULTI- PARTY SYSTEM IN POST- COMMUNIST HUNGARY*

*"Even though the road map and driver may change the ultimate destination - a democratic Society; Market economy and full integration with the West remains the same<sup>1</sup>".*

Hungary had led the process of transformation in the Communist Commonwealth since the 1956 revolution. The 1968 economic reforms, unique in scope at that time, and gradual liberalisation in the 1970's exposed Hungary to the risk of Soviet pressure for greater conformity. However, Janos Kadar's political acumen made it possible for the regime to go to the potential limits, yet avoid major danger. Amidst the growing political restlessness of Central and Eastern Europe in the early 1980's the Hungarian elections represented a qualitative change - voters were able to nominate / elect candidates of their own choosing, something without precedent in Marxist Leninist states.<sup>2</sup> The new parliament, whose membership remained predominantly communist, exhibited independence from the beginning, gradually evolving into a legislature which become a willing partner in the opposition's struggle to bring about a systematic change.<sup>3</sup>

With the removal of the Kadar entourage from power in 1988, the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party (HSWP)<sup>4</sup> moved partly under pressure from the nascent opposition groups - to surrender its monopoly of power and accept a pluralist system - "multi party system" - a historic first in Eastern Europe.

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<sup>1</sup> David M. Binker, *New York Times*, 5-9-94, p.4.

<sup>2</sup> Barnabas Racz "The Parliamentary Infrastructure and Political Reforms in Hungary" *Soviet Studies*, 1st Jan, 1989, p.129.

<sup>3</sup> Barnabas Racz "The Political Participation and Developed Socialism - Hungarian Election 1985" *Soviet Studies*, 1st Jan, 1987.

<sup>4</sup> In Hungarian - Magyar Socialistia Munkaspárt (MSZMP)

At the end of 1988 the sole authorised political party was the Hungarian Socialist Worker's Party (HSWP), supported by a communist controlled umbrella organisation, the patriotic people's front (Hazafias Nepfront)) which, prior to the emergence of a number of unofficial formations, embraced virtually all organised groups and associations in the country. In January 1989 the National Assembly Legalised freedom of Assembly and associations and a month later the HSWP approved the formation of independent parties, some of which had begun organising on an informal basis as early as the previous september. In May 1989 talks began on transition to a multi party system, yielding an historic participation in national elections which latter conducted in March-April, 1990 and May, 1994.

The process of party transformation in Hungary peaked in February 1990. There were sixty six registered and nineteen non-registered political parties and nine electoral coalitions. On the eve of the 1990 electoral campaign the full spectrum of organised groups with political ambitions included the reformed HSWP under the name of Hungarian Socialist

Party (HSP) and several 'new', 'historic', 'Nostalgia' and 'Phantom' parties and various "Trojan horse" - type electoral coalitions.<sup>5</sup>

Undeterred by what is reputedly Europe's most complex electoral system, political parties have been formed in great profusion in post communist Hungary. However, the systems basic threshold for the attainment of natural representation has been 5 per

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<sup>5</sup> These are listed in "*Hungarian Political Year Book - 1991*", page no. 523-531.

cent of the vote (increased from 4 percent in 1990). This electoral law has restricted political parties to become national actor. Out of 100 registered political parties, only a relative few played a substantive role in the lengthy political negotiations between the regime and the opposition. The process involved internal and external domestic participants. The key internal players were the HSWP, the Independent Hawers Forum (IHF), the Hungarian Democratic Forum (HDF), the Alliance of Free Democrats (ACD), the Hungarian Democratic Forum (HDF), the Alliance of the Free Democrats (AFD), and the League of Young Democrats (LYD).

The main external actors were the government and the state bureaucracy, the lame duck parliament, the HSWP's funding policy caucuses, the Hungarian Media, and the new parties grassroots political activists. Public and informal interactions within and among these clusters of political actors were responsible for the outcome of the NRT negotiations.

Of the six parties and two intelligentsia groups that were the charter members of the ILF Coordination ORT in March 1989, at least five had, in one way rather, been the regimes creations. On the other hand, the AFD and LYD were core components of the Democratic opposition and the Christian Democratic People's Party (CDPP), at lest initially was essentially - the "Catholic Wing" of the HDF.

We may briefly review the political origin of major political parties of Hungary.



## **1. MAJOR POLITICAL PARTIES OF HUNGARY**

### **I. Hungarian Socialist Party (HSP)**

The origin of the HSP lies in the June, 1948 merger of Hungary's Communist and Social Democratic parties. Known initially as the Hungarian Worker's Party, it was recognised as the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party in 1956 under the leadership of Janos Kadar. At an extraordinary party congress on October 6-10, 1989, the party renounced Marxism, adopted its current name, and appointed Rezső Nyers to the newly created presidium President.

## **2. FEDERATION OF FREE DEMOCRATS(FED)**

Founded in May 1988 as the network of free incentives the FFD was recognised as a political party in February 1989 and held its General Assembly in March, 1989. It is somewhat to be the left of the MDF in political orientation. By its self-image the party is a 'social liberal' force as well as the inheritor of the ideas of European Social Democracy. The party took an aggressive proposition stance from 1988 against the ruling HSWP, when it has an intellectual leadership including former communists. After its transformation, it started a new revolution "Third way Solution" in the domestic politics which was based on the combination of liberalism and social democracy with a speedy transformation to a market economy.

