

ABSTRACT

The Vatican: *Ostpolitik*, Concordats, National Minorities

MARCHUT, Réka: The Romanian Concordat in Hungarian diplomacy (1920–1929)

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Examining the Concordat concluded between the Holy See and Romania on May 10, 1927, the author poses the question of how Hungarian foreign policy influenced the conclusion and wording of the concordat, and how it reacted to various drafts. The paper revolves around the thesis that the Vatican had neither a Hungarian policy nor a Rumanian one; what it had was, in fact, church policy.

Actually, Hungarian foreign policy had nothing but diplomatic means to rely on, means whose efficacy was significantly paralyzed by the fact that its exponents did not usually understand the consequences of the universal considerations of the Holy See. The Hungarian Foreign Ministry did have some, however little, room for maneuver through its embassy in the Vatican. The embassy in Bucharest could, however, achieve very little in this respect.

HATOS, Pál: *Ostpolitik*: A “Western affair”? The Cultural Contexts of the Vatican’s *Ostpolitik*

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The rapprochement which took place from the early 1960s between the Holy See and some countries of the Eastern Block beyond the Iron Curtain was in no insignificant part the outcome of a structural change in the social and cultural perception of Catholic theology which also deeply shaped the social and political aspects of the Council documents. The ecumenical impulse of the interwar period, the postwar rise of Christian democracy in the West, the persistence of the excommunicated *fin de siècle* modernism in French Catholicism and a general shift from the right to the left in mainstream Protestant Christianity all played a role in the trust that conciliar popes John XXIII and Paul VI put in the political games that their lieutenants of the Apostolic diplomacy engaged in with the atheist overlords of the Communist states in Central and Eastern Europe.

PERICA, Vjekoslav: The Madonna in Herzegovina: From a Religious Miracle to the Division of Bosnia and Herzegovina

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Medjugorje, a town located near Mostar in Western Herzegovina, is one of the most popular pilgrimage sites in Europe due to a series of alleged apparitions of the Virgin Mary to six children beginning in 1981. This, however, has not been confirmed by the Vatican, and it is more likely to be due to the manipulation of the local Catholic Croats or, more particularly, to the Fran-

ciscan friars who, on the one hand, fought against communism but, on the other hand, also ethnically homogenized Croats, many of whom went on to become Ustasha extremists. Thus, this Catholic-Orthodox conflict eventually turned into a Serb-Croat ethnic conflict which, already during World War II, escalated into genocide. While all this was connected to warmongering in the 1990s, the mostly tax-free exploitation of pilgrims continues today.

**ÉRSZEGI, Márk Aurél: Nation, Fatherland, Minorities
in the teaching of John Paul II**

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John Paul II is generally regarded as one of the international protagonists of the 20th century and his thoughts raise wide interest. This seems to be also the case with his teachings about the concepts of nation, fatherland and (ethnic) minorities. The essay tries to give a broad overview of the late pope's official statements on the matter (addresses to the UN, to UNESCO, to the diplomatic corps, encyclicals and messages for World Day of Peace, etc.), with special focus on his references to Hungary.

Karol Wojtyła's personal experience of his own national identity profoundly influences his point of view, even if he tries to adopt a broad definition of the concept of nation. For him nation is first of all a community, related to a certain territory and united above all by culture, while fatherland/motherland is the (material and spiritual) heritage of our parents. The pope points out that both terms relate to the concept of family, a natural institution and basis of every human society. From these "anthropological" grounds comes the fact that nations and national minorities (the pope often refers to Central and Eastern European reality) have their own rights and duties. The respect for the rights of nations and minorities is a question of justice, freedom and peace.

Church and Secret Service

**BODEANU, Denisa: The Morale of the Clergy of the Diocese of Alba
Iulia following the Release of Bishop Áron Márton (January 1955)**

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The author publishes a document which, dating from January 1955, describes the expectations and fears of the clergy of the diocese of Alba Iulia in connection with the release of bishop Áron Márton. This contemporary document provides an overview of the complete and comprehensive surveillance exercised by the Securitate over the Roman Catholic priesthood.

After 1948 the communists managed to break the resistance of the Catholic Church, which resulted in the formation of opposing camps and the constant threat of open conflict at any moment. They failed, however, to establish a national Catholic Church because there was not a single bishop to support

such an effort. The release of Áron Márton was another attempt to achieve this goal, but again, they failed to break his will.

JÁNOSI, Csongor: Episcopal Elections in the Cluj-Napoca and Oradea Reformed Church Districts in the 1960s

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Throughout the history of the Reformed Church we rarely encounter situations where the she was not governed by her own independent and autonomous institutions. This paper outlines the first successful attempt on the part of the Party and the Secret Service to deprive the church of its centuries-old autonomy and subject her to the direct control of the Securitate, and the indirect control of the RCP. It also turns out that already in the early 1960s no dissident could have occupied a high ranking church office. It was out of the question for anyone not related to state security in one form or another, at one level or another, to on extent or another, to vie for the post of bishop.

Religion - Education - Policy

GRÓSZ, András: German Schooling and Catholic Prelates in Hungary during the Bethlen Government

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German schooling in Hungary played a significant role in interwar minority policy – all the more so since Germans comprised the largest ethnic minority group in Hungary. As one of the largest school owners, the Catholic Church had a decisive influence on the treatment of the issue. The educational legislation which formed the basis for minority education policy in the period was drawn up by the Bethlen government (1921–1931). The paper presents the educational situation of the ethnic German minority in Hungary in the 1920s from the perspective of the Catholic bishops, i.e. through the example of dioceses.

PÁL, János: Unitarian Religious Education in the First Two Decades of State Socialism (1945–1965)

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The state socialist system established in Romania in the wake of the Second World War sought to achieve a new world order, a classless society. This plan was to be put into practice by nurturing a new type of man, and constructing a new kind of society. The idea presupposed the destruction of existing values and institutions. Due to her promotion of a worldview contrary to socialist ideology, the church was in the centre of communist revolutionary aspirations during the homogenization process, with nationalisation depriving her of her schools, one of the most important means for preserving religious and national identity. As an alternative solution, religious education was reorganised in parishes as an out-of-school activity and it did, in spite of

all impediments posed by the powers-that-be, make significant achievements among the faithful.

After the Fall of the Iron Curtain

VARGA, Attila: 25 Years of the Romanian Constitutional System 177

The paper examines the recent 25-year history of the Romanian constitutional system. With the aim of showing how the democratic political system was established and has been evolving in Romania since 1989, the analysis is basically carried out from a constitutional law viewpoint, the focus being the Constitution adopted in 1991 and revised in 2003. In addition to constitutional provisions I also examine established political practices, the modalities of exercising power, and the application and interpretation of the law by public authorities, Parliament, the government, the President of the Republic, the courts, and the Constitutional Court.

The first part of the paper analyses the notion of constitutional democracy itself; the second deals with the sub-periods of the past 25 years; the third and longest part outlines the most important content elements of the constitutional regulation of the political system. The paper is concluded by a brief overview of the political system in Romania. The end result is a mosaic-like image of the past quarter-century Romanian political system, with all its virtues and flaws.

On the Research Trail

“It is always data provided by various sources, not different opinions, that I seek to balance” – **Tamás Gusztáv FILEP interviews Attila SIMON** 211

Reviews

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