

## ABSTRACTS

### ***Balázs Dobos: Roma Parties and Electoral Mobilization in Hungary***

In order to overcome the political underrepresentation of Roma at various levels, there have been a number of different institutional channels since the democratic transition in Central and Eastern Europe, through which Roma can participate in public life. Among them, for the first time in history, Roma could seek political influence by establishing Roma political parties and contesting the elections but as ordinary parties they mostly failed to win seats in the legislatures. The high number of ca. 200 such political organizations created and registered from the Czech Republic to the Balkans since the democratic transition is particularly remarkable, however, little effort has been made to locate these parties in the broader Post-Communist politics, and still little is known about their main features, how these political groupings perform as parties and how they fulfil the major functions of political parties. In this regard, the key question of how the very logic of party formation as well as the nature of party competition with the attempts to mobilize and unify the electorate, to reshape the political landscape, and to reconstitute political identities, have been affected by both the diverging views on Roma integration and the different identification patterns, needs to be particularly addressed. To illustrate the dilemma of how to identify and mobilize Roma, and to capture the factors that appear to be the main reasons for the widely assumed failure of Roma political mobilization at least in the analysed particular case, the paper presents the main findings gathered from interviews with Roma party leaders, as well as the in-depth analysis of their electoral results and mobilization patterns in Hungary.

*Keywords:* Roma party, electoral mobilization, Roma political mobilization, Roma integration, Hungary

### ***Gergely Illyés - István Gergő Székely: Local and Parliamentary Elections in Romania in 2016***

The article discusses the last local and parliamentary elections that took place in Romania, in 2016. The authors present the most important institutional changes (new regulations concerning the electoral system, the

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registration of political parties and the electoral campaigns) and offer a summary of the most important political developments preceding both elections. Following this, they engage in an analysis of the electoral results, first from a national perspective and then from the vantage point of the Hungarian community in Romania. The parts dedicated to the Hungarians also contain some statistical analyses concerning a number of aspects related to the changes in the electoral mobilization of the ethnic electorate and the support of the rival Hungarian parties. The article is complemented by a series of thematic maps based on municipality-level data, which visualize the electoral turnout and its change between the two elections, as well as the support of the main political parties at both elections.

*Keywords:* local elections, parliamentary elections, Romania, DAHR, electoral mobilization, ethnic electorate

### ***Erika Keszeg: Filling a Gap. Analyses about the Challenges Met During the Structuring of the Hungarian Education in Romania***

The review presents the volume: *Endangered schools: Studies about the situation of education in Hungarian language outside the Szeklerland* written by Barna Gergő, Kapitány Balázs, Kiss Tamás, Márton János, Toró Tibor. The volume contains analyses and descriptive studies about the Hungarian-language educational system in Romania.

*Keywords:* educational system, Romania, Barna Gergő, Kapitány Balázs, Kiss Tamás, Márton János, Toró Tibor

### ***Ambrus Miskolczy: “On the Road of the Wicked” (1)***

“This county is situated on the road of the wicked” – that is what Grigore Ureche, a chronicler from Moldova from the 17th century wrote about his country, referring to the fact the Moldova had become the scenery of constant war conflicts, and the expression which became an adage suits to Wallachia, moreover to the entire region. Yet, during the 14th century, some sort of peace got installed. The two Anjou kings of Hungary were powerful enough to confront with the Tatar influence, not strong enough though to be able to turn the two Romanian provinces into their constant vassal provinces. On the opposite, these provinces joined the Greek Orthodox Church, thus enforcing their hegemony. This result can be easily reconstructed from the his-

toric written sources, but the road to that result no. Probably the most relevant view is that Wallachia was structured in a substitutive manner, in which its rulers had taken over the institutions of the previous Tatar state. Whether this ruling strata set off from Transylvania or from the southern side of the Carpathians to its conquest expedition, is hard to clarify univocally. It is also undecided what role had the Cumans and Bulgars played, since the name of their first prince, Basarab is a Cuman name, and at the end of the 12th century the Romanians from the Balkans were fighting alongside the Cumans from the region of the Danube against the Byzantine Empire. The Cuman-Frank analogy, however, is forced, alike the way how Cuman influences are minimalized, since the Romanian language still keeps around 40 words of Cuman origin, which designate essential parts of the culture of that epoch.

The establishment of Moldova however is due first of all to Romanian fighters set off from Maramures, who expelled the Tatars attacking them from North, while the Transylvanian prince and the Szekler count expelled them from the South. This early coexistence with Hungarians is confirmed by place names and by words alluding to the way of life typical for free peasant, towns and the era of feudalism. It also illustrates the description given by the prominent Romanian historian, P. P. Panaitescu: "Romania is the road of different civilizations and influences."