## **Other parliamentary parties**

### **HUNGARIAN DEMOCRATIC FORUM (HDF)<sup>6</sup>**

The HDF is a right of the centre nationalist group founded in September, 1988 with the avowed purpose of "building a bridge between the two, the State and Society. Its aim objective included systematic transformation "without a catastrophe,"<sup>7</sup> opposition to extremism of any kind, adherence to "historical tradition"<sup>8</sup> and development of democratic political culture<sup>9</sup>. It is a heterogeneous party including populist and liberal traditions as well as Christian democratic views; and this explains the internal cleavage between urbanist and populists: the voting support comes from across the country. The leadership includes mostly intellectuals, senior figures in education, writers and philosophers<sup>10</sup>.

### **INDEPENDENT SMALL-HOLDER'S PARTY: (ISP)**

The ISP was a 'historic' party with a solid record of commitment to democracy and persecution by the Rakosi regime. Although never formally outlawed in the 1980s very few of the party's former leaders were alive to 'unfurl the flag'<sup>11</sup> and to rally those who might have remembered what the ISP had stood for in the 1940's. With the help of the PPF, the party reconstituted itself in the fall of 1988, first as a "Political Society" and latter as a political party. The main proposition of the party (ISP) was to stand up for the interests of small farmers after forty years of agricultural cultivation

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<sup>6</sup> Originally organised as a movement in 1987 transferring itself formally into a party in 1989 Lakitelek Meeting, September 1987, REE Research 29, No. 1987, page. 21.

<sup>7</sup> Barnabas Racz & Istvan Kakoraki "The Second Generation - The Post Communist Hungary - Election in Hungary 1994", *Europe Asia Studies*, Vol. 47, No.2, 1995.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>11</sup> *Statesman Year Book*, 1994 "Hungary", p.257.

to bring about a new rural economy and new rural society.<sup>12</sup> The traditionalist conservative slogans of "God,

Country, Family' and "WINE, WHEAT and PEACE",<sup>13</sup> Summarise the key points of the ISP, which translated into the demand to "re-privatise" the restitution of the original ownership conditions of 1947, as well as the summary condemnation and rejection of the communist past.<sup>13</sup>

### **ALLIANCE OF YOUNG DEMOCRATS (AYD)**

AYD was born from the young intellectuals opposition movement in the 1980's and stands on liberal principles supporting a free market system with a minimal role for state redistribution, speedy privatisation and limited attention to social policy.<sup>14</sup> The primary social role of the state should be the promotion of capital accumulation and only secondarily and later income redistribution. The AYD defined itself as left of the centre in 1990 and social support come primarily from urban based young intellectuals with a weaker presence in the countryside and lack of effective grass roots organisation.

### **CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATIC PEOPLE'S PARTY (CDPP)**

As a right of centre grouping the CDPP came into existence in the year 1989 and was the weakest partner in post-1990 coalition government. Its programme was based on "Christian philosophy" which was to be the guideline for the solution of all social problems. Individual freedom is at the centre of all aspirations. The three key principles of the party are the Christian state which is the depository of public good, popular sovereignty and parliamentary democracy. However, the self image of the

<sup>12</sup> Hans Gerg Heinrich *Hungary Politics Eco Society* (Reiman Publication, 1992), p.219.

<sup>13</sup> *ISP Programme*, (Kurtan, Magyarizas Publication, 1989) pp. 501-525.

CDPP is not a "Church Party", though the importance of the reconstruction of the church's rights is emphasised.<sup>16</sup>

### **HUNGARIAN PEOPLE'S PARTY (HPP)**

The HPP was founded in 1989 as the self proclaimed successor of the prewar National Peasants Party. As a 'movement' the HPP's immediate predecessor had been a society named after the populist writer Peter Verbes<sup>17</sup> that the PPF helped establish in 1986. Now they have an ample supply of funds and well spoken apparatchik intellectuals of the rural background to carry the party's message to those not familiar with the HPP's checkered history.

### **Other Parties**

Agrarian Federation (AF) : It is a leftist coalition that largely encompasses co-operative form leaders opposed to the goals of the Independent Small Holds Party (ISD).

Party of the Republic (PR) : It is a new party and it was established in the year 1990. It largely represents the businessman class.

The Hungarian Worker's Party (HWP) : Following the October, 1989 Party Congress of the then ruling Hungarian Socialist Workers Party (HSWP), a group of hardline communists who were opposed to the formation of Hungarian Socialist Party (HSP) announced the launching of a Janos Kadar Society as the only 'legal heir' to the parent party. Their main aim was to again start a 'leftist movement' in Hungary.

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<sup>14</sup> *Programme of the 11nd Congress*, (Sadar Kurtan, Maagyarország Publication, Eukanyin, Budapest, 1990), pp. 494-500.

<sup>16</sup> *Nepszabadsag*; 19 February, 1994.

National Democratic Federation (NDF): The NDF was launched by Imre Pozsgay (Hungarian Socialist Party's Presidential candidate in 1990) who had left the HSP in November, 1990. Their main aim was to re-inculcate the traditional Hungarian values.

Liberal Bourgeois Alliance (LBA): The LBA was formed initially in 1989 as the entrepreneurs' party to promote a market economy and reasonable taxation for the country's emerging class of entrepreneurs.

