

Prepared by: Gábor Tóka

Date: October 2004

Comparative Study of Electoral Systems
Module 2: Macro Report
August 23, 2004

Country: Hungary

Date of Election: 7 and 21 April 2002

NOTE TO COLLABORATORS: The information provided in this report contributes to an important part of the CSES project. Your efforts in providing these data are greatly appreciated! Any supplementary documents that you can provide (e.g., electoral legislation, party manifestos, electoral commission reports, media reports) are also appreciated, and may be made available on the CSES website.

Part I: Data Pertinent to the Election at which the Module was Administered

1. Report the number of portfolios (cabinet posts) held by each party in cabinet, *prior* to the most recent election. (If one party holds all cabinet posts, simply write "all".)

Name of Political Party

Number of Portfolios

Fidesz-Hungarian Civic Party (Fidesz-MPP) Prime Minister and 12 other cabinet members

Independent Small Holders Party (FKGP) 4

Hungarian Democratic Forum (MDF) 1

1a. What was the size of the cabinet before the election?

Prime Minister + 17 ministers

2. Report the number of portfolios (cabinet posts) held by each party in cabinet, *after* the most recent election. (If one party holds all cabinet posts, simply write "all").

Name of Political Party

Number of Portfolios

Hungarian Socialist Party (MSZP) Prime Minister and 11 other cabinet members

Alliance of Free Democrats (SZDSZ) 4

2a. What was the size of the cabinet after the election?

Prime Minister + 15 ministers

3. Political Parties (most active during the election in which the module was administered and receiving at least 3% of the vote):

Party Name/Label International Party Organizational Membership	Year Party Founded	Ideological Family	European Parliament Political Group (where applicable)
A. Center Party (ÖMC)	2000	Christian Dem.	None
B. Fidesz-Hungarian Civic Party (Fidesz-MPP)	1988	Conservative	European People's P.
C. Hungarian Democratic Forum (MDF)	1988	Christian Dem.	European People's P.
D. Party of Hungarian Justice and Life MIÉP	1993	Nationalist	None
E. Hungarian Socialist Party MSZP	1989	Socialist	Socialist International
F. Alliance of Free Democrats SZDSZ	1988	Liberal	Liberal International

Ideological Party Families: (These are suggestions only. If a party does not fit well into this classification scheme, please provide an alternative and some explanation).

- | | | |
|-------------------------------|----------------------------------|----------------------|
| (A) Ecology Parties | (G) Liberal Parties | (M) Agrarian Parties |
| (B) Communist Parties | (H) Right Liberal Parties | (N) Ethnic Parties |
| (C) Socialist Parties | (I) Christian Democratic Parties | (O) Regional Parties |
| (D) Social Democratic Parties | (J) National Parties | (P) Other Parties |
| (E) Conservative Parties | (K) Independents | |
| (F) Left Liberal Parties | (L) Single Issue Parties | |

The following lists provide examples of political groups and organizations to which a particular party might belong. Please report any and all international affiliations for each party.

European Parliament Political Groups:

- (1) European People's Party
(2) European Democrats

- (3) Party of European Socialists
(4) European Liberal, Democrat and Reform Party

- | | |
|--|--|
| (5) Confederal Group of European United Left | (14) Christian Democratic Organization of America |
| (6) Nordic Green Left | (15) Council of Asian Liberals and Democrats |
| (7) Greens | (16) Democratic Union of Africa |
| (8) European Free Alliance | (17) Eastern European Social Democratic Forum |
| (9) Europe for the Nations | (18) Green Movement |
| (10) Europe of Democracies and Diversities | (19) Humanist Party |
| (00) Not Applicable | (20) International Communist Union |
| (98) Don't Know | (21) International Democrat Union |
| | (22) International League of Democratic Socialists |
| | (23) Liberal International |
| | (24) Natural Law Party |
| | (25) Pacific Democratic Union |
| | (26) Organization of African Liberal Parties |
| | (27) Socialist International |
| | (28) Socialist Inter-Africa |
| | (00) Not Applicable |
| | (98) Don't Know |
- International Party Organizations:
- | | |
|--|--|
| (11) Asia Pacific Socialist Organization | |
| (12) Caribbean Democratic Union | |
| (13) Christian Democratic International | |

3a. Were there any significant parties not represented in parliament *before* the election?