*Keywords:* establishment of Moldova, establishment of Wallachia, Kingdom of Hungary, Byzantine Empire, Basarab dynasty, Cumans

***Ágnes Patakfalvi-Czirják - Csaba Zahorán: Between Patriotic and Civic Moldovanism. Analysis of the 2016 Presidential Elections in the Republic of Moldova***

The study aims to present the political context and the results of the presidential elections in the Republic of Moldova held in October and November 2016. They elections reflect a new turnover in the political field of this small Eastern-European country which is traditionally oscillating between "two worlds" since its independence. The campaign took place in the context of a prolonged political crisis, the consequence of two major processes: on the one hand Moldova is continuously failing in the nation- and the state-building, on the other hand many analysts pointed out that the country became a "captured state". The major groups of interests divided between themselves the state institutions, and while fighting for the hegemony they are permanently mobilized. In these conflicts, the interests of the population of Moldova seemed to be neglected, which led to the loss of the legitimacy of the ruling parties and huge

protests in the last period. These circumstances raised two major candidates in the election campaign: the Socialist and pro-Russian Igor Dodon and Maia Sandu supported by pro-European forces and the anti-establishment protesters. The elections were quite balanced, and the results clearly showed that the image of the choice between the “East” and the “West” is too simplifying, while the real motivations and the frames of the agency are of more complex character.

*Keywords:* presidential elections, Republic of Moldova, Igor Dodon, Maia Sandu

### ***Tibor Purger: Ethno-political Representation: Efficiency or Pluralism? The Political Parties and Representative Organisations of Hungarians from Vojvodina in a Three-pole Field of Force***

The study examines the possibilities of pluralist politics under the conditions of being a national minority by reviewing the political activity of the Hungarian minority in Vojvodina during the past quarter century. It concludes with the presentation of a possible strategy for finding the proper solution by assessing the current situation.

*Keywords:* representation of the national minority, ethnic parties, pluralism, Vojvodina, the Alliance of Vojvodina Hungarians, Hungarian National Council, Hungarian Movement

### ***Krisztián Rákóczi: Elections in Slovakia – Fall of the Traditional Parties and Apathy of Hungarian voters***

The parliamentary elections – the seventh since Slovakia became independent – held in March 2016 led to a victory for Robert Fico’s SMER party and the defeat of the traditional right-wing parties. Eight parties passed the 5% electoral threshold, including the ultranationalist, anti-regime and protest parties. This earthquake-like electoral change altered the stable but otherwise diverse party scene in Slovakia. The election also witnessed the third competition for the Hungarian votes in Slovakia between the Party of the Hungarian Community (MKP) and the interethnic Slovak-Hungarian Most-Híd party. The key question for the Hungarian community was whether the Hungarian ethnic party would make it to the parliament after two election failures.

*Keywords:* parliamentary elections, Slovakia, Robert Fico, SMER, Party of the Hungarian Community, Most-Híd party, Hungarian ethnic party

***István Szilágyi: State Nationalism and Minority Nationalism in Romania. The Opposition between the Romanian State and the Hungarian Minority***

Even if majority nationalism can be clearly detected through sociological surveys, we can still not talk about a systematic state nationalism in Romania. Nationalism today takes up a latent, irrational and incoherent form in the public life in Romania, meaning that such ideas will rarely prevail in state structures unless they are run by people with such views. It is this ideological effect that is reflected by administrative and judicial decisions taken in recent years by the Romanian authorities with regard to some political demands of the Hungarian community (autonomy, ethnic symbols, the use of the Hungarian language). After an introduction to the theory of nationalism, I analyzed all the relevant cases, revealing the main motifs of the Romanian nationalist discourse. In the same time, I also analyzed the reactions of the Hungarian political elite, thus revealing the specific topos arsenal of minority (defensive) nationalism. My study concludes with a partly analytical, partly normative chapter in which I framed the Romanian-Hungarian ethnopolitical conflict into a theoretical typology, also seeking the answer to the question: *How can one break the vicious cycle of nationalism and which solutions would be appropriate to improve the Romanian-Hungarian relations?*

*Keywords:* nationalism, state nationalism, Hungarian minority, ethnopolitical conflict, Romania

***Myra A. Waterbury: National Minorities and Intra-Ethnic Coordination in the European Parliament: Evidence from Central and Eastern Europe***

This article investigates the role that intra-ethnic coordination and kin-state alliances play in shaping how parties that represent national minority groups approach their participation in the European Parliament (EP). This is done through an analysis of the political behavior – electoral strategy, party group choice and modes of interest assertion in the EP – of ethnic minority parties in five Central and East European countries. The article finds that the role of intra-ethnic coordination and kin-state alliances is limited at the level of EP elections, but significant at the level of party group choice and in the visibility of minority issues in the EP.

*Keywords:* national minorities, ethnic minority parties, electoral strategy, European Parliament, intra-ethnic coordination in the EP