MINORITIES IN SOUTHEAST EUROPE

Hungarians of Romania

Acknowledgements

This report was prepared in cooperation with the Ethnocultural Diversity Resource Center (EDRC). It was researched and written by Cathy O’Grady, Zoltán Kántor and Daniela Tarnovschi, Researchers of CEDIME-SE and EDRC. It was edited by Panayote Dimitras, Director of CEDIME-SE; Nafsika Papanikolatos, Coordinator of CEDIME-SE; Caroline Law, English Language Editors of CEDIME-SE, Rita Moore and Ioana Bianca Rusu, English Language Editors of EDRC. CEDIME-SE and EDRC would like to express their deep appreciation to the external reviewers of this report, Levente Salat, Executive President of EDRC, Anna-Mária Biró, Project Manager for Central and Eastern Europe of Minority Rights Group International, Klára Walter, Reviewer of the Democratic Alliance of Hungarians in Romania, Ovidiu Pecican, Reader at Babeş-Bolyai University, Cluj, Faculty of European Studies, Judith Päll, dr. Lecturer at Babeş-Bolyai University, Cluj, Faculty of History and Philosophy, and Lucian Nastasă, Researcher at the Romanian Academy. CEDIME-SE and EDRC would also like to thank all persons who generously provided information and/or documents, and/or gave interviews to their researchers. The responsibility for the report’s content, though, lies only with CEDIME-SE. We welcome all comments sent to: office@greekhelsinki.gr
MAJOR CHARACTERISTICS

State Romania

Name (in English, in the dominant language and, if different, in the minority language): English – Hungarian, Magyar; Romanian – Maghiar, Ungur; Hungarian – Magyar.

Is there any form of recognition of the minority?
Hungarians are recognised by the Constitution of Romania (henceforth: the Constitution) (Art. 6). However, there is recognition only of members belonging to the national minority, not of the community as a whole. The Democratic Alliance of Hungarians in Romania has been part of the ruling political coalition between 1996-2000.

Category(ies) (national, ethnic, linguistic or religious) ascribed by the minority and, if different, by the state: Hungarians are identified as a national minority both by the minority itself and by the state.

Territory they inhabit: Mainly Transylvania (Western Romania), but there are also scattered Hungarian communities throughout the country.

Population: According to the latest census (1992) 1,624,959 (7.12% of the total population) persons identified themselves as Hungarian, while estimated data show that the number of persons whose native-tongue is Hungarian exceeds 1.8 million (http://www.rmdsz.ro). 98.7% of Hungarians in Romania live in Transylvania.

Name of the language spoken by the minority:
English - Hungarian; Hungarian - Magyar; Romanian - Maghiara

Is there any form of recognition of the language?
The Constitution provides for the right of persons belonging to national minorities to be educated in their mother tongue. Also the Law on Public Administration provides for the use of minority languages in public administration where the minority population exceeds 20%. The provision however, is scarcely observed except for regions where due to the large number of Hungarians (over 80% in south-eastern Transylvania, see below) Hungarian is naturally used in every field of life.

Dominant language of the territory they inhabit: Romanian in most areas. In some parts of Transylvania Hungarian predominates. In Covasna and Harghita counties (south-eastern Transylvania) 76.17% and 84.41% of the population respectively, speak Hungarian.

Occasional or daily use of the minority language: Hungarians in Romania use their language on a daily basis.

Access to education corresponding to the needs of the minority:
Primary and secondary levels – insufficient in some geographical areas. Higher – insufficient, particularly with regard to certain subjects / departments (e.g. law, medicine, public administration).
Religion(s) practised: Roman-Catholic (41.2%), Calvinist (47.1%), Unitarian (4.6%), Greek Catholic (1.4%), Orthodox (1.7%), Evangelic Synod - Presbyterian, Baptist (0.8%), Adventist of the Seventh Day Faith (0.5%), Pentecostal (0.3%) (Census from 1992, Vol. IV) and Christian after the Gospel (there is no mention in the census nor in the materials received from DAHR).

Is there any form of recognition of the religion(s)? The Constitution (Art. 29) guarantees the right of free worship to all Romanian citizens, as do several international documents signed by Romania. Also, the so-called historical churches, i.e. the Roman-Catholic, the Calvinist (Reformed) and the Unitarian, are registered legal entities in Romania.

Communities having the same characteristics in other territories/countries: Austria, Croatia, the Czech Republic, the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, Slovakia, Slovenia, Ukraine. Hungarians in the countries neighbouring Hungary may be regarded as national minorities as they have been living in the same place for centuries, but under the rule of different states. The Diaspora, Hungarians living in the United States, Canada, Australia and Sweden etc., or immigrant groups, generally do not seek or strive for particular cultural and political rights.

Population of these communities in the other territories/countries of Central and Southeast Europe.

(All figures from World Directory of Minorities, Minority Rights Group, 1997, unless otherwise stated)

- Croatia – 25,439 (0.53%) (Pataki Gabor Zsolt, 2000)
- Czech Republic – 20,143 (0.2%)
- Hungary – 10,068,500 (97.9%) (World Directory of Minorities, 1997)
- FRY – 385,356 (3.93%)
- Slovakia – 567,000 (10.8%)
- Slovenia – 9,496 (0.48%) (Pataki Gabor Zsolt, 2000)
- Ukraine – 163,000 (0.31%) (George Brunner, 1989)
HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

1. HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

1.1 Important historical developments

A. History

Historically speaking, Romanian-Hungarian relations have often been one of the most critical in Eastern Europe. Analysing the historical conflict between Romanians and Hungarians, many researchers have stressed the different cultural and religious identities of the two peoples. Dennis Deletant pointed out the lack of “synchronism” between the cultural experiences of Hungarians and the predominantly Eastern Orthodox experience of Romanians. Its effect consisted in a divergence of behavioural values (Deletant, 1990:2). George Schopflin (Schopflin, 1988), Trond Gilberg (Gilberg, 1990) and Ken Jowitt (Jowitt, 1971) indicated the different historical experiences of the two peoples. When the modern nation-building process took place in the 19th century, Hungarians in Transylvania considered themselves as belonging to the Hungarian nation, while Romanians in Transylvania identified themselves (through the cultural movements) with the modern Romanian national movement. Different interests and political orientations generated a historical mythology that was sometimes based on conflict. These led to subsequent political and military confrontations between the two nations in 1848, and during the two World Wars.

The beginning of Hungarian history, like as with most nations, is quite nebulous. The only certain indicator is the language: Hungarians speak a Finno-Ugric language belonging to the Uralic language family. It is likely that at the beginning the Uralic tribes lived in the area of the Ural Mountains. There are other hypotheses that place their origin somewhere East of the Ural Mountains, in Western Siberia or Central Asia. The Hungarians separated from the Ugric group around 1000 BC, and started moving West. Their migration took place in several phases. During the migration process, they were exposed to linguistic and cultural influences from the Turks and the Iranians, nations with whom they had contact (Magyarország története, I/1, 1987:377-544, Kopeczi, 1994: 110-114).

The “settlement” took place in 895 AD: the Hungarian tribes led by Árpád entered the Carpathian Basin. In order to make sure that the Hungarians would survive between the Roman-German Empire and the Byzantine Empire, and also that they would be integrated in the European order, Duke Géza (died in 997), descendent of Árpád, decided to convert them to Christianity. Stephen the Saint (997 to 1038), son of Géza, succeeded to the throne in 1000AD. The Hungarian Christian Kingdom was established during his time (Kristó, 1998: 48-114, Kopeczi, 1994: 138-178).

The Hungarian and Romanian historiographers have different opinions about the time when Transylvania (called Transylvania in Romanian, Erdély in Hungarian, and Siebenbürgen in German) became part of the Hungarian Kingdom. On the one hand, relying on the theory of Dacian-Roman continuity, Romanian historiographers hold that the Hungarians found Romanian states when they came to the present territory of Transylvania. They also believe that the conquest of Transylvania by the Hungarians was a step-by-step process that lasted for many years, and was completed in the 13th century (Pascu, 1983).
On the other hand, Hungarian historiographers believe that the Hungarians crossed the Eastern and Southern Carpathians on their way to the Pannonian Plain. The Southern part of Transylvania was under the political influence of the Bulgarian Tsar. Many toponyms testify the presence of Slavs in the area. At the beginning, Transylvania was looked upon as an asset, especially because of its salt mines. This is why the valleys of the Mureş, the Târnave and the Someşul Mic were the first to be occupied (Erdély rövid története, 1989:105-157).

The conquest of the peripheral territories continued through the 12th century. The Szeklers’ settlement in the Eastern part of Transylvania also needs to be mentioned. The Szeklers’ origin is one of the unsolved issues of history. Until the 19th century it was thought that they were the descendants of the Huns. Later, two divergent opinions emerged among historians. Some researchers believe that the Szeklers were Hungarians who were brought to the area to defend the borders of the Kingdom, and for this they were granted some privileges. The best argument to support this point of view is that of the language: Szeklers speak dialects of Hungarian that are also found in the Southern and Western part of the old Hungarian Kingdom; there is no evidence to prove they speak a different language. Others consider Szeklers as the descendants of some Turk populations (Khabars, Eschils-Bulgarians, and Avers). The list of their arguments includes the Szeklers’ denomination, their specific group identity, and their tribal organisation similar to the Turks’, the rune writing with Turkish origins, and so on. In any case, they had already been hungarianised when they settled in Transylvania. It appears that the Szeklers lived in the area later inhabited by the Saxons, namely in the South of Transylvania and in the area of the Târnave. When the Saxons settled in those areas during the second half of the 12th century, the Szeklers were moved eastward in order to defend the borders. In return for their military services, the Hungarian King granted them autonomy and other privileges. Later they were organised in legal-administrative units called “Chairs”, like the Saxons. The king named a leader of the Szeklers (Bóna, 1991, Kristó, 1996, Benkő, 1998, Pál, 1994).

People belonging to different privileged categories formed the nobility in the 13th century. The nobility succeeded in consolidating its situation and set up the nobility comites in lieu of the royal ones. Because of the lack of information about the situation in Transylvania, we can only presume that the majority of the earliest nobles were the descendants of tribal leaders. Szekler, Romanian and Saxon leaders add to their number. Kings that followed the Arpad dynasty, especially Ludwig the Great, took Hungary and Transylvania a step forward to feudalism. The Hungarian sovereign strengthened the county system and demanded that people wanting to become noblemen meet several standards, the Catholic religion included. In this way, in 1366, he purposely excluded Romanian feudal lords in Transylvania from these privileges. The Hungarian nobility later assimilated those Romanians who gave up their Orthodox religion in return for the title of nobleman. Romanian lords are no longer mentioned as representing their ethnicity at the noblemen’s meetings from the second half of the 14th century on.

Three political “nations” were formed in the 15th century: the Hungarian nobility in comites, the leaders of the Szeklers and the leaders of the Saxons. As described above, becoming a member of the nobility did not presuppose being a member of an ethnic group, and it did not mean what nowadays is understood by nation, but it referred to a legal status. As an outcome of the mutiny of Romanians and Hungarians led by Antal Budai Nagy, the three formations united in a system in 1437. It was called “unio trium nationum” and it was the foundation of the political system until 1848. When nations
based on ethnic criteria were formed, the alliance contributed to the exclusion of the Romanians from the political system of Transylvania.

The 15th century saw deep changes inside the borders of Transylvania. There was a remarkable change in the condition of the serfs. Ethnically speaking, they were heterogeneous: Romanians, a few Saxons, and Hungarians. The nobility tried to add to the serfs’ responsibility because of economic development and the monetary circulation and also because of its increasing need for protection. All these led to the above-mentioned mutiny (Erdély rövid története, 1989: 176-194, Engel, Kristó, Kubinyi, 1998:180-184).

After the death of the Hungarian King, Matthias Corvinus (1490), Hungary was weakened both inside and outside its borders. In 1526 the Ottoman army defeated Hungary in the battle of Mohács. After a short controversial period, during which the former leader of Transylvania and Ferdinand the Hapsburg fought each other for the throne of Hungary, the Turks conquered Buda, the Hungarian capital, in 1541. Thus the Hungarian Kingdom was divided into three parts. The Turks transformed the middle part into a pashalic, while the Hapsburg Empire held on to the western and the northern parts. These areas enjoyed a certain degree of autonomy within the Hapsburg Empire. In addition, a new political entity subordinated to the Ottoman suzerainty was formed in the east (Barta, 1979).

Besides the Principality of Transylvania, the new political entity also included the eastern part of Hungary, called “Partium Regni Hungariae” (the Hungarian parts). We must point out that historical Transylvania did not overlap with the Principality of Transylvania. Recently, the name of Transylvania has been used to refer to all territories that belonged to Hungary before WW I and have been part of Romania since then. Nonetheless, some clarification must be made in connection with certain historical documents, because both the legal status of Transylvania and the way the ethnic groups were treated in the Partium were different from those in the Principality (Roth, 1996:14, Erdély rövid története, 1989: 232-233).

Religious reform reached the country in the 16th century. Germans and Hungarians gradually took up new religions: the Saxons adhered to Lutheranism, while the Hungarians (Szeklers included) turned to Calvinism and then to Anti-trinitarianism (also named Unitarianism). Few of them (Szeklers in the Chair of Ciuc and in Three Chairs) stuck to their Catholic religion. There was a remarkable tendency to combine ethnicity with religion. Romanians kept their Orthodox religion. They could practice it, but because it was a “barely tolerated” religion, Romanians did not share the same privileges as the others. In the 16th century – especially towards the middle of it – Transylvania was ready to accept the new religious trends. Transylvania was the land of “free religion”. The Diet issued laws that regulated all these religious orders, stipulating in 1568 that nobody could be persecuted because of their religion, or compelled to adopt principles that were contrary to their belief. Hence, the four religions (Catholic, Reformed, Lutheran or Evangelical, and Unitarian) were considered official in Transylvania. Orthodoxy, however, is not to be found among them. It was tolerated just because Romanians were expected to adhere to the reform. This was a wise decision considering the specific situation of the Principality i.e. foreign power that requested unity inside the borders and balance in politics. It was also a model of peaceful coexistence of the different ethnic and religious groups (Gündisch, 1998:81-87, Erdély története I, 1987: 459-482).
As the Ottoman Empire got weaker, Christians re-conquered Hungary. Even though Mihaly Apafi, the last prince, had attempted to save the autonomy of his principality, it was included in the Hapsburg Empire, and the Emperor also held the title of Prince of Transylvania. The *Diploma Leopoldinum* (1691) enforced the rights and autonomy of the country, and implicitly enforced the four official religions and the three-nation-system. As a result of the Peace Treaty of Karlowitz (1699), Partium was added to Hungary. This resulted in differences among the status of people in that area and those living in Transylvania. The Ottomans had ruled Banat for a long time. After it was re-conquered, a separate administration was established and the Court of Vienna modernised it (Várkonyi, 1984: 176-212).

Because autonomy was gradually reduced while responsibilities were enhanced, the majority of the Hungarian and the Szekler nobility supported the mutiny against the Hapsburgs led by Ferencz Rákóczi II, who was also proclaimed Prince of Transylvania. Before the Peace Treaty of Szatmar (Satu Mare) (1711) the Hapsburg army succeeded in conquering Transylvania again (Várkonyi, 1984: 213-268).

In order to modernise Transylvania, different norms were introduced in the 18th century. The reforms of Maria Theresa and Josef II aimed at improving many areas, especially the condition of their subjects. The State interfered in the master-serf relationship, attempting to regulate the serfs’ obligations and ease their situation. The nobility objected to these stipulations. As a result, a major conflict arose between the Hungarian nobility and the Romanian serfs. By the end of the century the conflict had also acquired ethnic connotations that were first expressed after the peasant revolt led by Horea, Cloșca and Crișan (1784). At the same time, regiments were stationed along the borders. They had multiple responsibilities such as to defend the country, quarantine, increase the central power to the detriment of the local autonomy, etc. While the Romanian population was happy with the presence of these regiments, the Szeklers regarded them less optimistically, because that entailed more responsibilities and less freedom. They rose in arms at Siculeni, but the so-called “Siculicidium” ended in slaughter in 1763. That was the time when part of the Szeklers moved to Moldavia. Many of them settled in Bucovina, where they lived until WW II. Some of them joined the Chango population. The Changos’ origin is unclear; there are controversial opinions among Romanian and Hungarian historians. According to some historical data, there were groups of Hungarian Catholics who lived in medieval Moldavia. Szekler refugees joined them for different reasons, especially during times of uncertainty. Links between Hungarians and Changos were broken soon after the Hungarians adhered to the religious reform. The Changos were left out of the nation-building process. Some of them still use an archaic dialect of the Hungarian language, but most of them have been romanianised. The only specific element they still keep is their Roman-Catholic religion (Tánczos, 1998).

Josef II also gave other decrees concerning religious tolerance and held a census (the first general census made in Hungary and in Transylvania – 1785 and 1786); he suppressed the *comities* (considered “reactionary nests” of the nobility) and organised new administrative units that did not consider the privileges of the former “three nations” and replaced the German language with Hungarian in education and administration. Except for the stipulation concerning tolerance, they rejected the other decrees saying that their centuries-old privileges were endangered. Those decrees also contributed to the nation-building process. The trend of the medieval “political nations” was to turn into modern nations. Before this they had to remove the feudal relations as well. If there had been an agreement between Hungarians and Szeklers against the
centralising trends, also supported by the Szeklers’ integration into the new nation, the Saxons’ situation would certainly have been different. They followed their own path. By the end of the 18th century, the “Transylvanian awareness” of the elite in the kingdom was replaced by the specific national awareness of different ethnic people. The Hungarians failed in their attempt to form Transylvanian identity awareness in the Early Modern Age based on the religious system and official nations. This failure was due to the development of modern ethnic nations, to the absence of the Romanians and Orthodoxism within the system, and to the political and religious intervention of the Hapsburg State that promoted Catholicism (Erdély története, II, 1987: 1083-1140, Gündisch, 1998: 124-127, Roth, 1986: 82-94).

The tendency to clarify the Transylvanian Hungarian identity was revealed by debates in the Diet. During the first half of the 19th century, opportunities to express political opinions were quite limited. After 1830, however, following the model of Hungary, a liberal reform movement started among the young generation of the Hungarian nobility. The main representative of the liberal nobility in Transylvania was Baron Miklós Wesselényi (1796-1850). The reform oriented nobility promoted ideas such as the improvement of the peasants’ condition, equality before the law, general tax payment, bourgeois development, and modernisation and development of the nation and of national culture. Considering that the ethnic proportions in Transylvania were unfavourable for Hungarians and the development of the reform process Hungary had reached, the Hungarian nobility believed that “salvation” consisted in the unification of Transylvania and Hungary. This led to a more intensified conflict with other nations, meanwhile, the Romanians and the Saxons also developed their national awareness. Controversy started when Hungarians proposed to introduce Hungarian as the official language of administration in 1841 (19. századi magyar történelem, 1998: 197-246, Erdély története, III, 1987: 1263-1345).

In 1848, parallel to similar events in Europe, revolution also broke out in Transylvania. The liberal noblemen and the Hungarian intellectuals organised meetings in Cluj and other cities where county and chair assemblies met and wrote up manifestos. These meetings often turned into people’s spontaneous meetings. Besides democratic and liberal reforms (such as freeing the serfs, equality before the law etc.), they also demanded that the Diet be convoked to vote on unification with Hungary. The Diet convened after several postponements. As the Hungarians and the Szeklers formed a majority, they voted the unification against the will of the Romanians and Saxons. Though the Romanians agreed to most of the democratic demands, Romanian-Hungarian relations worsened and degenerated into an interethnic conflict that turned into a civil war because collective national rights were not provided for. Vienna used this situation to improve its position. As the interethnic conflict escalated, the Hapsburgs won Romanians and Saxons to their side and turned them against the Hungarians. Given their national awareness, the Szeklers fought on the side of the Hungarian revolutionary army. The battle lasted longer than expected. In the summer of 1848, Nicolae Bălcescu mediated an agreement between Lajos Kossuth, the Hungarian leader, and Avram Iancu, the Romanian leader in Transylvania. Though a Law of Nationalities was finally adopted, it was too late. Austria had already asked for the Russian Tsar’s support, and the Hungarian Revolutionary Army was forced to surrender at Şiria, on August 13, 1849. Repression followed soon afterwards: 13 Hungarian revolutionary generals were executed in Arad, and more executions followed. Many were imprisoned or enrolled forcibly in the Austrian army; others were exiled (Egged, 1999, Erdély története, 1987: 1346-1424).
Austrian absolutism was set up again after the revolution. Unification was cancelled and the autonomy of Transylvania was suppressed. However, not all measures adopted during the revolution could be abolished. The abolition of serfdom was adopted; serfs were given benefits, while the middle and lower tiers of the nobility had to face severe economic problems. Hungarians adopted a passive attitude during the absolutist regime. They did not accept any administrative positions and did not co-operate with the authorities. They tried to undermine the state apparatus of tax payment. Having failed in foreign affairs and faced with a financial crisis, the Austrian Emperor adopted a more conciliatory position in 1860, and eventually issued the so-called October Diploma re-establishing previous autonomies. This gave birth to new divergences among nations. Hungarians demanding unification with Hungary boycotted the Diet convened in Sibiu in 1863, which voted (in the absence of the Hungarians) for complete equality among nations. This led to the acceptance of Romanians as the fourth nation and the Romanian as an official administrative language in addition to Hungarian and German. Meanwhile, secret treaties between the Emperor and the Hungarian political elite had begun. In 1867 a compromise was reached after the Hungarians were defeated in the Austrian-Prussian war in 1866. Therefore the Hapsburg Empire was re-organised on the basis of Austrian-Hungarian dualism (19. századi magyar történelem, 1998: 293-339, 375-404, Erdély története, III, 1987: 1425-1507, 1624-1641, Gergely, 1993: 96-99).

The Transylvanian Diet convened for the last time in order to ratify the unification of Transylvania with Hungary. The measures adopted by the Diet in Sibiu were cancelled, its responsibilities being taken over by the government in Pest. Transylvania was integrated in Hungary. Though the Law of Nationalities in 1868 was very liberal and recognised individual rights, it started from the concept of a “Hungarian political nation” and it did not fully meet the nations’ expectations. As the liberal generation of 1848 gave up political life, Hungarian nationalism strengthened. The Law of Nationalities was no longer observed. Some repressive measures and nationalist rhetoric made the political atmosphere worse, and tension between Hungarians and the other nationalities grew. Unlike the Saxons, who integrated themselves into the political life of Hungary, the Romanians adopted a passive attitude (Erdély története, III, 1987:1642-1689, Roth, 1996: 105-120).

As WW I ended, a new framework for international relationships emerged, marked by the United States’ involvement in planning the new order after the conflagration including the disintegration of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. In the new context created by the 19 issues raised by US President W. Wilson, declaring the principle of self-determination of nations, and the defeat of the Central Powers, the Romanians proclaimed the unification of Transylvania with Romania at a national assembly held in Alba Iulia on December 1st, 1918. The declaration adopted there, though not ratified by the subsequent governments, included some stipulations regarding Transylvanian Hungarians. Thus, Article III.1 stipulated complete freedom for co-existing peoples, each people being granted the right to education and self-governance in their own language. It had been stated that each co-existing people had the right to participate in the government according to its own percentage in the total population. Article III.2 also stipulated equal rights and religious autonomy. On December 22, 1918, the Hungarians, who were against living outside the framework of their own state, responded to the Assembly from Alba Iulia by organising a meeting in Cluj where several Romanian social democrats were present. There they insisted on the Wilsonian principles regarding the existence of an autonomous Transylvania, but as part of the Hungarian State. Equality of rights was promised to all the co-existing peoples. A radical divergence concerning the interpretation of the Wilsonian principles was recorded

In 1920 the Treaty of Trianon stipulated that Romania would add Transylvania, Partium and some of Banat to its territory. Besides Romanians and Szeklers, there were about 1.3 million Hungarians (Varga, 2000) living in a newly formed territory that measured 102,200 km². Moreover, a Nationalities’ Convention signed at Paris in 1919 was added to the Treaty in order to stabilise the situation of so many nationalities. Art.11 of the Convention mentioned that Romania would agree that Szeklers and Saxons in Transylvania were allowed to have local autonomy over education and religion under the State’s control, but the Convention was not ratified (Roth, 1996: 121-126, Mikó, 1941: 9-15, 267-271).

Hungarians in Transylvania – an ethnic minority of the newly formed state - were disappointed when Transylvania was added to Romania. They believed it was a temporary situation. From 1918 to 1920 Transylvanian Hungarians passed a lethargic political period. Their expectations made Hungarians refuse to sign the required loyalty oath to the Romanian State. Thus many public functionaries and State employees were fired. An emigration wave of Hungarian population from Romania to Hungary was recorded between 1918 and 1923 - about 70,000 Hungarians left the country in 1920. A total of about 150,000 Hungarians crossed the border to settle in Hungary between 1918 and 1922. Then the mass exodus stopped (Mikó, 1941: 15-18, Erdély rövid története, 1989: 579-594).

In 1921, Károly Kós (one of the spiritual leaders of the Hungarian minority between the two world wars) publicly expressed in the Resounding Voice manifesto (Kiáltó szó), the acceptance of the new political reality after the Peace Treaty of Trianon. He encouraged Hungarians to be active and accept reality. On behalf of the Romanian citizens of Hungarian ethnicity, religion, and language, he demanded national autonomy in exchange for their civic loyalty. Within the Hungarian communities, there was an intense polemic regarding the new state frameworks. While the young generation joined Károly Kós’ proposal, there were people who refused to get integrated and urged others to discredit the Romanian State (Mikó, 1941: 19-26, Bárdi, 1995, Romsics, 1998a).

Hungarians in Transylvania tried to establish their own political parties in 1921. After many unsuccessful attempts, they formed the National Party of Hungarians (Országos Magyar Párt). This was led by the aristocracy and was the only political and defence body of this ethnic minority. On its behalf many complaints about restrictive Romanian policies were addressed to the League of Nations. The Party had a significant impact in the area. The presence of Hungarians, as well as of Jews, was also felt in the Communist party. Marxist ideology allowed an approach to community problems in terms of social rights regardless of the members’ ethnic belonging (Erdély rövid története, 1989: 583-593).

According to the 1923 Constitution, the most democratic Constitution that Romania had so far had, Romania was defined as a “Unitary National State”, though the proportion of people belonging to nationalities other than Romanian was about 23 to 25% of the total population. This indicated a nationalist nuance in the outline of the framework of the Constitution. This nuance that was also reflected in the application of the 1921 Agrarian Reform, in the differentiated interpretation of the tax system, and in the problems recorded during local and general elections (among which the fraudulent actions of the liberal government were notorious). All of them had a negative impact on the general
atmosphere. For example, because about 85% of the people were expropriated, churches had reduced sources of income. Under the circumstances of diminished opportunities to benefit from instruction in their mother tongue, the minorities were forced to organise their own alternative confessional system of education. So-called “cultural areas” were created where teachers who came from the former Romanian Kingdom got land and a higher salary in Szeklerland and in other areas where Hungarians formed a majority, in an attempt to romanianise the Hungarians (Mikó, 1941).

Against this background, the attitude of the Hungarian minority—similar to that of the government in Budapest—was a revisionist one. But there was another attitude, too. It was the one exposed by Károly Kós, expressing a pragmatic position, and which is known as the doctrine of Transylvanianism. This stated that Transylvania was a specific geographical, historical and social entity that had its own collective awareness and culture. Some Saxons (intellectuals in the county of Brasov) adhered to Károly Kós’ point of view (Roth, 1996: 126-134, Mikó, 1941).

When King Carol II (king of Romania between 1930-1940) set up a dictatorship and replaced the multiparty bourgeois parliamentary system with a single body for political representation, Hungarians were mentioned as a section of the National Renaissance Front. In addition, they followed the German pattern and formed the Hungarian Ethnic Group (Magyar Népközösség), chaired by Count Miklós Bánffy (Mikó, 1941: 204-258).

The aggressive politics of Hitler’s Germany, supported by Mussolini’s Italy and other similar states, modified considerably the international political situation at the end of the 1930s. Using this background, the Hungarian Government led by Horthy took advantage of the context and brought the Transylvanian issue into focus, claiming Transylvania (to the Mureş River). Romania threatened by Stalin’s ultimatum that asked Romanian officials to cede Bassarabia to the USSR and the Quadrilater area to the Bulgarians was ready to negotiate yielding part of Partium to Hungary on condition of a population exchange. As a result of the negotiations that took place in Vienna, Northern Transylvania became part of Hungary (September 1940). When it became obvious that Germany and its allies were going to be defeated, the Count of Bánffy tried to contact Iuliu Maniu (Romanian prime minister at that time) in order to negotiate with him, but the change in the balance of forces in favour of the Allied Powers did not encourage further steps (L. Balogh, 1999a, 1999b).

The Soviet and Romanian Armies occupied Transylvania in the autumn of 1944. Under the new circumstances, the Romanian Communist Party, which was then being organised with the assistance of the Soviet Union, also included many Hungarians. On November 12, the Romanian administration, charged with alleged atrocities against Hungarians, was suspended by the Soviets. The Soviets intended to blackmail both Romania and Hungary with the issue of Transylvania. Many Hungarians died in labour camps such as the ones in Feldioara and Focşani, or were deported to the USSR. In the autumn 1944, the Hungarian communists organised the Hungarian Popular Alliance (Magyar Népi Szövetség), active until 1953 (Romsics, 1998b, Vincze, 1999a, 1999b, Antal, 1993).