Hungarian Independent Party (HIP): The right wing HIP was launched in April, 1989 as a revival of an immediate post world war II group in the same name.

Besides the above mentioned parties there are more than eighty registered parties in Hungary. Most of them are quite minor and of dubious organisational status. They are as follows: The Conservative Party, The Farmers and Citizen's Alliance, the Democratic Coalition, the Family Alliance, The For an historical Hungarian Party, the Green Alternative, The Happiness Party, The historic Independent Interests Party, The Hungarian Market Party, The Hungarian Mothers National Party, The Hungarian Republican Party; the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party, The Hungarian Unemployed Person's Party, the Independent Hungarian Democratic Party, the Pensioner's Party, the Social Democratic Party and so on.<sup>18</sup>

### **WITHERING AWAY OF THE RULING PARTY**

Communism has changed its original vehement opposition to capitalism and has become more accommodative in nature. Almost all the erstwhile ardent advocates of communism have now more or less accepted the democratic norms and have

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<sup>17</sup> Peter Verses (1897-1920) was an agrarian Socialist, Populist writer and an active participant in Prewar leftwing politics. "Poor Society" in *Hungarian Year Book - 1988*, pp. 785-787.

<sup>18</sup> *Hungarian Political Year Book - 1991*.

contested elections in multiparty democracy. Thus, their legitimate participation in the new political process

have marked the end of the party's reargued strategy and the beginning of a new era in the evolution of the post communist states.<sup>19</sup>

Though seven years have already been passed since the demise of communist rule the communist party have not disappeared from the political scene of Hungary. They have attempted to adapt a new political conditions.

The main causes:

The true observations regarding the evolution of the ex-communist parties, suggests that it is a product of the interaction of the dynamics of interplay struggle during the democratic transition with political environment which these parties face.<sup>20</sup>

The withering away of the ruling party in Hungary took place in three overlapping phases between mid February and late June 1989<sup>21</sup>. These may be called (a) an internal housecleaning and leadership reshuffle; (b) a showdown between the party and the government; and (c) the facto dismissal of CC and the rise of a Caretaker "Junta of Four"<sup>22</sup>.

✓ Each phase involved the interaction of the party leadership the opposition forces the government, the old policy lobbies, grassroots party insurgents, the media, and increasingly the public as well. Like their counterparts in Central and Eastern Europe, the Hungarian Communists who were swept away by the reform minds during the first multiparty elections in 1990 struck a chord with the voters in the elections in 1994, promising to the high unemployment (which was at its peak of 12%) and

<sup>19</sup> R. E. Tokas, *Hungary's negotiated Revolution*, (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1996, p.396.

<sup>20</sup> Ishiyana, "Political Parties in transition" *Comparative Politics*, Jan.1995, p.235.

<sup>21</sup> R.E. Tokas, *op.cit.*, p.386.

inflation (which was at 22%) rates that accompanied the switch to free enterprise and multiparty democracy. Having formed the government in alliance with Federation of Free Democrats (FFD) they are quite likely to complete a full term. The socialists have assumed their new identity after their changed stand on communist values and acceptance of a new way of life.

### FIRST MULTI PARTY ELECTION OF 1990

In Hungary, the electoral law adopted during 1989 established popular representation based on multiparty system. This law introduced western type parliamentary democracy. The change of the system started with the dismantling of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party and the gradual establishment of the institutions of constitutionality. The HSWP which ruled the country for more than 40 years was forced to step down and give up its totalitarian character, thus opening up the political arena for the development of a multiparty system. Thus, on the eve of the 1990 parliamentary election, there were more than 53<sup>23</sup> political parties operating in Hungary - representing the diverse state of society. However, only 12 of them were recognised as parties eligible to participate in the elections according to new election law.

During the 1990 elections the Hungarian Democratic Forum (HDF) had emerged as the single largest party with 165 mandates. The other two coalition partners were the independent Small Holder's Party (ISP) and the Christian Democratic People's Party (CDPP) with 43 and 21 mandates respectively. They together needed roughly 60% of

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<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>23</sup> *Economic and Political Weekly*, July 3, 1996.

the seats and MDF's Chairman, Jozsef Antall was asked to form centre-right government, which he did by taking the help of the HDF, the CDPP and the ISP.<sup>24</sup>

The Hungarian Democratic Forum (HDF) a centre right party which stood for national values in culture and religion, unadulterated free enterprise economy with mixed ownership, achieved considerable success in 1990 securing the highest number of seats. It stood for multi-party democracy in the political sphere and vowed to carry out radical reforms in ownership of the means of production.<sup>25</sup>

The ISP<sup>26</sup> relied on the support of the HDF for the disintegration of co-operatives which become a controversial issues, unlike the privatisation of industries which took place rapidly, without any obstacles from the workers. Considerable number of members of the co-operatives, both erstwhile women's and labourers felt that individualised small holdings of land, after disintegration of co-operatives could not be cultivated economically. They also felt that the modern technology and heavy tools of cultivation which are presently employed in large co-operatives could not be used on small holdings. However, the party does not give up the idea of dissolution of co-operatives. The Christian Democratic People's Party (CDPP) which advocated freedom of religion and free play of Christian institutions, performed fairly well in the elections. It secured 21 seats (5.44 per cent). The KDNP wishes to secure equality of agrarian and industrial sectors through price and tax reforms.