There was one that was not represented in parliament either before or after the election – see 3c.

3b. Were there any significant parties not represented in parliament *after* the election?

MIÉP and FKGP were represented in parliament before the election but not after. On MIÉP see above, FGP was founded in 1930, but suspended all activities under the communist regime from 1948 to 1988 except for a brief revival during the 1956 uprising; part of the governmental coalition between the 1998 and 2002 elections; agrarian orientation; member of the European People's P.

3c. Were there any other non-represented parties or independent actors whom you believe to have had a significant effect on the election?

Alliance for Hungary – Center Party (ÖMC) was not represented in parliament either before or after the election. They picked up roughly 4 percent of the vote and the party leader only narrowly lost the single-member district seat that he won in the previous parliamentary elections as an independent candidate. The ÖMC (called “Centrum Párt” in Hungarian political parlance) was registered as a separate political party, but was essentially an alliance between several smaller center-right parties (Christian Democratic People’s Party; Hungarian Democratic

People's Party; Party of Entrepreneurs; etc.) that contested previous elections on their own. Most but not all of the ÖMC supported the center-left opposition Hungarian Socialist Party (MSZP) and Alliance of Free Democrats (SZDSZ) candidates in the second round against the center-right candidates, which might have had a decisive impact on the election outcome.

4a. Ideological Positions of Parties:

Please indicate Parties A-F's positions on a left-right dimension (in the expert judgment of the CSES Collaborator). If this dimension is not appropriate, please provide an explanation of the salient cleavages, and parties' relative positions.

Party Name	Left Right										
	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
A. ÖMC						x					
B. Fidesz-MPP								x			
C. MDF							x				
D. MIÉP										x	
E. MSZP				x							
F. SZDSZ						X					

4aa. Do you believe there would be general consensus on these placements among informed observers in your country?

Yes, largely.

4b. If you have asked respondents to rank political parties on an alternative dimension, other than the left-right dimension, please also provide your own rankings of the parties on this dimension.

Name of dimension:

Label for left hand position:

Label for right hand position:

Party Name	Left Right										
	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
A.											
B.											
C.											
D.											
E.											
F.											

4bb. Do you believe there would be general consensus about these placements among informed observers in your country?

5. In your view, what are the five most salient factors that affected the outcome of the election (e.g. major scandals; economic events; the presence of an independent actor; specific issues)?

1. Under the very firm leadership of Prime Minister Viktor Orbán (formally or informally the number one leader of the Fidesz-MPP ever since 1990) the 1998-2002 government was perceived by the public as relatively efficient, albeit many of the government's policies were controversial and divisive. Economic growth was fairly high throughout the entire term of the Orbán-government, and the income position of the bulk of the population improved in the last two years of the government. It remained disputed though to what extent the strong growth of the period was the result of the policies of the previous (socialist-liberal) governmental coalition, and to what extent the Orbán-government allowed growth to transform into income increases for the many.

2. The FKGP's record in the 1998-2002 government was perceived dismal in terms of competence, nepotism, sleaze, and policies. Meanwhile Fidesz-MPP developed credible commitments on all issues traditionally associated with support for the FKGP, and the better part of the 1998 FKGP-electorate switched to Fidesz-MPP.

3. Since 1997, Fidesz-MPP developed a range of controversial (though with the larger part of the electorate rather popular) policy commitments in fields like housing, family policy, government relations with foreign investors, and policies regarding the Hungarian minorities living in the neighboring countries. These initiatives solidified support for the party among the potential electorate of the more traditional, Christian- and moderately or radically nationalist right-wing parties, and also extended the support basis for the right beyond its traditional electorate.

4. Most of the socialist-liberal opposition to the Fidesz-led government focused on questioning the commitment of Fidesz, Orbán, and the right-wing general to democratic procedures, and associating them with sleaze, corruption, abuse of power, unproductive nationalist stances in foreign policy rhetoric, and a social policy which neglected the interest of the pensioners and the poor in favor of supporting middle to high income families.

5. Throughout the 2002 campaign it was widely accepted that Fidesz-MPP would easily win the election and stay in power. In retrospect many observers and participants thought that this impression led to a probably less intense campaigning by the center-right than would have been possible and necessary. In any case, after the opposition parties took a clear lead in the first round of the election, a very energetic, assertive, and negative campaign by Viktor Orbán led to a significant surge of the right-wing vote (as well as turnout) in the second round of the election, which nearly turned around the final outcome of the election.

