

## ABSTRACT

### **Expatriate Voting, Ethnic Voting in Carpathian Basin**

**KISS, Tamás: What's Behind the Ethnic Vote? Determinants of Electoral Behavior of the Hungarians in Transylvania** 3

This paper examines the motivations of Transylvanian Hungarian voters, based on survey data. Since 1989, the Hungarians of Transylvania, who form a relatively large (about 1.3 million) minority in Romania, have been voting for one ethnic party, the Democratic Union of Hungarians in Romania (RMDSZ). Thus our analysis is related to the trend of literature that examines electoral behaviour in the context of ethnic block vote. The first issue to be examined is the question of the extent to which ethnic block vote is attributable to specific driving forces which do not exist in non-ethnic contexts. A second, related point is to what extent the behaviour of ethnic voters is rational.

This study analyzes the various types of motivations of Transylvanian Hungarian voters on the basis of empirical data. It examines the extent to which various factors such as the emotional element, the experience and expression of a Hungarian identity, the choice between various programmes, and the hope that RMDSZ will help areas inhabited by Hungarians to obtain public resources and investments, are played out.

**PAPP Z., Attila and VASS, Réka: Expatriate Voting: Contexts and Perceptions in the Carpathian Basin** 40

The study reviews certain characteristics of political science and legal aspects related to multiple citizenship, and briefly discusses their impact in relation to a few countries. Within the framework a focus group study conducted in the Carpathian Basin, the second part of the study examines how Hungarians living abroad feel about taking part in Hungarian elections thanks to a simplified naturalisation procedure. Being dominantly the consumers of Hungarian media, ethnic Hungarians are aware of domestic political processes but, as evidenced in the conversations, they mostly see and interpret events from the standpoint of outsiders to domestic affairs. Based on the discourses about voting rights, this has so far failed to reinforce turning towards the Hungarian political community, nor does it override the possibility of participation in domestic political processes. Those who vote do so mainly on emotional grounds and - as the conversations reveal - the main reason why they think participation is important is that it allows them to express this feeling. The conversations lead to the conclusion that if the issue of Hungarians living

abroad and our relationship with them turns out to be less central an issue in Hungarian domestic politics at the time of future elections, the question of whether they do or do not participate will not be regarded so crucial.

**ÁGYAS, Réka and BÁLINT, Csaba: The Hungarian Electoral System Transformed: Hungarian Parliamentary Elections in a Vojvodina Perspective** 59

It is not only the scope of Hungarian citizenship that has been expanded since January 2011; Hungarians living outside the borders have also been enabled to become part of the political community. The year 2014 has demanded increased political activity on the part of new dual nationals in Vojvodina. As a result, a large number of Vojvodina Hungarians asserted their rights as citizens at the 2014 parliamentary elections both in Hungary and Serbia. This high degree of political activity related to the parliamentary elections in Hungary can be attributed to several reasons including the balanced participation in politics and public life typical of those living in Vojvodina, early parliamentary elections in Serbia in 2014, and last but not least the actively mobilizing campaign activities in Vojvodina.

**VASS, Ágnes: The Results of the European Parliament Elections in Slovakia** 71

The evolution of the European Parliament is one of the success stories of European integration. However, despite the fact that the influence of the EP, made up of directly elected representatives, has been increasing with respect to a growing number of issues, voter turnout at five-yearly EP elections has been shrinking. This trend is strongest in the countries which have joined since 2004. At the forefront is Slovakia with a record low turnout every time. In the context of the most important recent political events, the study examines the results of the third EP elections held in Slovakia in 2014, with special emphasis on the results and chances of SMK-MKP and Most-Híd, the two Hungarian parties in Slovakia.

**Miklós Bánffy**

**EGRY, Gábor: Transylvanian Federation, Hungarian People's Community, Transylvanian Party: A Historian's Take on the Social Vision of Miklós Bánffy's Trilogy** 93

While presenting the evolution and coherence of Miklós Bánffy's personal perceptions, the study makes an attempt at locating the social vision of his Transylvanian Trilogy on the map of the early 20th-century Hungarian and ethnic Hungarian history of political ideas. The analysis is based on an explo-

ration of the relationship between multiple temporal planes. The events of the plot take place in the first decades of the 20th century, and the protagonists are in many respects based on the person of Bánffy. The novel, however, was written in the thirties, but the last volume came out only a few months before the re-annexation of Northern Transylvania to Hungary. The temporal plane of the novel can thus be both retrospective and one addressing the moment of writing, while it is also possible to reconstruct the views that the author held at the time in which the plot is set. The latter fact gives rise to the question as to what extent the trilogy can be construed as a life story, and how much this might have influenced the tableau of society showed in the novel.

