

# ABSTRACTS

## **Zsolt Árus: There's a Chance. Maybe. Hopefully**

Without Transylvanian Hungarian political organizations cooperating, the future of Hungarians in the region looks doubtful. Apparently, all organizations are aware of this, nevertheless real cooperation is yet to be achieved.

An analysis of events of the past years reveals a single invariable and clear fact: as long as the DAHR possesses the decisive majority of Hungarian votes, it will only feign willingness to cooperate, and will be content to designate as such various separate deals and formal agreements, thus misleading public opinion. It has been successfully doing so for quite a long time. However, there is a chance that this era will soon be over. A lot depends on the other two parties (supposing the Hungarian People's Party of Transylvania is registered, and decides to run independently at the local elections), as well as on raising the consciousness of voters.

The Transylvanian Hungarian Forum was created more than two years ago, but it has only managed to prove its incapacity to reach any substantive agreement. Therefore, if a Hungarian-Hungarian agreement is to be reached, it will probably need a new framework, one with a fresh start, without the backward heritage of the Forum.

*Keywords:* cooperation, Transylvanian Hungarian Forum, Democratic alliance of Hungarians in Romania, Hungarian People's Party of Transylvania

## **Endre Borbáth: Can the Paternalistic State be Defended? - Liberal and Communitarian Viewpoints**

My study is concerned with the *paternalistic state*, examined from the perspectives of *liberalism* and *communitarianism*. Firstly I present the liberal doctrine starting from *Rawls*, than I examine the communitarian critique developed from the *unencumbered self* of *Sandel*. In the third part, I analyze those traditions from the perspective of the paternalistic state. My hypothesis is that the *anthropological thesis* of communitarianism can *legitimize paternalistic policies*, while liberals always remain at the opposite pole.

In the fourth part, I draw up the *theoretical limits of paternalism*, introducing the *negative and positive concepts of liberty*. In the last part, I formulate positive models for how politics should be working, based on *multiculturalism* and *deliberative democracy*.

*Keywords:* paternalistic state, liberalism, communitarianism, unencumbered self, multiculturalism

### ***Attila Zsolt Borbély: “Cooperative Antagonism”: End or Means?***

The theses of Tibor T. Toró and Tibor Toró are well-grounded and documented, with coherent logical connections, making it difficult to formulate a position related to them. On my part, I have decided to focus on a few analytical points where I partly or more strongly disagree, and formulate my position starting from these.

One of the main conclusions of their position paper is that Transylvanian Hungarian organizations should develop a “cooperative antagonism”. This would require “*defining a set of problems*”, “*which, by mutual agreement, would be ruled out from the domestic political competition.*” For reasons difficult to understand, the authors do not include into this “national minimum problem set” the question of autonomy, claiming that the “*debate on the possibilities and strategies of achieving it could play a part in the political competition between the parties.*”

On such grounds, any question could be excluded, including the three problems mentioned by the authors, the strategies concerning the diaspora, the Csángós, and demographics, as the discourses on their practical implementation and tactical or strategic aspects could be part of the competition just like any political communication on any other political issue. On the other hand, the model of “cooperative antagonism” proposed by the authors should be adapted to the specific national political end, namely that the political elite finally provide a perspective to the community it represents.

Given the current geopolitical situation, and the distribution of forces in the Carpathian Basin, such a perspective can be provided by a single legal tool, autonomy. “Cooperative antagonism”, the cooperation of Transylvanian Hungarian political forces aimed at a goal, is a means, not an end in itself.

*Keywords:* cooperative antagonism, Transylvanian Hungarian political forces, national minimum problem set

**László András Kósa: On the Necessity of Political Pluralism, or is There an Alternative**

The authors of the debate starter write about Hungarian “domestic” politics in Romania, suggesting that the debate focuses on the political representation of a minority community which, given its numbers, could be defined as the Hungarian society in Romania.

