

## Abstracts

Miklós Bakk – Alpár Zoltán Szász – István Gergő Székely: *Parliamentary and Presidential Elections in Romania in November 2004*

The study offers the detailed analysis of the events connected with the 2004 parliamentary and presidential elections, and their outcomes. Following the short historical introduction and the presentation of the political and economic processes between 2000 and 2004 that determined the election strategies of different parties, the authors examine separately the changes occurred in the number of votes obtained by each party as compared to previous elections. Then, through the analysis of the Romanian election and party system, it sketches the considerations along which the results of the different parties can be evaluated. In the concluding part of the study, the authors analyse the election results of the Democratic Alliance of Hungarians in Romania. They attribute stressed significance to the analysis of phenomena whose interpretation may explain the Alliance's weakest performance, namely the decrease of the number of votes obtained, absenteeism, and cross-voting.

Balázs Gerencsér: *Linguistic Rights and Acts - I*

The author, a doctor and teacher-assistant of public administration law, faced the difficulty of finding historical linguistic acts. After looking for the laws in several libraries, periodicals and on the internet, he decided to collect them and write surveys to make easier the job of future researchers.

The paper entitled 'Linguistic rights and acts' deals with laws that regulate minority and linguistic rights in the Carpathian Basin of the 20<sup>th</sup> century and have effect on the Hungarians living in the neighbouring countries of Hungary.

The research starts with 1919, when most of the neighbouring countries (and the Hungarian minorities themselves) were born. After the First World War, Hungary lost 2/3 of her territories and more than half of her population became the citizens of other countries due to the well-known unjust Treaty of Trianon. The study examines international contracts and agreements, constitutions, language and minority acts in the light of the above facts.

The paper presents the first language act of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, namely act no. 122 of 1920 of Czechoslovakia and its decree of enforcement (1926).

The act contains 9 articles and sets the limitation for the use of public language rights to 20%. These rights are: the use of the mother tongue in court (from the statement of claim to the judgement), the use of the mother tongue in local self-governments and education in the mother tongue.

Buti, Daniel: *The Romanian Party System in the Quest of a Functional Formula*

After the 2004 general elections, the Romanian party system has shown a dominant tendency to shift towards what analysts called “bipolarity”. Whether this is the case or not, it’s rather to be mooted. We have two criteria: the party and the alliance. For the moment, one can say that we have fewer political parties, and the system can be labelled as “multiparty, with a dominant party”. However, we don’t have yet a stable situation in this field. A stable and a coherent power that could be a pragmatic opposition would ensure alternation.

Flonta, Vlad: *Third Romania*

The article focuses on the electoral campaign and the general elections that took place in Romania in 2004. By that time the population has gained enough experience not to take for granted the obviously unrealistic promises of the two major coalitions and other parties. Electoral programs played a minor role, too. The attention was focused on the personalities at the top of the parties, especially on the candidates for the presidential elections. The electoral process was characterized by many irregularities. Although Romania is now close to the EU accession, the Romanian democracy is still far from a western model of democracy.

Éva Fórika: *Dispelling Beliefs and Delusions: the European Union and the Protection of Minorities*

The paper studies the measures taken by the European Union for the protection of minorities, trying to find the answer whether the accession of Romania to the European Union will bring any improvement in the respect of minority rights. Following the attempt to clarify notions referring to national and ethnic minorities, it analyzes both the development process that resulted in the present-day EU and the system for the protection of minorities that either existed or not at the different stages of development

of the Union. The study also includes the prospective changes due to the already signed, but not yet effective Constitutional Treaty.

Based on the above, the author sheds light on the fact that in spite of the demonstrable steps taken, one cannot speak about a consensus concerning minority protection that could develop into a regulation in the field and, although the integration of Romania into the European Union is a step forward for the Transylvanian Hungarians, we must also admit that we shall be entitled to benefit of the newly gained rights – at least according to the present circumstances – not in our quality as a minority, but due to our Romanian, more precisely European citizenship.

*Péter Kovács: The Protection of Minorities Reflected in the Practice of the European Court of Human Rights*

The present study presents the decisions of the European Court of Human Rights made in cases concerning national, linguistic and ethnic minorities. It points out the potential causes of the insignificant number of such cases, together with the fact that in spite of their small number, the decisions have fundamentally contributed to the renewal of the legal practice of the Court as well as the establishment of the pillars for the development of the legal practice of judgement passing.

Through the cases presented in the study, the author comes to the conclusion that during the past four decades, the Court of Strasbourg grew to be more understanding towards minority questions, although it must be kept in mind that the successful suing is also due to the fact that the classical minority problems were linked to classical human rights.

