

ABSTRACTS

Karolina Darcsi: The 2012 Parliamentary Elections in Ukraine and the Representation of the Hungarian Minority

The study presents the interest representation possibilities of Transcarpathian Hungarians - as one of the national minorities living in Ukraine - within the framework of the independent Ukrainian state, with special emphasis on how minority advocacy was affected by the changes in the Ukrainian voting system. The (research) paper analyzes the Hungarian participation in the previous Ukrainian elections, especially pointing to the parliamentary elections and its results in 2012.

Keywords: Transcarpathian Hungarians, Ukraine, elections, voting system

Eszter Herner-Kovács: 2012 Elections in Serbia. The New Serbian Set of Political Forces and the Last Year's Conclusions, with Special Emphasis on the Representation of the Hungarian Interests

In 2012, parliamentary, provincial, local, and early presidential elections were held in Serbia. The results of the parliamentary and presidential elections brought about the victory of the Serbian Progressive Party, which changed the domestic political landscape of the country considerably. The Alliance of Vojvodina (the most powerful Hungarian party in Serbia) became part of the parliamentary opposition, although it was a governing party in the previous (2008-2012) term. This paper examines the changes and tendencies after the elections of 2012; moreover, it analyzes the results of the Hungarian parties as well as the consequences of their rivalry.

Keywords: Vojvodina, Alliance of Vojvodina Hungarians, 2012 elections

Tamás Kiss - Gergő Barna - István Gergő Székely: From Society Building to Clientele Building. The Evolution of the Relationship between the DAHR and the Hungarian Voters

If one was asked to characterize the electoral behavior of the ethnic Hungarians in Transylvania in a single word, stability would definitely be the best description, and political analysts also frequently emphasize that the Democratic Alliance of Hungarians in Romania has been the most stable actor of the Romanian party system in the past two decades. However, beyond this apparent stability very important changes have occurred, most importantly the nature of the linkages between the DAHR and its voters has undergone a gradual, yet significant shift.

While the ethnic party character of the DAHR remains obvious, these changes also prompt us to re-interpret the classification of the DAHR in the most important typologies of political parties that can be found in the literature. The article focuses precisely on this shifting of position, attempting to contextualize the events by embedding the analysis into a wider perspective of political and social history and by underpinning it with empirical data – longitudinal series of electoral results and survey data.

The voting behavior of the ethnic Hungarians in Romania is closely connected to the conception of a self-standing and parallel Minority Society, and to the practices of institution-building that the minority intelligentsia engaged in. This project of the elite, started in the early 1990s, led to the development of a specific habitus of ethnic voting, which is still dominant among the Hungarians. However, this mechanism survives partly due to inertia, because in the past decade (or perhaps since its first participation in the Romanian government in 1996) the DAHR has gradually departed from this strategy of institution-building, a phenomenon which was also closely connected to a process of elite change which occurred within the organization. In the first half of the 1990s the organization was led by an elite of a predominantly cultural background (and by intellectuals who in the previous regime occupied positions which allowed them to act as brokers or mediators between the minority community and the party state). However, this cultural elite gradually lost ground to an economic elite and various interest groups of entrepreneurs. Moreover, the present leadership of the DAHR puts less and less emphasis on policy programs that could strengthen the vitality or the sustainability of the institutional system of the minority, consequently it is unable (and conspicuously also unwilling) to organizationally integrate the leaders and members of the system, who previously had played a key role in the process of (electoral) mobilization. At the rhetorical level DAHR did not abandon the goal of building a parallel Hungarian minority society, but in practice (and lately also at the rhetorical level) it is governmental participation that has become the central element of the party's strategy.

Keywords: ethnic party, ethnic mobilization, minority parallel society, clientelism, Democratic Alliance of Hungarians in Romania

Ambrus Miskolczy: The Iron Guard: Through Work Camps to the “New” Party

The most important factor contributing to the spreading of the Legionary Movement in the middle of the 1930s were work camps. Working in camps was also a necessity aimed at concealing the assassination of the prime-minister, I. Duca. However, they had to engage in construction first of all for the sake of self-supporting, as construction works offered a school of paramilitarism, were a tool of propaganda, of setting an example, but also a way of connecting to and serving the community. The world of camps was the incarnation of the fascist utopia. There

towards the inside the law of affection, towards the outside the law of hate dominated. Affection made acceptable the reality of hierarchy. Hate reinforced cohesion. The targets of this hate were the Jews. The pathology of Anti-Semitism ensured the balance of the (a)moral economy. The food-supply of the camps practically involved automatically the necessity and program of a self-standing commercial network. The next “battle” was the battle of the legionary commerce: the setting up of a network of shops and restaurants. All this was connected to the winning over of the working class. Social differences vanished in the camp life, alike in the legionary restaurant, where the Captain ate the same food with his folks. That’s how the Legionary Movement grew into a political force, which obtained such results at the 1937 elections, that the king concluded: with regard to the fascism strengthening from below, he would introduce his own, fascist dictatorship.