Considering the upcoming Peace Treaty and having a leftist ideology at its foundation, the Petru Groza Government took a series of measures in favour of the minorities that consequently became their allies. From 1945 to 1946 the educational system was extended to include instruction in Hungarian. The Hungarian Bolyai University was established in Cluj. Later on, however, policies changed and education in Hungarian
was restrained gradually until the 1980s. The Hungarian University was forced to merge with the Romanian Babeș University in 1959. (Antal, 1993, Vincze, 1999a:225-260).

When the Peace Treaty was signed in Paris in 1947, the western border of Romania returned to its inter-war contours. There were restrictive measures after WW II as well. In 1945, when the Agrarian Reform was applied, Hungarians faced disadvantages again. They were still treated as enemies and submitted to the so-called Office for the Management and Supervision of the Assets of the Enemies. Most wealth that was owed by the minorities it was confiscated by that Office, despite the armistice signed between Hungary and Romania in February 1945, (a state institution) (Vincze, 1999a: 107-145).

1946 brought about not only the fraudulent victory in the elections of the Romanian Communist Party, but also the break-up of the Groza Government and the end of its pro-minority policy. From 1947 to 1949, in addition to other measures of radical reorganisation of the society, the following steps were taken: proclamation of the republic, reform of education, “cleansing” of the Academy, and reorganisation of culture on ideological criteria – which was an initiative meant to suppress the Hungarian economic, social and cultural institutions – for example the Hungarian Museum Society (Erdélyi Múzeum Egyesület) and the Transylvanian Hungarian Cultural Society. In the name of proletarian internationalism, the Hungarians suffered again. In the beginning, only right-wing leaders of the Hungarian community were arrested, but from 1949 on, left wing leaders were arrested, too. Leaders of the Hungarian ecclesiastic life were subjected to the same treatment; the Roman-Catholic Bishop Áron Márton and his colleagues were arrested from 1949 to 1951. (Vincze, 1999a: 67-102, 307-320).

The administrative innovation of that period was the establishment in 1952 of the Hungarian Autonomous Region. This followed the Soviet pattern of administrative-territorial organisation, so in reality it had no more autonomy than other regions of the country had.

Following the Hungarian anti-Soviet revolution in 1956, Hungarians in Transylvania, especially university teachers and students, organised protests in 1956. Using this opportunity, the Romanian Communist State’s repressive bodies arrested thousands of persons, and a new political course became clearly visible soon after. Its first sign in the policies concerning minorities was the unification of the Hungarian University and the Romanian University in Cluj to form Babeș-Bolyai University in 1959 already mentioned above (Vincze, 1999a: 225-260).

During the first year of Ceaușescu’s regime, especially after 1968, a temporary relaxation and liberalisation could be noticed. The new Romanian leader’s concessions were to be felt in culture: A hét (The Week) magazine was started and a publishing house, Kriterion, was set up. Hungarian and German broadcasting started on TV and new Hungarian language newspapers were printed in the counties of Harghita and Covasna. The Ceaușescu regime tried to attract the Hungarian elite on its side. It also founded the Council of Workers of Hungarian Nationality, but minority rights diminished gradually as Ceaușescu’s leadership headed for personal dictatorship. These constraints, which had become so obvious by the beginning of the 1980s, coincided with the general worsening of the standard of living in the country. During the last decade of the dictatorship, living conditions went down gradually, and the Romanian citizens’ rights and freedom were more and more reduced. As for the Hungarians’ situation, some specific aspects need to be emphasised. The number of Hungarian classes and departments within schools were reduced; ideological censorship on the
Hungarian publications was considerably intensified; the broadcast of territorial radio stations in Hungarian was stopped by the mid-1980s; geographical and Christian names in the language of the minorities were prohibited, and villages inhabited by minorities i.e. Hungarians, started to be demolished. Against this background, Hungarians started their own samizdat. Restrictions culminated with the closing of the Hungarian Consulate in Cluj in 1988 after the Hungarian Consul had been officially expelled from Romania. By the end of the decade, “Romanians of Hungarian language” replaced the term “co-existing nationalities”, so the dictatorship of the Ceaușescu couple became coloured with violent nationalism. That was facilitated by their attempt to strengthen the solidarity of the majority, who were also subjected to pressure and prohibitions (Antal, 1993, Vincze, 1999a: 67-106).

The events of December 1989 in Romania gave hope to the Hungarians of Romania that there would soon be a change for the better. Ironically, the Hungarian community in Timișoara, near the Hungarian border, initiated the end of the Ceaușescu regime. The eviction of the local Hungarian Reformed pastor, László Tőkés instigated actions by the Hungarians. They began protests and soon were joined by Romanians and others who also wished to express their discontent with the regime. In support of the revolutionaries, on December 21, 1989, the Hungarian government decided to abrogate its 1972 friendship treaty with Romania. Finally, on 25 December 1989, Nicolae and Elena Ceaușescu were executed and a provisional government calling itself the National Salvation Front stepped into the breach (Stokes, 1993:163-166). The euphoria of the victory of the Romanian revolution was manifested in the sphere of Romanian-Hungarian relations as well. The National Salvation Front included 14 Hungarians, including personalities such as László Tőkés, Károly Király, and Géza Domokos. The Hungarian press proclaimed a new era of Romanian-Hungarian relations, symbolised by the heroic figure of László Tőkés (Rateş, 1992). With the change in government and the plans for democratic elections, Hungarians in Romania assumed that they would see the return of educational and other institutions lost under communism. Demands for the return of the Bolyai High School in Târgu-Mureș, however, led to violent clashes in the city between Hungarians and Romanians on March 19 and 20, 1990. Whilst inter-ethnic relations are no longer quite so tense, the topic of education remains at the forefront of discussions between the Hungarian minority and the Romanian government.

Nevertheless, the riots in Târgu Mureș remain a landmark in the history of the Romanian-Hungarian relationship after 1989. The Government offered contradictory explanations and the official parliamentary report, published on January 23, 1991 was contested by so many that it lost its credibility. Numerous aspects of the riots were omitted from the analysis (e.g. the presence at the demonstration of Romanian peasants brought in buses from the nearby villages, etc). Yet, since March 1990, Târgu Mures has regained its peace (Gallagher 1999:116, 122).

After a period of increased diplomatic tension and isolation, since 1994 bilateral political relations between the two countries have improved, and Romania and Hungary have developed a special political and military relationship (Iordachi, 1998:67-76). The first significant step in the bilateral reconciliation process was the signing of “The Treaty of Mutual Understanding, Co-operation and Good Neighbourhood,” on September 16, 1996. The treaty includes the provision that both countries will support their efforts for NATO and European Integration “on a non-discriminatory basis” (Romania and Minorities, 1997:162); and was accompanied by a “Joint Romanian-Hungarian Political Statement” and an “Agreement of Reconciliation and Partnership.” Finally, a significant breakthrough in the Romanian-Hungarian relations occurred in
1996, when Ion Iliescu (president of Romania between 1989-1996, and since 2000) and the Party of Social Democracy in Romania lost power to Emil Constantinescu and the Democratic Convention. For the first time the Hungarian party (the Democratic Alliance of Hungarians in Romania - DAHR) began to participate in the government, having a powerful voice in the Parliament. The diplomatic relationship between Romania and Hungary has continually improved, tending towards its transformation into a “partnership for the whole region” (Severin). Practically, there are bilateral agreements in every field of collaboration; this framework has set up a mechanism that is inspired by the French-German model, instituting a permanent dialogue between Romania and Hungary. In spite of the political reconciliation, the historiographic polemics between Romanian and Hungarian historians continue. Nevertheless, the arguments now tend to be confined to academic circles.

The end of 2000 was an important political point. On November 26, Romanians voted out the liberal-conservative centre-right coalition in favour of Social Democrats, former communists (Democratic Social Pole of Romania, 36.9%) but also of the Great Romanian Party (a right extremist party, with anti-Semitic and ultra-nationalistic ideas, 20%). Now, in the Romanian parliament this extremist party (see 2.3.1) is the second largest group. Its leader, Corneliu Vadim Tudor, is famed for his nationalistic comments concentrated on three main issues: his idea of the “nation”, an imminent revolution of the masses, and the liquidation of ethnic minorities. His statements are against Jews, Roma and also Hungarians: “Within 48 hours, we will liquidate the Mafia which is choking Romania! …Within 48 hours we will ban and dismantle the DAHR (Democratic Alliance of Hungarians in Romania)”. (Romania Mare, March 3, 2000; Lovatt, 2000). In order to prevent the destruction of Romania’s transition to democracy by this extremist party, DSPR (Romanian Social Democratic Party), DP (Democratic Party), NLP (National Liberal Party) and DAHR have to be united. The new Prime Minister formed a minority government after the presidential election (Ion Iliescu won 71%) continuing negotiations with the opposition parties. DAHR asked once more for the Hungarian University (Law 151/1999 allows for such an institution), but the ruling Party (DSPR) refused, offering only a multi-cultural university. There are debates in the Parliament concerning the application of the Law on Local Public Administration with respect to the Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minority.

B. Conflict
The following section explores the historical legacy of the Romanian-Hungarian conflict at the following levels: 1) territorial disputes; 2) conflicting historical mythologies; and 3) the resulting diplomatic crisis in the relationship between the two countries.

Seton-Watson pointed out that historiography has played a major role in the process of state and nation-building in Eastern Europe, and has served as a main tool of political legitimisation. This is particularly true in the case of the Romanian-Hungarian conflict; historians are primarily responsible for the intense process of myth making and antagonistic historical narratives. National utopias and ideals of the Romanians and the Hungarians are overlapping, having Transylvania as the common ground. The province is considered as having made a crucial contribution to the autonomous survival of both nations (Deletant, 1995:107). Among Romanian and Hungarian historiographers, Transylvania is thus invested with a mythical significance that obstructs a rational resolution of the bilateral conflict (Ludanyi, Cadzow, and Elteto, 1983). Since both groups lay claim to the region on historical grounds (Schöpflin, 1990:8), the Romanian-
Hungarian historiographers’ divergence refers to all major events of their national histories, such as:

a) The chronological pre-eminence in Transylvania: Being the first in that land became, in a mythical understanding of history, synonymous with being the legitimate master. By contrast, all peoples that settled later in the province are portrayed as “aliens” and “intruders.” Romanian historians expound the Dacian-Roman continuity theory, maintaining that in the 1st and 2nd centuries AD, the Dacian kingdom was conquered and annexed by the Roman Empire. The subsequent fusion of the Dacian and Latin cultures resulted in the creation of the Dacian-Romanian culture. When the Roman legions left, Dacian-Romans continued to live in Transylvania, preserving their language and culture, despite periodic invasions by Avars, Scythians, or Huns. Therefore, according to Romanian historiography, at the time of the Hungarians’ entry into the Carpathian Basin, they found a large ethnic Romanian population in Transylvania. This thesis is a veritable *locus comuni* of Romanian historiography. Hungarian historians reject the above theory, claiming that before the Hungarian conquest of the Danube Basin in the 9th century AD, Transylvania was *terra inoccupata*. According to this version of events, Romanians began to move into the region starting only in the 13th century, and were permitted to stay due to the magnanimity of the Hungarian landlords. (Schöpflin, 1990:8).

b) The second aspect of the Romanian-Hungarian historiographical debate is the place of Transylvania within the Hungarian medieval kingdom. The Hungarian view was best expressed by the historian László Makkai: “Transylvania’s historical position may be summed up as follows: it is not the question of Transylvania and Hungary, but of Transylvania in Hungary” (Makkai, 1944:5-6; Rady, 1992:90). In opposition to this view, Romanian historians claim that Transylvania was never an integral part of the Hungarian Kingdom, but enjoyed an extensive political-administrative autonomy throughout the middle ages. In evaluating the historical development of Transylvania, Hungarian historians focus on the primacy of Hungarian culture in the region, arguing that the Romanian contribution to the region’s institutional development was slight. On the contrary, while condemning the exclusion of Romanians from the system of privileged medieval “nations” in Transylvania, Romanian historians nevertheless assert that the Romanian ethnic majority shaped Transylvania’s historical development. In addition, Romanian historians only acknowledge implicitly the political integration of Transylvania into the Hungarian Kingdom. They instead posit a unitary historical development of Transylvania, Moldova, and Wallachia across political frontiers, a construction by the great historian-politician Nicolae Iorga that is in line with the myth of the political, cultural, and economic unity of the Romanians.

c) The historiographic divergence between Romanian and Hungarian historians culminates with the interpretation given to the post-First World War territorial settlement and political developments. Following the military victory of the Entente, Romania doubled its size and population by incorporating the former Austro-Hungarian provinces of Transylvania, the Banat, Crișana, and Maramureș under the Treaties of Saint Germain (1919) and Trianon (1920). Hungarian politicians never accepted the Trianon Treaty (1920). The Hungarian General Assembly demanded Hungarians in Transylvania to declare their loyalty to the Hungary. Even after those events, the foreign policy of the Hungarian State between two World Wars was directed towards reintegration of the territories lost in 1920, most of which Romania incorporated. Hungarian historians deplore the dismemberment of Austria-Hungary as an unjust political decision. They usually regard the Austro-Hungarian Empire as a possible model of multi-cultural coexistence, in opposition to Greater Romania, seen as a state which failed to develop a concept of common identity for all its citizens (Biró, 1988; Bela, Pastor, & Sanders, 1982; Borsody, 1998). On the other side, Romanian historians
consider the achievement of the Greater Romania as the result of a necessary and objective process of historical development (Constantiniu, 1997:307).

The permanent diplomatic conflict during this period was finally expressed in the Vienna dictate (1940) when Northern Transylvania was given to Hungary. After the Second World War Romania and Hungary became allies as members of the socialist camp, but even then, the territorial dispute didn’t stop. This conflict has deep historical roots that cannot be forgotten, even under the adoption of Marxist-Leninist ideology (Iordachi, 1999).

During the communist years, historiography was the main ideological battlefield and a direct source of legitimacy for political power (Verdery, 1991). The historiographic conflict became very important in the 1980’s, exceeding the limits of an intellectual dispute. New myths and traumatic memories were created or invoked, having as a background the World War II experience. The Hungarian monthly Kritika (from August and September 1984) published wartime documents that were subsequently deemed offensive by Romanian historians. In December of the same year, România Literară, the Romanian Writers’ Union’s weekly, criticised the Kritika articles for their alleged “fascist, revanchist, anti-Romanian ideas”. The dispute continues with a book describing the “cruelties” of the Hungarian administration written by two historians – A. Fătu and I. Mureșan (Iordachi, 1999).

In December 1985, the cultural magazine Contemporanul published a piece signed by Constantin Botoran and Ioan Calafeteanu. It presented Hungarian History-World History, a collection of studies published in Budapest by Peter Gosztony. Botoran and Calafeteanu displayed the well-known arsenal of misinformation: insinuation, truncated quotation, and ambiguities. In 1986 (December 5), the cultural magazine România Literară published an article “Revisionists and Chauvinists at Work Again” in response to the article entitled “Independent Transylvania” published in the Spanish issue of “Hungarian magazine” in 1985, written by Hungarian Petter Ruffy, which dealt with Transylvanian history from 1541 to 1681.

In this atmosphere, in 1987 the Hungarian Academy Publishing House launched a three-volume “History of Transylvania”, whose editor in chief was Hungary’s Minister of Culture, Béla Köpeczi. Romanian authorities took a stand and N. Ceaușescu mobilised the whole historical community to react and to write a riposte. In any case, behind the historiographic dispute other things were hidden, and this visible conflict was only the vehicle of the true one between the two countries allies according to the rules of the communist diplomacy, both members of the Warsaw pact (Iordachi, 1999).

1.2 Economic and demographic data

The territory of Transylvania has changed hands several times during the course of history. In order to examine ethnic-demographic tendencies in the territory of present Transylvania, major “officially authentic” data sources can be found both in the Hungarian censuses made between 1857 and 1910, and 1941 – the Trianon year and in the Romanian census conducted after the First World War, when Romania took over Transylvania.

After the 1848 – 1849 revolution, the first census was made in 1850. Its data are of utmost importance to a better knowledge of the Transylvanian ethnic and confessional structure in the mid-nineteenth century. When the Crimean War was over, and the new
political and socio-economic condition characteristic to the monarchy was established, a new census operation was necessary. The next one was held in 1857 and offered information organised by confessional criteria (the census in 1857, 1996:15). In 1869 only religion was mentioned, and the 1880 census did not include questions about nationality for political reasons (the Emperor of Austria and King of Hungary Franz Joseph ordered it); however it considered religion. The next censuses in 1890, 1900, and 1910 provided information about both confessional and language structures of the population. When Transylvania and Romania united (1918), the authorities organised data collection in the Hungarian territory occupied by the Romanian army. This census contained information about religion and nationality. The census conducted in 1930 gave answers about the population structure concerning nationality, religion, and language. The next two censuses made in 1941 and 1948 followed the same guidelines, but unfortunately, when the data from 1948 was processed, they considered only the mother tongue.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nationality</th>
<th>1850</th>
<th>1857</th>
<th>1869</th>
<th>1880</th>
<th>1890</th>
<th>1900</th>
<th>1910</th>
<th>1920</th>
<th>1930</th>
<th>1941</th>
<th>1948</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Romanians</td>
<td>59.4</td>
<td>60.7</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>55.1</td>
<td>53.8</td>
<td>57.3</td>
<td>58.3</td>
<td>55.9</td>
<td>65.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hungarians</td>
<td>26.1</td>
<td>28.1</td>
<td>24.9</td>
<td>25.9</td>
<td>27.1</td>
<td>29.5</td>
<td>31.5</td>
<td>25.5</td>
<td>24.4</td>
<td>29.4</td>
<td>25.7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*These figures describe the former Transylvanian territory, the one before 1918 (the year when Transylvania was attached to Romania), (Varga, 1998)

As the above table shows, the proportion of Hungarian native speakers increased from 1880 to 1910. A. Varga (Varga, 1998) explains this significant change in the ethnic spectrum of Transylvania by three factors: 1. The natural population growth of Hungarians was higher than that of non-Hungarian nationalities (the demographic catastrophe of the 1870s had a great effect on the Romanian population determining its decrease by 2% in one decade). 2. The proportion of Hungarian emigrants was lower than that of non-Hungarian emigrants. 3. Some non-Hungarians and most immigrants were assimilated into the Hungarian community (the assimilation process influenced the population growth and changed the ethnic proportion of Romania).

At the end of 1918 and in the beginning of 1919 (after the union of Transylvania with Romania), the number of Hungarians decreased. More than 150,000 persons went from Transylvania to Hungary (Thirring L. cited by Varga, 1998). The decrease recorded in 1930 was followed by a period characterised by further change in political supremacy (from 1931 to 1941). The Second Dictate of Vienna resulted in mutual population movements in the region. More than 100,000 people increased the number of North Transylvanian Hungarians while many Romanians were obliged to leave North Transylvania. The assimilation process started by Romanians changed the ethnic situation (e.g. more than half of persons recorded as Yiddish native speakers in 1930 turned to the Hungarian native speakers community) (Varga, 1998). The split in the region served only to increase the tension: atrocities were committed; populations fled the area or were forcibly ejected. In demographic terms this meant that in northern Transylvania the vast majority of Romanian agricultural colonists were forced to leave, while in the south of the region, 67,000 Hungarians were driven out by the Romanian authorities (Kocsis, 1995:70).

During the early 1940s Hungarians populated the northern part of Transylvania overwhelmingly once again. Over 80% of the population in Cluj-Napoca were Hungarian, and the number of Hungarians exceeded 90% of the population in some of the Szekler towns (Kocsis, 1995:71). This situation was, of course, short-lived and the re-annexation of the whole territory to Romania a few years later triggered another
Hungarian exodus. Thousands of Hungarians were deported to concentration camps as the new Romanian administration began to exact revenge in the north of the region (Kocsis, 1995:71). After the Second World War the number of Hungarians in Transylvania fell by over 300,000 (at the census in 1948 – see Varga, 1998).

During the communist regime the structure of the census suffered some changes. The ones made in 1956 and 1977 provided information only about nationality, while the one made in 1966 also referred to language. Only the census made in 1992 met international statistical requirements in every respect.

After the 1956 census the proportion of the Hungarian population had once again reached approximately the same level as registered in 1910, but soon after the decrease process began. The factors responsible for this phenomenon are the increase in the proportion of Romanians in the area, due to the social and geographical mobility in the country encouraged by the communist party; the emigration of the Hungarian population to Hungary, and distortions made in the census documentation.

All of the above changed the demographic structure of the region irreversibly, and the subsequent oppressive regime altered it still further. Intensive industrialisation was the principal policy aim of the communists. In pursuing this, their second objective was to create an overwhelmingly Romanian urban environment (Kocsis, 1995:73). This focus on industry, coupled with the communist’s increasingly nationalist stance, forced the Hungarians and other minorities into specific areas of study and labour. They were to have no part in Romania’s promising future. Unfortunately, despite giving the outward appearance of stability, Romania under the communists was “a disaster waiting to happen” (Fowkes, 1995:115), and the great economic success never crystallised.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Romanians</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>67.9</td>
<td>69.4</td>
<td>73.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hungarians</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>24.1</td>
<td>22.5</td>
<td>20.8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Following the events of December 1989, all Romanians found themselves with greater freedom to move within and outside the country and to find employment. The economic policies pursued since 1990, however, have not given rise to any kind of boom in Romania. Restrictions on teaching in minority languages (see Education section) have lessened, but some remain, especially in the key areas of law and medicine, forcing many Hungarians to complete their education in a language other than their mother tongue.

According to the latest census (1992 Census, Vol. IV), 1,624,959 persons living in Romania identified themselves as Hungarian (7.1% of Romania’s population). According to other estimations their number is higher than this. The Hungarian Churches i.e. the Catholic, Protestant and Neo-Protestant count about 2 million believers. (The Situation of Hungarians in the Romanian National State – Appendix to the DAHR Memorandum). The term “Hungarian minority” used throughout this report includes Hungarians (Magyars) and Szeklers. The majority, approximately 20.8%, live in Transylvania (a region composed of three main intra-charpatian provinces – regions: Banat, Crişana - Maramureş, and Transylvania). Upon examination of specific counties in the region, it could be seen that Hungarians were the majority in both Harghita and Covasna - 84.7% and 75.2% respectively (Edroiu, 1996:32). Ethnic Hungarians composed of 21.2% of the population in Crişana - Maramureş in northern Romania and 6.6% in Banat.
Besides Transylvania, Hungarians also live in other areas of Romania, such as the capital city of Bucharest (8,585), in Moldavia (Changos 6,471), in Oltenia (1,911), in Muntenia (2,524), and in Dobruja (1,545) (Census 1992). Szeklers are concentrated in Transylvania in an area known as the Seklers’ Land around the counties of Harghita (Hargita) and Covasna (Kovászna). According to the Hungarian version of the region’s history, the Szeklers’ presence in the region dates from the ninth century. They speak a dialect of Hungarian and are closely related to the Magyars who are present in Transylvania because of the post-war peace agreements. Changos are an isolated group in Moldavia, the majority of whom are Romanian-speaking, although they are often wrongly referred to as Hungarian. The 1992 census recorded 2,165 citizens who described their nationality as “Chango” (Weber, 1998:226).

In Transylvania, the numerical ratio of ethnic Hungarians is decreasing. The birth rate (number of children born alive in the total population) is lower (9.2 per thousand), and the mortality rate (number of deaths in the total population) is higher compared to the Romanian population values.

Since 1945, the growth of Romania’s Hungarian population followed measures imposed by the Communist regime imposed measures. In 1968 a law was promulgated that punished almost any kind of abortion. This resulted in a peak birth rate (the birth rate was doubled in 1968 and 1969 compared to previous years). Since then the birth rate has steadily decreased for both Romanians and Hungarians. A decrease in the number of Hungarians was recorded between the censuses in 1977 and 1992. A possible explanation could be the emigration process that has significantly contributed to the decrease of Romania’s Hungarian population. It is estimated that about 100,000 ethnic Hungarians have left the country since the 1970s (Democratic Alliance of Hungarians in Romania - DAHR).

Due to the history of the region, Transylvania has long been seen as the most Hungarian part of Romania. In spite of this, however, according to the 1992 census Hungarians comprised only approx. 1.7 million of the population there. Despite the arguments by many Hungarian groups that the total number is actually higher (between 2 and 2.5 million), examination of voting statistics shows that since 1990 approximately 7.1% of the population tends to vote for the Democratic Alliance of Hungarians in Romania, suggesting that the census figure is accurate. The above percentages have shown a decline in the Hungarian population in every region ever since the communist regime, due to low birth rates and emigration (Abraham, 1995:60).

---

¹ The Hungarian party is referred to by any of three names, which are often used interchangeably. It is therefore essential to know all three. These are the Democratic Alliance of Hungarians in Romania (DAHR), the Romani Magyar Demokrata Szövetség (RMDSZ), and the Uniunea Democratca a Maghiarilor din Romania (UDMR).
1.3 Defence of identity and/or of language and/or of religion
The Hungarian minority in Romania has managed to maintain a distinct identity despite the policies enforced prior to 1989. The recent debate concerning education, and specifically the establishment of a Hungarian-language university in Romania, shows the depth of feeling among the Hungarian community regarding the preservation of their language.

During the Communist regime, and particularly under Ceauşescu, there was little or no dissent in the practical sense (Fowkes, 1995:114). The majority of Hungarians arrested for anti-regime protests were driven by their concern for the decline in Hungarian-language education in Romania (Deletant, 1998:180). In 1977, two ethnic Hungarians prepared memoranda on the subject. The report of one of these authors, Takács László, obtained added weight, both due to his position in the Romanian Communist Party and the fact that he refused to hide behind a pseudonym when the report was published. In 1959, the Bolyai University in Cluj, a Hungarian establishment, was “merged” with the Romanian Babeş University. Takács was a former rector of the university and ironically, by 1959, his connections with the party made him part of the band that orchestrated the merger. Takács’s memorandum pointed out the steady reduction in Hungarian-language schooling, including the disturbing statistic that of the 34,738 ethnic Hungarian students attending secondary schools nation-wide, 15,591, or 45%, were attending technical secondary schools where teaching was offered exclusively in Romanian (Deletant, 1998:181).

Amnesty International documented several cases of ethnic Hungarians being imprisoned during the 1980s because they had protested discrimination against the Hungarian minority. The organisation reported that researchers had heard about the harassment and sometimes imprisonment of ethnic Hungarians who had protested non-violently about alleged abuses of Hungarians rights in Romania (Amnesty International, 1987:13).

March 1990 saw inter-ethnic violence in the Transylvanian town of Targu Mureş. Growing Hungarian demands for the re-establishment of Hungarian-language schools in addition to a commemoration of the 1848 revolution, during which Hungarian flags were displayed, met with antagonism from the Romanian population. On March 19 and 20, this erupted into violence in which five people died and a large number were injured, some seriously (Helsinki Watch, May 1990:1-2). Since then, there have been no further instances of inter-ethnic violence involving Hungarians.

The Democratic Alliance of Hungarians in Romania (DAHR) was established on 29 December 1989, and registered as an organisation. According to the Law 68 from June 1992 national minority NGOs are entitled to participate in the election and to have a representative in the Chamber of Deputies of the Romania parliament. It was founded to represent the interests of the Hungarian minority in Romania. Its membership is formed of territorial organisations, platforms and associated members in accordance with the principle of internal pluralism. Associated members are social, scientific, cultural, and other professional groups (DAHR web page). DAHR has been acting on behalf of the Hungarian minority ever since the beginning. During the six years preceding the inclusion of the party in the Romanian government following the 1996 elections, Romanian authorities implied that the DAHR was not the sole representative of the Hungarian minority. Examination of voting statistics proves this untrue, as the party consistently won all the votes of the Hungarian electorate in Romania (Weber,
The DAHR has been vocal on the subject of various proposed and adopted pieces of Romanian legislation that are potentially disadvantageous to the Hungarian minority (see Section 5.2), particularly in the areas of education and public administration. The recent debate concerning the establishment of a Hungarian university also indicated the depth of feeling within the community concerning Hungarian language education.

2. ETHNIC OR NATIONAL IDENTITY

2.1 Describing identity

Hungarians in Romania have a very strong sense of identity. Between November 1996 and November 2000 the DAHR was included in the ruling coalition providing the minority with a stronger voice than ever before. Now, after the election held in November 2000, DAHR received 6.8% of the votes, receiving 27 seats in the Chamber of Deputies and 12 seats in the Senate. Before the election the Romanian Social Democratic Party (the main political party after the election) and DAHR were talking about a possible alliance in order to govern the country together. After the election, the Romanian Social Democratic Party declared that it would form a minority government and that no governmental alliance would be formed.

At present in Romania the Hungarians’ status as a national minority is clearly acknowledged by the state and defined in concrete terms in domestic legislation. In addition, language is a vital part of Hungarian identity in Romania. Education and the right to use their mother tongue in official situations are therefore extremely important, and often contentious, issues.