*Nettl, John Peter: The State as Conceptual Variable*

The concept of state is not much in vogue in the social sciences right now. Yet it retains a skeletal, ghostly existence largely because, in spite of all the changes in emphasis and interest of research, the thing exists and no amount of conceptual restructuring can dissolve it. The present article develops a conceptual approach in which no harm is done to historical or empirical fact; instead, it offers a means of integrating the concept of state into the current primacy of social science concerns and analytical methods. It is hoped that this approach will not only provide a convenient conceptualization, but also contribute to attacking a substantive problem of some consequence. Since the relevant area is potentially huge, no more than a brushstroke configuration can be attempted.

János Péntek - Zoltán Kása - Árpád Néda - Endre Sárkány-Kis: *Draft on the Establishment of Two Independent Faculties with Tuition in Hungarian Language within the Babes-Bolyai University*

In the spring of 2004 two drafts were elaborated on the establishment of two independent faculties with tuition in Hungarian language within the Babes-Bolyai University. The present journal publishes the draft elaborated by the work-group lead by Péntek János. Beside the elaboration of the new structures, the authors present in detail the arguments for the establishment of these structures as well as their guiding principles. They conceive the implementation of high standard education and successful research in an institutional subsystem that enjoys a relative independence both from a professional and an economic viewpoint, besides being functionally integrated into the already operating and relatively efficient structure of the university.

Radu, Alexandru: *What Kind of Party System?*

This article tries to re-evaluate the problem of the Romanian political party system. All calculi show that it may be labelled as “multiparty, with dominant party.” However, given that the Romanian system presents strong peculiarities when compared with stable democracies, we must rather say that we are closer to a “bipolar multiparty system.” In fact, our system is biased by “the coalition flaw”, which seems to be characteristic for all systems raised in the wake of communist systems. Therefore, we can say that the classic typologies of the occidental countries are not adequate for the Eastern ones.

Attila Szavári: *Hungarian System in Northern Transylvania (September 1940 - April 1941)*

I consider the time has come to write a comprehensive study that presents the history of Northern Transylvania from 1940 to 1944. Until now no one has assumed to treat the question exhaustively and in detail, only some parts were analysed. There are works that approach the subject from the point of view of economic policy, nationality policy and Hungarian-Romanian relations. This is the reason why I undertook this extensive study on the history of Northern Transylvania together with *Pál Teleki's* ties to Transylvania. The first part of this long-term goal is a study that presents the state of affairs after the entry of the Hungarian army: the beginning of the nationality policy based on reciprocity in the Romanian-Hungarian relations, the history of the

first months of the Hungarian military administration and the civilian administration in Northern Transylvanian, as well as the economic situation of the re-annexed territories of Eastern Hungary and Transylvania.

The literature closely connected with the subject matter is insufficient; therefore I also use the result of my research of several weeks in the National Archives of Hungary. Supplemented from new sources, the summarization of the existing facts has been completed.

*Toró Tibor: Transylvanian Cleavages - Hungarian Policy in Romania Presented in the Press of Hungary*

Hungarian policy in Romania and the situation of the Hungarians in Romania are considered important questions in the mother-country and in the press of Hungary. In the present study, the author analyzes the articles published in the two largest daily newspapers of Hungary - the Magyar Nemzet and the Népszabadság - on the Hungarian political situation in Romania from the 1<sup>st</sup> of April 2004 to the 31<sup>st</sup> of October 2004 (in the case of general elections to the 1<sup>st</sup> of December). The author aims at exploring the interconnections based on the affirmations of the articles, the actors of political discourses and in what way the two newspapers present the events of the Hungarian political life in Transylvanian.

*Tamás Horváth - Ádám Ríz: New Possibilities to Support the Hungarians of the Carpathian Basin in the European Union*

Following the accession of Hungary to the European Union, the perspectives of the Hungarian communities living outside the borders of Hungary undergo changes, become wider and broader. The changed geopolitical situation, the increase in rank of "being Hungarian" require, beside maintaining the results obtained so far, radically new solutions, a new logic and approach from both political and professional viewpoint, coupled with the active participation of all the actors involved in the national political sphere of Hungary.

The aim of the keynote is to call the attention of the opposite poles of the political field in Hungary to the potentialities and dangers hidden in this new situation, as well as to offer solution proposal, answer alternatives of explicitly administrative approach for decision-makers in order to renew comprehensively the political sphere dealing with the Hungarians living outside the borders of Hungary as - according to political and professional consensus - it cannot be postponed any longer.