5a. Do you believe there would be general consensus about the importance of these factors among informed observers in your country?

To a considerable extent yes. Different people would phrase the description of the factors differently, but all the above factors would feature prominently in most accounts.

6. Electoral Alliances:

Sometimes, electoral alliances are made at the constituency level as, for example, in Finland. Documenting who is allied with whom, and how, in each constituency is a large task and we do not expect you to do more than make some general reference to the existence of constituency-level alliances. Sometimes, electoral alliances are made at the national level -- these are the alliances that we would like you to identify. Information is sought on who is allied with whom and on the nature of the electoral alliance.

a) Were electoral alliances permitted during the election campaign?

- No
- Yes

If yes, please complete the following:

<u>Alliance Name</u>	<u>Participant Parties (please indicate dominant members with an "*")</u>
Alliance 1: Fidesz-MDF joint list Forum	Fidesz-MPP* and Hungarian Democratic
Alliance 2: Informal cooperation between MSZP, SZDSZ, and to some extent ÖMC	MSZP, SZDSZ and some of the ÖMC

Note: it regularly happens in the runoff elections in the single-member districts in Hungary that some parties mutually withdraw candidates in some constituencies in favor of each other's candidates, where more than two candidates could appear on the ballot in the second round. Because of such arrangements in the 2002 elections nearly all single-member district had a two-way race in the second round, with MSZP and SZDSZ withdrawing candidates in each other's favor, and the ÖMC withdrawing candidates in favor of MSZP (or SZDSZ) candidates in some constituencies where they remained in competition.

Alliance 3:

Alliance 4:

Alliance 5:

7. Party Leaders and Presidential Candidates:

In legislative elections, please report the leader of each party.

In presidential elections, list presidential candidates and their parties. If candidates were endorsed by more than one party, please indicate this below.

Party of Candidate
Candidate

Name of Party Leader or Presidential

A. ÖMC

Mihály Kupa

B. Fidesz-MPP

Viktor Orbán

(Note: Orbán was prime minister, the Fidesz-MPP's candidate for Prime Minister and the de facto party leader. The formal party leader was Zoltán Pokorny.)

C. MDF

Ibolya Dávid

D. MIÉP

István Csurka

E. MSZP

Péter Medgyessy

(Note: Medgyessy was the MSZP's candidate for prime minister, and formally not even a member of the party. The formal and also de facto party leader was László Kovács.)

F. SZDSZ

Gábor Kuncze

Part II: Data on Electoral Institutions

If possible, please supplement this section with copies of the electoral law, voters' handbooks, electoral commission reports, and/or any other relevant materials.

A. QUESTIONS ABOUT ELECTORAL DISTRICTS.

Definitions: An electoral district is defined as a geographic area within which votes are counted and seats allocated. If a district cannot be partitioned into smaller districts within which votes are counted and seats allocated, it is called primary. If it can be partitioned into primary districts, and during the counting process there is some transfer of votes and/or seats from the primary districts to the larger district, then the larger district is called secondary. If a district can be partitioned into secondary districts (again with some transfer of votes and/or seats), it is called tertiary.

In some electoral systems, there are electoral districts that are geographically nested but not otherwise related for purposes of seat allocation. In Lithuania, for example, there are 71 single-member districts that operate under a majority runoff system, and also a single nationwide district that operates under proportional representation (the largest remainders method with the Hare quota). Neither votes nor seats from the single-member districts transfer to the nationwide district, however. The two processes are entirely independent (with voters having one vote in each district). In this case, the nationwide district, although it contains the 71 single-member districts, is not considered to be secondary. It is primary. One might say that there are two segments to the electoral system in such cases.

1. How many segments (as just defined) are there in the electoral system?
 - 1 segment
 - 2 segments
 - more than 2

Please answer the following questions (questions 2 through 11) for each segment of each directly elected house of the legislature:

2. How many primary electoral districts are there?
176 single-member districts, and twenty multimember districts, which are all primary electoral districts and constitute the two segments of the electoral system.