2.1.1 Cultural characteristic(s) differentiating it from the dominant group

The Hungarian minority in Romania has a very strong sense of its own identity. This is partly due to the proximity of Hungary itself and partly due to intellectual and cultural traditions dating back to the 19th century. Given the tumultuous history of Transylvania, the Hungarians in the region have always been aware of the differences between themselves and the majority population and, indeed, other minorities. A very different language, a literary tradition, and a strong sense of their own history have all contributed to the current sense of difference. Factors such as belonging to western Christianity and the effects of Hapsburg rule are also considered as playing a role regarding the differences between Hungarians and Romanians (especially concerning the Hungarians outside Transylvania). This difference can be best described with the help of the cleavages. Religiously, all of the Hungarians belong to Western Christianity (they are Catholics, Reformats, Evangelic, and Unitarians), while Romanians belong to Eastern Christianity (most of them are Orthodox).

2.1.2 Development of the minority’s awareness of being different

Hungarian nationalism was expressed for the first time in the 18th century, according to Verdery (1983) and Breuilly (1994). It developed during the 19th century, reaching its apogee in the time of 1848 Revolution. The formation of the modern Hungarian nation that can be dated from 1848 developed the sense of common belonging among all Magyars. Even after 1918 when Transylvania was annexed to Romania, Hungarians from Transylvania remained aware of their distinctiveness and considered themselves superior. This enabled them to develop a sense of distinctive identity once they became...
a national minority. This was an attempt to cope with the new situation. On the one hand, Hungarians considered themselves as belonging to the Hungarian ethno-cultural nation; on the other hand, they are aware that under Romanian rule they have to adopt strategies to reformulate their identity. Such attempts may be considered a “situational ideology.” Transylvanianism considers the reciprocal cultural influences among Hungarians, Romanians, and Germans that developed into a common sense of civilisation. It suggests that there are more commonalities than differences between these peoples. However, only Hungarians claimed Transylvanianism; there was little response from Romanians. Accordingly: an important writer, János Székely, notes that this is the ideology of the losers. In conclusion, we may say that the Hungarian identity of Hungarians in Transylvania was powerful long before 1918, and it was accentuated when meeting the new situation. The basis of that identity remained the same, but was reformulated. This also led to a discrepancy between Hungarian identity in Transylvania (see 2.1.3) and in Hungary, but was not accompanied by a lessening of the distance between Hungarians in Transylvania and Romanians. The Hungarisation of the region described in section 2.2 ensured a strong sense of identity among Hungarians even before Transylvania became a part of Romania.

The communist regimes, Ceaușescu’s in particular, worked to destroy the independent identity of Hungarians and other minorities in the country (see 5.1). With the use of fear in the form of the Securitate (secret police), he ensured a notable lack of dissent. However, the voice of dissidents was not completely absent in the country. In 1988, citizens from the majority and the minority population wrote a letter to express their discontent with the regime. It was the third open letter by a Romanian named Doina Cornea, a lecturer at Cluj University. Twenty-seven individuals signed the letter to Ceausescu that was broadcast on Radio Free Europe in September of that year. In substance, the letter condemned the policy of “systemisation”, a plan conceived by Ceaușescu to halve the number of villages in the country. Systemisation was seen by many members of the Hungarian minority to be a direct attack on them (Deletant, 1995:267-268). Such shows of protest, however, were rare, as the regime tried to eliminate opposition of any sort.

Since 1990 however, the Hungarians’ awareness of “being different” has shown itself not only through the usual outlets of culture and media, but also in a growing participation in the political arena. The “difference” acknowledged by the state between the Hungarian minority and other minorities in Romania, as described in section 2.3.1, has also been a factor in this.

2.1.3 Identifying this difference as ethnic or national

Probably the article of Gusztáv Molnár, who assumes that there is a Transylvanian identity, raised the most important debate on identity (Molnár, 1997). He bases his arguments on the clash of civilisation theory of Samuel P. Huntington. Molnár states that in Transylvania, both the Romanians and Hungarians are part of western civilisation, while Romanians living in other regions of Romania belong to the orthodox civilisation. He argues that Romanians belong to a different civilisation. He considers this difference much more important than any ethnic differences. Nevertheless, his Romanian partners (Andreescu, 1998; Capelle-Pogâcean, 1998) claim that even if such a cleavage of civilisations exists between the two groups, ethnic differences are more important. This is partially a political debate seeking for political solutions such as federalism, autonomy and devolution (the Scottish case was Molnar’s favourite example). The visions of the authors on the possible solutions of the issues regarding
Hungarians and Transylvania dictate the debate. However, this debate also raises important questions about nation-state formation and political history in Central Europe. Questions regarding ethnic and national identity date back to the formation of the modern Hungarian and Romanian nation-states in the 19th century. During that period Transylvania was part of the Hapsburg Empire, and later was incorporated into the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy. The nation-formation processes were started and shaped under the conditions of Hungarian centralisation and homogenisation. The break-up of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy led to the formation of many new nation-states. One of them was Romania. It obtained the territory of Transylvania with a large Hungarian minority. This incorporation led to the redefinition of the Hungarian ethnic and national identity.

The Hungarian identity is said by some not to be defined as either distinctly ethnic or national. Neither the minority nor the majority population tends to make this distinction (Lazăr, 1998), and the Hungarian population in Romania defines itself along both ethnic and national divisions. This is an opinion adhered to by the vast majority of Hungarians. The fact that they [Hungarians] are citizens of Romania, but define themselves as something totally different nationally seems, in fact, to be something Romanians find extremely difficult to understand and has perhaps contributed to the belief that the Hungarian minority in Transylvania is in favour of the region’s reunification with Hungary.

Many Romanians suspect the Hungarian minority of Transylvania wishes to reunite with Hungary, although they enjoy non-restrictive citizenship like every Romanian citizen. Studies of the Romanian media have demonstrated this suspicion on many occasions (Lenkova, ed., 1998). Regarding identity, Hungarians do not make a difference between ethnic and national identity. Hungarians perceive themselves as members of (belonging to) the ethno-cultural Hungarian nation that encompasses all the Hungarians regardless of where they live. Hungarians in Transylvania/Romania call themselves “Hungarians in Romania” or “Hungarians in Transylvania” in their everyday speech.

In Ethnobarometer (Research Centre for Interethnic Relations, 2000), the majority of Hungarians (53%) chose a mixed identification: both as Hungarians and as Transylvanians when they were asked to self-identify. According to the authors of the survey, in this way Hungarians from Romania asserted their distinction from the Hungarians Hungary; nevertheless, they acknowledged that they were part of the Hungarian nation. Almost the same proportion of Magyars opted for one of the two more official denominations: Romanian Hungarian (15.2%) and Hungarian of Romanian citizenship (15.8%). Both of these denominations avoid the regional (Transylvanian) identification, and stress the identification with the Hungarian nation and their attachment to the people living in the Hungarian national state. The dwellers of Seklers’ Land declared their particular identity by choosing the alternative “Sekler”. Only 3.1% declared the other identity (without mentioning clearly their ethnicity using a “Hungarian” denomination) (Interethnic Relations in Post-Communist Romania, 2000:258).

Officially, political actors know the Hungarians as the “national minority” or “the Hungarian minority”. Hungarians are referred to as the “national community” in internal discourse, probably to strengthen the feeling of common belonging. Such debates have appeared in the Hungarian press in Romania on several occasions. Irina Culic gave a different explanation (2000). She sustains that DAHR (Democratic Alliance of the
Hungarians in Romania), not only represents the Hungarians in Romania at all political levels, but also leads a so-called “Hungarian state”. This statement is based on the fact that all resources of the Hungarian community (society) in Romania are managed by DAHR. This provides certain coherence in the life of the community.

Hungarians are acknowledged by the Romanian state as a national minority and their inclusion in the ruling coalition between 1996 and 2000 is a clear indication of how integrated the minority is in Romanian public life (see 2.1).

2.2 Historical development of an ethnic or a national identity

Magyar nationalism was born according to Verdery (1983) and Breuilly (1994), as a response to the new simultaneous processes that changed the situation of the Hapsburg Empire in the 18th century. State centralisation and the economic changes of the empire led to some controversial attitudes among those who saw that their privileges were threatened and also realised that there was a new opportunity to influence the economic policy of the state. These two processes determined the “emergence of ‘nations’, or, better, aspirant nation-state, out of old classes inadequately transformed” (Verdery, 1983:115). Hence, Hungarian nationalism was based on the defence of a considerable political autonomy and on socio-economic privileges, enjoyed by the Magyars, especially by the nobles (Breuilly, 1994:131). This defensive polity tended to polarise into conservative and radical movements, in terms of a historic territorial concept of the nation. This point of view had repercussions on the legal and political status of the different ethnic groups (Magyar nobles, Saxons, and Szeklers as the privileged nations, and Romanians as unprivileged subjects), and also excluded some ethnic groups (Romanians) from the polity (Verdery, 1983:116).

Hungarian historians agree that the modern Hungarian nation was forged in the revolution and liberation war of 1848-49. The defeat of the liberation war led to the re-incorporation of Hungary and Transylvania to the Hapsburg Empire. The defeat of the Hapsburgs by the Prussians at the battle of Königratz, weakened the position of the Hapsburgs and forced them to make the compromise with the Hungarians in 1867. Transylvania became a part of the Hungarian Kingdom within the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy. The process of Hungarian nation-building became more powerful in this period, and can be characterised by the administrative incorporation of Transylvania, Hungarianisation policy, and the denial of rights of the other nationalities of the Hungarian Kingdom. A common Hungarian national identity was strengthened.

Even before Hungary achieved self-government and the control of Transylvania, the general feeling in the region was that non-Hungarians were culturally inferior and should merge with the superior Hungarian nation (Gallagher, 1995:15). At this point, therefore, there was already a strong sense of a national identity among the Hungarians.

Therefore, after 1867, when Transylvania came under Hungarian administration, it was natural that a policy of Hungarianisation be pursued in the region. This was carried out despite the fact that Romanians were actually the numerical majority there. They were denied autonomy since the Hungarians believed that it was their duty to help the backward peoples by assimilating them (Gallagher, 1995:15). This attitude was shown in education in particular. Four laws were passed (1879, 1883, 1891, and 1907) with the aim of Hungarianising teaching staff and expanding schooling in Hungarian while simultaneously restricting education in other minority languages. State schools became models of “unrestrained Hungarianisation.” This policy was not entirely successful,
however, and the Romanians managed to hold onto a large number of schools (mainly primary schools) in which Romanian patriotism was nurtured (Livezeanu, 1995:144).

In order to obtain more than a primary education, Romanian youths, the majority of them being rural dwellers, were forced to leave their villages and attend Hungarian or German schools in towns. In these schools teachers had to both educate them and turn them into loyal Magyars. Encouraging them to abandon their language and traditional dress was the way this was acheived. This made it more difficult for them to pursue any symbolic resistance (Livezeanu, 1995:145).

Hungarian cultural institutions prior to 1918 were extremely difficult for the non-assimilated to permeate, and few Romanians progressed successfully without losing their Romanian identity. Hungarians tended to inhabit urban areas while the Romanians were relegated to a poorer, rural existence. In 1910, 72.7% of the urban population of Transylvania was Hungarian, while the Romanians who lived in urban areas were either “ghettoised” or Hungarianised (Livezeanu, 1995:153).

By the time the region became part of Romania in 1918, therefore, it was immensely Hungarian in character. The Romanian administration had trouble with both east and west Transylvania, the former being largely inhabited by Szeklers and the latter by Magyars. The Szeklers had a history of privilege there, and as they dominated the whole area, it was extremely difficult to impose the policies of romanianization. The Magyars were most numerous in the Hungarian border area and caused similar problems. Although the Romanians tended to differentiate between the Szeklers and the Magyars, they viewed the Magyars with more hostility (Livezeanu, 1995:138).

All the subsequent regime changes shaped the identity of the Hungarians in Romania. Hungarians in Romania had to redefine their position, strategy, and consequently their national identity according to the changing context. The essential turning point was in 1918 when Transylvania was annexed to Romania. Before 1918 Hungarians belonged to a privileged nation, but then they became a national minority. Hungarians organised ethnic-based organisations, and their principal goal was to preserve their identity and to sustain their institutional framework. Hungarian national identity was defined in opposition to the Romanian national identity.

As mentioned in Section 6.1, even under communism the Hungarian language and culture did not suffer seriously until the 1956 uprising in Budapest, which caused a nervous reaction within the Romanian government. The uprising, initiated by students and fought largely by civilians, was brutally suppressed by the Russians who fired indiscriminately into the crowds. Many students and civilians died. Hungarians in Romania displayed a level of solidarity with those fighting the Soviets in Budapest, which alarmed the communist regime. In the eyes of the latter, a minority population who identified so closely with those who had started a bloody insurrection needed to be eliminated (Gallagher, 1995:55-56). Following this, the regime began to pursue the policy of assimilation. This reached its height under Ceauşescu who spoke publicly of equal rights for all Romanian citizens and then made it impossible for them to enjoy those rights. Members of the Hungarian minority fought for their right to use their mother tongue (see Section 1.3) in a country where dissent was uncommon.

In its attempt to ethnically homogenise the inhabitants the communist regime adopted a policy of population transfers and appointed Romanian officials in regions inhabited by Hungarians (Illyés, 1982). The policy of assimilation can be observed if we look at the
laws concerning education. For example, the Law Decree No. 278/1973 issued by the Romanian State Council on May 13, 1973, states that “in townships where primary schools offer instruction in the languages of cohabiting nationalities, … sections or classes taught in Romanian shall be organised, irrespective of the number of students.” The same decree stipulates that the minimum number of children in a class shall be at least 25 in primary school classes and 36 in secondary school classes for minorities (Joó, 1994:48).

Official propaganda abused and aggravated some traditional nationalist themes, such as the continuity of the Romanian people on the same territory, the predestined role of the Romanian nation, the importance of the Dacian roots, and the ethnocentric myths. After the visit paid by Ceausescu to China in 1977 the regime moved to an increasingly personalised power. All these influenced the attitude toward the Hungarian minority and implicitly, the relations with Hungary in 1980’s (Iordachi, 1995-1996).

In December 1989, the communist regime fell dramatically (see section 1.1). Protests in the western town of Timișoara triggered the event. Members of the Hungarian community protested to prevent the eviction of the local Hungarian pastor, Tőkés László, whose anti-government sermons had set the regime against him. Romanians and members of other minorities joined the protesters, who were eventually fired on by the army. News of the violence spread and a hostile crowd in Bucharest overthrew the dictator some days later. He and his wife were executed on Christmas Day 1989. (Tismăneanu, 1999)

Immediately following these events, the Democratic Alliance of Hungarians in Romania (DAHR) was formed, securing all the votes of the ethnic Hungarian electorate and proving the strength of the Hungarian identity in Romania. Their inclusion in the government since 1996 is a clear indication of how much this has progressed and the extent to which they are now accepted, albeit unwillingly by some (Bárdi, 2000).

At present, the goals of the Hungarian national minority are, on the one hand, the administrative decentralisation of the country, with a special emphasis on the different forms of autonomy (territorial, cultural, personal); and, on the other hand, the maintenance and/or establishment of a separate institutional system, especially of a separate Hungarian university. Both of these goals reflect the concern for the preservation of the Hungarian national identity.

2.2.1 The minority’s resistance to or acceptance of assimilation

One cannot talk about assimilation of the Hungarian minority in Romania before the end of the First World War when Transylvania was annexed to Romania. The Romanian Communist Party (RCP), which assumed power following the Second World War, adopted a policy of forced assimilation rather than integration for all minorities in the country. This was implemented in three ways. Language and education policies are probably the most effective means of destroying minority identity. After the Hungarian uprising of 1956, the RCP began to systematically destroy Hungarian-language education at all levels. Prior to this, the Groza Government had entertained some more lenient policies (see Section 6.1).

Assimilation began in the late 1950s. First, ethnic Romanians were moved into Transylvania, and ethnic Hungarians and Germans were moved out, many of the latter opting to leave for Germany. Secondly, a minimum quota had to be met in order for
minority language schools to start their classes. With the dwindling minority population, the quotas were never met. In some instances, even when the quotas were met, Hungarian language classes were cancelled with no reasons given (IHF, 1989:35). Finally, Romanian was promoted as the language necessary for advancement in career and social mobility. Members of national minorities were compelled to learn it and perhaps to study in it as well (Deletant, 1998:182). From the mid-eighties until the end of his regime, Ceauşescu speeded up the process of destroying minority languages considerably. Many Hungarians fled to Hungary as a result (IHF, 1989:34). Dissent under the dictator’s regime was rare, due to the combination of the politics of fear and the all-pervasive Securitate.

After the Hungarian revolution in 1956 (against the USSR), the Hungarian Communist Party started a process of re-evaluation of its own national policy. In the same time, the new political tendency created a relatively relaxed political climate. This tolerant climate made possible the emergence in Hungary of a discourse on national identity and also on Transylvanian Magyars. Some of the populist writers started to speak about the oppression of the Transylvanian Magyars, and the effect was the growing concern of the Hungarian society for Hungarians living abroad. This coincided with the growing bitterness of the Romanian Magyars, having a role in the re-emergence of the Hungarian national identity under the communist regime (Iordachi, 1999).

Since 1990, the various Romanian governments have abandoned policies enforced prior to the fall of communism and assimilation has ceased to be a feature of the official policies, with the possible exception of those aimed at the Roma minority.

2.2.2 The minority’s resistance to or acceptance of integration

As outlined above, prior to 1990 the Romanian government pursued a policy of assimilation in regard to the Hungarian minority. However, in different periods policies of integration were used with an end goal of assimilation in mind. During the post-1956 period, therefore, the then communist leader, Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej attempted to integrate the Hungarians as much as possible, beginning with language. The teaching of the Hungarian language in schools was restricted, making it more difficult to obtain a university education in Hungarian. This downgraded the status the language had enjoyed until then, and culminated in the merging of the Babeş and Bolyai Universities in Cluj-Napoca (see section 6). The administrative role of Hungarians within the university itself was also eroded and the character of the institution was irrevocably changed (Deletant, 1995:112).

This policy of integration was extended to the area of local public administration in 1968, when the Hungarian Autonomous Region was reorganised to include three new districts with large Romanian population and exclude two with large Hungarian populations. The new region was comprised of 62 percent Hungarians, as opposed to 77 percent previously; the Romanian population had increased from 20 to 35 percent. The drive for integration was tightly linked to the Romanian Communist Party’s desire to assert its independence from the Soviet Union. The Party advocated National Communism, which by definition required a homogenous state. Minority identity, therefore, had no place in this ideology (Deletant, 1995:112).

Following the fall of the Ceauşescu regime, the Hungarian minority rapidly organised itself into the DAHR; so rapidly, in fact, that the suspicions of the majority were aroused (Allcock, 1992:109). Nevertheless, the party won a sufficient number of votes
to merit representation in both the Chamber of Deputies and the Senate (Bugajski, 1994:206). The party also participated in the Council for National Minorities formed in 1993, although it left after just a few months, claiming that the Council was inefficient and therefore totally ineffective.

The 1996 elections saw the DAHR become part of the governing coalition of Romania. This was the first time that a political association representing a national minority had taken part in the government. The fact that it represented the Hungarian minority had particular significance, given the antagonistic history between Hungarians and Romanians (Weber, 1988:222). This development shows clearly the extent to which the Hungarians of Romania have become integrated.

The observer has to be aware of the fact that the main goal of the Hungarians in Romania remains the preservation of their distinct national identity, and one possible strategy for them is to participate in the state-level politics. One may conclude that Hungarians are integrated in many respects, but this integration level is low regarding cultural aspects. There are also important regional differences, explained by the percentage of Hungarians living in a particular region.

Hungarians in Romania can be described as a parallel society. As noted in the section regarding identity, Hungarians strengthen their sense of common belonging by the rising awareness of Hungarian identity. The establishment of the DAHR was the first step toward creating a separate system of institutions. The DAHR is not only a political party, but also an organisation that intends to organise certain aspects of the lives of Hungarians in Romania. The creation and maintenance of educational, cultural, and civic institutions do this (Kántor, 1996).

### 2.2.3 Awareness of having an ethnic or a national identity

Under the Ceaușescu regime, protests were muffled, but they were heard. Beginning in the spring of 1977, Hungarians from Transylvania began to protest against what they saw as unfair treatment meted out because of the fact that they were Hungarian.

Investigating the collective action of Hungarians, one can demonstrate their awareness of having a national identity. The demonstration for a separate Hungarian university, followed by the ethnic clashes in Târgu Mureș in March 1990, can be included here, and it is worth mentioning that Hungarians in both general and local elections vote for the DAHR or for Hungarian candidates (Székely, 1996). The low level of mixed marriages can be seen as a manifestation of national awareness. The creation of hundreds of Hungarian institutions is also a good example (Bíró, 1998). During the communist regime, Hungarians used the state-sponsored media, mainly the written one, to strengthen the identity of Hungarians in Romania. The Ellenpontok samizdat newsletter was a form of protest against the policy of assimilation (Toth, 1994) (see also 2.1.3).

The Ethnobarometer also poses some questions providing an insight into the behavioural patterns of Hungarians. Raț (2000:283) asserts that ethnic identity is very important, individualistic patterns being less popular among Hungarians than among Romanians because “we” is more important for a minority population that identifies itself through opposition to the majority.

### 2.2.4 Level of homogeneity in the minority’s identity
Perhaps the most surprising thing is the homogeneity among Hungarians in Romania. It would be reasonable to expect differences between Hungarians residing in different regions of Romania. According to the Research Center for Intercultural Relations (Centrul de Cercetare a Relațiilor Interetnice, CCRI) in Cluj, however, this is not so. A recently completed survey (RCIR, 1998) indicates an extremely high level of homogeneity of the Hungarian minority in different regions of Romania, a fact that the researchers themselves had not expected.

Hungarians in Romania therefore tend to be united, with a marked awareness of being “different” ethnically, nationally, linguistically and culturally. Another aspect of their homogeneity is expressed in the fact that members of the minority unanimously vote for the DAHR. During the early 1990s some political leaders attempted to imply that the party was not the sole representative of the Hungarian minority in Romania. Upon examination of voting statistics, it is clear that this is not true. A further example of the unity among the minority is the case of a DAHR campaign organised to collect signatures supporting a Draft Bill on Education in Minority Languages, in 1994. In just two weeks almost half a million Hungarians had signed in support of the bill – the majority of these Hungarians being registered voters in Romania (Weber, 1998:231).

Regarding national issues, especially those concerning Romania’s Hungarians, the opinions of the Hungarians are relatively homogeneous. The support for the DAHR is pervasive on a national level, but at the local elections in 1996, and also in 2000, we have to mention that in compact Hungarian territories (the region where the Szeklers live, especially Harghita and Covasna counties) the DAHR candidates generally lost against independent Hungarian candidates. This is a proof for internal heterogeneity. Internal cleavages are divided along regional, generational, and ideological lines (Bárdi, 1999 and Kovács, 1998). However, if Hungarians vote in national elections, they vote for the DAHR.

2.3 Actual political and social conditions

2.3.1 Relations with the state

With regard to how the state views the Hungarian minority, it is interesting to note the composition of the Romanian Parliament as listed in the Blue Book on Democracy (Cartea Albastră a Democrației) published by the Association for Democracy (Asociația Pro Democratia) in Bucharest. All minorities in Romania are permitted one representative in parliament, but the separate listing of Hungarians serves to underline the fact that not only do Hungarians in Romania perceive themselves as being somehow different from other minorities in the country, but the state recognizes this difference also. The “difference” emerges not only from their number, but also from the fact that they are the most organised minority in Romania, even with a political voice within the former ruling coalition. The proximity of Hungary is another factor to be considered.

There has been suspicion levelled at the Hungarian minority. Since 1989 various Romanian governments have questioned the loyalty to the state of members of the Hungarian minority, and of the DAHR in particular. Some political parties have suggested that all members of the Hungarian minority employed in the Romanian State structures should take an “oath of loyalty” to the Romanian State. As Andreescu wrote (Romania, Shadow Report: January 2000) “many political leaders, governmental

---

2 This difference is due to the electoral law. If not running as a party, the DAHR would have obtained one seat in the Chamber of Deputies
institutions and even the Romanian Parliament have taken stands in this sense. In 1995, such a campaign even led to the dissolution of the coalition that included the party representing the Hungarian minority and several Romanian parties”. This, however, has never materialised, in part because such an oath would imply a presumption of guilt, thus contradicting the Constitution. What is written in the Constitution would be untrue if one group is required to “prove” their loyalty to the government. From the outset, the party pledged to participate in political life in Romania to assist in the development of legislation that guaranteed rights to all citizens, particularly minorities. Early declarations of the need for collective rights and positive discrimination met with scant support, but the concepts have been discussed and included indirectly in accordance with international and regional legal standards (Andreeescu, 1997:7, 9, 13).

The Hungarian community in Romania dealt with a new situation soon after the 1996 elections. DAHR participated in the governmental coalition. It also succeeded in including in the governmental programme some of its important objectives: decentralisation, the application in good faith of international legal rules, and modification of the domestic legislation, native language vocational education and at the university level, and a law on minorities and church affairs (see DAHR web page).

Aside from their inclusion in local government, however, perhaps the clearest indication of relations between the minority and the state was the inclusion of the Democratic Alliance of Hungarians (DAHR) in the ruling coalition that came to power in 1996. This was the first time that a political association representing a minority, particularly Hungarians, was included in the government (Weber, 1998:222). However, the situation has changed since the 2000 elections. The popularity of the DAHR has more or less stayed the same, but as the former opposition won the elections, the DAHR is no longer part of the ruling coalition.

Nevertheless, as there are extremist parties in parliament, an anti-minority agenda is always present. All political parties on some occasions voice similar chauvinist ideas against Hungarians, particularly against their representative political force, the DAHR.

The Romanian Intelligence Service (SRI) has also shown anti-minority tendencies, presenting the minority as a threat to the state. It referred to the DAHR’s petition for support on a proposed draft education bill as an example of subversive activity (Weber, 1998:220).

Naturally, the inclusion of the Hungarian party in the government in 1996 led to another backlash of anti-Hungarian feeling from the extremist parties and their supporters. However, the reaction of the Romanian people and the international community toward the coalition was relatively positive (Weber, 1998:222).

2.3.2 Relations with the dominant ethnic/national group in society

This can be divided into (1) the attitude held by ethnic Romanians toward Hungarians and (2) the attitude of ethnic Hungarians toward Romanians.

(1) According to research published in 1995, the attitude held by ethnic Romanians regarding members of the Hungarian minority are predominantly “favourable” (44%), with only 10% of the total number questioned expressing “very unfavourable” feelings countrywide. The results were not influenced significantly by the age of the respondents. (Abraham, 1995:85). When the “unfavourable feeling” was examined, it
was concentrated in the regions of Moldavia, Wallachia and Dobrudja, all of which have very small ethnic Hungarian populations (ibid. 1995:91).

The researchers claim that the age factor is noteworthy here, as both Hungarian and Romanian media have claimed that the regime prior to 1989 created an anti-Hungarian generation. However, the research conducted in 1995 indicates that the highest percentage of negative feelings toward ethnic Hungarians in Romania is not from the middle-aged group (30-60 years). Younger people (below the age of 30) seemed more predisposed to hold negative attitudes towards the minority. In addition, the preconceived idea that negative attitudes towards Hungarians were more prevalent in Transylvania was also disproved. This assumption was based on the fact that a large number of minority members were residing in Transylvania, and there was strong emotion surrounding the region itself throughout history. Nevertheless, only 29% of respondents declared a negative attitude toward the Hungarian minority in the region (ibid. 1995:87).

Another research, carried out in 2000 reveals better (43.3%), the same (20.8%) and worse (35.8%) relations between Romanians and Hungarians considering the Romanians’ point of view as compared to previous researches (Ethnobarometer, 2000). Another question measured the social distance that a group imposes on other groups, the impact stereotypes have on behaviour, and the degree of acceptance of persons belonging to other ethnic groups. The results show that Romanians accept the idea that Hungarians can live anywhere they want (72.2%). A higher degree of acceptance is registered among people in Transylvania (84.3%) compared with those in Walachia (65.3%) (Culic, 2000:266).

(2) From the other perspective, the attitudes of ethnic Hungarians concerning Romanians appear to be predominantly favourable. Nonetheless, research conducted by the Research Center for Interethnic Relations (CCRI) in Cluj in 1997 obtained somewhat different results. The most interesting answers returned to the researchers are those related to the questions about what Hungarians thought of Romanians and vice versa. Romanians tended to see themselves as amiable, intelligent, and tolerant, while Hungarians saw them as aggressive and egoistic. When asked what they thought of the Hungarians, Romanians held opinions concerning the Hungarians similar to those the Hungarians had of the Romanians (CCRI, 1997:27). However, the vast majority of both groups showed relative willingness to accept members of the other as part of their family or social circle, a result in line with the earlier research conducted by Abraham (1995).

In Ethnobarometer 2000, the situation has changed. Romanians tended to see themselves as hospitable, decent and hardworking (stereotypes circulated in patriotic poetry), while Hungarians saw them as religious, hypocritical (because they perceived Romanians as not respecting their promises toward the Hungarian minority) and united (measuring the capacity to act in common). On the other side, Hungarians saw themselves as hardworking, civilised and trustworthy. Romanians saw Hungarians as united (for their collective interests), hardworking and civilised (Culic, 2000:261).