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<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*



The Hungarian Socialist Party (HSP) consisting of the reform socialists and former communists defines itself as a political organisation accepting foremost the communist,

socialist and social democratic traditions of the working class movement. But it repudiates the dictatorship of the proletariat, i.e. both Stalinist and Leninist version of State Socialism. It accepts a constitutional democratic state, political pluralism and a market economy based on mixed ownership operating under parliamentary control. The HSP did not fare too badly in the 1990 elections getting 33 seats (8.55 percent) but had to give in because of the anti - Stalinist sweep of the late 90s.<sup>27</sup>

The alliance of AFD performed fairly well with the second highest number of seats i.e. 92 seats (22.83 percent) in the parliament.<sup>28</sup> Although FFD opposed the programmes of the all socialist parties in the fray and has something in common with the HDF it could not strike an alliance with it. The performance of the AFD corresponds to the leading role it played in the peaceful transition to parliamentary democracy with the abolition of state ownership of the means of production. Its role in the parliament since 1990 have been constructive especially in the establishment of liberal democratic norms and processes. It also played a leading role in the establishment of new institutions.

During the first general elections in Hungary there were other parties such as the Alliance of Young Democrats (AYD) which had performed on par with the CDPP at the hustings - they secured 21 seats (5.4%). Independents got six seats (1.55%) joint

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<sup>27</sup> Roskin G. Michel "Emerging Party System in Central and Eastern Europe" *East European Quarterly*, XXVII No.1, March, 98, p.271.

candidates four seats (1.04%) and the Agrarian Alliance seat (0.26%) thus totalling 386 seats.

Many other parties in the fray failed to get any seat but altogether had secured 6% of the total votes.<sup>29</sup>

#### **IIND GENERAL ELECTION MAY OF 1994**

Just after the four year term of a conservative coalitions in Hungary since 1990, people changed their political preference back to socialism by voting the HSP to power. The outgoing conservative coalition government was led by MDF with KDNP and FIDESZ as minor partners. All the partners upheld Hungarian nationalism, Christian values and private property. Their emphasis in the political and economic spheres was on free enterprise and multi-party parliamentary democracy respectively. The election results showed the people's disappointment with the economic performance.

After the parliamentary elections of May 1994 the HSP (Hungarian Socialist Party) which won majority of seats in the election decided to form a broad based coalition with the liberal Alliance of Free Democrats. The Socialists own 209 seats (54 percent) of the new 386 member parliament and the Free Democrats 69 seats (18 percent), together holding roughly (72 percent) 278 seats out of 386 total seats.<sup>30</sup>

The victory of the Reform Communists (Socialist) is remarkable as the HSP improved its performance from 33 seats in 1990 to 209 in 1994.

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<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>29</sup> *The Times of India*, New Delhi May 31, 1994.

Even during the anti-socialist and pro-rightist electoral sweep of 1990 the HDF get only 165 seats and in 1994 only 67 seats. This time the HSP has attracted voters who had voted for the AFD whose strength has been reduced from 92 seats in 1990 to 69 in 1994.<sup>31</sup>

The main feature of the Socialists newly elected power in Hungary, and for that matter in all the east European countries, is that they have their roots in the reformists wings of the communist parties. They were in power in Hungary before the emergence of full fledged multiparty system in the country.

With the coalition winning an absolute majority with 278 seats, Gyula Horn, a former foreign minister and a reform communist, said that 'people opted for a strong and stable government so that the serious ills of Hungary - poverty, inflation, etc - could be effectively tackled". The coalition, because of its socialist pledge, may carry out reforms at a slow pace with a need based economy from which people may get some benefits. They have promised to remove inequalities in the Hungarian society. For this they needed absolute majority which Gyula Horn got on an appropriate time.

### **IIIrd GENERAL ELECTION OF 1998**

The third free multiparty elections in Hungary held in two rounds on 10 May and 24 May 1998. In this election the Alliance of Young Democrats-Hungarian Civic Party (AYD-HCP) emerged as the single largest party with 28.2% of the votes and won 148 of the Assembly's 386 seats. The other two Coalition Partners were Independent Small holders party and Federation of Free Democrats, with 48 and 24 mandates

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<sup>30</sup> *The Hindu*, New Delhi, June 1, 1994.

respectively. The Hungarian Socialist Party, which was ruling for last four years, won 32.3% of votes and 134 seats.

But it was a great surprise that Hungarian Democratic Forum which emerged as the single largest party in 1990 election (during the anti-socialist and pro-rightist electoral era could not cross the necessary 5% of the votes mark. It only secured 3.1% of votes and 17 seats in comparison to 165 mandates in 1990.

Finally, as Alliance of young Democrats-Hungarian Civic Party received the largest number of seats, its president *Victor Orban* decided to form a new coalition – Government by taking the help of Independent small holders Party and Alliance of Free Democrats.<sup>32</sup>

## Conclusion

As we know the emergence of party system is largely historical, tracing the growth of parties as traditional politics modernised. Typically researchers found that parties were based on underlying social cleavages over region, religion, language and social class; then cleavage structures were re-transformed into party systems.<sup>33</sup> In Western Europe, many parties were formed before they were able to enter parliament, a delay that fostered their organisational coherence and internal structure.