3. For each primary electoral district, how many members are elected from each district?
(If district variation exists, answer 3a)

The 176 single-member districts elect one member each. The multimember districts elect 4 to 28 members depending on the size of their voting-age population in 1989, when the election law was adopted:

3a. If districts elect varying number of members, please list the districts, indicating the number of members elected from that district. (Attach separate sheets, as required).

<u>District</u>	<u>Number of Members</u>	
Region	Number of single-member districts	Number of mandates in regional multimember district
Budapest	32	28
Baranya county		7 6
Bács-Kiskun county	10	8
Békés county	7	6
Borsod-Abaúj-Zemplén county	13	11
Csongrád county	7	6
Fejér county	7	6
Győr-Sopron-Moson county	7	6
Hajdú-Bihar county	9	8
Heves county	6	5
Jász-Nagykun-Szolnok county	8	6
Komárom-Esztergom county	5	5
Nógrád county	4	4
Pest county	16	14
Somogy county		6 5
Szabolcs-Szatmár-Bereg county	10	9
Tolna county	5	4
Vas county	5	4
Veszprém county	7	6
Zala county	5	5
Total	176	152

4. How many secondary electoral districts are there?

One nationwide district.

5. How many tertiary electoral districts are there?

None.

If possible, please summarize the information above for questions 1-3 and 4-5 in the table here:

Chambers/Houses	Lower	Upper
-----------------	-------	-------

Segments	Number	1	2	3 or more	1	2	3 or more
Primary districts	Number						
	No. of members*	17 6	Max. 152				
Secondary districts	Number						
	No. of members*		Min. 58				
Tertiary districts	Number						
	No. of members*						

*Please report the total number of members for all districts, per segment.

B. QUESTIONS ABOUT VOTING.

6. Exactly how are votes cast by voters?

Two separate sheets are given to each voter in the first. In 2002, runoffs had to be held only in some of the single-member districts, two weeks after the first round. Since the quorum requirement for the party list-based segment of the electoral system was satisfied in all multimember district, the second round balloting only involved the choice between surviving candidates for the single-member seats (usually just the top two candidates in the first round).

6a. How many votes do they or can they cast?

Two in the first round of the elections, and usually one more in the runoff. If a fifty percent turnout was not reached, or no candidate received an absolute majority in the respective citizens' single-member district, then a runoff election is held in that district. A second round of voting has to be held in multimember districts too if the 50 percent turnout requirement was not satisfied in the first round. In the 2002 the turnout requirement was satisfied in all multimember and single-member districts.

6b. Do they vote for candidates, for lists, or for both? (please explain)

In the first round, citizens can cast one vote for a closed party list in their multimember district, and another one for a candidate in their single-member district. Whether they can (have to) vote in the second round either for a candidate or a list (or both) depends on results of the first round (see above).

7. Are the votes transferable?

The voter can in no way indicate a desired direction of vote transfer. However, votes cast for a particular candidate in a single-member district, or a particular list of candidates in a multimember district often turn into 'remainder votes' that do not earn mandate in the primary district, but are cumulated at the national level where they benefit candidates who stand for election on the national list of their party.

8. If more than one vote can be cast, can they be cumulated?

No, the voters cannot cumulate votes themselves. However, as described at the previous point, their two votes (one for a regional party list and one for a candidate standing for election in a single-member district) may both turn into remainder votes and thus end up cumulated at the national level.

9. Are there any other features of voting that should be noted?

No.

C. QUESTIONS ABOUT CONVERTING VOTES INTO SEATS.

10. Exactly how are votes converted into seats?

In the single-member districts, an absolute majority is required in the first round. If there is no such candidate, but the 50 percent turnout requirement was satisfied, then a runoff is called between the candidates who received at least 15 percent of all valid votes, but at least the top three candidates. If the turnout requirement was not met in the first round, then all candidates who stood for election in the first round may run again in the second round. Candidates can withdraw from the race between the two rounds. In the second round the candidate with the greatest number of votes is elected - provided that the turnout was 25 percent or more. It may happen (but has never happened yet) that insufficient turnout in both rounds of the election leaves a single-member district without a representative in parliament. In this case, a by-election is called in the district.

In the twenty multimember districts, the Hagenbach-Bischoff quota is used to allocate seats between those parties that received at least 5 percent of all votes cast for regional party lists nationally. If there are more seats to be allocated than as many full quotas were obtained by these parties in the multimember-district in question, then less than a full quota - but at least 2/3 of the full quota - is also enough to earn a seat.