Keywords: Iron Guard, Legionary Movement, paramilitarism, Anti-Semitism

Mihály Zoltán Nagy: In the Name of the “Hungarian Unity”. The Mobilization of Hungarians from Romania at the 1946 Elections

Although at the meeting of the Central Executive Committee of the Hungarian People’s Union (Braşov, March 18-20, 1946) it was decided that the Union would be the only candidate of Hungarians, there were a series of signs warning that it wouldn’t be easy to gain the support of Hungarian voters. The fact that the encroachment of Hungarians’ rights weren’t remedied deepened the abyss between the Union and the Hungarian voters. The leaders of the Union also acknowledged that in order to restore the trustworthiness of the Union and to achieve success at the elections, profound changes are needed. They tried to carry out these changes within the framework of the politics of extension, through the inclusion of the persons so far left out from the Union into the local and national bodies, respectively through the program of the politics of self-defence, which, besides the annihilation of regulations breaking the rights of Hungarians, also aimed at the reinforcement of the representational role of the Union and at institution-building at the local governments’ level.

The published documents highlight the messages transmitted by the Union on local and national level towards its voters. One can also discern the ways how the Union mixed leftist rhetoric with the rhetoric of grievance characteristic to the Hungarian political discourse in the interwar period.

Keywords: mobilization, Hungarian People’s Union, politics of extension, politics of self-defence

Judit Pihurik - Zoltán Kordé - Péter Bencsik: Regional History Handbook: a Milestone in Teaching the History of the Szeklers

The course book and handbook entitled *The History of the Szeklers* tries to meet all at once educational, cultural, and partly political expectations. There wasn't any similar comprehensive work of educational character on the history of the Szeklers. The volume was written by an expert team of historians and teachers, meeting all the scientific criteria. The book fulfils its original purposes only partly: it might become an adequate historic handbook presenting the Szeklers' history, however, its use as a course book raises reservations: in its present form it doesn't suit the age-related capabilities of students of 12-13 years, which could be enhanced though through the suggested methodological and professional amendments.

Keywords: *The History of the Szeklers*, historic handbook, methodological considerations

Ábel Ravasz: Slovakian Hungarians as Voters, 2009–2013

Since the 2009 split of the Party of the Hungarian Coalition, mapping the electoral behavior of the Hungarians in Slovakia has become a challenge. The appearance of the interethnic party Most-Híd has blurred the boundaries between the Slovak and Hungarian political spheres within the country, and in its electorate members of both nationalities are found in large numbers. This paper aims to show the most important milestones of Hungarian politics in Slovakia since 2009, and illustrates the tendencies with data, and where necessary also estimates. The paper uses both standard statistics and the "Southern Slovakia" series of opinion polls run by research agency Focus, broadening the scope of analysis by important aspects. This research not only aims to show how Hungarians in Slovakia have voted at the four major elections of the period between 2009–2013, but also offers an insight by analyzing the motivations behind the electoral behavior shown by the data.

Keywords: Party of the Hungarian Coalition, Most-Híd, Hungarian politics in Slovakia, elections, Hungarians in Slovakia

Levente Salat: The Events in Târgu-Mureş - Historic Reconstruction and Theoretical Interpretation

The book of Márton László and Csaba Zoltán Novák published in 2012, entitled *The Burden of Freedom. Târgu-Mureş, March 16-21, 1990* is a further significant performance in the contemporary Hungarian historiography of Transylvania. One of the features that differentiates this work from the quite extensive literature on the tragic events occurred in Târgu-Mureş is the conscious

endeavour to avoid making justice – the authors don't attempt to offer a justification or refutation of earlier viewpoints on the issue, but they aim at a historic reconstruction and theoretic interpretation of the events on the basis of the picture unfolding from the available sources. The outcome of their endeavour is undoubtedly remarkable not only for the Hungarian publicity: it would be desirable if the materials and interpretation offered by the book would become part of the Romanian and international specialist literature dealing with issues of post-communist transition in Romania as soon as possible.

I can't undertake a historical evaluation of the work in my study, as this has to be done by historical science. My aim here is to analyze the work of Márton László and Csaba Zoltán Novák on one hand from the point of view of the international literature on inter-ethnic conflicts, on the other hand from the perspective of the expectable outcomes of the attempt at facilitating the approach between Hungarians and Romanians. The considerations of my evaluation are methodological; the partly commendatory, partly critical statements barely touch upon content-related issues.

Keywords: *The Burden of Freedom, Târgu-Mureș, March 16-21, 1990*, Márton László, Csaba Zoltán Novák, inter-ethnic conflicts