But, so far as Eastern Europe, especially Hungary, is concerned, it does not have time to gradually develop parties and party systems. Competitive election in 1990, caught the East European quite unprepared in 1990. Instead of patiently building party strength and gradually obtaining electoral success and parliamentary seats, Hungarian

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<sup>31</sup> *Statesman Year Book* - 1996.

<sup>32</sup> Internet, July 11, 1998

<sup>33</sup> For the evolution of Spain's Party system, Howard R. Penniman and E.M. Leon, *Spain at the Pools 1977, 78, 79. – A Study of the National Election*, (Durham, NC, Duke University Press, 1985).

parties had to suddenly contest elections with little practice, organisation or political skill. In many cases Hungarian parties had no clear bases and its voters had also little party identification. Instead of gradually incorporating the centre periphery, state church and owner worker cleavages into a party system as in western Europe; Hungarian voters tumbled into- a confusing, unfocussed situation in which the only fixed pole was opposition to the old communist regime.

The above synopsis of the parties indicates that they are not crystallised yet even if the Hungarian party system is comparatively more developed than others in the region. They are all for pluralist democracy and a market economy but they are also backward looking and still psychologically getting even with the former one party system, while future programmes are lacking in specifics, especially on questions of economic transformation. The question arises whether these parties serve the purpose of interest articulation by groups or are only umbrella organisations with a skeletal elite but without firm rank and file ties?

The registered membership figures do not reflect potential voting strength and the social composition of most parties is heterogenous. Public opinion surveys indicate high members of voters in a confused or uncertain state of mind before and during the campaign and potential non-voters represented a significant percentage immediately prior to the elections.<sup>34</sup>

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<sup>34</sup> Ware (Ed): *Political Parties, Electoral Change and Structural Response*, Cambridge, pp.1-23.

The organisational structures of parties with the exception of the socialists, were generally so deficient and transient that they would defy systematic study.<sup>35</sup> Party leaders frequently manifested only their own view with little or no reference to rank and file opinions. The support group are like shifting sand and voter preferences show wide fluctuations.

Therefore, it is highly probable that the 1994 election results are also 'tentative' and unfavourable political/ economic cause may cause continued realignment of voter choices on a wide scale. However, the six parliamentary parties remained the same as in 1990, indicating perhaps a developing tradition in post-communist political culture. While the electoral reform raised the threshold to gain parliamentary and or new parties were not able to break through, underlining the currently firmly established voter support for the six major winner parties.

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<sup>35</sup> *Ibid*, p.18.

*CHAPTER IV*

*CONCLUSION*

*MULTIPARTY SYSTEM IN  
HUNGARY: CHALLENGES AND  
POSSIBILITIES*

***"My generation is very good at opposition, but not very skilled in building Democracy".<sup>1</sup>***

Having been in the forefront of democratisation from the beginning Hungary has progressed remarkably well in the area of creating democratic representative government, Its new electoral system provides for full and fair competition, along with elaborate procedures for ensuring that each vote counts. Indeed Hungary's electoral system is more democratic in this regard than the American system of "Winner takes all".<sup>2</sup> The process of democratisation started on October 9, 1989, when the Hungarian parliament voted 333 to 5, with 5 absentions, for a series of constitutional amendments declaring Hungary an Independent, democratic and constitutional republic, asserting 'the values of both bourgeois democracy and democratic socialism', marking the nation's dramatic return to multiparty democracy. The vote formally ended communist's one party domination in Hungary, officially changing the name of the country from the "People's Republic of Hungary" to the "Republic of Hungary".<sup>3</sup> The amendments affecting 90%of the old 1949 constitution, were seen as creating a transitional constitution to change Hungary's political system. They also guaranteed human and civil rights and separated the legislative, executive and judicial branches of the government.

The voting in parliament followed another landmark decision - the dissolution of the communist party and its replacement by the Hungarian socialist party, which committed itself to a democratic multiparty system.

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<sup>1</sup> Wikter Kuerski, "Uncaptive Minds", *East European Quarterly*, Aug. 1989, p.269.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid*, p.271.

<sup>3</sup> Rbert M. Bigler, "Back in Europe and adjusting to the new realities of th e1990's in Hungary", *East Eruopean Quarterly*, XXX, No.2, June 1996, p.208.



Hungary's first post-communist government was different from yet in many ways similar to the governments of the new democracies that come into being in the wake of free elections throughout the region. Jozsef Antall's three party Christian democratic coalition was one and until the end of 1994 arguably the only post-communist regime that completed in full its originally stipulated term in office. Since 1989 Poland has seen a change of presidents and the rise and fall of governments; Czechoslovakia has been divided into two states; Slovakia has witnessed several political turnovers; and the Balkan states have experienced profound instability including civil wars and unscheduled elections. Moreover, the Russian Federation and the rest of the successor states of the soviet union have been the scene of coups, counter coups, social turmoil, low and high intensity, civil wars - with profound and not yet fully examined consequences for the stability of the outlying region.