The ideal society of the novel mainly reproduces the perceptions of turn-of-the-century agrarians, estate-oriented, organizing organically, but under the leadership of an aristocratic elite - an approach also represented by Bánffy as a politician. This, however, apparently changed due to the idea of service to the people - an idea which was, in turn, embraced in 1939 by the Hungarian People's Community, with Bánffy at its helm.

A shift, relative to Bánffy's own views, may also be perceived as regards the ethnic issue. While he insists that the social engineering conducted by the Romanian middle class is ruthless and he would prefer to solve the issue in a patriarchal manner, he suggests that minority Hungarians should consider Romanian national self-organization as something exemplary. The overall picture is that of a relatively firm outlook, a coherence one would expect in the case of a life story.

### **Joó, András: Miklós Bánffy's 1943 Romanian Mission in a Broader Context**

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Outlining a broader context on the basis of abundant material from Hungarian archives, the study complements existing historical analyses of Miklós Bánffy's 1943 mission to Romania. In spite of its failure, Bánffy's mission may be considered a significant step in the process of finding a way out of the war. Besides outlining the history of Hungarian-Romanian rapprochement, the study also addresses other underlying factors such as the initiatives of the Polish government in exile, the plans of the Anglo-Saxon powers regarding the Balkans, the SOE manoeuvres, the role of Beneš, and the dilemmas arising from the Soviet advance.

The author focuses on three important moments of the Hungarian-Romanian negotiations, namely, the aborted official rapprochement, Bánffy's meeting with Iuliu Maniu in June 1943, and an informal conversation between a representative of the Hungarian embassy and Maniu at the end of January 1944.

## On the Look-out

### **GORDOS, Árpád: Action and Anger in Luxembourg: Citizens' Initiatives for the Rights of Ethnic Minorities**

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The European Citizens' Initiative is one of the most promising legal innovations of the Lisbon Treaty, aimed at increasing direct democracy in the European Union. Many of these citizens' initiatives are aimed at basic law issues, including two initiatives which promote more efficient protection of the rights of indigenous ethnic minorities. The article analyzes these two initiatives, which have also been brought before the European Court of Justice, focusing on the action signed by the President of the Szekler National Council (Case T 529/13). The author presents the arguments in favour of the applicant's position, and discusses the possible outcome of the litigation. Discussing the Council of Europe's resolution, the analysis traces the genesis of ethnic minorities and the issues of basic legal structures in politics and international law as far back as 1919.

The positive changes in the political environment are largely attributed to the subsection on the protection of national minority rights in the basic programme of the European People's Party, which also includes sufficiently precise definitions. While not doubting that the applicant is in the right, the author is sceptical as to the extent to which this legal action might further the protection of minority rights, and suggests that those who are really responsible should be revealed regarding the fate of indigenous national minorities, a matter of priority which will largely determine the future of the continent.

### **MÁCSAI, Boglárka: A New Momentum: Civic-Patriotic Upbringing in Russia**

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The study aims to define the political concept of Russian patriotism through an analysis of the public programme entitled "Patriotic Upbringing of Citizens of the Russian Federation" and its accompanying official and scholarly narratives with special emphasis on the concept's relationship to wartime heroism and its military-militaristic facets. Exploring the intricate relationship between Russian state- and nation-building, memory policy, education and political legitimacy, the author provides clues for understanding the political use of Russian patriotic thinking.

## On the Research Trail

**"Despite the fact that many people think I am liberal-minded, I am often somewhere in a borderline zone between different worlds" – Tamás Gusztáv FILEP talks to Csaba Zoltán NOVÁK**

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**Review****Szerbhorváth, György: The unfinishable story**

Kántor Zoltán: *A nemzet intézményesülése a rendszerváltás utáni Magyarországon*,  
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