The Ceauşescu regime was not only effective in preventing dissent, but also kept apparent inter-ethnic tensions to a minimum. The blend of fear and extreme nationalism used throughout the communist period clearly had its effect in suppressing tensions between ethnic groups. Since 1990 there has been a disturbing rise in anti-minority feeling among the majority population. The most vehement organisation was
undoubtedly *Vatra Româneasca* (Romanian Hearth), an extremist organisation formed in Târgu Mureș in early 1990. From the outset, *Vatra* employed the historical argument that “Romanians were in Transylvania first” and that the Hungarians therefore have no right to be there. They feel that “the wishes of Romanians in Transylvania should be a priority, since they are the majority.” *Vatra* also held the opinion that the Romanians actually have more rights than other ethnic groups, including the Hungarian minority (Adamson, 1995:385). While extremist groups may not reflect the views of the majority of the population, in an unstable economic climate they can seriously damage inter-ethnic relations. *Vatra* released nationalist publications in March 1990, immediately before and after the riots (see above). They portrayed Hungarians as Romania’s “fifth column”, and the timing of *Vatra*’s appearance strongly suggested that there was a connection between the violence and *Vatra*. It certainly put the ethnic issue at the forefront of the political arena where it was ably used by Iliescu to stir up support and to comfortably win the elections two months later (ibid. 1995:387).

The deterioration in relations between the majority and the Hungarian minority since 1990 was characterised by the inter-ethnic violence in Târgu Mureș in March. Under Ceaușescu such feelings were never expressed overtly. In order for the situation to improve, there is a need for a more responsible media in both languages, and at least the will for each media to consider the viewpoint of the other. From the end of January 1990, the gulf between the Hungarian minority and the majority population was made clear. The National Salvation Front issued a program that contained only perfunctory references to the minorities. The reaction of the Hungarian public figures was sombre, with Tőkés László predicting “nationality differences could sharpen dangerously in Romania.” The Hungarian minority was criticised at the time for wanting an immediate end to all the problems Ceaușescu had caused them. This impatience, coupled with the violence in Târgu Mureș, was used by the National Salvation Front as a lynch pin for their election campaign, further exacerbating the existing anti-Hungarian feeling (Gallagher, 1995:85-97). With the change of leadership in 1996, it was hoped that relations would significantly improve for the better, yet internal fighting has plagued the ruling coalition established at that time.

### 2.3.3 Relations with other minorities if any

Connections between the Hungarian minority and other minorities in Romania are very limited and more likely to be found at the local rather than the national level. Research conducted to examine the views held by Hungarians concerning other minorities in Romania shows a positive attitude toward almost all groups, although the strength of this positive feeling tends to vary depending on the other minority. For instance, the attitude toward the German minority was very strongly positive, while toward the Roma it was positive but weak. Relations with other minorities should be placed somewhere between the two (Abraham, 1995:336). Hungarians perceive the German population in a very positive way. They see Germans as civilized, hardworking, intelligent, enterprising and trustworthy (Culic, 2000:263). Both Romanians and Hungarians share the same opinion (the same negative stereotypes) about the Roma population: dirty, thieves, and lazy (Ethnobarometer, 2000:70).

Institutionally, there is some collaboration at the local level. At the national level, however, this collaboration does not work because the range of interest of the Hungarians exceeds those of the other minorities. The other minorities were not willing to support the claims of the Hungarian minority because they did not want to enter in conflict with the Romanians. When the Hungarian minority tried to cooperate with other
minorities, it failed because its interests went beyond their objectives. It also has to be noted that the other minorities are smaller and with a weaker identity than the Hungarians.

The strategy of the Germans was different in the communist period. They decided to leave the country. Their number decreased dramatically in the early nineties. Only the elder Germans remained in Romania. The only minority that is sufficiently numerous and has a clear intention to maintain and develop a parallel society is the Hungarians.

2.3.4 Relations between the regions inhabited by the minority and the central authorities

As Hungarians inhabit all regions of the country to a greater or lesser extent, it is impossible to speak about relations between the areas they inhabit and the state. Most noteworthy is the fact that there are local ethnic Hungarian leaders elected by the population (mayors and deputy mayors). Nevertheless, power in Romania is still very centralised, and the prefects that are the representatives of the government may easily obstruct measures taken locally. After the 2000 election the DAHR obtained places only for deputy-prefects.

Recent legislative changes (see section 5.2) in the areas of education and local public administration guarantee the rights of Hungarians (and other minorities) to receive education in their mother tongue and to use that language when dealing with individuals working in local public administration. However, the application of these laws is not smooth and is hindered by several local and central factors.

3. LANGUAGE

3.1 Describing the language

3.1.1 Linguistic family

Hungarian is a Uralic language. It is thought to have originated as part of the eastern, or Ugric, branch of Finno-Ugric, which also includes Finnish, Estonian, and some isolated languages spoken by minorities living in northern Europe and Siberia. Between approximately two-and-a-half and three-and-a-half millennia ago it broke away from this group to take on the form it has today. (Abondolo, 1998:428). With the exception of grammatical structure, however, the languages in this group are not similar and speakers of one cannot necessarily understand or speak the others.

3.1.2 Dialects and unity; linguistic awareness

Approximately 1.7 million people in Romania and an estimated 14 million people worldwide, use Hungarian or Magyar and dialects thereof. (Abondolo, 1998:428). Any information concerning the “Hungarian minority in Romania” includes the Szeklers in Transylvania and the Changos in Moldavia, in addition to the Magyars who are scattered throughout the country, although they are concentrated in Transylvania. Both of the former peoples speak a dialect of Hungarian and their culture, while distinct, is closely akin to that of the ethnic Hungarians in the region. Members of all three Hungarian-speaking groups in Transylvania can be easily understood by one another.
3.1.3 Instruments of knowledge: description of the language and norms (history of the written form and of its standardisation)

Speakers of Latin languages find nothing familiar in either the appearance or the grammatical structure and morphology of Hungarian. It is an agglutinative language that uses a system of prefixes and suffixes added to “stem” words instead of the prepositions used in Latin languages. Hungarians use the Latin alphabet, with the addition of accented vowels. All words are stressed on the first syllable.

3.2 The history of the language

3.2.1 Origins

The Hungarian language is thought to have originated as part of the eastern, or Ugric, branch of Finno-Ugric (see Section 3.1.1).

3.2.2 Evolution

The Hungarian language borrowed from many other languages during its development into what is spoken today. These loan words come from four principal sources: Iranian, Turkic, Slavonic, and West European. Some were borrowed en route to the Carpathian Basin and others were introduced during periods of invasion by other cultures.

Iranian loan words may have been introduced to Hungarian as long as 3,500 years ago, or at the time of the break-up of Ugric unity. The second group, Turkic, came in three waves: around the 9th century, the 12th and 13th centuries when Turkic-speaking tribes settled in what is now Hungary, and during the Turkish occupation (1526-1698). Slavonic languages have tended to influence religious and agrarian vocabulary, while West European languages, traditionally influencing Hungarian through the introduction of Germanic words, have also added some French and Italian elements to the language (Abondolo, 1998:453).

3.2.3 Cultural production in the language (literature, oral tradition)

Many of the great Hungarian writers and poets can be traced to the region of Transylvania in present-day Romania. As far back as 1690 Mikes Kelemen was producing what became known as the “cornerstone of Magyar literary prose.” Other famous authors from the “golden age” of Hungarian literature, Petőfi Sándor and Arany János among them, also hail from Transylvania. Ady Endre (1877-1919) is one of the leading poets of Hungarian Symbolism, and a renowned journalist of the pre-First World War period, whose name is known to every Hungarian scholar, although his Transylvanian origins is less frequently referred to (Chinezu, 1997:37).

However, a Hungarian Transylvanian literature was not spoken of at all prior to the First World War, possibly due to the union of Transylvania with Hungary in 1867. Still, Transylvania is known as one of the places at the heart of Hungarian literature.

Ethnic Hungarians currently living in Romania are extremely proud of their literature and those who produce it. Literary figures are held in high esteem. Of particular note is Sütő András, a popular poet and essay writer.
3.3 Current sociolinguistic data

3.3.1 Territory in which the language is used

Romania is comprised of seven principal regions, all of which contain Hungarian populations of some size, as described in Section 1.2 above.

In addition to Romania, there are Hungarian communities in seven states in Central Europe, the largest number of Hungarians certainly reside in Hungary itself. The Hungarians of Romania are the largest national minority in Europe excluding the Former Soviet Union. (International Helsinki Federation, 1988:11). There are also Hungarian populations in Austria, Croatia, the Czech Republic, Slovakia, Slovenia, Ukraine, and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. Some of them are quite significant in numerical terms. In addition, North America is home to ethnic Hungarian communities. The largest number resides in the United States, although the Hungarian population in Canada is the third largest East European population in the country. With regard to language, however, it is impossible to calculate precisely how many individuals among those populations speak Hungarian and to what extent.

3.3.2 Number of persons using this language (in territory and among emigrants)

There are approximately 14 million Hungarian speakers worldwide. Of these, 10,068,500 are residents of Hungary. According to the most recent Romanian census (1992), 1,624,959 people declared Hungarian as their mother tongue; of those 1,590,290 declared themselves Hungarians (97%) (Trebici, 1996/1:113). Several European states contain Hungarian populations, in addition to Canada and the United States. In some of these countries, the Hungarian population is identified as a national minority (i.e. FRY, Slovakia, Romania). In other cases they are immigrants, who emigrated either before the take over of the communist regime or right after its collapse. For further information see Minority Rights Group, 1997. The freedom to use the language differs widely depending upon the state.

3.4 Freedom of expression in the minority language

3.4.1 Level of acceptance or resistance to the minority’s language

Hungarian is spoken in private and public in Romania. In Romania, as the Constitution stipulates, the official language is Romanian. As János Péntek (Adviser on linguistic problems of DAHR) emphasizes, Romanian has a privileged position compared to the other languages spoken within the country. The author argues that this privilege is conferred on Romanian by its status as the official language, while the other languages have “an inferior statute, are legally subordinated, and with a limited use”. This status also has consequences on the Education Law (No. 84/1995) (see 6.1), and on its use in the official area. The linguistic policy is not an explicit one, and is not manifested through a Language Law. Moreover, Romania has not ratified the European Charter of Regional and Minority Languages (June 29, 1992).

3.4.2 Ways in which the state protects or impedes the use of the minority language

According to the Constitution, each person has the right, in case he/she is arrested, to “be promptly informed, in a language he/she understands“ (Romanian Constitution, Art.
23/5). Regarding education each person has the right to learn his/her mother tongue, and
the right to be educated in this language [...], but these rights shall be regulated by law”
(Romanian Constitution, Art 32/3). Hungarian is a language of instruction at all levels
under the Education Law 84/1995 and 151/1999, although there are restrictions within
certain subject areas (see section 6). The Law on Local Public Administration (see
section 5.2) also provides for the use of Hungarian (and other minority languages) when
dealing with local administrative officials. But there are no firm and concrete specified
conditions for this law to be applicable; its implementation is subject to interpretation.
There is an ongoing debate on whether language issues should be regulated in a law
regarding national minorities in general, or should there be the subject of a special
language law. There is no language law in Romania at present. However, the
Constitution has some provisions regarding language use in Justice (Art. 23/5 and 127/1
and 2), Education (see above) and Identity (Art 6/1 and 2) (Romanian Constitution).

4. RELIGION
4.1. Identifying a religious minority
4.2. Religious freedom enjoyed
4.3. Relations with the dominant religious community and the other communities
4.4. Ways in which the state protects or impedes minority religious activities

The Romanian Constitution provides freedom of religious beliefs (Art 29/1), but as was
mentioned by Varga Attila (DAHR data), there is no law concerning the existing
religions. There was a draft law that tried to assure the supremacy of the Orthodox
Church declaring it the national church. As Varga mentioned (DAHR data), there are
Orthodox bishoprics (dioceses) in the area where there are few Orthodox believers,
especially in localities with a Hungarian majority.

In Romania, the Hungarian population is not homogenous in its religious affiliations.
According to the 1992 census, members of the minority adhere to several faiths, two of
which contain exclusively Hungarian followers. The Reformed (Calvinist) Church has
801,577 followers of ethnic Hungarian origin (765,370 in the 1992 census), in the two
Transylvanian dioceses of Cluj and Oradea. The Unitarian Church has a significantly
smaller number of followers, 76,333 Hungarians (74,02 in the 1992 census), most of
whom are residents in the counties of Brașov, Cluj, Mureș, Harghita, and Covasna, the
last two of which are overwhelmingly Hungarian.

The Roman Catholic Church has a large number of Hungarian believers. The Church is
organised into six episcopal dioceses in Bucharest, Alba Iulia, Iași, Timișoara, Oradea,
and Satu Mare. Approximately 700,000 (669,420 according to the census) of its
1,144,820 adherents are members of the Hungarian minority, making them the largest
ethnic group in the church.

The majority of the 21,160 (12,842 in the census) followers of the Evangelical Synod-
Presbyterian Church are also members of the Hungarian minority. The Church has two
protopopiates with seats at Arad and Brașov and a total of 45 churches throughout its 38
parishes.

Other churches with a small number of Hungarian adherents are Baptist (12,845),
Adventist of the Seventh Day Faith (8,280), Pentecostal (4,339), and Christian after the
Gospel (2,393) (Census, 1992).
The use of the mother tongue in religious services is freely permitted (Romanian Constitution, Art. 29), and there has been financial support by the state since 1990 to enable minority religions to build churches (although there is still contention between the Orthodox Church and certain other churches on the subject of the restitution of church property confiscated under the communists).

5. GENERAL LEGAL STATUS

5.1 Past

The issue concerning the legal status of Hungarians in Romania began in 1918, the year when Transylvania and Romania united. In the declaration made at Alba Iulia (November 18/December 1, 1918 — www.cimec.ro/Istorie/Unire/alba.htm) it was stipulated that there should be “total national freedom for all co-existing people”. The declaration mentioned the right of the minority to use their own language in the public education, public administration and the courts. The right to have proportionate representation in the legislature and the governing of the country was also stipulated. At Alba Iulia the basic principles for both the creation of the new Romanian State and the rights of national minorities were proclaimed. They were stipulated in a single document, and this meant a political guarantee according to the official Romanian standpoint of that time.

In 1923, when the Constitution of the new Romanian State was proclaimed, the country was declared a unitary national state, and hardly treated the national problem, contradicting the initially declared intentions. The National Hungarian Party, the second largest party of the Romanian Parliament after the election held in 1928, urged that the grievances of the national minorities be settled through the League of Nations.

In the field of local public administration, there was a tradition of granting minorities freedom to deal with the courts and administrative personnel in their own languages. Article 8 of the 1945 Statute of Minorities allowed for the use of minority languages in tribunals and lower courts with jurisdiction over an area where at least 30% of the population spoke a minority language. Article 10 of the same document gave the same rights to minorities in those areas when dealing with local and county authorities. Article 12 stipulated that public officials in such areas should have a good command of the relevant minority language.

Even the 1948 and 1952 Constitutions guaranteed the fundamental human rights of the national minorities, although the nationalism of the communist power started to become obvious. Even if the Autonomous Hungarian Region (see 1.1) had been created mainly for propagandistic purposes, it would also be the single region where the mother tongue was used in public life; its use was restricted in the other territories inhabited by Hungarians.

As in so many countries in the region, rights of all kinds existed solely on paper under Communism. In the inter-war period, a substantial number of Hungarians were involved in the Communist Party in Romania, especially at the local level (Lazăr, 1998). Following the Hungarian Revolution of 1956, the Romanian Communists began to push Hungarians to the fringes of the party. Under Ceaușescu the rights and freedoms of Hungarians were gradually restricted.
The Constitution of the “Socialist Republic” from 1965, written in the year Ceaușescu came to power, contained articles which proclaimed equality in the rights for the national minorities, and articles about the right to use one’s mother tongue in dealing with the local administration [Articles 22 and 102] (Weber, 1998:213).

In those years, when the new power started the independence process from the Soviet Union, the nationalism issue became an efficient ideological and propagandistic instrument. This way the Romanian Communist Party tried to consolidate the national unity by providing in its ideological program the idea of a homogeneous Romanian society. They aimed to create an ethnically homogeneous nation. In order to do this they intended to use gradual process of elimination of national differences, proclaiming Marxism-Leninism as a means to assimilate different minorities of Romania (Pons, 1999:27).

Legally, minorities were granted certain rights and concessions under communism that were later taken away. In practice, these rights were limited. In the area of education, the law was actually less restrictive prior to 1989 in some areas than the law adopted subsequently. It was theoretically possible to study a variety of subjects in the mother tongue, although in practice the communists’ application of quotas gradually decreased the number of such classes (see Section 6.1). Nevertheless, the Statute on Nationalities and the Law on Education no.28/1978 granted the minorities a range of freedom under communism that they later claimed was taken away by the new education law of 1995. The fact of the matter is that even if the Communist regulations provided for greater freedoms, their application had never really been successful, partly because of the above mentioned dogmatic approach and partly because of the nationalistic feelings that hinder even today the functioning of a truly democratic system which would respect all minorities, including the ethnic ones.

5.2 Present

Domestic: During certain political periods since 1990, nationalistic rhetoric has been a feature of Romanian politics. This has led to the submission of several draft bills, some of which became legislation, which ran contrary to the provisions of the Constitution, restricting minority rights on various levels. Certain articles were also in contradiction with some of the international agreements signed by Romania in which the government had made a commitment to protect minority rights. It is interesting to note that nowhere in Romanian legislation is the term “national minority” defined, despite the fact that the Constitution employs the term several times (Weber, 1998:199, 212).

Constitution: The current Constitution, adopted on 21 November 1991, and in force since December 8th 1991, makes provisions for members of national minorities in several areas, although the references made are to individual citizens of Romania. Collective rights are not a feature of the Constitution.

The first article declared Romania to be a nation-state whose official language is Romanian. These things raised the problem of loyalty declared toward the Romanian State, introducing a discriminative, anti-democratic element. The sense of “National State”, as Andreescu notes (Andreescu, 2000), “can be interpreted, in the sense of the European Convention on Human Rights and of the Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities, in a civic sense, so as to apply to the community of citizens rather to a community established on an ethnic basis”. Besides, the ethnic sense of the “nation” concept is narrowed not only by the political declarations, but also by
the doctrinal writings. As Andreescu mentioned, the Constitution of Romania Comments and Annotations, published by the “Monitorul Oficial” (the Official Monitor) under the signature of the very authors of the Constitution (I. Deleanu, A. Iorgovan, I.Muraru, F. Vasilescu, I. Vida) defines nation as “a community of ethnic origin” (cited by Andreescu, 2000:4).

Article 4(2) states that, “Romania is the common and indivisible homeland of all its citizens without any discrimination on account of race, nationality, ethnic origin, language, religion, sex, opinion, political adherence, property or social origin.”

The Constitution lay down several fundamental minorities rights, such as:

Article 6 provides for the right to identity:

(1) “The State recognises and guarantees the right of persons belonging to national minorities, to the preservation, development and expression of their ethnic, cultural, linguistic and religious identity.”

(2) “The protective measures taken by the Romanian State for the preservation, development and expression of identity of the persons belonging to national minorities shall conform to the principles of equality and non-discrimination in relation to the other Romanian citizens.”

Article 32 provides the right of native language education:

(3) “The right of persons belonging to national minorities to learn their mother tongue, and their right to be educated in this language are guaranteed; the way to exercise these rights shall be regulated by law.”

Article 59 provides the right of parliamentary representation:

(2) “Organisations of citizens belonging to national minorities which fail to obtain the number of votes for representation in Parliament have the right to one deputy seat each, under the terms of the electoral law. Citizens of a national minority are entitled to be represented by one organisation only.”

Article 127 provides the right to use the native language in court proceedings:

(2) “Citizens belonging to national minorities, as well as persons who cannot understand or speak Romanian, have the right to take cognisance of all acts and files of the case, to speak before the Court and formulate conclusions, through an interpreter; in criminal trials, this right shall be ensured free of charge.”

Other Constitutional articles, however, have been interpreted as controversial.

**Education:** Since 1989, legislation in the area of education has made specific provisions for minorities. The Constitution, of course, addresses this issue. It is mentioned in article 32(3): “The right of persons belonging to national minorities to learn their mother tongue and their right to be educated in this language are guaranteed; the ways to exercise these rights shall be regulated by law.”

The law on education introduced in June 1995 was the most sensitive piece of legislation adopted concerning minority rights. It met with severe criticism from members of various minority groups, particularly from the Hungarians. One complaint
leveled at the legislation was that it did not even uphold educational rights for minorities to the standard they had enjoyed under communism (Weber, 1998:215).

Article 118 of the law corresponds to the Constitution in stating that, “the persons belonging to national minorities have the right to study and receive instruction in their mother tongue at all levels and all forms of education in accordance with the present law.”

Those receiving education in their mother tongue are also granted the right “upon request, that, as a subject of study, the history and traditions of the respective national minority, are taught in the mother tongue [Article 120(4)]. The law also provides for “proportional representation ... in keeping with professional competence” of teachers who are members of national minorities in school administration.

However, the minorities interpreted other provisions as harmful to mother tongue education. Among them was Article 120(2) which stated that, “in junior secondary schools, the history of Romanians and the geography of Romania shall be taught in Romanian on the basis of identical curricula and textbooks as for classes taught in Romanian schools. Examinations for these subjects shall be taken in Romanian.” Points of contention here were the phrase “history of Romanians” as opposed to the former clause that read: “history of Romania which encompassed all Romanian citizens regardless of ethnic origin”, and the compulsory study of both subjects in Romanian.

The law also made mother tongue education in certain fields impossible. Specialist teaching in Romanian was stated to be provided in “the vocational, economic, administrative, agricultural, forestall, agro-mountainous, public secondary forms of education” [Article 122(1)]. The only reference made to minority languages was a brief concession that teaching technical terminology in the mother tongue would be ensured “to the best extent possible”. Mother tongue higher education suffered too, with reductions in the number of subjects that could be studied in minority languages.

The provisions for university entrance examinations were also widely criticised. The law stated that these tests “shall be taken in Romanian at all levels” but that they could be taken in the mother tongue “for schools, classes and specialised courses taught in the mother tongue in accordance with the present law.” However, a number of tests must be passed both to graduate from secondary education and to progress to higher education. Access to mother tongue education at the higher level is very limited. The language in which a member of a minority takes such an exam is therefore vital. Students belonging to minorities have little chance of competing successfully in exams where the language of examination is Romanian. They are, therefore, better prepared having received at least their secondary education in Romanian, a choice “suggested” by the law (Weber, 1998:218).

Discontent with the law was so widespread and vocal that shortly after its adoption the government issued Emergency Order No.39 of July 14, 1997, to amend it. This Order included changes to the article concerning vocational training, higher education, and university entrance examinations. The Law 151 of July 30, 1999 partly abrogated the Emergency Order. Article no.8 (1) stipulated that “education in national minority languages should be allowed at all levels” [...] and (2) education should be provided “in the mother language in the closest locality where it is possible”. (3) Article no.9 was also modified and provisions for both “the organisation of specific theological education for staff for the religions recognised by the state”, and (4) “the possibility to found and
administer their own private educational units and institutions” have been included. Articles 10 and 14 also provide the possibility to learn in the mother tongue. “In the state-owned vocational, secondary and post-secondary specialised schools, education can be provided in the mother tongue, on request, under the law, on condition that the specialised terminology is taught in Romanian.” (Art.122).

Art.123 stipulated, (1) “groups, departments, colleges and faculties in national minorities’ languages could be established on request within state-owned universities, under legal circumstances”. In this case, specific terminology would be provided in the Romanian language. Multicultural higher education institutions could be established on request, in conformity with the law. (2) “Individuals belonging to the national minorities were accorded the right to establish and administer their own private higher education institutions, in conformity with the law.” The same applied to state-owned “higher education groups, departments, colleges, faculties and institutes of education”, and a provison was included that “on request, Romanian specialists shall be encouraged to be trained in the languages of national minorities.”

The question of university entrance examinations was addressed once again, this time with no mention of the Romanian language: “In the education system, at all degrees and levels, admission and graduation examinations can be taken in the language in which those subjects were taught” (Government of Romania: 14 July, 1997).

The Romanian education system is almost entirely state-sponsored. The education of the national minorities depends on the general education system. At present, there are tendencies to establish confessional and/or privately funded higher educational institutions. At the general level we can say that the percentage of Hungarian scholars has been constantly decreasing since 1990 (Papp, 1998). This is valid for both school-level and university education.

Hungarian students at the Babeş-Bolyai University in Cluj (Papp, 1998) and (*The Ethos of Education for National Minorities in Romania 1999/2000)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Academic year</th>
<th>Students</th>
<th>Hungarian Students</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1989-1990</td>
<td>3,007</td>
<td>661</td>
<td>21.98</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1990-1991</td>
<td>7,342</td>
<td>1,357</td>
<td>18.48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1991-1992</td>
<td>9,257</td>
<td>1,570</td>
<td>16.96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1992-1993</td>
<td>12,082</td>
<td>1,917</td>
<td>15.86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1995-1996</td>
<td>16,825</td>
<td>2,682</td>
<td>15.94</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Questions regarding education are the most delicate. Political representatives of the Hungarians consider that in the long run the only way to preserve national identity is to reproduce intellectuals. They believe that this can be done only if a separate Hungarian university is established. They explain that only in this case will Hungarians send their children to Hungarian schools.

No state-funded Hungarian higher education has been established. However, there are classes taught in Hungarian within the “Babeş-Bolyai” University in Cluj with 39 specialisations; within the University of Medicine and Pharmacy in Târgu Mureş with specialisations in medicine, dentistry, and pharmacy; and within the “Szentgyörgyi István” Drama Academy in Tîrgu Mureş. In the 1999 academic year colleges with
university degrees were set up in Gheorgheni, Miercurea Ciuc, Târgu Secuiesc, Sfântu Gheorghe, and Satu Mare. Private higher education in Hungarian has been provided through the “Partium” Christian University in Oradea since 1990 offering few specialisations.

**Local Public Administration:** Law No.69/1991 on Local Public Administration was passed just two months before the Constitution was adopted and, like the education law, met with severe criticism from minority groups. The most controversial provision was the introduction of the compulsory use of the state language in administration as stated in Article 54(1): “The Romanian language shall be used in relations between citizens and the local public administration authorities.” Paragraph 2 of the same article appeared to make adequate provision for members of the minority groups: “Citizens belonging to national minorities can use their mother tongue orally or in writing when dealing with public administration authorities or using their services.” In practical terms, however, this was nullified by paragraph 3 of the article, which stated that, “Written documents and applications shall be accompanied by authorised translations in Romanian.” Thus, members of national minorities, dealing with public administration personnel who are competent in the same minority language, were forced to waste time and money procuring unnecessary translations. A further repercussion was that the answer to the application would then also be made in the official language, leaving no practical reason for a member of a minority group to use their mother tongue when dealing with the local public administration.

With reference to local or county councils, Article 26(2) stipulated that, “Sessions shall be held in the official language of the state.” In practice, this meant that even if a local council meeting was comprised totally of members of the same minority group, under the law they were forbidden to conduct meetings in their mother tongue. The sole concession made was that, “In administrative-territorial units inhabited by an important share of persons belonging to national minorities, decisions shall also be communicated in their mother tongue” [Article 30(3)].

The right of minorities to use their mother tongue in court and administration was also flouted by the law, in contradiction to Romania’s commitments under The Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities [Article 10(2)], the European Charter of Regional and Minority Languages [Articles 9 and 10], and Recommendation 1201 (1993) of the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe [Article 7(3)] (Weber, 1998:213).

In May 1997, the recently elected government realised that the law needed radical change if criticism was to be stemmed. Alterations were made to the article concerning the language in which council meetings could be held. The new article allowed minority languages to be used, on request, in meetings where one third or more of the councillors were members of a minority. The documents of such meetings, however, had to be written in Romanian [Article 25(2)]. The new Article 23(6) provided for a local council agenda to be made public in minority languages in areas where the minority constituted 20% of the population.

One of the areas in which change was most urgently needed was the use of minority languages when dealing with public administration. Under the emergency order, members of minority groups can apply both orally and in writing to local administrative bodies, and they will receive an answer in the same language [Article 58(2)]. Provision was also made for certified translators, in cases where local administrative staff does not
speak minority languages [Article 58(4)]. These emergency decrees have proved so controversial that they have yet to be enacted. Three years after its adoption, the decree was declared unconstitutional and abolished. The status of the public servants was adopted in the same register. It stipulated that some servants should speak the national language of minorities where at least 20% of dwellers of a territorial-administrative unit belong to national minorities. This stipulation followed the provisions of The Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities, but created no clear obligation to authorities and did not stipulate any punishment in case of violations of the law (Varga, 2000).

Romanian domestic legislation, therefore, requires significant change before it can be said to protect the rights of minorities in practice as well as in theory.

International: In addition to the Constitutional articles and domestic legislation mentioned above, Romania is a signatory to several international agreements under the terms of which it is bound to protect the rights of its national minorities. Article 20 of the Constitution underlines Romania’s commitment to these agreements by making the cornerstone of Romanian legislation the respect of the rights of all its citizens:

Article 20(1): “Should there be any inconsistency between the covenants and treaties on fundamental human rights to which Romania is a party and internal laws, the international regulations shall take precedence.” This is particularly significant in connection with Recommendation 1201 of the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe discussed below.