By contrast, Hungary in the early 1990s seemed to be an island of manifest political stability, economic progress and social contentment. The government governed, the parliament made laws, foreign instruments were pouring in the intellectuals have restless and the public disoriented. Hungary and its central European neighbours were the first new democracies to sign Association Agreements with the European Union. As part of the "Visegrad Three"<sup>4</sup> (and later with the split of Czechoslovakia into two states, "Four"), Hungary, too became a sovereign actor in European politics. Thus, by all appearances,

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<sup>4</sup> Rudolf E. Tokas, *Hungary's Negotiated Revolution*, (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1996), p.436.

the country was off to a promising start on the road to political democracy, a market economy, and the rebirth of civil society.

As a symbolic manifestation of Hungary's abandonment of communism and weakening of democracy, the red stars were removed from the top of the Parliament building's dome as the country prepared for its first truly free election on March 25, 1990, after more than 40 years of one party state socialism. Over 4 million Hungarian's participated in free multiparty elections for parliament. Given the fact that Hungary had no longer historical tradition of democracy and that the new electoral system encourages a multiparty system, the results of the Parliamentary elections in March and April, 1990 were encouraging. MDF with its allies formed the first coalition. government. Later in 1994 the second general election was held and Hungarian Socialist Party along with its allies came to power.

Whatever that may be, the seven years record of Eastern Europe's post-Communist transitions has been one of high hopes, remarkable achievements and keen disappointments. The multiple challenge of implementing policies of the areas "dual transition" to democratisation and marketisation and the overcoming of societal resistance to the same proved to be a severe test of the new regimes stability and political legitimacy.<sup>5</sup>

Indeed the road from the exuberant 'year of miracles of 1989-90 to the seemingly effortless electoral come back of the old, at best reform - communist, elites to power

since 1994 tends to vindicate Engels' Goveats about popular interior and premature revolutions and to serve as convincing explanation for the dashed hopes of present day munzers.

Like their immediate predecessors, these second and third round governments have become targets of public resistance to marketisation and privatisation and the elites disappointment in the performance of new political institutions. Although yesterdays party approach with convertible skills have made an impressive comeback throughout Eastern Europe the old new incumbents are still servants to two masters.

From this it follows that they are politically vulnerable to the same constraints that contributed to the regions first round governments. The imposition of new institutional architectures on the old foundations has yet to contain - let alone stabilise - the socio-economic forces that caused the collapse of the old structures eight years ago.

Since the parliamentary elections in spring 1990, Hungarian authorities have faced a pressing and unprecedented task. After coming to power Hungary's newly elected authorities (the three party coalition) could not make much influence on its people. Their popularity was declining day by day. While the results of the first elections (March-April, 1990) reflected the external appearances of candidates, subsequent elections (on the municipal level) reflected the voters position on substantive questions. In addition voter turnover fell dramatically in 1991 with only about 30 percent of the electorate voting in the electoral elections. The poor turnout was attributed to the decline in economic

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<sup>5</sup> Ivan T. Berend "Hungary: Eastern Europe's Hope?" *Current History*, Nov.1992, p.382.

condition (which includes decline in the standard of living, the growth of poverty as well as the widespread alienation) following the political revolution.

Hungarians including leading authorities appear to be suffering from the demonstration effect of Western affluence, associating the achievement of political democracy with the easy realisation of economic prosperity.

Nearly all authorities lack experience, are not enlightened regarding economic matters and have few qualified experts advising them. There is much discussion of establishing a "market economy"<sup>6</sup> without substantive explanations of what the nature of institutions and rules regarding ownership of private property should be. It appears that many Hungarian authorities (party members) still prefer old privileges and old attitudes and while they are committed to abandoning the previous CSE they are not yet willing to put liberalisation of Hungarians economy at the centre of their agenda.

The public has little faith in the states ability to manage the economy. The slow (over 80 percent of enterprises are still owned and managed by the state). and uncertain reform process is generating resentment and cynicism within the population. The Hungarian authorities suffer from the lack of an organising principle upon which persons can begin to think about the operations of a political economy. There are cleavages between political parties concerning the future of Hungary's economy and society.

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<sup>6</sup> James Angresano, "Political and Economic Obstacles inhibiting Comprehensive Reform in Hungary", *East European Quarterly*, XXVI, No.1, March 1992, p.63.

Besides all these things, significant differences exist concerning matters of collectivism versus individualism, a strong role for the church versus secularism, a social democratic versus a 'market economy' approach, a homogeneous culture versus a diversified society; centralised political power and maintenance of 'client' relationships versus decentralised power, and Hungarian nationalism versus Hungarian membership in the European community.

These cleavages have done little to eliminate "mechanisations of interests driven politics"<sup>7</sup> which are exploiting the situation and creating conflicts between groups throughout Hungary.

There is a history of 'atomised' special interests in Hungary, characterised by informal bargaining between special interest representatives (political leaders) and members of the bureaucracy for the interests of the parties involved rather than the Hungarian economy.<sup>8</sup>

Thus, though the election of 1990 produced a stable parliament, it could not do much for solving their problem and for the interest of their country. There was widespread dissatisfaction among the people of Hungary, which might endanger its political development towards democracy.

The first negative consequences seemed to be that according to the sociological surveys of 1992 and 1993, a very large percentage of the population did not intend to participate

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<sup>7</sup> *Ibid*, p.64.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid*, p.64.

in the next election and that the share of non-participants was much higher among the disadvantaged sectors of society, i.e., among the 'losers' of the 'transition'.

Fortunately, the fears that the 'abstention' rate would be very high did not materialise: about 69 percent of the voters took part in the first and about 55 percent in the second round of the parliamentary election in 1994.