Votes that do not earn mandates at the regional level, and seats that remain unallocated at the regional level are transferred to a second round of seat allocation that occurs at the national level. Votes cast for non-winning candidates in the single-member districts in the first round of voting (or in the runoff, if the turnout requirement was not met in the first round, but was satisfied in the second round of voting) are also added to these remainder votes that are cumulated by party at the national level. Only those parties can participate in this second round of seat allocation that (1) have a national party list - which presumes that they had a list in at least eight counties or in six counties and the capital city -; and (2) received at least 5 percent of all votes cast for regional party lists nationally. The d'Hondt highest average method is used to allocate seats between national party lists.

The number of seats allocated at the national level is 58 plus the number of seats that remained unallocated in the regional multimember districts.

10a. Are there legally mandated thresholds that a party must exceed before it is eligible to receive seats?

Not in the single-member districts, but there is a threshold in the multimember districts

If so, what is the threshold?

To win seats in the regional multimember districts or at the national level, a party must have received at least 5 percent of all votes cast for regional party lists nationally.

10b. What electoral formula or formulas are used?

Majority-runoff in the single-members, a modified version of largest remainder at the regional level, and d'Hondt at the national level. For details see the answer to question 10 above.

11. If there are lists, are they closed, open, or flexible?
- closed
 - flexible, but in practice virtually closed
 - flexible
 - flexible, but in practice virtually open
 - open

Definitions: A list is closed if the seats that are awarded to that list are always occupied by the candidates in order of their appearance on the list (i.e., if the list gets x seats then necessarily the top x names on the list get the seats). A list is open if the question of which candidates on the list get the seats that are awarded to the list is determined solely by the votes that each candidate receives. A list is flexible if parties place their candidates in the order they would like to see them elected, but voters can, with varying degrees of ease, change this order through votes they cast for individual candidates.

Please repeat questions 2 through 11 of this section for each segment of each directly elected house of the legislature.

D. QUESTIONS ABOUT THE POSSIBILITIES OF ELECTORAL ALLIANCE.

Definitions: A joint list refers to one on which candidates of different parties run together. Apparentement refers to a legal agreement between two or more lists to pool their votes for the purposes of an initial seat allocation, with seats initially allocated to the alliance then reallocated to the lists in the alliance.

12. What are the possibilities of forming alliances in the system?

Multiple options, see below.

12a. Can parties run joint lists?

- Yes
- No

The answer is yes, but no other information can be printed on the ballot paper than the names of the candidates, their rank order on the list, and the name of the list. The ballot paper will not show if they come from different parties/organizations. In the 2002 elections, for the first time ever in a national election since the restoration of democracy in 1990, there was a joint party list presented to the voters, namely the joint list of Fidesz-MPP and MDF.

12b. Is there apparentement or linking of lists

- Yes
- No

The answer is yes, but this option has never been used.

12c. Can candidates run with the endorsement of more than one party?

- Yes
- No

Yes. This was the form that Fidesz-MDF electoral alliance took in the 1998 election, but in 2002 no relevant candidate made use of this option.

12d. Do parties withdraw their lists or candidates in some constituencies, urging their supporters there to vote for an ally's list or candidate?

- Yes
- No

12e. Other?

Some smaller parties some times agree not to run their own list/candidates in the election in exchange for having some of their potential candidates nominated by a bigger party. In 2002, this arrangement was the basis of an agreement between Fidesz-MPP and MKDSZ (=Hungarian Christian Democratic Alliance).

13. Are joint lists possible?

Yes

13a. If joint lists are possible, are they subject to different regulations than single-party lists? For example, higher thresholds, different numbers of candidates that may appear on the list, etc.

Yes, the threshold is higher (5 percent for a single party, 10 percent for the joint list of two parties, and so forth).