In the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE), (now the OSCE (Organisation), which produced its first document (the 'Helsinki Blue Book') in 1975, Romania entered into the sphere of international human rights protection. Immediately following the fall of communism in Eastern Europe the Charter of Paris for a New Europe was signed, committing CSCE states to “encourage the valuable contribution of the national minorities in our societies’ life” and “pledge to improve continuously their situation” (CSCE, 1990).

The subsequent Copenhagen Document of the CSCE Conference on the Human Dimension (1990) further underlined the need for member states to continue to work on their commitment to minority rights within their own countries and also throughout the OSCE area as a whole. The most noteworthy point concerning the CSCE/OSCE documents is that they are not legally binding, although signatories make a political commitment to uphold the terms of the documents.

The United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Persons Belonging to National, Ethnic, Religious and Linguistic Minorities, adopted in December, 1992, affirms that the rights of members of the above groups are guaranteed regardless of their minority status. In signing the declaration, states commit themselves to the adoption of legislative measures to protect these rights. This declaration was also included in the 1996 bilateral agreement between Romania and Hungary, discussed below.

In 1993 Romania became an associate member of the Council of Europe and was therefore bound to sign and implement the conditions of Council documents such as the European Convention on Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms, the major document in which the human rights’ standards of the Council of Europe are laid down. Article 4 of the convention prohibits “discrimination based on sex, language, religion,
political or any other kind of belief or opinion, national or social origin, affiliation to a national minority, property, birth, or other status.” At the time of the Romanian Government’s signing of the document, some members of the Romanian Government held that the convention alone was sufficient to uphold the rights of minorities within the country, despite the fact that under the terms of the agreement domestic legislation must be adopted (Weber, 1998:205). The Romanian Government voted a decree that stipulated punishment for discrimination only in August 2000. Unfortunately, it is still a decree that the parliament has not ratified and transformed into a law.

Probably the most contentious international document signed by the Romanian government, however, was the Recommendation 1201 of the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe. Signed in 1993, certain articles from the document were brought to the debate concerning the bilateral agreement between Hungary and Romania. Politicians and others from Romania claimed that Articles 11 and 12 in particular posed a threat to Romanian security, ignoring the protection of domestic legislation. The terms of the document were finally drafted into the treaty with an additional clause stating that, “The Contracting Parties agree that Recommendation 1201 does not refer to collective rights, nor does it impose on them the obligation to grant to the concerned persons any right to a special status of territorial autonomy based on ethnic origin” (Weber, 1998:208).

The Treaty of Mutual Understanding, Co-operation and Good Neighbourhood between the Republic of Hungary and Romania is a comprehensive document regarding the protection of national minorities, signed in autumn 1996, and ratified by both countries in December 1996. The inclusion of Recommendation 1201 in the treaty was combined with Article 20(2) of the Romanian Constitution. Articles 6 to 10 of the former grant rights and effective remedies in cases of non-observance. As an example of how this works in practice, one can look at Article 7(3) of the Recommendation which states that, “In regions inhabited by a substantial number of persons belonging to a national minority, they are entitled to use their mother tongue in their relations with administrative authorities.” Article 119 of the Constitution that declares “public administration in territorial-administrative units is based on the principle of local autonomy and decentralisation of public services.” Therefore, Article 7 allows local councils to decide for them what is meant by “substantial numbers” and may then compel public authorities to use minority languages in cases where this is requested (Weber, 1998:210). The same is true for the issue of bilingual signs, an issue that has had a tendency to cause tension in the past, particularly in certain parts of Transylvania.

The sole case where this does not work is the use of minority languages in the courts. This is due to the fact that the judicial system, unlike the system of administrative bodies, is hierarchical, with the result that lower courts are not permitted to act on their own initiative in the way that local councils may (Weber, 1998:211). Nevertheless, the inclusion of Recommendation 1201 into the Treaty is important to note as it does take precedence over domestic legislation according to Article 20(2) of the Constitution.

In addition to adopting new legislation, the Romanian government created the Council for National Minorities, in order to fulfil its obligations under the European Convention on Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms (Dianu, 1997:2). The Council may act in the areas of, “legislative, administrative and financial problems referring to the exercise of rights by persons belonging to national minorities on the preservation, development and expression of their ethnic, cultural, linguistic and religious identity, as defined by the Constitution of Romania, by the legislation in force, as well as by the international
treaties and conventions to which Romania is a party”. (Council for National Minorities, 1994:101).

Co-ordinated by the Secretary General of the government, the council proved to be ineffective from the outset. The DAHR withdrew its representatives after just a few months because of this, and eventually the government realised that radical change was necessary. This took the form of the establishment of the governmental Department for Protection of National Minorities after the 1996 elections. The head of the department had the title of “Minister mandated to the Prime Minister for National Minorities, and with the status of a cabinet member.” In its early stages the Department displayed a genuine capacity for open-mindedness, and it was hoped that, given the chance, it would lead to real change for the minorities in Romania (Weber, 1998:246). The Department for Protection of National Minorities has been subordinated to the Ministry of Public Information, and has not enjoyed its previous status since the 2000 elections.

Merely being a signatory to some documents does not ensure that the national minorities to whom they refer actually enjoy the rights guaranteed to them. The existing legislation is not sufficient to guarantee minority rights in areas such as the use of the mother tongue in courts or the freedom to study any subject one wishes at different levels. Romania ratified The Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities in April 1995, including its stipulations in legislation, but they remained unimplemented due to lack of detailed regulations. The same can be said for the Treaty of Mutual Understanding, Co-operation and Good Neighbourhood between the Republic of Hungary and Romania which is, according to DAHR deputy Varga Attila, “inefficient, inaccessible, and ultimately ignored by both parties” (Varga, 2000). The European Charter of Regional and Minority Language (1992) has not been ratified, yet, because there is no consensus about whether optional articles are going to be accepted by the Romanian State (Varga, 2000). The Romanian government, therefore, needs to examine the problems with the current legislation and propose changes if minorities are to enjoy in practice all the rights they are promised on paper.

6. AVAILABILITY OF EDUCATION FOR THE MINORITY

6.1 Brief history of the education system in relation to the minority

Hungarian language education in what is now Romania has enjoyed a long and distinguished history. Some educational institutions in the region have been in existence for more than four centuries. For example, the Reformed Secondary School in Cluj was established in 1560, the Reformed Theological Secondary School “Bolyai-Farkas” in Târgu Mureş was established in 1557, and the Catholic School from Odorheiu Secuiesc was established in 1593 (Council for National Minorities, 1997:50).

After Transylvania and other lands from the Hapsburg Empire were ceded to Hungarian rule in 1867, a policy of intensive assimilation of non-Hungarians was initiated throughout the education system. Despite legislation passed in the following two years protecting the right to education in the mother tongue (Primary Education Act 1868 and the Law on Nationalities 1869), four education laws were adopted in 1879, 1883, 1891, and 1907 that were designed to Magyarise teaching staff, thus expanding teaching in Hungarian and restricting the availability of minority language education (Livezeanu, 1995:144-145). This situation continued until the First World War, when the postwar settlements rendered the Hungarians in the region a minority, and a backlash ensued in the form of intense “Romanisation” of schools there.
During the inter-war period Hungarian churches assumed responsibility for education. The nationalisation of church properties in 1948 therefore meant that 150,000 pupils lost their schools for Hungarian language education (DAHR, 1998:2). Of the 1593 confessional nationalised schools, 1,033 had taught in Hungarian, and 266 in German (Nagy, 2000).

Under communism, minority education suffered as a result of the assimilationist policy. Although this did not happen until after 1956, the Hungarian uprising and the receptiveness among Hungarians in Romania frightened the Romanian government into the pursuit of a tougher policy. Much of the open-mindedness concerning Hungarian education in Romania came prior to 1952 while Petru Groza was Romanian Prime Minister. Groza spoke Hungarian and was therefore personally disposed toward Hungarian language education. Government policies at the time, however, were very much a mixture of good and bad. It was during this period that the medical university was established in Târgu Mureş. At the same time, the Romanian language was introduced into all schools of higher learning and a new interpretation of Romanian history was established (IHF, 1988:37). Therefore, as István F. Nagy (Nagy, 2000) specifies, “the wise” teaching policy of Petru Groza was nothing but a necessary propaganda for peace negotiations after World War II. Soon after the Peace Treaty was signed, the assimilation process increased. It was the first time that the regional educational inspectorates were suppressed, and the number of Hungarian inspectors in the decision-making process decreased.

Following the merger of the Hungarian Bolyai and the Romanian Babeş universities in the Transylvanian city of Cluj-Napoca in 1959, the number of subjects that could be studied in the Hungarian language at the university level shrank drastically (László, 1993:19). Applied sciences, for example, were not taught in the Hungarian language. Thus, Hungarians who wished to complete their degree in their mother tongue were restricted to careers in teaching and medicine. Following the so-called “voluntary” merger, in fact a forced one, the Hungarian pro-rector of the university committed suicide in protest of the further destruction of Hungarian culture in Romania (Pilon, 1992:63).

The beginning of the Ceauşescu regime in 1965 heralded worse things to come. The regime’s policy of forced assimilation was extended to all aspects of life, education being one of the most important fields. There was never any ambiguity about how the leader felt concerning multi-lingual education. In 1973 he stated clearly that, “we cannot set up special institutes of physics, chemistry, or other specialities for young people who do not know Romanian” (Deletant, 1998:182). There was dissent among the Hungarian population in Romania on this subject (see Section 1.3) but abuses continued and unofficial reports claimed that by the mid-1960s all formerly independent Hungarian language education institutions were suppressed in Romania. School curricula also suffered under the changing policies. History textbooks were gradually re-written to focus exclusively on the Romanian contribution to Transylvanian history, excluding the Hungarians completely (Pilon, 1992:63, 64).

While the 1965 Constitution guaranteed minority language education at all levels, this was rarely if ever the case in practice. Decree No.278/1973 set a quota level for students in minority-language classes. Twenty-five students were required at elementary level and 36 at secondary. Romanian classes did not come under this restriction, and there were reports of Hungarian classes that met the requirements being cancelled.
nevertheless with no explanation given. In addition, teachers assigned to Hungarian classes were often not proficient in the language, and most special subjects were taught in Romanian (IHF, 1989:35).

In the 1970s the new economic programme for rapid industrialisation needed more technical studies than humanities. So, the ratio was established at two-thirds technical to one-third humanities, making it even more difficult for minorities to acquire an education in their native language. In 1974, only 1.4% of instruction in technical schools was delivered in Hungarian, and technical books were rarely translated into minority languages. Thus, technical education became possible only for those who mastered Romanian. Also, the fact that the university entrance exams were given only in Romanian increased the pressure on parents to enrol their children in Romanian-language schools (Romania. Language, Education, and Cultural Heritage, 2000).

Changes in the Number of Pupils Who Learned in Hungarian between 1948 and 1989 (Absolute Figures) (DAHR’s web page)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Levels of education</th>
<th>1948/49</th>
<th>%*</th>
<th>1964/65</th>
<th>%*</th>
<th>1989/90</th>
<th>%*</th>
<th>1999/00*</th>
<th>%*</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kindergarten</td>
<td>27,101</td>
<td>17.1</td>
<td>35,902</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>45,350</td>
<td>5.3</td>
<td>40,207</td>
<td>6.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elementary school</td>
<td>166,475</td>
<td>9.3</td>
<td>196,415</td>
<td>6.5</td>
<td>161,779</td>
<td>5.3</td>
<td>119,157</td>
<td>4.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secondary school</td>
<td>12,969</td>
<td>18.6</td>
<td>14,749</td>
<td>4.3</td>
<td>31,637</td>
<td>2.5</td>
<td>26,430</td>
<td>3.8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


6.2 Availability of teaching material for the minority

According to a 1997 report by the Council for National Minorities of the Government of Romania, school programmes and textbooks for schools and sections were replaced by 1995, including Hungarian schools. This was achieved with the financial support of the World Bank. Textbooks are provided free of charge in state schools. Separate books for teaching Romanian-language to Grades I-IV (ages 7-11) are specially drawn up for Hungarian schools (Council for National Minorities, 1994:22). István F. Nagy also points out that approximately 2-years’ time is needed for the textbooks to reach pupils learning in the minority languages. Moreover, technical reasons such as translation, smaller number of printed books, the absence of specialists of national minorities in the decision-making forums for the elaboration of the textbooks need to be mentioned as factors hindering the accessibility of teaching material for the minority (Nagy, 2000).

6.3 Official position

At face value, the government’s position concerning education for minorities is liberal and comprehensive. The Constitution adopted in 1991, and the law on education introduced in 1995 address all the issues of concern to the minorities. As discussed in section 5.2, however, the legislation is flawed and has been criticised by members of the minority groups, especially by Hungarians. DAHR’s request concerning education, formulated in October, 1977, at Târgu Mureș by the 5th Congress of DAHR:

1. passing by the Parliament of the Government Edict for the amendment of the Education Law (July 30, 1999);
2. banning of measures restricting native language education;
3. creating (within the framework of public education) a Hungarian language educational system including all the necessary profiles;
4. expanding the Hungarian language higher educational system (autonomous state-funded Hungarian-language University in Cluj, and establishing and supporting higher educational institutions in Szeklerland and the western part of the country;
5. handling specific problems of ethnic communities who live scattered throughout the territory of the country (satisfying local needs of the Chango – Hungarians) (DAHR’s web page).

In the Educational Law 84/1995 the following articles referring to vocational and medical training are ambiguous. Article 122(1): “In the vocational, technical, economic, administrative, agricultural, forestall, mountain agricultural, public secondary forms of education, as well as post-secondary education, specialists training is provided in Romanian, assuring as far as possible, the learning of the technical terminology also in the mother tongue.”

Paragraph (2) of the same article examines the language in which medical training is given: “In the public university medical education specialists’ training may continue to be provided in the mother tongue in the existing sections, with the mandatory learning of the specific terminology in Romanian.”

The inclusion of the phrase, “as far as possible” means that mother-tongue vocational training need never be given as long as it is not deemed “possible” to do so. In regard to medical training, mother-tongue instruction in the “existing sections” referred to is extremely limiting, but there is no government commitment to establish any more institutions to provide education in mother tongues at present.

The new Education Law passed in 1999 (based on that decree) includes some restrictions in the sphere of minority-language education. It does not allow the re-establishment of an independent, state-funded, Hungarian-language university for the Hungarian national community. This request is important for 66.9% of the Hungarians from Romania (Ethnobarometer, 2000) and now, after the election, DAHR is discussing this issue with the new government.

6.4 Activists’ initiatives

The Bolyai Society, the Hungarian Students’ Union and the Association of Hungarian Teachers, launched campaigns demanding a separate Hungarian educational system. The Association of Hungarian Teachers works to improve the quality of school education.

6.5 Present situation at different levels

According to the 1992 Romanian census, 95.3% of the population over twelve has had some schooling (primary, secondary, or higher-level education), and in the case of the Hungarians, this ratio is more favourable – 98% – ranking them fourth behind the Armenians, Germans and Croatians. Regarding higher education, the situation of ethnic Hungarians is less favourable because while 5.1% of the country’s population earned a college or university degree, this ratio is only 3.6% for Hungarians. In this respect, Hungarians in Romania rank tenth among the country’s seventeen ethnic groups (including Romanians) (1992 Census, Vol. I).

However, most of Romania’s ethnic Hungarians are characterised by mid-level education (secondary school, vocational school, and trade school). The Hungarians’
ratio of 74.6% is the most favourable compared to the national ratio of 66.6% of the country’s population over the age of twelve. Compared to the national average of 4.7% for the population over the age of twelve the ratio of Hungarians in Romania with only primary school education stands at a relatively low level (2%) (1992 Census, Vol. I).

Hungarian language education can be found in kindergartens, primary and secondary schools, as well as at the higher education level (Council for National Minorities, 1994:20). According to government statistics of 2000 (The Ethos of Education for National Minorities in Romania 1999/2000 School Year, 2000) regarding the 1999/2000 academic years, 193,635 Hungarian youngsters and 19,654 Hungarian students attended an institutionalised form of education, being instructed by 11,950 teachers. Out of approximately 50,000 ethnic Hungarian pupils enrolled in kindergartens and schools taught in the Romanian language 2,845, representing 5.7%, learn their mother tongue – Hungarian – as an optional subject matter. In addition, 10,000 students of ethnic Hungarian origin are enrolled in institutions of higher education. (Council for National Minorities, 1997:49).

The Education Law of 1995 (see Section 5.2) fails to address the issue regarding proper vocational training. It is an important issue according to the DAHR which claims that 60% of Hungarian students would like to learn a trade (DAHR, 1998:3). However, according to the new law 151/1999, vocational training is available in Hungarian (for 5,747 students) and German (for 18 students), and also post-secondary education (for 2,094 students studying in Hungarian and 99 in German) (The Ethos of Education for National Minorities in Romania 1999/2000 School Year, 2000).

The general tendency of decrease in the number of Hungarian students can be observed. About 1/3 of those attending Hungarian kindergarten are pursuing their studies in Romanian high schools.

### 6.5.1 Kindergartens and primary education

According to government statistics for the year 1996/97, there were 1,128 kindergartens, 481 primary schools (grades I-IV), and 667 grammar schools (grades V-VIII) which were either independent schools offering exclusively Hungarian language teaching, or Romanian schools with Hungarian language sections.

### 6.5.2 Secondary education

Secondary education in Romania covers grades 9 to 12 and students from 15 to 18 years of age. According to government statistics for the year 1996/97, there were 130 Hungarian language secondary schools. There are no special secondary schools in Hungarian for those with learning difficulties.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of schools</th>
<th>1989/90 (%)</th>
<th>1991/92 (%)</th>
<th>1994/95 (%)</th>
<th>1995/96 (%)</th>
<th>1996/97 (%)</th>
<th>1997/98 (%)</th>
<th>1999/00 (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kindergarten</td>
<td>5.3</td>
<td>6.4</td>
<td>6.6</td>
<td>6.6</td>
<td>6.5</td>
<td>6.7</td>
<td>6.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary schools</td>
<td>5.3</td>
<td>5.1</td>
<td>4.9</td>
<td>4.8</td>
<td>4.8</td>
<td>4.9</td>
<td>4.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High schools</td>
<td>2.5</td>
<td>4.3</td>
<td>4.1</td>
<td>3.8</td>
<td>3.7</td>
<td>3.8</td>
<td>3.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vocational schools</td>
<td>0.04</td>
<td>1.6</td>
<td>1.9</td>
<td>1.9</td>
<td>1.1</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>2.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Higher education</td>
<td>4.3</td>
<td>4.3</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>3.8</td>
<td>4.1</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>4.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
6.5.3 Higher education and research

According to Romanian Government statistics, ethnic Hungarians pursuing their education in Romania have the same chances and choices as their ethnic Romanian counterparts. During the academic year 1996/1997 there were 10,000 ethnic Hungarian students enrolled in Romanian universities and other institutions of higher education (Council for National Minorities, 1997:49). A recent report (1998) by the DAHR claims that the number of students studying in Hungarian at secondary and higher levels has been falling steadily for some time. The report also examines the numbers of ethnic Hungarians studying in Romanian, especially in the field of law. In the 1995/96 academic years, only 98 (0.8%) out of 11,932 law students throughout Romania were ethnic Hungarian. This poses an obvious problem for those Hungarians living in more isolated communities to find a Hungarian-speaking lawyer. The DAHR made the above statistics more widely known, and thus succeeded in securing a further 30 places for Hungarian students at the Faculty of Law in the Babeș-Bolyai University in Cluj-Napoca. The Alliance acknowledges, however, that such measures are “no safeguard for a new generation of lawyers” (DAHR, 1998).

According to 1996 statistics quoted in the DAHR report, of the 10,000 Romanians surveyed, 2.2% had a university/college degree, while of the same number of Hungarians, the percentage with a degree was just 1.5.

The right to education in the mother tongue has also led to an ongoing argument concerning the language in which university entrance examinations may be held. Currently, students may take such examinations on their subjects of studies in their mother tongue. However, this has led to resentment among Romanian students and others. They argue that students who have entered the university based on their results of examinations taken in a language other than Romanian cannot perform as well as Romanian students in that faculty. “Positive discrimination” or the allocation of university places to Hungarian students purely because they are Hungarian is another cause of dissatisfaction among the Romanian community with the university authority. Yet, these claims do not take into account the imbalance of minority student ratios in many faculties where the language of instruction is only Romanian, such as law, and many faculties teaching technical subjects. The recent proposal to establish a Hungarian-language university is due to the language bias against ethnic Hungarians from entering certain technical and professional schools. There is a sufficient number of Hungarians in Romania, particularly older people who live in more isolated areas, who demand Hungarian-speaking doctors, lawyers, and other professionals. The Hungarian minority’s desire to have a state university in the Hungarian language was viewed as a form of “ethnic segregation in education.” APADOR-CH (the Romanian Helsinki Committee) argues in its 1998 report that international standards and documents that have been signed by Romania allow for the establishment of such an institution. It examined the situation in states such as Finland where the Swedish minority has several educational institutions in which they may pursue their studies in Swedish. This, in fact, is the compromise that was eventually reached, with additional Hungarian and German sections added to the Babeș-Bolyai University in Cluj, although there was widespread dissent expressed by forty-eight Romanian universities through the Romanian National Civic Forum. It remains to be seen how effective the idea is in practice (APADOR-CH, 1998:141).

There is no Ph.D. education in the Hungarian language. Therefore, many students
decide to continue their studies in Hungary. The Hungarian government annually sponsors a number of students for doctoral programmes in Hungary. Few of them return to their home country.

7. COMMUNICATION AND AUDIOVISUAL MEDIA

7.1 Legal situation

The National Audio-Visual Council oversees the media in Romania. A body comprised of eleven members came into being with the Audio-Visual Law on May 19, 1992. The government was criticised at the time because all eleven members of the council were ethnic Romanians. Complaints were justified as minorities comprise approximately 10% of the total population of the country, and they should be entitled to have a representative on the Audio-Visual Council (Helsinki Watch, 1993:51).

Later, an ethnic Hungarian became a member of the National Audio-Visual Council. This Council plays an important role in issuing licenses to TV or radio stations, some of them broadcasting in the language of the ethnic minorities. Another important aspect concerned the regulations of the electoral campaign on radio and TV. In September 2000, the regulations were changed to improve ethnic minorities’ access to this type of media, and other changes on language usage and the use of different symbols (Balló, 2000).

7.2 Press

There is no specific legislation concerning the press. There were discussions in parliament about the necessity of a press law, “but the majority of the journalists and others said that an adequate civil code should be a proper legal framework for a well-functioning written media” (Balló, 2000).

There are currently a large number of Hungarian-language publications (see addresses), many on a daily or weekly basis. Most of these are privately run and financed (Government of Romania, Council for National Minorities, 1994:85). It should be mentioned that there are two national and seven regional or local daily Hungarian newspapers in Romania (Balló, 2000).

The importance of the Hungarian-language media depends on the part of the country to which one it refers. For instance in Cluj, a city with approximately 20% Hungarian population has a vehemently anti-Hungarian mayor, Gheorghe Funar. The Hungarian-language newspaper in Cluj, Szabadság, is therefore vital to the Hungarian population of the city, providing them with a voice through which they can express themselves with regard to all of the current important issues in the region. In contrast, Heti Új Szó in Timișoara has a far smaller readership. The Heti Új Szó used to be a daily, but it had to turn into a weekly because of the unfavourable economic conditions in the first half of the 1990s.

Balló Áron, editor-in-chief of Szabadság, has another opinion about the success factors of a Hungarian newspaper. Not only the existing interethnic situation or the “need to find a voice” of the Hungarian population in an intolerant climate motivates the population to buy the newspaper. The Oradea or Satu Mare Hungarian-language daily newspapers like the Bihari Napló and the Szatmári Friss Újság. They serve a Hungarian population of a similar size to the one served by the Szabadság in Cluj, and there is probably less interethnic tension in Oradea or Satu Mare than in Cluj. Even so, the
Bihari Napló and the Szatmári Fírss Újság are as successful as the Szabadság. This shows that the popularity of these newspapers is determined by more complex reasons (Balló, 2000).

7.3 Radio

The state-owned public radio (AM) station has a Hungarian-language broadcasting everyday from Bucharest (1 hour a day), Târgu Mureș (5 hours a day), Cluj (4 hours a day) and Timișoara (1 hour a day). These reach from 10 to 100% of the potential ethnic Hungarian listeners in Romania. State radio also broadcasts in the language of other ethnic minorities, e.g. in German from Bucharest and from Timișoara (Balló, 2000).

There are also private (FM) radio stations. The number of Hungarian or other ethnic minority-language radio stations or programmes lies far behind the proportion of these ethnic minorities, as related to the whole population. Ethnic Hungarians in Romania could have and maintain several 24-hour local, regional and national Hungarian-language private stations. As compared to this need and capacity, there are only a few such local stations and some local private stations broadcasting a few hours in Hungarian or German or Serbian and so on, too. But a city like Cluj, with one of the biggest ethnic Hungarian communities, lacks such a private station (Balló, 2000).

7.4 Television

The state-owned public television (TVR) has a regular Hungarian programme on Channel 1 (TVR1, a national channel) and on Channel 2 (TVR2, another national channel under construction which does not reach all the ethnic Hungarian potential public yet) with about 3 hours of broadcasting a week, but these times have been diminishing, because of several reforms adopted by the TVR board, since 1990. The TVR broadcasts in Hungarian on Channel 1 and on Channel 2 also from Cluj, last about an hour a week altogether. The state television studio in Timișoara only broadcasts in Hungarian 15 minutes a week (Balló, 2000).

However, no Hungarian-language national private TV station exists, and many cities with an important ethnic Hungarian population also lack such local stations. There are a few local or cable TVs, however, which broadcast in Hungarian in Eastern Transylvania, in the so-called Szeklerland (Balló, 2000).

7.5 Internet

With regard to Internet sites, many are directly run by Hungarian-language publications and some are actually run from Hungary. Organisations with offices outside the region, like the US-based Hungarian Human Rights Foundation, also maintain websites. The only Hungarian language Transylvanian “Internet newspaper”, called the Transindex is edited in Cluj (Balló, 2000).

8. CONCLUSION

There are more than 1,000 years of Romanian-Hungarian common history in the Transylvanian territory while conflicts have been present. The parties involved have claimed the Transylvanian territory, especially during the last centuries. President Clinton outlined in a conference about the minority problem in South-Eastern Europe, at San Francisco, on April 15, 1999: “Who is going to define the future of this part of the
world? Who will provide the model for how people who have emerged from communism resolve their own legitimate problem? Will Mr. Milosevich with his propaganda machine and his paramilitary things be the one who tells people to leave their country, their history and their land behind or die? Or will it be a nation like Romania, which is building democracy and respecting the rights of its ethnic minorities?” (Nastasa, Salat, 2000:20).

It can be said that there is no doubt that the human rights situation for Hungarians has improved since the events of 1989. There are opportunities, although sometimes limited ones, to study in the Hungarian language; Hungarian cultural institutions exist; there are newspapers and other publications in Hungarian; and there are now fewer problems bringing Hungarian-language printed material into Romania. The DAHR enjoys freedom of expression and involvement, and two of Romania’s forty counties had ethnic Hungarian prefects, installed after the 1996 general elections. Now, after the 2000 election, DAHR has entered the parliament, but on the opposition side.

Both the minority and the majority freely discuss issues related to human rights and to the Hungarian minority. The Romanian Government appears to be making an effort to afford rights to the Hungarian community in accordance with European standards, because Romanian integration into the European Union depends on it. Commitments have been made through international human rights instruments, and domestic legislation has been introduced to protect minorities, particularly with regard to education and local public administration. The Hungarian minority enjoys freedom of worship.

However, tensions remain between the minority and the majority at a local level in certain areas, Hungarian-language education will remain an issue for some time to come. The majority population and the media often voice the opinion that Hungarians have already been “given” too many rights, as though rights were something to be earned and not something to which all citizens are entitled and which should be protected under the various agreements signed by the Romanian government. The historical debate can still be heard occasionally, although few among either the majority or the minority argue over “who was here first” any longer. The dual history problem is slowly becoming an issue of academic debate.

Given the present economic situation in Romania, with high unemployment and spiralling inflation, economic targets are likely to be the priority of the government instead of ethnic issues. The ethnic issue was an important one in the last election campaign. The ultra-nationalist leader, C. V Tudor and his party (Great Romania Party) received an important number of votes. His extremist discourse was on the front page of public opinion, causing worry to the European Union states. (Great Romania, March 3, 2000).

Many people considered the left wing minority government, which won the elections as the final solution for avoiding extremism. The left wing also considered co-operation with DAHR when deciding on its strategy, but it has not stated a pro-minority policy as the previous government did. When Hungarian minority representatives, the DAHR, presented several claims in return for their support of the present government, the DAHR leaders considered the Hungarian population’s requests. Their claims referred to higher education in Hungarian, local public autonomy, support for the Hungarian cultural organisations, and promulgation of a law on minorities (see data provided by Ethnobarometer, 2000). None of these requests undermine or affect unity or integrity of
the Romanian State, but they subscribe to international treaties that Romania is signatory.