About 40 percent of those who intended to vote and stated that they might vote did not know in May, 1993 which party they would support at the election. Again, the percentage of those who had no clear preference was much higher among the disadvantaged strata of society. Thus, a relatively large number of citizens and most of all the 'many losers' of the transition who are dissatisfied and potentially strongly disenchanted with the changes in the system might have been relatively easily mobilised by a right wing or left wing extremists movement. Fortunately, this did not happen during the 1994 election, as none of the extremist parties participating in the election was able to obtain the 5 percent of the votes needed to get into parliament.

A comparison of the party preferences of the some individuals interviewed in the household panel surveys of 1991 and of 1993 shows in addition that only 48 percent of these who in 1992 had a clear party preference expressed the same preference in 1993. Thus, party preference even among those who had one - shifted strongly in the course of one year.

These shifts in the voter tendencies might explain the developments of party preferences between the two parliamentary elections, as shown in the public opinion polls. In the first round of the election in 1990 the three government parties received 43 percent of the vote, the two liberal opposition parties received 30 percent and the socialist party 11 percent. The remaining votes went to other minor parties. After the election the government parties soon lost their popularity.

At the time of first round of the election in May 1994, the socialists obtained 33 percent: the Free Democrats who had declared their willingness to form a coalition with the socialists (and indeed joined the government as a junior partner) received 7 percent and the three government parties 28 percent. Thus the shifts in voter preferences turned out to be rather important.

These findings might be explained by the findings of the 1992 and 1993 surveys that there was no social difference between the supporters of the different parties as the parties had no clear social basis, (except the HSWP). It could also be said that the party programmes in 1990 and 1994 did not favour any social classes - the voters were unable to establish which party represented their interests better even if they had tried to. Therefore, the election both in 1990 and in 1994 might be interpreted as a protest vote in 1990 against the socialist party and in 1994 protest votes do not form a solid basis of

party support.<sup>9</sup> The possibility of political instability and future shifts can, therefore, not be excluded.

Thus, the movement from party fragmentation to a pluralist party system in Hungary is evident but not complete. For that reason, it is more appropriate to talk about the pluralization of the party system than to proclaim the stability of the polyarchial party structure defined by strong parties with roots in the constituency. The process of policies build around elections is an important view accomplishment of the democratising states. It has played an important role in shaping the party system into a more mature, more tangible political space where voters can discern different policy options.

Though economic strains of marketisation and jealousies aroused by privatisation have put regimes and party systems under irreducible pressures, yet many Hungarians understand the difficulties they face and are prepared to stay with non-extremist party system. Now their responsibility is to move the party system away from its propensity to factionalism and fluidity and towards a polyarchial maturity characterised by stable party formations constrained in their manoeuvring by the interests of identifiable constituencies.

Still, we could not lose sight of the progress made in the structuring of party systems in Hungary. Stable democracy after all is about choice; a choice offered through a political society defined by meaningful options. From the hegemony of communism, through the polarized worlds of communism - anti communism through the chaos of fragmentation, the party systems have come around to offer a more informed choice to the voters.

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<sup>9</sup> Rudolf Andorka, "Hungary: Disenchantment after Transition", *The World Today*, Dec. 1996, p.236.



After all, democracy is about choice but it is about informed choice. It is thus dependent on knowledgeable electoral consumers with established identities and interests and functioning social associations that provide the necessary linkages to the party system. It is also dependent on the supply of meaningful programmes by political actors that represent the main cleavages in society and be able to compete along with defined axes of political competition.

The political structure of Hungary has moved in a short period of time from no choice and too much of choice; to terrain where choice is more meaningful because it is ordered both by the 'supply' of political actors and by a more informed public capable of articulated 'demands' reflecting its new identifies and interests.<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>10</sup> Jack Bielsiak, "Substance and Process in the Development of Party Systems in East Central European", *Communist and Post Communist Studies*, vol.30, No.1, p.41.

## Appendix

**Table No. III: 1**  
**Political Parties and their Ideologies**

Sl. No.	Party's Name	Estd.	Leaders Name	Party Orientation/Ideology	Voting Support Base
1.	Hungarian Democratic Forum (HDF)	Sept. 1988	Jazsef Antall, Peter Basoss, Lajos Fur, Ivan Siabo	Democratic, Centrist, Pro-market, right, Pro-Agriculturalist, Economic—Laissez Faire	Urban, Rural  Intellectuals, higher elites
2.	Independent Small Holders' Party (ISP)	Nov. 1988	Jozsef Torgyan, Dr. Sandor Kavassy, Geza Gyimothy	Democratic rapid Privatisation, pro-Agriculturalist	Farmers, small Entrepreneurs
3.	Christian Democratic Peoples' Party (CDPP)	April, 1989	Gyorgy Giczi, Dr. Laszlo Varga, Dr. Miklos palos, Dr. Miklos Hasznos	Democratic, Promarket, Rapid-Privatisation, Christian Democrat	Urban, Rural  Intellectuals Workers, Farmers
4.	Hungarian Socialist Party (HSP)	Oct. 10, 1989	Dr. Gyula Horn, Gyorgy Janosi, Imre Szekeres, Ferenc Baza	Social Democracy, State Social Service Provision, Mixed Economy	Farmers, Workers, Intellectuals and Entrepreneurs
5.	Alliance of Free Democrats (AFD)	Nov. 13, 1989	Ivan Peto, Gabor Kuncze, Ferenc Wekler	Social Democracy, Economic Laissez Faire, Mixed economy, State Social Service Provision	Intellectuals, Farmers, Entrepreneurs
6.	Hungarian Peoples Party (HPP)	Nov. 1989	Dr. Janos Morton, Dr. Karoly Dobszey	Pro-Agriculturalists, Culture Oriented, Economic Freedom.	Rural  Peasants

Source: "Election in Hungary" *East-European Quarterly*. vol.47, no.2, 1995.