My contribution analyses those social-political, religious and class cleavages which define voter behaviour and thus highlight the possibilities and risks of political pluralism. I believe that in the Romanian political system, as a compensation for the lack of collective rights, minority parties could be created, serving as the grounds of materializing community rights. Accordingly, in this structure any Transylvanian Hungarian party has its *raison d’être*. From the point of view of electoral mathematics, it is debatable whether the Hungarian Unity List from the European parliamentary elections of 2009 could work at local parliamentary elections (as a party alliance, it surely cannot; in individual voting districts, only with limitations). It is also questionable whether the pluralism of the local elections could result in a stronger willingness to vote, that is in the mobilization of Hungarian voters from Romania, manifested stronger than before. The social structural foundations of such a result are not really there, yet in all areas there is a segment where a political alternative is warranted. Similarly, the transformation of the DAHR is not yet a definitely closed process.

As concerns the Hungarian community, the minority society from Romania, it is clear that it cannot be represented by universal political representation. The fault-lines are strongly manifest in the DAHR as well, and internal pluralism or not, they surface strongly from time to time. It is undoubtedly true that the goals of the people living in the Szeklerland are different from the goals of those living in interethnic contexts or diaspora. The fault-lines are the most clear in this regard.

*Keywords:* social-political cleavage, religious cleavage, class cleavage, political pluralism, political representation

**Nándor Magyarai: Small Hungarian Political Simulacrum from Romania**

From the point of view of my analysis, that is the interpretation of potential and real changes brought about by the appearance of the new party, it is not without consequences that the text of the debate starter is an illus-

tration of post-socialist discourse. It is an act of political communication, a communicative political action ultimately aimed at obtaining and preserving political power, structuring the power field, designating the topoi and central points of political competition.

My comments are not aimed as a contribution to this kind of political manoeuvring. I will try to analyse the paper as a worthy, if you will symptomatic communicative content characteristic of the Hungarian political arena from Romania, as well as its potential effects.

To be more precise, I do not focus on rhetorical elements, on the coherence of discourse, on oratorical technique or talent, but on the situation that created this text: the present structure of the Hungarian political field in Romania, as well as the possible dynamic of this structure after the appearance of the new party. Within the limits of the length and means available, I will also try to offer a comparative perspective, setting the opinion and message of the authors into the context of similar politically motivated texts.

*Keywords:* political communication, political competition, Hungarian political field in Romania

### ***Árpád Márton: 21 Years: History, Consequences and Conclusions***

My contribution expresses my views opposing those set out by the debate starter, along the lines of the oppositions offered by the authors: leftist-rightist, radical-moderate, monoblock - interethnic environment. Following the fault-lines set up by the authors and the foundation documents of the DAHR, I will try to show the erroneousness of their interpretation, as well as the fact that the unity achieved at the 2009 European parliamentary elections is not a simple paradigm, but a living expectation of the Hungarian society in Romania.

*Keywords:* Democratic alliance of Hungarians in Romania, political representation

### ***Levente Olosz: The Cluj Branch of the Jewish Democratic Committee***

My paper discusses the history of the Cluj Branch of the Jewish Democratic Committee from its creation in October 1944 to 1947. The main aim of my research is to identify the forms and methods of the Romanian dicta-

torial regime meant to manipulate and direct the Jewry. It also helps us understand the structure and working of the Jewish organization in question, the nature of its social work carried out in the Jewish community. The activity of the Cluj Jewish Democratic Committee has received little attention from students of communism. Therefore, my main objective is to provide a more general picture based on archival material, contemporary media, and thus present new results in the study of the relationship between Romanian communism and Jewry.

*Keywords:* Jewish Democratic Committee, communism, Jewry, Jewish organization

### ***Gergő István Székely: The Hungarian People's Party of Transylvania and the Future of the Hungarian Minority Party System of Transylvania***

In my reaction to the debate-starter of Tibor T. Toró and Tibor Toró I address four main points. First, without claiming that the authors of the debate-starter would be wrong, I offer an alternative reading of the cleavages that divide the Hungarian national minority of Romania. Second, I discuss the possible impact of the recent shift in the nation-policy of the Hungarian government on the cleavage system of the minority Hungarian communities (including the issues of dual citizenship and voting rights for the new citizens). Third, I assess the chances of success of the new Hungarian party to be registered in Transylvania, as well as some of the difficulties its initiators will have to overcome. Finally, I formulate some ideas regarding the future of Hungarian minority politics in Transylvania, focusing especially on the prospects of finding an institutional arrangement which could serve as the framework for the competition and cooperation of the minority parties.