ADDRESSES

1. Cultural institutions and/or associations founded by the minority

- Ady Endre Irodalmi Kör (Ady Endre Literary Circle)
  Str. I. Antonescu nr. 20, 3700 Oradea, Bihor
  Tel: (059) 412 727

- Alfa Ifjúsági Fórum (Forumul Tinerilor Alfa - Alfa Youth Forum)
  Str. M. Eminescu nr. 1, 4154 Vlăhița, Jud. Harghita
  Tel: 066 218 009
  President: Kallós Attila
  alf@fto.org.soroscj.ro

- Általános Műveltség Alapítvány (Fundatia Cultură Generală – General Cultural Foundation)
  Cart. Florilor nr. 2, 4200 Gheorgheni
  Tel: 066 164 992, 164 598
  President: Borzás Mária
  ama@server.ro

- Anyanyelvápolók Erdélyi Szövetsége (Asociația pentru Cultivarea Limbii Maghiare din Transilvania - Transylvanian Association for Cultivating the Hungarian Language)
  Str. Gábor Áron nr. 16, CP 141, 4000 Sfântu Gheorghe
  Tel: 067 311 940
  President: Dr. Pénfék János
  office@aesz.sbnet.ro

- Apáczai Csere János Közművelődési Egyesület (Asociația Culturală Apáczai Csere János - Apáczai Csere János Cultural Association)
  Str. Dealul Cetății nr. 51, 2200 Brașov
  Tel: 068 411 303
  Fax: 068 415 724
  President: Bódog Erzsébet

- Áprily Lajos Közművelődési Egyesület (Asociația Culturală Áprily Lajos - Áprily Lajos Cultural Association)
  4174 Praid nr. 421, Jud. Harghita
  Tel: 066 240 083
  President: Csiki Zoltán

- Avully Remete Alapítvány
  3338 Râmetea, Liceul Fráter György, Jud. Alba
  Tel: Râmetea 104
  Contact person: Papp Mihály

- Apsis Alapítvány (Fundatia Apsis – Apsis Foundation)
  Aleea Garoafelor 4/5, 4150 Odorhei Secuiesc
  Tel: 066 212 412
  President: Bálint Árpád

- Aranka György Alapítvány (Fundatia Aranka György - Aranka György Foundation)
  Str. Primăriei nr. 1,OP 1, CP 89, 4300 Tg. Mureș
  Tel: 065 167 091
Fax: 065 167 087
President: Markó Béla

- Arany János Művelődési Egyesület (Societatea Culturală “Arany János” - “Arany János” Cultural Society)
  Str. Kossuth nr. 16, CP 7, 3650 Salonta
  Tel: 059 372 200, 370 592
  President: Nagy György József

- Alsórákosi Bethlen Kastély Alapítvány (Fundația Castelului Bethlen din Racoșul de Jos – Bethlen Castle Foundation from Racoșul de Jos)
  Str. Castanilor nr. 5/A, 2200 Brașov
  Tel: 068 119 484
  President: Jakabos Imola

- Archivum Kulturális Alapítvány
  Tel: 064 198 813, 094 800 533
  Contact person: Németh Ildikó

- Baász Művészeti Alapítvány
  Str. Gábor Áron nr. 16, 4000 Sf. Gheorghe
  Tel: 067 312 074, 351 374
  President: Jánó Mihály

- “Babits Mihály” Kulturális Egylet (Asociația Culturală “Babits Mihály” - “Babits Mihály” Cultural Association)
  Str. Republicii nr. 18, 2300 Făgăraș
  Tel: 068 215 595
  President: Szász Zziga Péter

- Barabás Miklós Céh
  Str. Kogălniceanu nr. 27, 3400 Cluj-Napoca
  Tel: 064 155 242
  Fax: 064 414 042
  President: Jakobovics Miklós

- Baróti Szabó Dávid Emlékbizottság és Alapítvány (Comisia Comemorativă și Fundația “Baróti Szabó Dávid” - “Baróti Szabó Dávid” Memorial Committee Foundation)
  Str. Kossuth Lajos nr. 172/A, 4023 Baraolt, Jud. Covasna
  Tel: 067 377 633, 377 357
  President: Boda János, Nagy Sándorné

- Bartalis János Egyesület (Asociația Bartalis János - Bartalis János Association)
  Str. Morii nr. 330/A, 3015 Apața, Jud. Brașov
  President: Papp Gizella

- Bartók Béla Alapítvány
  Str. 1 Decembrie nr. 90/c, ap. 25, 1900 Timișoara
  Tel: 056 193 031
  President: Halász Ferenc

- Bárdos Lajos – Balázs Ferenc Alapítvány (Fundația Bárdos Lajos–Balázs Ferenc - Bárdos Lajos–Balázs Ferenc Foundation)
  P-ța Márton Áron nr. 2, 4150 Odorhei Secuiesc
  Tel: 066 211 582; 218 282; 213 180
President: Orosz Pál József

- Bárdos Péter Közművelődési Egyesület (Asociația Culturală Bárdos Péter - Bárdos Péter Cultural Association)
  3443 Vlaha nr. 240 A, Jud: Cluj
  President: Bárdos Mária

- Báthory István Alapítvány és Kulturális Társaság
  Str. 1 Decembrie 1918 nr. 33, 4775 Șimleul Silvaniei
  Tel: 060 678 199
  President: Balogh Sándor

- Benedek Elek Alapítvány
  P-ța Márton Áron nr. 2, 4150 Odorheiu Secuiesc
  President: Gerèb Attila

- Benedek Elek Művelődési Egyesület (Asociația Culturală Benedek Elek - Benedek Elek Cultural Association)
  Str. Principală nr. 474, 4030 Bățanii Mari, Jud. Covasna
  President: Mihály Réka

- Berde Mózsa Alapítvány
  Str. Principală nr. 247, 4007 Sântionlunca, Jud. Covasna
  President: Móráné Ormai Edit

- Bernády Közművelődési Egyet (Asociația Culturală Bernády – Bernády Cultural Association)
  Str. Principală nr. 134, 3295 Sovata, Jud. Mureș
  Tel: 065 570 951
  President: Mester Zoltán

- Bethlen Alapítvány (Fundatia Bethlen - Bethlen Foundation)
  Str. Mihai Viteazu nr. 54, 4300 Tg. Mureș
  Tel/fax: 065 213 676
  President: Bethlen Anikó

- Bethlen Gábor Alapítvány (Fundatia Bethlen Gábor - Bethlen Gábor Foundation)
  Str. Kisköved nr. 11/11, 4150 Odorheiu Secuiesc
  Tel: 066 215 350, 218 099
  President: Király László

- Bethlen Gábor Kollégium Baráti Társaság (Asociația de Prietenie a Colegiului Bethlen Gábor - Bethlen Gábor College Friendship Society)
  Str. Bethlen Gábor nr. 1, 3325 Aiud
  Tel: 058 861 155
  President: Lörincz László

- “Beszterce” Művelődési Alapítvány (Fundatia Culturală “Bistrița” - “Bistrița” Cultural Foundation)
  Str. Gh. Șincai nr. 16, 4400 Bistrița
  Tel/Fax: 063 233 413
  President: Sárkány Ferenc

- Besztercei Magyar Iparosok Közművelődési Egyesülete (Reuniunea Culturală a Meseriașilor din Bistrița)
Str. Gh. Șincui nr. 21, 4400 Bistrița
Tel/Fax: 063 226 434
President: Ferencz György

Bethlen Kata Kulturális Alapítvány
Str. Busuiocului nr. 5, 4300 Tg. Mureș
Tel: 065 124 659
President: Péterffy Gyöngyvér

“Biblioﬁl” Alapítvány (Fundatia “Biblioﬁl” - “Biblioﬁl” Foundation)
Str. Kossuth Lajos nr. 23, 4150 Odorhei Secuiesc
Tel: 066 213 396
Fax: 066 218 332
President: Győrfi József
biblio@nextra.ro

“Biró” Alapítvány (Fundatia “Biró” - “Biró” Foundation)
Șirul Canonicilor nr. 13, 3700 Oradea
Tel: 059 130 304, 150 382
President: Biró László

Bocskai István Alapítvány (Fundatia Bocskai István - Bocskai István Foundation)
Str. Traianul nr. 3 Bl. 1/3, 4333 Miercurea Nirajului, Jud. Mureș
Tel: 065 576 141
Fax: 065 576 057
President: Adorjáni Árpád

Bod Péter Közművelődési Egyesület – Csernátton (Uniiunea Culturală “Bod Péter” - “Bod Péter” Cultural Association)
Str. Muzeului nr. 330, 4067 Cernat, Jud. Covasna
Tel: 067 367 566
President: Haszmann Pál

Borsos Miklós Művészeteért Alapítvány
Str. Principală nr. 1421, 4207 Ciumani, Jud. Harghita
Tel: 066 151 033, 151 259
Fax: 066 164 898
President: Borsos Géza József
borsosm@server.ro

Botorka Művelődési Egyesület (Asociația Culturală Botorka - Botorka Cultural Association)
Str. 1 Decembrie 1918, Bl. 45A, ap. 17, 4137 Bălan, Jud. Harghita
Tel: 066 130 982; 130 191
President: Mihály Csaba

Borsos Miklós Alapítvány (Fundatia Borsos Miklós - Borsos Miklós Foundation)
Str. Principală nr. 1421, 4207 Ciumani, Jud. Harghita
Tel: 066 151 033; 163 492
President: Borsos Géza József

Concordia Magyar Amatőr Színjátszó Egyesület (Asociația Formației de Teatru Amator Concordia - Hungarian Amateur Drama Company Concordia)
P-ța Libertății nr. 9, 4000 Sf. Gheorghe
Tel: 067 312 758, 351 648
Fax: 067 351 648
Corvineum Kulturális Alapítvány (Fundația Culturală Corvineum - Corvineum Culture Foundation)
Str. Croitorilor nr. 15, 3400 Cluj-Napoca
Tel: 064 342 082, 185 664
Contact person: László Bakk Anikó
heimlisch@mail.dntcj.ro

“Crysis” Barlangkutató Csoport (Clubul de Speologie “Crysis” - “Crysis” Caving Club)
Str. G. Enescu 16/4, Oradea, Jud. Bihor
Tel: 059 159 112
President: Lázár Tibor

Cserhalom Művelődési Egyesület (Societatea Culturală Cserhalom – Cserhalom Cultural Society)
Str. Principală nr. 14, 4419 Țigău, Jud. Bistrița-Năsăud
Tel: 063 212 728, 216 647
President: Székely Pál

Csernakeresztüri Hagyományőrző Csoport (Asociația pentru Păstrarea Tradițiilor Populare Maghiare – Cristur)
Str. Principală nr. 72, 2630 Cristur, Jud. Hunedoara
Tel: 054 671 566, 671 559, 771 569
President: Tamás Ferenc

Cseres Tibor Közművelődési Egyesület
3338 Rămetea nr. 832, Jud. Alba
Tel: Rămetea 104, 232
Contact person: Papp Mihálz

Csikszeredai Siegylet (Asociația de Schi – Miercurea Ciuc)
Str. Miron Cristea nr. 1, 4100 Miercurea Ciuc
Tel: 066 114 952, 114 644
President: Péter István

Dicsőszentmártoni Népszínház (Teatrul Popular Târnăveni)
Str. Republicii nr. 78, 3325 Târnăveni
Tel: 065 440 723
President: Vitális Ferenc

Domokos Pál Péter Alapítvány
P-ța Libertății nr. 16, Cam. 49, 4100 Miercurea Ciuc
Tel: 066 171 362
Contact person: András Mihály
ddpff@cemc.topnet.ro

Domokos Pál Péter Női Kórus – Dalkör Alapítvány (Fundația Dalkör –Corul de Femei “Domokos Pál Péter”)
Cart. Florilor Bl. 33/13, 4200 Gheorgheni
Tel: 066 163 029
Fax: 066 161 524
President: Fejér Ilona

Donum-Dei Alapítvány
Str. Szék nr. 118/B, 4100 Miercurea Ciuc
Tel: 094 264 593
Contact person: Dezső Tibor Attila
Dr. Bernády György Közművelődési Alapítvány (Fundatia Culturală “Dr. Bernády György” - “Dr. Bernády György” Cultural Foundation)
Str. Horea nr. 6, 4300 Tg. Mureș
Tel/fax: 065 166 855
President: Borbély László

Dr. Palló Imre Alapítvány (Fundatia Dr. Palló Imre - Dr. Palló Imre Foundation)
Str. Kossuth Lajos nr. 41, 4150 Ordoheiu Secuiesc
Tel: 066 218 240
President: Bodurián János

Életfa Baráti Társaság
Aleea Carpaților nr. 53A, Ap. 29, 4300 Tg. Mureș

Erdély Magyar Irodlalmáért Alapítvány (Pro Literatura Maghiară a Transilvaniei - Foundation for the Transylvanian Hungarian Literature)
P-ța Libertății nr. 5, 4150 Odorheiu Secuiesc
Tel: 066 212 913, 212 023
President: Lőrincz György

Erdélyi Magyar Olvasás Egyesület
Str. Clinicilor nr. 18, OP 1, CP 478, 3400 Cluj-Napoca
Tel: 064 190 096
Fax: 064 190 811
heltaî@mail.soroscj.ro

Erdélyi Szépmíves Céh (Breasla Beletristicii Transilvane)
Tel: 064 130 006, 190 824
President: Szöcs István

Ethnographia Ghergyöiensis Alapítvány (Fundatia Ethnographia Ghergyóiensis - Ethnographia Ghergyöiensis Foundation)
Cart. Florilor bl. 43/A, ap. 15, 4200 Gheorgheni
Tel: 066 162 879
President: Patek Mária-Anna

Etna Alapítvány (Fundatia Etna - Etna Foundation)
Str. Körösi Csoma Sándor nr. 24, 4000 Sf. Gheorghie
Tel/fax: 067 352 124
Contact person: Útő Gusztáv

Eufónia Kulturális Egyesület (Asociația Culturală “Eufonia” - “Eufonia” Cultural Association)
Str. Independenței nr. 35, 4150 Odorheiu Secuiesc
Tel: 066 218 271
President: Măthé András

“Eufória” Kulturális Egyesület (Asociația Culturală “Euforia”)
Str. Kossuth Lajos nr.15, 4000 Sf. Gheorghie
Tel: 067 312 997, 313 924
President: Sipos Zoltán

Figura Társaság (Asociația Figura)
“Firtos” Művelődési Egylet – Korond (Asociația Culturală “Firtos” - “Firtos” Cultural Association)
Str. Alszeg nr. 664, 4169 Corund, Jud. Harghita
Tel: Corund 185
President: Ambruș Lajos

Fizen Alapítvány – Szatmárnémeti (Fundația Fizen – Satu Mare)
Str. Uzinei bl. UU 8, Ap. 13, 3900 Satu Mare
Tel: 061 732 075, 762 075
President: Horváth Lóránd

“Folk Center” Alapítvány (Fundația “Folk Center” - “Folk Center” Foundation)
P-ța Victoriei Bl. 19, Ap. 11, 4300 Tg. Mureș
Tel: 065 163 976, 255 145
President: Takács Zoltán

Fotóklub Művelődési Egyesület (Asociația Culturală Fotoclub Tîrgu Mureș)
Str. Dózsa György nr. 55, OP 1, CP 12, 4300 Tg. Mureș
Tel: 065 137 445
President: Bálint Zsigmond

Franyó Zoltán Alapítvány – Temesvár (Fundația Franyó Zoltán – Timișoara)
B-dul Eroilor nr. 29, 1900 Timișoara
Tel: 056 124 056, 199 887
President: Khell Ödön

Gaál Mózes Közművelődési Egysület
Str. Kossuth Lajos nr. 129, 4023 Baraolt, Jud. Covasna
Tel: 067 377 813, 377 962
Contact person: Demeter Katalin
culturab@cosys.ro

“Gábor Áron” Kulturális Alapítvány (Fundația Culturală “Gábor Áron” - “Gábor Áron” Cultural Association)
Str. Principală nr. 89, 4092 Brețcu, Jud. Covasna
Tel: Brețcu 225/A
President: Khell Ödön

gentiana@cemc.topnet.ro

Guzsalyas Játszóház (Casa de Joacă Guzsalyas)
Str. Oltului nr. 19, 4000 Sf. Gheorghe
Tel: 067 315 484
President: Tóth Birtalan Tinka

gyermekfilharmónia@cosys.ro

Gyermekfilharmonía Alapítvány (Fundația Filarmonică de Copii)
• Haáz Rezső Kulturális Egyesület (Asociația Culturală Haáz Rezső - Haáz Rezső Cultural Association)
  Str. Kossuth Lajos nr. 29, 4150 Odorhei Secuiesc
  Tel/fax: 066 218 375
  President: Zepeczner Jenő

• Heltai Gáspár Könyvtári Alapítvány
  Str. Clinicilor nr. 16, 3400 Cluj-Napoca
  Tel: 064 190 096
  Fax: 064 190 811
  Contact person: Pillich László
  heltai@mail.sorosej.ro

• Hollósy Simon Művelődési Egyet (Asociația Culturală Hollósy Simon - Hollósy Simon Cultural Association)
  Str. Lucian Blaga nr. 48, 4925 Sighetu Marmației
  Str. Ștefan cel Mare nr. 121, 4925 Sighetu Marmației
  Tel: 062 317 016, 311 908
  President: Zahoránszky Ibolya

• Homoródmente Művészeteért Alapítvány (Fundația pentru Arta Văii Homorodului)
  4162 Mărtiniș nr. 14, Jud. Harghita
  Tel: Mărtiniș 92
  President: Nagy Attila

• Horváth István Alapítvány (Fundația Horváth István)
  Str. Clinicilor 12, 3400 Cluj Napoca
  Tel: 064 1698 146
  President: Horváth Arany

• Imecs László Alapítvány (Fundația Imecs László - Imecs László Foundation)
  Str. Budvár nr. 8/A, 4150 Odorhei Secuiesc
  Tel/fax: 066 218 428
  President: Szakács Paál István

• Jókainé Laborfalvi Róza Alapítvány (Fundația Jókainé Laborfalvi Róza - Jókainé Laborfalvi Róza Foundation for Theaters)
  Str. Libertății nr. 1, 4000 Sf. Gheorghe
  Tel/fax: 067 351 886
  President: Nemes Levente

• Jósika Miklós Kulturális Egyesület
  Str. Avram Iancu nr. 12, 3350 Turda
  Tel: 064 316 054
  President: Imreh Lajos

• Julianus Alapítvány (Fundația Julianus – Julianus Foundation)
  B-dul Frăției Bl. 22/24, 4100 Miercurea Ciuc
  Tel: 066 112 035, 094 527 610
  Fax: 066 171 061
  President: Beder Tibor
• Kaffka Margit Művelődési Egyesület  
Str. Kőlcsey Ferenc nr. 2, 3825 Carei, Jud. Satu Mare  
Tel: 061 864 864  
Contact person: Sróth Ödön

• Kallós Zoltán Alapítvány  
B-dul 21 Decembrie nr. 18, 3400 Cluj-Napoca  
Tel: 064 198 813, 094 800 533  
President: Kallós Zoltán

• Kálmán Lajos Közművelődési Egyesület (Asociatia Culturala “Kálmán Lajos” - Kálmán Lajos Cultural Association)  
Pecica Bl. D/13, 2948 Pecica, Jud. Arad  
President: dr. Pálfi Károly

• Kemény János Alapítvány (Fundatia Kemény János - Kemény János Foundation)  
Str. N. Bălcescu Bl. B/16, 4220 Toplița  
Tel/fax: 066 142 851  
President: Komán János

• Királyhágómelléki Ifjúsági Keresztyén Egyesület (Asociaţia Tinerilor Creştini IKE de pe lângă Piatra Craiului - YMCA – Young Men’s Christian Association)  
Str. Libertăţii nr. 40, 3700 Oradea  
Tel: 059 447 368  
Fax: 059 427 064  
President: Szakács Zoltán  
partium@medanet.ro

• Kis-Küküllő Alapítvány Dicsőszentmárton  
Str. 22 Decembrie nr. 1, 3225 Târnăveni, Jud. Mureş  
Tel: 065 440 600

• Kós Károly Alapítvány (Fundatia Kós Károly - Kós Károly Foundation)  
Str. Revoluţiei nr. 32, 4300 Tg. Mureş  
Tel: 065 217 442  
Fax: 065 166 855  
President: Finna Géza

• Kovács András Füvös Egyesület (Asociaţia Fanfara “Kovács András”)  
Str. Cumulău nr. 268, 4040 Reci, Jud. Covasna  
Tel: 067 313 932  
Fax: 067 315 441  
President: Kelemen Antal

• Kovászna Megyei Alkotások Háza  
P-ţa Libertăţii nr. 9, 4000 Sf. Gheorghe  
Tel: 067 351 648  
Contact person: Musát Gyula

• Kovászna Megyei Képzőművészek Szövetsége  
Str. Gábor Áron nr. 1, 4000 Sf. Gheorghe  
Tel: 067 313 131  
Contact person: Deák Barna

• Kölcsey Egyesület (Asociaţia Kölcsey – Kölcsey Association)  
Str. Lucian Blaga nr. 2-4, 2900 Arad
Tel: 057 261 135, 250 627  
President: Pávai Gyula

- Körösi Csoma Sándor Közművelődési Egyesület (Asociația Culturală “Körösi Csoma Sândor” - “Körösi Csoma Sândor” Cultural Association)
  Str. Petőfi Sándor nr. 59, 4055 Covasna
  Tel: 067 340 715
  Fax: 067 341 990
  President: Gazda József

- Körösmente Irodalmi Kör
  Str. Plopilor nr. 3/A, 2975 Chișinău Criș
  Tel: 057 510 771
  Contact person: Pop Deák Emese

- „Krasznáért” Kulturális Alapítvány (Fundația Culturală “Pro-Crasna” - “Pro-Crasna” Cultural Foundation)
  4742 Crasna nr. 442, Jud. Sâlaj
  President: Pákai Ferenc

- Kriza János Emlékbizottság és Alapítvány (Comitetul Memorial și Fundația Kriza János)
  4021 Aita Mare nr. 170, Jud. Covasna
  Tel: Aita Mare 12
  President: Barabás Mihály

- Kriza János Néprajzi Társaság
  Str. Croitorilor nr. 15/2, 3400 Cluj-Napoca
  Tel: 064 432 593
  Pozsony Ferenc

- Lajtha László Alapítvány (Fundația Lajtha László - Lajtha László Foundation)
  Str. Gábor Áron nr. 14, 4000 Sf. Gheorghe
  Tel/fax: 067 351 408
  President: Deák Gyula

- Láncszem Nőegylet (Asociația Femeilor “Láncszem” - “Láncszem” Women Association)
  Str. Gh. Şincai nr. 16, 4400 Bistrița
  Tel/Fax: 063 231 113, 223 978
  President: Szente Mária

- Lendvay Márton Színjátszó Kör
  B-dul Bucharest nr. 25/20, 4800 Baia Mare
  Tel: 062 432 585
  Contact person: Simori Sándor
  genius@sintec.ro

- Lórántffy Zsuzsanna Egyesület – Marosvásárhely (Asociația Lórántffy Zsuzsanna–Târgu Mureș– Lórántffy Zsuzsanna Association)
  P-ța Trandafirilor nr. 5, 4300 Tg. Mureș
  Tel: 065 136 395
  Fax: 065 214 077
  President: Kerekes Tóth Erzsébet

- Marosvásárhelyi Magányosok Klubja (Clubul Singuraticilor din Tîrgu Mureș)
  P-ța Trandafirilor nr. 61, 4300 Tg. Mureș
  Tel: 065 161 215
President: Kopacy Imola

• “Marx József” Fotóművészeti Alapítvány (Fundația de Artă Fotografică “Marx József”)
Str. Dózsa György nr. 55, 4300 Tg. Mureș
Tel: 065 137 445
President: Bálint Zsigmond

• Mikes Alapítvány – Zágon (Fundația Mikes Zagon - Mikes Foundation – Zagon)
Tel: 067 325 578
President: Domokos Géza

• Mikes Kelemen Közművelődési Egyesület
Str. Gábor Áron nr. 14, 4000 Sf. Gheorghe
Tel: 067 351 609
Contact person: Kiss Jenő
biblio@cosys.ro

• Molnár Józsiás Közművelődési Egyesület (Asociația Culturală “Molnár Józsiás” - “Molnár Józsiás” Cultural Association)
P-ța Gábor Áron nr. 21, 4050 Tg. Secuiesc
Tel: 067 363 908
President: Szabó Szende

• Nagy István Zene és Képzőművészeti Liceum Alapítványa (Fundația Liceului de Artă și Muzică Nagy István)
Str. Petőfi Sándor nr. 40, 4100 Miercurea Ciuc
Tel: 066 124 080, 121 720, 112 187
President: Kovács János

• Nagyszebeni Polgári Magyar Művelődési Egyesület (Cultural Association of the Hungarian Citizens of Nagyszeben)
Str. Gen. Magheru nr. 1-3, 2400 Sibiu
Tel: (069) 436 651

• Nagyvárad Ady Társaság
Șirul Canonicilor nr. 11, 3900 Oradea
Tel: 059 416 869
Contact person: Indig Ottó

• Nagyváradi Premontrei Öregdíákok Egyesülete (Asociația Elevilor de Odinioară ai Liceului Premonstratensi Oradea)
Str. A. Mureșan nr.3, 3700 Oradea
Tel: 059 474 195, 136 216
President: Pászta Ottó

• Olosz Lajos Irodalmi Kör
2991 Zerind, Școala generală, Jud. Arad
Tel: 057 522 101
Contact person: Csanádi János

• Ormos Zsigmond Közművelődési Társaság (Societatea Culturală Sigismund Ormós - Sigismund Ormós Cultural Society)
B-dul Eroilor nr. 29, 1900 Timișoara
Tel: 056 203 910
Fax: 056 196 708
President: dr. Matekovics György

- Partiumi és Bánsági Műemlékvédő és Emlékhely Bizottság (Asociația pentru Ocrotirea Monumentelor din Partium și Banat)
  Str. Bernard Shaw nr. 36 Bl. C-8/8, 3700 Oradea
  Tel: 059 143 180
  President: Dukrét Géza

- Páskándi Géza Baráti Társaság
  Str. Tudor Vladimirescu nr. 2, 3900 Satu Mare
  Tel: 061 711 447
  Fax: 061 712 808
  Contact person: Bauer Béla

- “Peter” Iskola – Református Egyházközösség Nagyszalonta (Şcoala “Peter” – Parohia Reformată Salonta – “Peter” School – Salonta)
  Str. Aradului nr. 25, 3650 Salonta
  Tel: 059 370 579
  President: Mikló Ferenc

- Petőfi Művelődési Társaság (Asociația Culturală Petőfi – Petőfi Cultural Association)
  Str. Zalomit nr. 6-8, 7000, Bucharest
  Tel: 01 314 98 80
  petofihaz@pcnet.ro

- “Petőfi Sándor” Művelődési Egyesület (Asociația Culturală “Petőfi Sândor” - “Petőfi Sândor” Cultural Association)
  Str. Telepes nr. 18, 3068 Albești, Jud. Mureș
  Tel: Albești 25
  President: Gábos Dezső

- “Phoenix” Alapítvány az Ifjúságért (Fundația “Phoenix” pentru Tineret - “Phoenix” Foundation for Youth)
  Str. Szentimre nr. 18, 4150 Odorheiu Secuiesc
  Tel: 066 216 043, 094 549 781
  Fax: 066 218 372
  President: Baloga Sándor

- “Pietas” Kereszény Kulturális Egyesület (Societatea Cultural Creștină “Pietas”)
  Str. 1 Decembrie 1918 nr. 54, 3825 Carei, Jud. Satu-Mare
  Tel: 061 862 149
  President: Visnyai Csaba

- “Pipacsok Néptáncegyüttes” Kulturális Egyesület (Asociația Culturală “Formația de Dansuri Pipacsok”)
  P-ța Libertății nr. 22, 4180 Cristuru Secuiese, Jud. Harghita
  President: László Csaba

- Polgári Magyar Művelődési Egyesület (Asociația Cetățenească de Cultură Maghiară)
  Str. Gen. Magheru nr. 1-3, 2400 Sibiu
  Tel: 069 436 651, 219 528
  President: Kalmár Zoltán

- Pro Georgio Sancto Alapítvány (Fundatia Pro Georgio Sancto)
  Str. 1 Decembrie 1918 nr. 2, 4000 Sf. Gheorghe
  Tel: 067 311 243, 316 957
Fax: 067 351 781
President: Albert Álmos

- **Pro Kalotaszeg Kulturális Egyesület**
  Str. Avram Iancu nr. 56, 3525, Jud. Cluj
  Tel: 064 148 077
  Contact person: Búzás Pál

- **Pro Múzeum Alapítvány (Fundatia Pro Múzeum)**
  Str. Kossuth nr. 393, 4189 Atid, Jud. Harghita
  Tel: Atid 16
  President: Birtalan Árpád

- **Pro Muzica Zenei Alapítvány**
  Str. Cumulău nr. 267, 4040 Reci, Jud. Covasna
  Tel: 067 313 932
  Fax: 067 315 441
  Contact person: Kelemen Antal

