

Thesises

Starting from the eighties up until today the media has gone through a process of change more relevant than in the past decades or even centuries. New technical devices overscripted the possibilities of traditional mass communication. The unilateral information used for decades was changed by a plural, free, democratic communication. Nowadays journalism has become something civil in the sense that particulars with their cell phones can send information to "official" redactions, also the communication and the information is available on the social network sites

The relationship between power and the media has also suffered changes, transformations. The remote controlled steering by the party-state of former socialist countries was replaced by pluralist societies that regulate the functioning of the press through legislation. The changes does not automatically meant the establishment of the media market. Neither meant that actual governments and (governing) powers would avoid to try to influence directly or indirectly the operation of the press, and the whole media.

Mihály Gálík quotes Karol Jakubowicz who investigated the media-regulation changes in the post- communist countries (Gálík , 2005. 423.p.) . By his category scheme, the "Idealist" school of thought reflects the behavior of the former opposition, which defined each issue as opposed to the once existing communist regime. They stressed the participation, itself, the democracy in access to information. The trend of the "miming" means the liberalization of the press and the formation of a dualistic media system. The "atavistic" means the formation of the media system which is under the control of the new political elite.

Jakubowicz's model roughly describes the transformations in our country. The opposition that later formed political parties criticized the prevailing socialist system since the mid- eighties. They firmly stated in their communications (initially in samisdats and then in media of legitimate publicity) that the system could not be repaired and that Kádár had to go away. They claimed rights, rights of participation, freedom of expression and the democratization of the media. In Hungary the process of "miming" is not carried out at once. The privatization of the press, despite the conflict was done quite fast, however the formation of the dual media was delayed for several years. The Németh administration ordered a moratorium on frequencies that prevented the establishment of the dual media system. The law that made it possible was approved by the National Assembly in 1995. The Jakubowicz's "atavistic" stream can be interpreted following to that date, but the experience of the intervening years

indicate that successive governments thought differently regarding to the control of the media system and the practices of different powers related to media also indicate considerable differences.

In my PhD I intend to describe the peculiarities of the relationships between media and power in the last three decades in Hungary. Based on Jakubowicz's school of thought I outline and define four distinct stages in its content.

Foremost I analyze the peculiarities of the late Kádár era. I analyze what events, political struggles, confrontations took place until the free elections and until the establishment of multi-party parliament.

Following to that I study the ages of the media-war, which was caused mainly in my consideration by the lack of a media law.

The third period is the longest in time: these are the years after the media law, whose main characteristic is the need for political consensus, followed by the ignorance and lack of agreements.

The party alliance of Fidesz - KDNP received more opportunities and freedom than any government ever before by the two-thirds majority obtained in the 2010 elections. They used this opportunity to radically transform the control of the media system, to change the structure and operation of public service institutions, to rewrite the press law and the media law. According to my perception, these years since 2010 formed a separate chapter in the history of the hungarian media.

According to my experience the last thirty years can be described with these stages. Analyzing each period I describe the changes, transformations and rearrangements in media and politics.

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