**Table No. III: 2  
1990 Election Result**

Sl.No.	Party's Name	Vote %	Seats	Seats %
1.	Hungarian Democratic Forum (HDF)	42.75	165	42.75
2.	Alliance of Free Democrats (AFD)	23.83	91	23.57
3.	Independent Small Holders Party (ISP)	11.40	44	11.39
4.	Hungarian Socialist Party (HSP)	8.55	33	8.96
5.	Alliance of Young Democrats (AYD)	5.44	21	5.7
6.	Christian Democratic Peoples' Party (CDPP)	5.44	21	5.7

Source: "Election in Hungary", *Europe Asia Studies*. Vol.47, No.2, 1995.

**Table No.III:3  
Election Result 1994**

Sl.No.	Party's Name	Vote %	Seats	Seats %
1.	Hungarian Democratic Forum (HDF)	54.14	209	54.14
2.	Alliance of Free Democrats (AFD)	17.87	69	17.87
3.	Independent Small Holders Party (ISP)	9.84	38	10.32
4.	Hungarian Socialist Party (HSP)	6.74	26	6.73
5.	Alliance of Young Democrats	5.70	22	5.69
6.	Christian Democratic Peoples' Party (CDPP)	5.18	20	5.18

Source: "Election in Hungary", *Europe Asia Studies*. Vol.47, No.2, 1995.

**Table No.III:6  
Election Result 1994**

Sl.No.	Party's Name	Votes %	Seats	Seats %
1.	Hungarian Democratic Forum (HDF)	3.1	17	4.6
2.	Alliance of Free Democrats (AFD)	7.9	24	6.52
3.	Independent Small Holders Party (ISP)	13.8	48	13.1
4.	Hungarian Socialist Party (HSP)	32.3	134	34.71
5.	Alliance of Young Democrats-Hungarian Civic Party	28.2	148	38.74
6.	Christian Democratic Peoples' Party (CDPP)	2.6	-	-
7.	Hungarian Justice and Life Party (HJLP)	5.5	14	3.62
8.	Hungarian Party (HP)	4.1	-	-

Source: Internet, July 11, 1998.

**Table No.III:7  
A Comparative Study of three General Elections, 1990, 1994 & 1998.**

Sl.No.	Party's Name	1990		1994		1998	
		Votes %	Seats	Votes %	Seats	Votes %	Seats
1.	Hungarian Democratic Forum (HDF)	42.75	165	9.84	38	3.1	17
2.	Alliance of Free Democrats (AFD)	23.83	91	17.84	69	7.9	24
3.	Independent Small Holders Party (ISP)	11.40	44	6.74	26	13.8	48
4.	Christian Democratic Peoples' Party (CDPP)	5.44	11	5.18	20	2.6	-
5.	Hungarian Socialist Party (HP)	8.55	33	54.14	209	32.3	134
6.	Alliance of Young Democrats – Hungarian Civic Party	5.44	11	5.18	20	28.2	148

**Table No. III: 4**  
**Summarised Final Returns of Election 1990 (Area wise)**

Sl.No.	Party's Name	Votes %	Individual District mandate	Territorial mandate	National mandate	Total
1.	Hungarian Democratic Forum (HDF)	42.75	115	40	10	165
2.	Alliance of Free Democrats (AFD)	23.83	34	34	23	91
3.	Independent Small Holders Party (ISP)	11.40	11	16	23	44
4.	Hungarian Socialist Party (HSP)	8.55	1	14	18	33
5.	Alliance of Young Democrats (AYD)	5.44	3	8	12	21
6.	Christian Democratic Peoples' Party (CDPP)	5.44	1	8	10	21

Source: "Election in Hungary" Europe Asia Studies, Vol.47, No.2, 1995.

**Table No. III: 5**  
**Summarised Final Returns of Election 1994 (Area wise)**

Sl.No.	Party's Name	Votes %	Individual District mandate	Territorial mandate	National mandate	Total
1.	Hungarian Democratic Forum (HDF)	9.84	5	18	15	38
2.	Alliance of Free Democrats (AFD)	17.87	16	28	25	69
3.	Independent Small Holders Party (ISP)	6.74	1 <sup>+</sup>	14 <sup>+</sup>	11 <sup>+</sup>	16 <sup>+</sup>
4.	Hungarian Socialist Party (HSP)	54.14	149	53	7	209
5.	Alliance of Young Democrats (AYD)	5.18	-	7	13	20
6.	Christian Democratic Peoples' Party (CDPP)	5.7	3	5	14	22

Source: Compiled from The Times of India, New Delhi, May 31, 1994, The Hindu, New Delhi, June 1, 1994

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