- **Reményik Sándor Művész Stúdió**
  B-dul 21 Decembrie nr. 1, 3400 Cluj-Napoca
  Tel: 064 199 886
  Contact person: Essig Klára

- **Romániai Magyar Dalossaló Szövetség**
  Str. Kossuth Lajos nr. 13, 4000 Sf. Gheorghe
  Tel: 067 313 160
  Contact person: László Attila

- **Romániai Magyar Drámapedagógiai Társaság**
  Str. Alecu Russo nr. 6, 2900 Arad
  Tel: 057 250 627
  Contact person: Matekovics Mária

- **Romániai Magyar Demokrata Szövetség Művelődési Főosztály** (Headquarters of the Democratic Cultural Union of Hungarians in Romania).
  Str. Densuşianu 6/A, 3400 Cluj-Napoca
  Tel/Fax: (064) 414 042

- **Romániai Magyar Nemhivatalas Színjátszók Egyesülete “Jádző” (Asociaţia de Teatru Amator în Limba Maghiară “Jádző” - Jadzo Association)**
  P-ţa Libertăţii nr. 9, 4000 Sf. Gheorghe
  Tel: 067 312 758
  Fax: 067 351 648
  President: Jancsó Árpád

- **Romániai Magyar Népművészeti Szövetség (Asociaţia Artiştilor Populari Maghiari din România)**
  Str. Sântimbru nr. 17, 4150 Odorhei Secuiesc
  Tel: 066 211 719
  Fax: 066 212 268
  President: Tankó Albert

- **Romániai Magyar Táncszövetség (Asociaţia Coreografilor Maghiari din România)**
  P-ţa Libertăţii nr. 9, 4000 Sf. Gheorghe
  Tel/fax: 067 351 648
Contact person: Jánosi József

- Seprődi János Kórustzövetség (Uniunea Corală Seprődi János - Seprődi János Choral Association)
  4339 Vârgata nr. 124, Jud. Mureș
  Tel: 065 576 449, 56/A
  President: Nagy Ferenc

- Soli Deo Gloria Kulturális Alapítvány
  Tel: 065 217 323
  Fax: 065 218 314
  Contact person: Hajdó Károly

- Soli Deo Gloria Vegyeskar
  Str. Morii nr. 738, 4328 Sângeorgiu de Mureș
  Tel: 065 217 323
  Fax: 065 218 314
  Contact person: Hajdó Károly

- Spartacus Alapítvány (Fundatia Spartacus)
  Str. Puskás Tivadar nr. 41, 4000 Sf. Gheorghe
  Tel: 067 325 581, 092 720 2470
  President: Bardóczi Lóránt
  spartac@lmcv.sfos.ro

- Say-Yes Alapítvány a Kulturáért és a Zenéért (Fundatia Say-Yes pentru Cultură și Muzică - Say-Yes Foundation for Culture and Music)
  Str. Gutin nr. 12, 3825 Carei, Jud. Satu Mare
  Tele/fax: 061 864 848
  President: Enyedi Zsolt

- Sipos Domokos Művelődési Egyesület
  Str. Republicii nr. 78, 3225 Târnăveni, Jud. Mureș
  Tel: 065 440 774
  Fax: 065 440 445
  Contact person: Gagyi Zoltán
  erika@netsoft.ro

- Szacsavay János Alapítvány (Fundatia Szacsavay János - János Szacsavay Foundation – Estelnic Village)
  4090 Estelnic 40, Jud. Covasna
  Tel: 067 361 259
  President: Könczei József

- Szatmárnémeti Kölcsey Kör (Cercul Kölcsey – Satu Mare)
  Str. Mihai Viteazul nr. 10, 3900 Satu Mare
  Tel: 061 712 808
  Fax: 061 713 566
  President: Muzsnay Árpád

- Szatmárnémeti Kölcsey Ferenc Véndiákszövetség (Asociația Absolvenților Veterani Kölcsey Ferenc – Satu Mare)
  P-ța Păcii nr. 2, 3900 Satu Mare
  Tel: 061 711 929
  President: Grebur Miklós
• Szilágy Társaság
  Str. Kossuth nr. 33, 4700 Zalău
  Tel: 060 661 685

• Szombati Szabó István Olvasókör
  Str. Mihai Viteazu nr. 16, 1700 Reşiţa
  Tel: 055 212 136

• Szászvárosi Magyar Polgári Olvasóegylet
  Str. Dominic Stanca, 2600 Orăştie
  Tel: 054 241 147

• “Szejke Vilmos” Alapítvány (Fundaţia “Szejke Vilmos”)
  Str. G. Georgescu nr. 24, 3900 Satu Mare
  Tel: 061 741 685, 711 288
  President: Szejke Vera

• Székelykeresztúri Szabad Ifjak Szervezete (Organizaţia Tinerilor Liberi din Cristuru-Secuiesc)
  P-ţa Libertăţii nr. 23, Cp 19, 4180 Cristuru Secuiesc
  Tel: 066 218 380
  Fax: 066 218 026
  President: Mátéffy Hajnalka

• Székelyszentléleki Vadrózsák Művedesi Egyesület (Asociaţia Culturală Trandafiri Sâlbatici)
  4168 Bisericieni nr. 147, Jud. Harghita
  Tel: Bisericieni 312
  President: Balázsi Dénes

• Székely Szobrászatért Alapítvány (Fundaţia de Sculptură Secuiaescă - Foundation for Sekler Sculpture)
  Str. Luceafărului nr. 15-60/D, ap. 14, 4000 Sf. Gheorghe
  Tel: 067 322 473
  President: Kovács Géza

• Székelyudviharhelyi Székely Dalegylet Férfikórusa (Asociaţia Coriştilor Secui din Odorheiu Secuiesc)
  Str. Tamási Áron nr. 15, 4150 Odorheiu Secuiesc
  Tel: 066 213 039
  President: Varga István

• Szülők Mükoresolya Egyesülete – Csíkszereda (Asociaţia Părinţilor Patinaj Aristic – Miercurea Ciuc)
  P-ţa Libertăţii nr. 2/14, 4100 Miercurea Ciuc
Tel: 066 114 526
President: Bogyó-Löffler Mária

- Téka Művelődési Alapítvány (Fundation Cultural Téka - Téka Cultural Foundation)
  Str. Mihai Viteazu nr. 39, 3475 Gherla, Jud. Cluj
  Tel: 064 243 198
  President: Balázs-Bécsi Attila
  eka_d@yahoo.com

- Teleki Blanka Nyugdíjas Klub – Nagybánya (Asociaţia Pensionarilor Teleki Blanka – Baia Mare - Teleki Blanka Pensioner Association)
  Str. V. Lucaciu nr. 1, 4800 Baia Mare
  Tel: 062 216 593
  Fax: 062 217 103
  President: Barácsy Lajos
  admr_mmm@conseco.ro

- Thamó Gyula Közművelődési Egyesület
  Str. Nagy nr. 379, 3443 Săvâdisla, Jud. Cluj
  Tel: 064 404 907

- Tordaszentlászlói Fúvószenekar
  Str. Nagy nr. 153, 3443 Săvâdisla, Jud. Cluj
  Tel: 064 266 603

- Transilvania Sport Egyesület (Asociaţia Sportivă Transilvania)
  Str. Harghita nr. 8/11, 4100 Miercurea Ciuc
  Tel: 066 116 385
  Fax: 066 171 507
  President: Barac Miklós

- Tizen Túliak Országos Szövetsége (Asociația Apolvitică de Tineret “Titus”–Oradea - Non-political Youth Association “Titus”–Oradea)
  Str. T. Vladimirescu nr. 62/A, CP 294, 3700 Oradea
  Tel: 059 134 596
  Fax: 059 138 813
  President: Kulcsár A: Sándor
  argenta@oradea.iiruc.ro

- Tövishát Kulturális Társaság (Asociaţia Culturală Tövishát)
  Str. Pop de Băsești nr. 21, 4762 Cehu Silvaniei, Jud. Sălaj
  Tel: 060 650 408, 650 061
  President: Baksai Károly

- Udvarhelyi Faragók Szövetsége (Asociaţia Cioplitorilor în Lemn din Odorhei Secuiesc)
  Str. Syentimre nr. 17, 4150 Odorhei Secuiesc
  Tel: 066 212 268
  President: Kiss Zoltán

- “Varga Károly” Csiki Faragó Egylet – Csikszereda (Asociaţia Cioplitorilor în Lemn din Zona Cioplului “Varga Károly”–Miercurea Ciuc)
  Str. Petőfi nr. 36, 4100 Miercurea Ciuc
  Tel: 066 123 284
  President: Szathmári Ferenc

- Wesselényi Művelődési Egylet–Makkfalva (Asociaţia Culturală Wesselényi–Ghindari)
2. Minority institutions and/or associations concerning education:

- A Kárpátok Kincsei Alapítvány (Fundatia Naturala Darurile Carpaților - Carpathian Nature Treasures’ Foundation)
  Str. M. Eminescu nr. 26, 4225 Reghin, Jud. Mureș
  Tel: 065-520 590
  Fax: 065-520 590
  President: Kalabér László

- Alapítvány a Romániai Iskolapolgárért
  Str. Hunyadi János nr. 39/B ap. 60, 4100 Miercurea Ciuc
  Tel: 066 124 751
  President: Köllő Dávid

- Alla Breve Alapítvány
  Str. Tamási Áron nr. 15, 4150 Odorheiu Secuiesc
  Tel: 066 211 244
  President: Kovács László

- Alma Mater Alapítvány (Fundatia Alma Mater - Alma Mater Foundation)
  Str. Moscovei 1, 3700 Oradea
  Tel: 059 131 706
  Fax: 059 131 906
  President: László Mária

- Alma Mater Alapítvány–Arad (Fundatia Alma Mater–Arad - Alma Mater Foundation–Arad)
  Str. Tr. Axente nr. 20, 2900 Arad
  Tel: 057 250 627
  Fax: 057 250 627
  President: Éder Ottó

- Apáczai Csere János Baráti Társaság (Asociația Colegială Apáczai Csere János Apáczai Csere János Friends’ Society)
  Str. Grozăvescu nr. 20, 3400 Cluj-Napoca
  Tel: 064 187 265, 184 741, 162 014
  President: Veres László

- Ars Pedagogica Alapítvány (Fundatia Ars Pedagogica)
  Str. Vasile Goldiș nr. 4, 3400 Cluj-Napoca
  Tel: 064 193 577
  President: Labanecz Zoltán

- Az Emberért, Holnapkért Alapítvány (Fundatia Omul și Viitorul - Men and Future Foundation)
  P-ța Libertății nr. 5, 4150 Odorheiu Secuiesc
  Tel: 066 216 293, 213 732
  President: Kiss János

- Bálint András Alapítvány
  P-ța Libertății nr. 6, 4100 Miercurea Ciuc
  Tel: 066 112 391
  President: Ferenczes István
• Barcasági Csángó Alapítvány (Asociația Ceangăilor Bârsa)
B-dul Brașovului nr. 52, 2212 Sâcele, Jud. Brașov
Tel: 068 270 359
President: Juhász Péter

• Bartók Béla Alapítvány (Fundação Bartók Béla - Bartók Bêla Foundation)
B-dul 1 Decembrie 1918 nr. 90/C, ap. 25, 1900 Timişoara
President: Halász Ferenc
bartok@fbb.sorosttm.ro

• Bethánia Alapítvány és Bethánia Gyógyterápiás Napközi Otthon (Fundația Bethania și Centrul Medical de Terapie Zilnică - Bethania Foundation and Daily Medical Treatment Centre)
Str. Paris nr. 35, 3400 Cluj-Napoca
Tel: 064 194 340
President: Dr. Katona Anna
bethania@mail.dntcj.ro

• Bod Péter Pro Paedagogium Alapítvány
Str. Ady Endre nr. 20, 4050 Tg. Secuiesc
President: Baka Mátyás

• Bolyai Társaság (Societatea Bolyai - Bolyai Society)
B-dul 21 Decembrie 1989 nr. 116, 3400 Cluj-Napoca
Tel: 064 191 582
Fax: 064 191 582
bolyai_tars@mail.dntcj.ro

• Bölöni Farkas Sándor Közgazdasági, Művelődési Alapítvány (Fundação pentru Cultură Economică “Bölöni Farkas Sândor” - Foundation for Economic Culture “Bölöni Farkas Sándor”)
Str. Pietroasa nr. 12, 3400 Cluj-Napoca
Tel: 064 195 043
President: Dr. Kerekes Jenő

• Brassais Véndiák Alapítvány
B-dul 21 Decembrie 1989 nr. 9, CP 201
Tel: 064 191267
President: Szabó Zsolt
huvelodes@mail.dntcj.ro

• Calepinus Alapítvány (Fundația Calepinus - Calepinus Foundation)
Str. Borsos Tamás nr. 25, 4300 Tg. Mureș
Tel: 065 211 465
President: Fülöp G. Dénes

• Civitas Alapítvány a Polgári Társadalomért (Fundação Civitas pentru Societatea Civilă - Civitas Foundation for the Civil Society)
Str. Mihai Eminescu nr. 9, PO Box 1-232, 3400 Cluj-Napoca
Tel/fax: 064 414 285
President: Kolumbán Gábor
civitas@civitas.org.soroscj.ro

• Collegium Transylvanicum Alapítvány (Collegium Transylvanicum Foundation)
Str. Pavlov nr. 21; 3400 Cluj, tel. 064/193 847
Contact person: Cs. Gyimesi Éva

- Confessio Alapítvány (Fundatia Confessio)
  Str. Mihai Viteazu nr. 21, 2500 Alba Iulia
  Tel: 058 811 689, 811 602
  Fax: 058 811 454
  President: Horváth István
  <albapress@apulum.ro>
  <www.hhrf.org/gyrke>

- Democratic Alliance of Hungarians in Romania
  Executive Presidium – Educational Department
  Str. Densuşcanu 6/A, 3400 Cluj-Napoca
  Tel/Fax: (064) 414 761

- Erdélyi Magyar Közművelődési Egyesület (Societatea Maghiară de Cultură din Transilvania - Hungarian Cultural Society of Transylvania)
  Str. Densuşcianu nr. 6/A, 3400 Cluj-Napoca
  Tel: 064 414042
  Fax: 064 414042
  President: Kótó József
  <danetk@emke.cj.edu.ro>

- Erdélyi Magyar Közművelődési Egyesület–Zilah (Societatea Maghiară de Cultură din Transilvania–Zalău - Hungarian Cultural Society of Transilvania–Zalău)
  Str. 22 Decembrie 1989 nr. 55, 4700 Zalău
  Tel: 060 631 915
  President: Szabó Vilmos

- Erdélyi Magyar Közművelődési Egyesület–Vajdahunyad (Societatea Maghiară de Cultură din Transilvania–Hunedoara - Hungarian Cultural Society of Transilvania–Hunedoara)
  Str. Revoluției nr. 5, 2750 Hunedoara
  Tel: 054 715 805
  Fax: 054 711 278

- Erdélyi Magyar Műszaki Tudományos Társaság (Societatea Maghiară Technico-Științifică din Transilvania - Hungarian Technical Sciences Society of Transylvania)
  B-dul 21 Decembrie 1989 nr. 116, 3400 Cluj-Napoca
  Tel: 064 190 825
  Fax: 064 194 042

- Erdélyi Múzeum-Egyesület (Societatea Muzeului Ardelean - Transylvanian Museum Society)
  Str. Napoca nr. 2-4, OP 1, CP 191, 3400 Cluj-Napoca
  Tel/fax: 064 195 176
  President: Benkő Samu

- Etnokultura Alapítvány (Fundatia Etnocultura - Etnocultura Foundation)
  Str. Principală nr. 29, 4187 Andreeni, jud. Harghita
  Str. Tamási Áron nr. 15, 4150 Odorheiu Secuiesc
  Tel: 066 218 147
  Fax: 066 218 147
  President: Szép Gyula

- Gaudeamus Alapítvány – Segesvár (Fundatia Gaudeamus–Sighișoara - Gaudeamus Foundation–Sighișoara)
  Str. Griviței nr. 4/a, Ap. 25, 3050 Sighișoara
Tel: 065 773 019, 772 558, 774 840, 713 458
Fax: 065 773 019, 772 558, 774 840, 713 458
President: Farkas Miklós

• “Gábor Dénes” Alapítvány (Fundatia “Gábor Dénes” - “Gábor Dénes” Foundation)
  Str. Donáth nr. 117, Bl. O1, ap. 8, OP 5, CP 737, 3400 Cluj-Napoca
  Tel: 064 420 454
  Fax: 064 420 454
  President: Dr. Selinger Sándor
  selinger@gdf.org.soroscj.ro

• Gál Kelemen Területi Oktatási Központ
  Str. Decebal nr. 72, 3400 Cluj-Napoca
  Tel: 064 130 139
  headmag@mail.soroscj.ro

• Gecse Dániel Alapítvány (Fundatia Gecse Dániel - Gecse Dániel Foundation)
  Str. Lupeni nr. 11, 4300 Tg. Mureș
  Tel: 065 162 423, 161 847
  Fax: 065 214 910
  President: Sárpataki János

• Gyámszülői Közösség Alapítványa (Fundatia Comunitații Tutelare)
  Str. Orbán Balázs nr. 1, 4180 Cristuru Secuiesc
  Tel: 066 218 366
  Fax: 066 218 366
  President: Báró József

• Hébe Alapítvány (Fundatia Hébe pentru Elevii din Liceul Tamási Áron)
  Str. Budai Nagy Antal nr. 32, 4150 Odorhei Secuiesc
  Tel: 066 218 379, 217 968
  Fax: 066 213 779
  President: Lukácsi Katalin

• “Help” Gyógypedagógiai Egyesület (Asociația de Pedagogie Curativă “Help”)
  P-ța Kalvin nr. 3, 4000 Sf. Gheorghe
  Tel: 067 325 629
  Fax: 067 325 629
  President: Incze Margit

• Heuréka Matematikai Tehetséggondozó Alapítvány (Fundatia Heuréka pentru Cultivarea Talentelor - Foundation Heuréka for Development of Mathematical Ability)
  Str. Olarilor nr. 1, bl. A1, ap. 1, 4150 Odorhei Secuiesc
  Tel: 66 216 793
  Fax: 066 214 985
  Contact: Biró Gabert

• Hominem Alapítvány (Fundatia Hominem)
  Str. Constructorilor nr. 2, bl. F3, ap. 4, 4150 Odorhei Secuiesc
  Tel: 066 216 664
  Fax: 066 216 664
  President: Littasi Csilla Mária

• Ifj. Czine Tibor Alapítvány (Fundatia Czine Tibor Junior)
  Str. George Coşbuc nr. 60, 3900 Satu Mare
  Tel: 061 714 661
  Fax: 061 711 160
President: id. Czine Tibor

- Iskola Alapítvány (Fundatia pentru Școală - Foundation for the School)
  Str. Republicii nr. 39, 3400 Cluj-Napoca
  Tel: 064 192 668
  Fax: 064 192 668
  President: Markó Béla
  iskola@codec.ro

- Juventus Művelődési Alapítvány (Fundatia Culturală Juventus)
  Str. Stadionului nr. 15, Bl, 19/34, 4000 Sf. Gheorghe
  Tel: 067 327 340
  President: Deák Gyula

- Kiss Árpád Alapítvány (Fundatia Kiss Árpád)
  Str. Kós Károly nr. 78, 4000 Sf. Gheorghe
  Tel: 067 327 865
  President: Kovács Béla

- Kolozsvári Amatőr Barlangász Klub (Clubul Speologilor Amatori Cluj)
  Str. Hașdeu nr. 102, 3400 Cluj-Napoca
  Tel: 064 197 634
  President: Vári László György

- Kolozsvári Magyar Diákszövetség (Uniunea Studențească Maghiară din Cluj - Hungarian Student Union of Kolozsvár)
  Str. Avram Iancu 21, 3400 Cluj-Napoca
  President: Boda Szabolcs
  http://kmdsz.soroscj.ro

- „Krizs János” Néprajzi Társaság (Asociația Etnografică „Krizs János” - „Krizs János” Ethnographical Society)
  Str. Croitorilor nr. 15, 3400 Cluj-Napoca
  Tel: 064 432 593
  Fax: 064 432 593
  President: Pozsony Ferenc

- Márk Kulturális Nevelő Alapítvány
  Str. G. Coșbuc nr. 17, 3900 Satu Mare
  Tel: 061 715 681
  Fax: 061 734 761
  Contact person: Valdráf Erzsébet

- “Mikes Kelemen Liceum” Alapítvány (Fundatia “Mikes Kelemen Liceum”)
  Str. Kriza János nr. 1-3, 4000 Sf. Gheorghe
  Tel: 067 351 342, 315 967, 323 824
  Fax: 067 351 407
  President: Fazakas Mihály

- Millenium Alapítvány (Fundatia Millenium - Millenium Foundation)
  P-ja Avtam Iancu 14, 3400 Cluj-Napoca
  Tel: 064 166 587, 199 374
  President: Vígh Klára

- Misztótfalusi Kis Miklós Művelődési Egyesület
  Str. Petru Rareş nr. 25, Ap. 34, 4800 Baia Mare
• Nagy Mózes Közművelődési Egyesület (Asociația Culturală Nagy Mózes - Nagy Mózes Cultural Association)
  Str. Kanta nr. 23, 4050 Tg. Secuiesc
  Tel: 067 361 957, 361 957
  President: Vetró András

• Németh László Iskolaalapítvány
  Str. Luminiiului nr. 1, 4800 Baia Mare
  Tel: 062 213 586
  Contact person: Vida Zoltán

• Ökokrizis Ifjúsági Egyesület (Asociația de Tineret Ecocriza - Ecocrisis Youth Association)
  Str. Kossuth nr. 33, 4700 Zalău
  Tel: 060 632 465
  Fax: 060 661 685
  President: Măthé László
  office@krizis.sbnet.ro

• Petőfi Sándor Általános Iskola Alapítvány (Fundatia Şcolii Generale nr. 1 Petőfi Sándor)
  Str. Petőfi Sándor nr. 40, 4100 Miercurea Ciuc
  Tel: 066 122 824, 123 754
  President: Tamás Sándor

• “Pro Agricultura Hargitae” Alapítvány (Fundatia “Pro Agricultura Hargitae”)
  Str. Florilor Bl. 9/8, 4100 Miercurea Ciuc
  Tel/fax: 066 171 143
  President: Dr. György Antal

• Pro Kindergarten Alapítvány (Fundatia Pro Kindergarten - Pro Kindergarten Foundation)
  Cart. Harghita Bl. P8/3, CP 20, 4180 Cristuru Secuiesc
  President: Kanyaró Anna

• Pro Musica Zenei Alapítvány (Fundatia Pro Musica)
  Str. Komollói nr. 268, 4040 Reci, Jud. Covasna
  Tel: 067 313 932
  Fax: 067 315 441
  President: Kelemen Antal

• Pro Philosophia Alapítvány (Fundatia Pro Philosophia - Pro Philosophia Foundation)
  Str. Republicii nr. 46, 3400 Cluj-Napoca
  Tel: 064 199 634
  President: Demeter Attila
  kellek94@hotmail.com

• Pro Schola Mediensis Alapítvány (Asociația Pro Schola Mediensis)
  Str. I. C. Brătianu nr. 32, 3125 Mediaș
  Tel: 069 821 473
  President: Székely Éva

• Pro Technica Alapítvány (Fundatia Pro Technica)
  Str. 21 Decembrie 1989 nr. 116, 3400 Cluj-Napoca
  Tel: 064 194 042
  Fax: 064190 825
• Putnoky Miklós Alapítvány (Federația Putnoky Miklós - Putnoky Miklós Foundation)
  Str. Grozăvescu nr. 4, 1800 Lugoj
  Tel/fax: 056 373 033
  President: Bakk Miklós

• Radó Ferenc Matematikaművelő Társaság (Asociația de Cultivare a Matematicii “Radó Ferenc” - “Radó Ferenc” Mathematics Society)
  Str. Pavlov nr. 21, OP 9, CP 542
  matlap@math.ubbcluj.ro

• Romániai Magyar Népfőiskolai Társaság
  Str. Densușianu nr. 6/A, 3400 Cluj-Napoca
  Tel/fax: 064 414 042
  President: Dáné Tibor Kálmán
  nuvfoo@emke.cj.edu.ro

• Romániai Magyar Diakújságírók Egyesület (Hungarian Student Newswriters’ Association of Romania)
  Str. Paris 6/7, 3400 Cluj-Napoca
  Tel: (064) 195 380

• Romániai Magyar Pedagógusok Szövetsége (Uniunea Cadrelor Didactice Maghiare din România - Hungarian Teachers’ Association of Romania)
  Str. Toplița nr. 20, 4100 Miercurea Ciuc
  Tel/fax: 066 171 377
  President: Lászlóffy Pál
  rmpsz@ecdhr.nextra.ro
  ucdmr@ecdhr.nextra.ro

• Romániai Magyar Közgazdász Társaság (Asociația Economisților Maghiari din România - Hungarian Economists’ Society of Romania)
  Str. Pietroasa nr. 12, 3400 Cluj-Napoca
  Tel: 064 195 043, 431 488
  Fax: 064 195 043
  President: Kerekes Jenő

• Romániai Relaxációs, Szimbólum- és Hipnoterápiás Egyesület (Asociația de Psihoterapie prin Relaxare, Simboluri și Hipnoză)
  Str. Salciei nr. 1, Bl. A, ap. 13, 4100 Miercurea Ciuc
  Tel: 066 113 817
  President: Kedves Enikő

• Székely Károly Alapítvány (Federația Székely Károly)
  Str. Hunyadi János nr. 31, 4100 Miercurea Ciuc
  Tel: 066 123 558, 111 369
  President: Szakáts István
  eddy@gshrsk.edu.soroscj.ro

• Talentum Tehetséggondozó Alapítvány (Federația Talentum pentru Promovarea Talentelor - Talentum Foundation for gifted Children)
  Str. Furtunei nr. 13, 4300 Tg. Mureș
  Tel: 065 164 624
  President: Dóczy Tamás
  docyz@netsoft.ro
3. Minority institutions and/or associations concerning health:

- Agape Életvédő Alapítvány (Fundaţia Agape pentru Ocrotirea Vieţii - Agape Life Care Foundation)
  Str. Moţilor nr. 16/4, 3400 Cluj-Napoca
  Tel: 064-430 382; 192 474
  President: Dr. Kónya Ágnes

- Albin Alapítvány (Fundaţia Albin)
  Str. Slatinei nr. 35, Bl. Pb. 38/11, CP 78, 3700 Oradea
  Tel: 059 160 347
  Fax: 059 431 710
  President: Gergely Annamária

- Artemis
Str. Sindicatelor nr. 4, 3400 Cluj-Napoca
Tel: 064 198 155
President: Kacsó Ágnes
artemis@mail.dntcj.ro

- Children Dental Help Alapítvány
  Str. Locomotivei nr. 7, 3700 Oradea
  President: Dr. Meer János

- Cukorbetegek Egyesülete (Asociația Diabeticilor)
  Str. Aviatorilor nr. 5, 3900 Satu Mare
  Contact person: Bélteki Annamária

- Dr. Imreh Domokos Alapítvány (Fundatia Dr. Imreh Domokos - Dr. Imreh Domokos Foundation)
  Str. Bethlen Gábor nr. 72, 4150 Orodheiu Seciucsc
  Tel: 066 214 988
  Fax: 066 214 988
  President: Dr. Tóth Attila

- Dr. Simonffy Sámuel Alapítvány (Fundatia dr. Simonffy Sámuel)
  Str. Trandafirilor nr. 20, Bl. S2, AP 17, 4023 Baraolt, Jud. Covasna
  Tel: 067 377 748
  President: Dr. Szánthó Lajos

- “Ében-Ézer” Alapítvány (Fundatia “Eben-Ezer” - “Eben-Ezer” Foundation)
  Str. Gr. Bălan nr. 53, Bl. 9/B, ap. 19, 4000 Sf. Gheorghe
  Tel: 067 321 668
  President: dr. Ősz Tibor

- Empátia Orvosi Szervezet
  Str. T. Vladimirescu nr. 61, Ap. 1, 4300 Tg. Mureș
  Tel: 065 166 049
  Contact person: Dr. Salat Csaba

- Hygeia Alapítvány (Fundatia Hygeia - Hygeia Foundation)
  Str. Gavril Lazăr nr. 25, ap. 4, OP 5, CP 526, 3900 Satu Mare
  Tel: 061 710 241, 092 733 334
  Fax: 061 710 241
  President: Dr. Héjja Botond
  hb@p5net.ro

- Kovászn-Hollandia Társaság (Asociația Covasna-Olanda - Covasna-Holland Association)
  Str. Piliske nr. 1, 4055 Covasna
  Tel: 067 340 809
  President: Dr. Tatár Mária

- Martoni Egyesület Csíkszereda
  Tel: 066 116 317, 124 192
  Contact person: Bokor Márton

- Medicare Alapítvány
  Str. Mimozelor nr. 43, Bl. C, Ap. 16, 4300 Tg. Mureș
  Tel: 065 162 727, 166 579
  Fax: 065 164 327
Contact person: Finna Csaba

• Mens Sana Alapítvány
Str. Cimitirului nr. 704, 4310 Cristești, Jud. Mureș
Tel: 065 166 913
Contact person: Darvas Kozma József
menssana@netsoft.ro