14. If appurement is possible, what lists can participate in such agreements:

- lists of the same party in the same constituency
- lists of the same party from different constituencies
- lists of different parties in the same constituency

15. If candidates can run with the endorsement of more than one party, is this reflected on the ballot?

- No
- No party endorsements are indicated on the ballot paper
- Yes, candidate's name appears once, together with the names of all supporting parties
- Yes, candidate's name appears as many times as there are different parties endorsing him/her, each time with the name of the endorsing party
- Yes, other (please explain):

Part III: Data on Regime Type

Below are various questions about the type of regime--presidential, parliamentary, semi-presidential--in your country. There are two potential problems with these questions that should be noted at the outset. First, in some countries there may be a discrepancy between the *de jure* (or legal) situation and the *de facto* (or practical) situation. For example, in Great Britain the Queen still possesses a legal right to veto legislation, but this right has not been exercised since 1707. In the case of such obviously obsolete powers, please answer according to the *de facto* situation. Otherwise, describe the *de jure* situation. A second potential problem is that the questions may not be phrased optimally for the situation in your particular country. In such cases, please answer as best you can, providing some indication of the difficulties as you see them.

A. QUESTIONS REGARDING THE HEAD OF STATE.

Definitions: The Head of State is typically the highest ranking official in the executive branch of government. Often, this position is held by a president or a monarch, and may be more ceremonial than effective. The Head of Government is usually the highest ranking official in the legislative branch of government. In some systems, this may be someone other than the Head of State (i.e. the prime minister in the Westminster systems), while in other cases, the roles of the Head of State and Head of Government are combined (i.e. in the United States, the president serves as both the Head of State and the Head of Government).

1. Who is the Head of State?

- President
- Monarch
- Prime Minister serves as ceremonial head of state
- Other (please specify)

2. How is the head of state selected?

- Direct election
- Indirect election
- Birth right
- Divine right
- Other (Explain)

2a. If by direct election, by what process?

- Plurality election
- Run-off or two-ballot system
- Other (Explain)

2a1. If by run-off system, how are the candidates selected for the final round?

- The _____(##) candidates with the highest vote totals advance to the second round
- Any candidate with at least _____% of the popular vote advances to the second round

2b. If by indirect election, by what process?

- Electoral college
- Selection by the legislature
- Other (Explain)

2b1. If by electoral college, how are electors chosen?

2b2. Does the electoral college deliberate?

- Yes
- No

2b3. What is the voting procedure used by the electoral college?

2b4. If by the legislature, by which chamber(s) of the legislature? What is the voting procedure used?

The selection is by the one and only chamber of parliament. Legislators can make up to three attempts to elect president. In the first and second rounds, the threshold of victory is a two-thirds majority; in the third round an absolute majority is required. There is a new round of nomination for each round of voting.

3. Does the Head of State have the following powers? Please check all that apply:

3a. Introduce legislation?

- Yes
- No

3b. Require expedited action on specific legislation? (i.e., set a deadline by which the legislature is required to act on the bill)?

- Yes
- No

Note: Parliament is obliged to treat presidential bills like any others – except that it is obliged to deliberate on it.

Definitions: A Head of State possesses a partial veto when he or she can target specific clauses of a piece of legislation for veto, while promulgating the rest. In the U.S., such vetoes are sometimes called line item vetoes. A Head of State possesses a package veto when he or she can veto the entire piece of legislation submitted by the legislature, but cannot veto some parts and accept others.

3c. Package veto?

- No
- Yes, and the requirement to override the veto is: Repeated deliberation in Parliament is required after a presidential veto, but the same majority as before is enough to override the president's veto through a second vote.

3d. Partial veto?

- No
- Yes, and the requirement to override the veto is:

3e. Issue decrees with the power of law?

- Yes
- No

3f. Emergency powers?

- Yes
- No

3g. Negotiate treaties and international agreements?

- No
- Yes, provided the following additional requirements are met:

3h. Commander of the armed forces?

- Yes
- No

3i. Initiate referenda or plebiscites?

- Yes
- No

3j. Refer legislation to the judicial branch for review of constitutionality?

- Yes
- No

3k. Convene special legislative sessions?

- Yes
- No

B. QUESTIONS ABOUT THE HEAD OF GOVERNMENT.

Definitions: In some countries, the Head of Government is directly elected, in elections that may or may not occur concurrently with legislative elections. In these cases, the Head of Government is said to be elected independently of the legislature. In others, the Head of Government is the leader of the governing party or governing coalition in the legislature, and so, the selection of the Head of Government depends upon the distribution of seats in the legislature. In these cases, the Head of Government is not elected independently of the legislature.