*Keywords:* Hungarian national minority, nation-policy, minority politics, competition, cooperation

### ***Ádám Szesztay: The Relationship between Transylvanian Hungarian Organisations and Hungary***

The competition or cooperation of Transylvanian Hungarian political forces is primarily, but not exclusively a domestic Transylvanian issue. That Hungarians belong together beyond borders, with a shared community ex-

istence, is a sociological fact. This fact leads not only to the moral imperative of solidarity. It also means that the successes or failures of Hungarian communities living in different countries influence each other. Therefore, it is a common interest of Hungarians beyond borders that the organizations undertaking the representation of Hungarians in Transylvania be present, and in a number as high as possible, in the Romanian parliament, and hold positions as strong as possible in the Romanian government and Transylvanian (Moldovan, or Bucharest) local and regional councils. It is important that they strive towards this end by electoral cooperation. However, this is only a means serving a common national interest: the success of Transylvanian Hungarians, and by them of all Hungarians, the successful exercise of their rights. The efficient electoral cooperation of Transylvanian Hungarian organizations is a necessary, but by no means sufficient condition of achieving these aims. They also require in several different questions, especially the national requirements of Transylvanian Hungarians, a “common Transylvanian Hungarian – Transylvanian Hungarian politics.”

*Keywords:* Transylvanian Hungarian political forces, electoral cooperation, political representation

***Tibor Toró T. - Tibor Toró: Transylvanian Hungarian Conclusions and Future Visions. A Debate Starter on the Chances of Hungarian Unity***

The European parliamentary Elections of November 25, 2007 opened a new chapter in the Hungarian “domestic politics” from Romania. It was the first ballot in our history after 1989 when there was a serious – and, significantly, successful – challenger to the DAHR’s monopoly of parliamentary representation of Hungarians from Romania, in the person of bishop László Tőkés, president of the Hungarian National Council of Transylvania, who ran as an independent. The elections were preceded by a series of talks between the political organisations of Transylvanian Hungarians, which bore concrete results at the 2009 European parliamentary elections, when the DAHR and the HNCT reached a special agreement. Although the agreement included further cooperation between the two organisations, with the Transylvanian Hungarian Forum set up as its institutional framework at the HNCT’s initiative, the organisations rarely went beyond sharing information, to joint political action. At the same time, discussions at the Forum primarily revealed the strong differences in positions rather than bringing them closer in the strategic questions of Transylvanian Hungarian

politics. The consequence of the process, a natural one we might say, was that the creation of the Hungarian People's Party of Transylvania was announced in December 2010, at the National Conference of the HNCT. Subsequently, party building begun, institutionally transforming Hungarian politics from Transylvania into a three-poled field.

We feel that the time that has passed is enough to critically examine the future direction of Hungarian Unity, while the time left until the elections allows us to professionally examine the chances of its survival and the problems it needs to surpass. The present debate-starter therefore points beyond the assessment of the process behind us, it aims at drafting the possible paths and at generating a debate in crucial questions. This, however, is impossible to do without surveying the facts of the past four years and drawing their conclusions.

The present study has three parts. In the first part, we summarize the conclusions of papers on the past five years, with special emphasis on the turns of events, and underpinning the Realpolitik necessity of reaching an agreement. In the second part, we clarify a number of theoretical issues – the concepts of *political community* and *national interest* –, the precise formulation of which will make it easier to interpret and evaluate our conclusions. The third part contains the conclusions, problems and possible ways out we have identified, with the explicit aim of generating a fruitful debate by contrasting opinions.

*Keywords:* political community, national interest, cooperative antagonism, Transylvanian Hungarian political forces, national minimum problem set