4. Is the Head of Government elected independently of the legislature?

- Yes
- No

4a. Is the Head of Government also the Head of State?

- Yes
- No

4b. If the Head of Government is not elected independently of the legislature, how is the Head of Government selected?

- Appointed by the head of state alone
- Appointed by the legislature alone
- Nominated by the head of state, and approved by the legislature
- Nominated by the legislature, and approved by the head of state
- Other (Please explain):

5. What authorities does the Head of Government have over the composition of the cabinet?

Please check all that apply.

- Names ministers and assigns portfolios alone
- Nominates ministers for approval by the president
- Reviews and approves ministerial nominations made by the president
- Dismisses ministers and reassigns portfolios at own discretion
- Other (Please explain):

Note: Formally the President appoints and dismisses the ministers, but the substantive decision is that of the Prime Minister. The President is strongly expected to act merely as a rubber stamp.

6. What authorities does the Head of Government have over the policy making process?

Please check all that apply:

- Chairs cabinet meetings
- Determines schedule of issues to be considered by the legislature(de facto)
- Determines which alternatives will be voted on by the legislature, and in which order(de facto)
- Refers legislative proposals to party or legislative committees(de facto)
- Calls votes of confidence in government
- Other (Please explain):

C. QUESTIONS REGARDING THE CABINET

7. By what method(s) can the cabinet be dismissed? Please check all that apply:

- By the head of state acting alone
- By the prime minister acting alone
- By majority vote of the legislature where a majority of all legislators is required
- By majority vote of the legislature where a majority of those legislators voting is required
- By some combination of the above, acting in concert (Please explain):
- Other (Please explain):

'Constructive vote of non-confidence': The dismissal by of the goverment (actually of the Prime Minister, since that is the only way Parliament can dismiss ministers) is valid only if at the same time a new Prime Minister is elected by parliament.

D. QUESTIONS REGARDING THE LEGISLATURE

8. Can the legislature be dissolved prior to regularly scheduled elections? _____No

X Yes:

- By the head of state acting alone
- By the prime minister acting alone
- By majority vote of the legislature
- By some combination of the above, acting in concert (Please explain):
- Other (Please explain):

9. If the legislature can be dissolved prior to regularly scheduled elections, are there restrictions on when and how the legislature can be dissolve? Please check all that apply:

- On the timing of dissolution (e.g. not within one year after a legislative election) (Please explain):

- As a response to action/inaction by the legislature (e.g. only when the legislature has censured the cabinet; only if the legislature fails to pass the budget) (Please explain):

- Other (Explain):

The President can dissolve Parliament if ...

1. parliament passes a vote of (constructive) non-confidence in the government four times within a 12-month period.
2. in case of the end of mandate of the government (e.g. in case of the death of the Prime Minister), if the person proposed by the President is not elected by Parliament within forty days.

10. Is there a second chamber of the legislature? No Yes _____, it is:
- directly elected
 - indirectly elected through the following process:
- 10a. If there is a second chamber and it is indirectly elected, are those who choose its members:
- wholly regional and/or local officials?
 - partly regional and/or local officials?
 - not necessarily regional and/or local officials?
- 10b. If there is a second chamber, does it have specific and exclusive legislative powers (i.e. the power to reject the executive's proposed budget)?
- No
 - Yes (Please explain):
- 10c. If there is a second chamber, does it have the power to remove the cabinet or censure its ministers?
- Yes
 - No

E. FEDERALISM

11. Is there a constitutionally guaranteed division of power between the central government and regional and/or local governments?
- Yes
 - No
12. Does the central government have the power to remove elected officials of regional and/or local governments?
- Yes
 - No

F. REFERENCES

Please list any resources that were consulted in the preparation of this report, or that the CSES community may find especially helpful in understanding the political system described here.

My source was merely the text of the constitution and expert interpretations received from constitutional lawyer Dr. András Bragyova (at the Institute of Law of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences). The most accessible English language commentaries include:

Körösényi, András. 2002. *Government and Politics in Hungary*. Budapest: CEU Press.

Tóka, Gábor. 2004. "Hungary." in *Handbook of Political Change in Eastern Europe*, 2nd revised and updated edition, ed. by Sten Berglund, Joakim Ekman, and Frank H. Aarebrot. Cheltenham: Edgar Elgar, pp. 289-336.