• Mind Controll Alapítvány
Str. Vămii nr. 2, 4150 Odorhei Secuiesc
Tel: 066 212 845
Contact person: András Veronika

• Művesét a Gyerekeknek Alapítvány
Str. Gh. Marinescu nr. 38, 4300 Tg. Mureș
Tel: 065 214 174, 211 518
Contact person: Dr. Papp Zoltán

• Preventio Egészségügyi Társaság
Str. Borsos Tamás nr. 25, 4300 Tg. Mureș
Tel: 065 211 465
Contact person: Ábrám Zoltán

• Procardia Alapítvány (Fundatia Procardia - Procardia Foundation)
Str. Eminescu nr. 3, 4300 Tg. Mureș
Tel: 065 166 900, 164 593, 504 486
Fax: 065 219 589
President: Dr. Kikeli Pál
karco@orizont.roknet.ro

• Profilaxis Egészségügyi Egyesület
P-ța Mărășești nr. 20, 4300 Tg. Mureș
Tel: 065 210 444, 254 090, 217 017
Contact person: Sánta Dóra

• Pro Senectute Alapítvány
Str. Principală nr. 54, 3978 Bogdand, Jud. Satu-Mare
Tel: Bogdand 33
President: Mészáros Lőrincz

• Remedium Alapítvány – Nyárádszereda
Str. Teilor nr. 54, 4333 Miercurea Nirajului
Contact person: Dr. Benedek Imre

• Reumási Gyermek Alapítvány
Calea Sighișoarei nr. 11, Ap. 4, 4300 Tg. Mureș
Tel: 065 147 524
Contact person: Kincse Péter

• Rheum Care Alapítvány
Str. Moldovei nr. 11, Ap. 4, 4300 Tg. Mureș
Tel: 065 145 171, 256 986
Contact person: Nagy Irén

• Romániai Bálint Társaság (Asociația Bálint din România - Bálint Association of Romania)
Str. Pitești nr. 7, Bl. D, ap. 11, CP 75, 4100 Miercurea Ciuc
Tel: 066 113984, 171 688
Fax: 066 171688
President: Veress Albert
averess@csof.ro

- Solatium Keresztény Egészségvédő Egyesület (Asociația Creștină pentru Sănătate
  Solatium - Solatium Christian Association for Health)
  Str. Donath nr. 29/22, 3400 Cluj-Napoca
  Tel/fax: 064 189 916
  Contact person: Dr. Csergő Lehel
  solatium@mail.dntcj.ro

- Szent-György Albert Társaság–Szatmárnémeti (Asociația Filantropică Szent-Györgyi
  Albert)
  Str. Mihai Viteazu nr. 10, 3900 Satu Mare
  Tel: 061 735 162
  President: Csirák Csaba

- Iulius Weil Alapítvány – Régen
  Str. Pandurilor 36/A, 4225 Reghin, Jud. Mureș
  Tel: 065 521 364, 164 846
  Contact person: Dr. Weil Gyula

4. Minority institutions and/or associations concerning social services:

- A Mindennapok Kereszténye Egyesület (Asociația “A Fi Creștin Azi” - “To Be a Christian
  Today” Association)
  Str. I. Cantacuzino nr. 6, 3700 Oradea
  Tel: 059 431 126, 427 375
  President: Filip Gelu

- Agricola 2000 Alapítvány
  Str. Someșului 44, 4300 Tg. Mureș
  Tel: 065 165 355
  President: Székely Csaba

- Árva Fiatalokért Alapítvány
  Str. Transilvaniei nr. 53, Ap. 6, 4300 Tg. Mureș
  Tel: 065 144 924
  Contact person: Szabó Mária Magdolna

- Asklepios – Marosvásárhely
  Tel: 065 211 228, 133 648
  Contact person: Hajdú István

- Asociația de Caritate Proiect Theora
  Str. Blajului 9A, 3400 Cluj-Napoca
  Tel: 064 416 344
  Contact person: Szentágotai T. Lóránt

- Asociația Nonprofit St. Judde Taddeu
  Str. Caraeiului nr. 16, 3831 Foieni
  Tel: Foieni 78
  Contact person: Heirich Mihály
• Caritas Alapítvány (Fundatia Caritas)
  Str. Patriarch Miron Cristea nr. 3, 2500 Alba Iulia
  Tel/fax: 058 811 499, 819 524
  Director: Szász János
  caritasa@apulum.ro

• Caritas Egyesület (Asociaţia Caritas)
  Str. Delavrancea nr. 13, 3900 Satu Mare
  Tel: 061 716 845
  Fax: 061 710 464
  Contact person: Schupler Tibor

• Caritatea Alapítvány (Fundatia Caritatea)
  Str. Trotușului nr. 9, 4300 Tg. Mureș
  Tel: 065 168 550
  Fax: 065 161 444
  Contact person: Vitus Lajos

• Clarisa Katolikus Keresztény Alapítvány (Fundatia Creştină Catolică Clarisa)
  4174 Praid No. 265
  Tel: 066 240 233
  President: Simó Sándor

• Concordia Alapítvány (Fundatia Concordia)
  Str. Principală nr. 1, 4279 Sâmbriaş, Jud. Mureș
  Contact person: Szabó György

• Család Alapítvány (Fundatia Familia)
  Str. Dózsa György nr. 85, 3700 Oradea
  Tel: 059 133 933
  President: Keresztes Géza

• Családi Gyermekotthon Alapítvány – Csíkszereda
  Str. Köves nr. 1, 4100 Miercurea Ciuc
  Tel: 066 113 943, 121 189
  Contact person: Péter József

• Csibész Alapítvány
  Str. Kájoni János nr. 47, 4100 Miercurea Ciuc
  Tel: 066 113 770, 171 770, 171 575
  csibesz@cemc.topnet.ro

• Csíkszentmártoni Kolping Család
  4133 Sânmartin 354, Jud. Harghita
  Tel: Sânmartin 139
  Contact person: Vitos Antal

• Diakónia Ökumenikus Alapítvány
  Str. 22 Decembrie 1989 nr. 76, 4300 Tg. Mureș
  Tel: 065 217 333, 211 595
  Contact person: Benedek Imre

• Domus Karitatív Szervezet (Asociaţia Caritativă Domus - Domus Association)
  P-ţa Libertăţii nr. 27, PO Box 19, 4180 Cristuru Secuiesc
  Tel: 066 218 380
  President: Szőcs Pál
• Dorcas Aid International România Egzeslet  
  Str. Călărașilor nr. 86, 4300 Tg. Mureș  
  Tel: 065 216 790, 147 211  
  Contact person: Szabó István

• Ecclesia Mater Humanitárius Alapítvány (Fundatia Umanitară Ecclesia Mater - Ecclesia Mater Humanitarian Foundation)  
  Str. Moscovei nr. 14, 3700 Oradea  
  Tel: 059 134 664  
  President: Dr. Földe Béla  
  partium@medanet.ro

• Élesdi Református Gyermekotthon  
  Str. Viilor 32, 3575 Aleșd, Jud. Bihor  
  Tel: 059 341 621

• Erdélyi Magyar Nőszervezetek Szövetsége (Uniunea Asociaților de Femei Maghiare din Transilvania)  
  Str. Gábor Áron nr. 2, 4200 Gheorgheni  
  Tel/fax: 066 164 709  
  President: Varga Melinda

• Esély Alapítvány (Fundatia Șansă - Chance Foundation)  
  P-ța Libertății nr. 2, 4200 Gheorgheni  
  Tel/fax: 066 162 036, 164 056  
  President: Bernád Ildikó  
  chance@server.ro

• Etelköz Alapítvány (Fundatia Etelköz - Etelköz Foundation)  
  Str. Daczó nr. 11, 4000 Sf. Gheorghe  
  Tel/fax: 067 315 441  
  President: Kispál Vilmos

• Ethnika Kulturális Alapítvány  
  3331 Lopadea Nouă nr. 8, Jud. Alba  
  Tel: 094 370 819  
  Contact person: Sípos Ferenc

• Fiatalok a Demokráciáért Alapítvány  
  Str. Dreptății nr. 21, 3900 Satu Mare  
  Tel: 061 715 318  
  Contact person: Csíha István

• Filantrop Humanitárius Alapítvány (Fundatia Umanitară Filantrop - Filantrop Humanitarian Foundation)  
  Str. I. Maniu nr. 5, 3400 Cluj-Napoca  
  Tel/fax: 064 420 316  
  President: Székely György

• Fundatia Caritativă Creștină și Educativă Eliada  
  Str. Drăganilor nr. 81, 3900 Satu Mare  
  Tel: 061 717 792  
  Contact person: Budai Lajos

• Fundatia Cristiana
Str. Tibleşului nr. 17, Sc. A, Ap. 1, 3900 Satu Mare
Tel: 061 712 555, 742 332
Contact person: Bud Károly

- Fundaţia
  Str. Odobescu No. 23, 3900 Satu Mare
  Tel: 061 713
  Contact person: Ács Róbert

- Fundaţia Hans Linder
  Str. Delavrancea No. 20, 3900 Satu Mare
  Tel: 061 712 521, 710 464
  Contact person: Schupler Tibor

- Fundaţia Help
  P-ţa Eroilor nr. 5, 3900 Satu Mare
  Tel: 061 762 358
  Contact person: Görbe Róbert

- Fundaţia Umanitară DIYRAF
  Str. Anton Pann nr. 49, 3900 Satu Mare
  Tel: 061 735 243
  Contact person: Turkás Enikő Judit

- Gellért Alapítvány (Fundaţia Gellért - Gellért Foundation)
  Str. 1 Mai nr. 26, 4154 Vlăhiţa, Jud. Harghita
  President: Portik-Bakai Sándor

- Gondviselés Egyesület (Asociaţia Providenţa)
  Str. Cetăţii nr. 10, 3400 Cluj-Napoca
  Tel: 064 136 475, 185 366
  President: Vizi Ildikó

- “Ház a Holnapért” Egyesület (Asociaţia “O Casă pentru Mâine”)
  Str. Principală nr. 41, 4179 Rugăneşti, Jud. Harghita
  President: Sógor Csaba

- HILFT – Sir Help Egyesület Csíkszereda
  Str. Petőfi Sándor nr. 22, 4100 Miercurea Ciuc
  Tel: 066 123 336
  Contact persons: Prizibislawki E. Wilhelm

- Hunyadi János Humanitárius Társaság (Asociaţia Umanitară Hunyadi János - Hunyadi János Humanitarian Society)
  Str. Revoluţiei nr. 5, 2750 Hunedoara
  Tel: 054 714 582, 715 805
  Fax: 054 714 582, 715 805
  President: Schmidt Alfréd
  Email: juhj@inext.ro

- Jakab Lajos Alapítvány (Fundaţia Jakab Lajos - Jakab Lajos Foundation)
  4162 Locoden nr. 10, Jud. Harghita
  Tel: Locoden 89
  President: Kedei Mózes

- Jakab Lajos Alapítvány (Fundaţia Jakab Lajos - Jakab Lajos Foundation)
4162 Mártiniş nr. 10, Jud. Harghita
Tel: Mártiniş 98/A
President: Kedei Mózes

• "Kajántó Mária” Gyermekotthon – Élesd (Casa Copilului “Kajántó Mária”)
Str. Viilor nr. 30, 3575 Aleșd, Jud. Bihor
Tel: 059 341 621
Fax: 059 340 420
President: Dr. Sadler Annemarie
partium@medanet.ro

• Kálvin Alapítvány
P-ța Păcii nr. 8, 3900 Satu Mare
Tel: 061 712 455
Contact person: Kanizsai László

• Kászonalitiz Spitex-Chur Társaság (Asociația Spitex Chur)
4134 Plăieșii de Jos nr. 104, Jud. Harghita
Tel: 066 133 053, 133 028
President: Bocskor Gizella

• Katolikus Caritas Egyesület (Asociația Caritas Catolică)
Str. M. Sadovenu nr. 3, 3844 Tâșnad, Jud: Satu Mare
Tel: 061 827 770, 827 572
Contact person: Dr. Czier Tibor, Toga István

• Keresztény Ifjúsági és Diakóniai Alapítvány (Fundația Diaconică și a Tineretului Creștin - Christian Foundation for Youth and Deacony)
Str. Bisericii nr. 403, 4016 Ilieni, Jud. Covasna
Tel: 067 324 631, 351 634
Fax: 067 324 631, 351 634
President: Kató Béla
office@kida.sbnet.ro

• Kolozsvári Leányanya Központ
Str. Rákóczi nr. 37-39, 3400 Cluj-Napoca
Tel: 064 184 998, 185 056, 094 869 412
Contact person: Szántó Csaba

• “Kőlcsey Ferenc” Alapítvány (Fundația “Kőlcsey Ferenc” - “Kőlcsey Ferenc” Foundation)
P-ța Păcii nr. 2, 3900 Satu Mare
Tel: 061 717 346
Fax: 061 717 346
President: Cziprisz Imre
kfalap@lksm.soroscj.ro

• “Lazarus” Alapítvány (Fundația “Lazarus”)
Str. Arany János nr. 1/A, 4000 Sf. Gheorghe
Tel: 067 314 231
President: Albert Álmos

• Lazarus Alapítvány (Fundația Lazarus)
P-ța Eroilor nr. 2, 3900 Satu Mare
Tel: 061 712 505
Contact person: Pallai Adalbert
• Lázárénüm Alapítvány—“Lidia” Gyermekotthon (Fundația Lazarenun–Căminul de Copii “Lidia” - Lazarenum Foundation—“Lidia” Children’s Home)
Str. Mihai Eminescu nr. 30, 4300 Tg. Mureș
Tel: 065 214 361
Fax: 065 214 910
Persident: Fülöp G. Dénes

• Lórántffy Zsuzsanna Nőegylet–Gyergyószentmiklós (Asociația Femeilor “Lórántffy Zsuzsanna”–Gheorgheni)
Str. Gábor Áron nr. 2, 4200 Gheorgheni
Tel: 066 161 909
President: Gál Esztegár Ildikó

• Lórántffy Zsuzsanna Nőszövetség
P-ța Păcii nr. 8, 3900 Săcele
Tel: 061 712 455

• Magyar Mozgáskorlátozottak Társulata Kolozsvár (Asociația Maghiară a Handicapăților Motori Cluj - Hungarian Motion Handicapped Invalides Society from Cluj)
Str. Septimiu Albini nr. 49, 3400 Cluj-Napoca
Tel/fax: 064 414 238
President: Tokay Rozália

• Mária Családsegítő Alapítvány (Fundația de Asistență Socială “Maria” - Maria Foundation for Family Assistance)
Str. Moscovei nr. 14, 3700 Oradea
Tel: 059 134 664
Fax: 059 431 710
President: Szűcs István

• Mária Magdolna Alapítvány
B-dul 1 Decembrie 1918 nr. 70, ap. 17, 4300 Tg. Mureș
Tel: 065 161 690
Contact person: Demeter Magdolna

• Márton Áron Alapítvány
Str. Coșbuc nr. 80, 4100 Miercurea Ciuc
Contact person: Eigel Emő

• Márton Áron Kolping Család (Familia Kolping Márton Áron)
Str. Gödri János nr. 20, 2212 Sâcele
Tel: 068 150 394
Fax: 068 150 394
President: Orbán Attila

• Misericordia Jótékonysági Alapítvány (Fundația de Binefacere Misericordia)
Str. George Moroianu nr. 64, 2212 Sâcele
Tel: 068 150 160, 271 852
Fax: 068 150 160, 271 852
President: Gödri Oláh János

• Nem-látók Româniai Katolikus Egyesülete (Asociația Catolică a Nevăzătorilor din România)
Str. Mihai Vitezul nr. 19, 3900 Săcele
Tel: 061 711 313
Fax: 061 711 313
Contact person: Petyke Attila

- Nepomuki Szent János Humanitárius Egyesület (Asociația Umanitară “Nepomuki Szent János”)
  Str. Egyeskő nr. 1, 4137 Bălan, Jud. Harghita
  Tel: 066 130 444
  President: Pál Antal

- Nepomuki Szent János Humanitárius Egyesület
  Str. Kovács Pataka nr. 1, 4137 Bălan, Jud. Harghita
  Tel: 066 130 444
  Contact person: Pál Antal

- Nyugdíjasok Önsegélyező Pénztára
  Str. Kossuth nr. 60, 4200 Gheorgheni
  Tel: 066 161 325, 162 847
  Contact person: Mátyás Adriana

- Oáizons Humán Ökológiai Alapítvány (Fundația de Ecologie Umană Oasis - Oasis Human Ecology Foundation)
  B-dul 1 Decembrie 1918, Bl. 160, ap. 16, 4300 Tg. Mureș
  Tel: 065 169 831
  Fax: 065 254 284
  President: Görög Ilona

- Oikodomos Karitatív Keresztény Alapítvány (Fundația Caritativ Creștină Oikodomos)
  Str. Principală nr. 164, 3979 Hodod, Jud. Satu Mare
  Contact person: Mészáros Árpád

- Oltszemi Gyermekotthon Alapítvány (Fundația Casa de Copii Olteni - The Olteni Children’s Home Foundation)
  Aleea Muzelor nr. 1, Bl. 12, C 33
  Tel: 067 314 668, 316 691
  Fax: 067 351 706
  President: Fábián Vince

- Organizația KIWANIS Club
  Str. Mihai Viteazu nr. 32, 3825, Jud: Satu Mare
  Tel: 061 861 455, 861 372
  Contact person: Schmidt Adalbert

- Pinochio 3000 Alapítvány
  Str. Aurel Filimon nr. 28, 4300 Tg. Mureș
  Tel: 065 165 030
  Contact person: Bereczki Enikő

- Pro Familiae Alapítvány (Fundația Pro Familiae - Pro Familiae Foundation)
  Str. T. Vladimirescu nr. 78, 3700 Oradea
  Tel: 059 136 241
  President: Jakabffy Emma
  zol-profam@lbhae.sfos.ro

- Pro Familia Mentor Szervezet
  Tel: 065 576 501, 576 057
  Fax: 065 576 403
Contact person: Csíki Sándor

- “Regnum Christi” Humanitárius Alapítvány (Fundatia Umanitară “Regnum Christi” - “Regnum Christi” Foundation)
  Str. Prieteni nr. 1, ap. 2, 4300 Tg. Mureș
  Tel: 065 148 660
  Fax: 065 146 629
  President: Bereczki Béla

- Reménység Alapítvány (Fundatia Speranța)
  Str. Somlyó nr. 13, 4100 Miercurea Ciuc
  Tel: 066 172 224
  President: Csató Miklós

- Româniai Családok és Nagycsaládok Országos Egyesülete (Asociatia Națională a Familiiilor și Familiiilor Mari din România - National Association of Large Families from Romania)
  Str. Șelimbăr nr. 2, ap. 2, 4300 Tg. Mureș
  Tel: 065 145 755, 168 209, 216 471
  President: Both Gyula

- Salvator Alapítvány
  P-ta Vârtér nr. 1, 4100 Miercurea Ciuc
  Tel: 066 171 137
  Fax: 066 171 165
  Contact person: Dr. Csedő Csaba

- “Senectas” Alapítvány (Fundatia “Senectas”)
  Str. Bethlen Gábor nr. 9, 4150 Odorheiu Secuiesc
  Tel: 066 211 089, 211 655
  President: Varró Gizella

- Szent Antal Humanitárius Egyesület (Fundatia Umanitară Sfântul Anton)
  Str. Principală nr. 24, 4127 Mădâraș, Jud. Harghita
  President: Bartó József

- Szent Balázs Alapítvány (Fundatia Szent Balázs)
  Str. Principală nr. 57, 3826 Ghenci, Jud. Satu Mare
  Tel: 061 861 967
  Contact person: Vadon Henrietta Éva

- Szent Imre Társulat (Asociatia Umanitară Caritativă Szent Imre)
  4116 Sântimbru, Str. Principală, Jud. Harghita
  President: Pál Elek

- Szent Erzsébet Intézet Alapítvány (Fundatia “Sfânta Elisabeta”)
  Str. T. Vladimirescu nr. 62/A, 3700 Oradea
  Tel/fax: 059 138 813
  President: Kulesár A. Sándor
  argenta@oradea.iruc.ro

- “Szent Ferenc” Alapítvány (Fundatia “Sfântul Francisc” - “Saint Francisc” Foundation)
  Str. Progresului nr. 6, 2700 Deva
  Tel: 054 214 873
  Fax: 054 214 873
  President: Bőjte Csaba
• Szent György Korházalapítvány (Fundația Spitalicească Szent György - Szent György Hospital Foundation)
  Str. Stadionului nr. 1, 4000 Sf. Gheorghe
  Tel: 067 311 646, 311 981
  Fax: 067 351 883
  President: Dr. Sándor József

• Szentkereszty Stephanie Korházalapítvány (Fundația de Spital Szentkereszty Stephanie)
  Str. Vântului nr. 5, 4050 Tg. Secuiesc
  Tel: 067 361 051
  Fax: 067 363 277
  President: Dr. Boga Olivér

• Szent Mihály Katolikus “CARITAS”–Kolozsvár (Caritas Catolică Sfântu Mihai–Cluj - Saint Michaels’s Catholic Caritas Organization–Cluj)
  P-ța Unirii nr. 15-16, 3400 Cluj-Napoca
  Tel: 064 195 446
  Fax: 064 195 252
  President: Dr. Czirják Árpád
  Contact person: Muzsi N. Jolán

• Szent Miklós Egyesület (Asociația Sfântu Nicolae)
  Str. Bălcescu nr. 18, CP. 37, 4200 Gheorgheni
  Tel: 066 163 984, 163 726
  Fax: 066 164 732
  President: Kovács Éva Magdolna

• Szent Teréz Idősközpont Nagykároly
  Str. Someș nr. 11, 3825 Carei, Jud. Satu Mare

• Szent Vincze Családi Csoport Alapítvány Csikszereda
  Str. Fenyő nr. 5/15, 4100 Miercurea Ciuc
  Tel: 066 121 368
  Contact person: Borbély Éva Mária

• Szociális Napközi Nagyvárad
  Str. Jókai Mór nr. 10, 3700 Oradea
  Tel: 059 134 837
  Contact person: Varga Eliz

• Szomszédság Szervezet (Organizația Vecinătatea - Neighbourhood Organization)
  Str. Grivița Roșie nr. 19, 4300 Tg. Mureș
  Tel: 065 137 597, 210 310
  Fax: 065 219 247
  President: Borzás Jenő

• Talita Kumi–Árva és Elhagyott Gyermeket Támogató Társaság (Talita Kumi–Asociație pentru Ajutorarea Copiilor Orfani și Abandonați - Talita Kumi–Association for Protection of Orphan and Abandoned Children)
  Str. Gödri Ferenc nr. 3, 4000 Sf. Gheorghe
  Tel: 067 311 831, 325 889
  President: Czimbalmos Kozma Csaba

• Tenkei Református Öregotthon
  Str. Avram Iancu nr. 53, 3685 Tinca, jud. Bihor
  Tel: Tinca 200
Contact person: Berke Katalin

- “Tulipán” Alapítvány (Fundatia “Tulip” - “Tulip” Foundation)
  Str. Gr. Bălan nr. 35, Bl. 52, ap. C/7
  Tel: 067 325 126
  Fax: 067 351 780
  President: Bogdán Zoltán
  ix@cosys.ro

- Unitárius Nők Országos Szövetsége (Asociația Femeilor Unitariene din România - Unitarian Women Association from Romania)
  Str. 21 Decembrie 1989 nr. 5, OP 1 CP 24, 3400 Cluj-Napoca
  Tel: 064 193 236
  Fax: 064 195 927
  Presidents: Szabó Magdolna, Zsakó Erzsébet
  unitarian@mail.dntcj.ro

- Unitarcoop Alapítvány (Fundatia Unitarcoop - Unitarcoop Foundation)
  Str. Bolyai nr. 13, 4300 Tg. Mureș
  Tel: 065 214 652
  Fax: 065 161 454
  President: Szabó László

- “Ügyes Kezek” Alapítvány (Fundatia “Mâini Dibace”)  
  Str. G-ral Traian Moșoiu nr. 7/A, 4300 Tg. Mureș
  Tel: 065 164 507, 215 071, 168 688
  President: Hochmal Magda

5. Minority institutions and/or associations concerning environmental protection

- Biokertész Csoport (Grupul Grădinarilor Biodinamici - Organic Gardening Group)
  Str. Ciucaș nr. 1, ap. 44, 4300 Tg. Mureș
  Tel: 065 120 616
  President: Boros Csaba

- Biró Lajos Ökológiai Társaság (Societatea Ecologică Biró Lajos)
  Tel: 061 861 379
  President: Benedek Zoltán

- “Czárán Gyula” Alapítvány (Fundatia “Czárán Gyula” - “Czárán Gyula” Foundation)
  Str. Costache Negruzzi nr. 8 Bl. PB 25/2, 3700 Oradea
  Tel: 059 161 909
  President: Egri Ferenc

- Csíki Természetjáró és Természetvédő Egyesület (Asociația de Turism și de Orcrotirea Naturii - Csik County Nature and Protection Society)
  Str. Müller L. nr. 4, Bl C/16, 4100 Miercurea Ciuc
  Tel: 066 128 136
  Fax: 066 122 309
  President: Jánosi Csaba
  csitte@nextra.ro

- “Csukás” Alapítvány (Fundatia “Csukás” – “Csukás” Foundation)
  Str. Gării nr. 10, Bl. B/12
  Tel: 066 135 310
  President: Tóth Mária
• Ecomond Ökológiai Társaság–Arad (Organizația Ecologică Ecomond–Arad - Str. Dornei nr. 34, CP 10, 2825 Sebiș, Jud. Arad)
  Tel: 057 420 009
  Fax: 057 421 009
  President: Patkó Róbert
  ecomond@sbnet.ro

• Erdélyi Kárpát Egyesület (Societatea Carpațină Ardeleană - Transsylvanian Carpathian Society)
  Str. Iuliu Maniu nr. 7/5, OP 1, CP 41, 3400 Cluj-Napoca
  Tel: 064 196 148

• Frainetto Alapítvány (Fundația Frainetto)
  Str. Olt nr. 94, 4111 Băile Tușnad
  Tel/fax: 066 135 440
  Contact person: Szász János

• Független Öko Klub–Székelyudvarhely (Eco Club Independent–Odorheiu Secuiesc)
  Independent Ecological Club
  P-ța Libertății nr. 22, 4150 Odorheiu Secuiesc
  Tel: 066 217 713, 212 783
  Fax: 066 212 783
  President: Dr. Szabó József
  office@ecihr.sbnet.ro

• Halit Öko Klub (Asociația Halit Eco Club)
  4174 Praid nr. 421, Jud. Harghita
  Tel: 066 240 318
  President: Serényi Éva
  feki@kabelkon.ro

• Hidro Protect Alapítvány Gyergyószentmiklós (Fundația Hidro Protect)
  Cart. Bucin bl. 10/15, 4200 Gheorgheni
  President: Székely István

• Naturland Alapítvány (Fundația Naturland - Naturland Foundation)
  Str. Carpaților nr. 6, 4200 Gheorgheni
  Tel: 066 162 544
  Fax: 066 162 036
  President: Pupák Felméri Zsuzsa

• Nemere Természetjáró Kör
  Str. Kós Károly nr. 10, 4000 Sf. Gheorghe
  Contact person: Kakas Zoltán

• Öko Klub–Pécска (Eco Club Independent–Pecica - Eco Club–Pecica)
  Str. Principală nr. 51, 2948 Pecica, Jud. Arad
  Tel: 057 468 170
  President: Ban Adalbert

• Öko-Info Alapítvány (Fundația Öko-Info)
  Str. M. Eminescu bl. 4/1, 4100 Miercurea Ciuc
  Tel: 066 111 623, 112 766
  President: Makfalvi Zoltán Ferenc
6. Minority institutions and/or associations representing the professionals interests

- Erdélyi Falusi Vendégfogadók Szövetsége (Asociația Transilvăneană pentru Turismul Rural - Transylvanian Federation for Rural Tourism)
  Str. Mihai Viteazu nr. 29/10, ap. 10, 4300 Tg. Mureș
  Tel: 065 214 652
  Fax: 065 161 454
  President: Szabó László

- Gyergyószentmiklósi Szarvasmarha Tenyésztők Egyesülete (Sindicatul Crescătorilor de Taurine Gheorgheni)
  Str. Stadionului nr. 3, 4200 Gheorgheni
  Tel: 066 217 557
  President: Halmen Péter

- Harhita megyei Polgári Tűzoltók Egyesülete (Asociația Profesională a Pompierilor Civili din Județul Harghita - Harghita County Civil Fire Fighters’ Union)
  Str. Kuvar bl. 26/1, 4150 Odorheiu Secuiesc
  Tel: 066 217 557
  President: Balogh Ferenc

- Kelemen Lajos Műemlékvédő Társaság (Str. Densuşianu nr. 6/A, 3400 Cluj-Napoca)
  Tel/fax: 064 414 042
  Contact person: Balogh Ferenc

- Keresztény Orvosok Szövetsége
  Str. Măgurei nr. 15, Ap. 2, 4300 Tg. Mureș
  Tel: 065 136 853, 164 837
  Contact person: Dr. Bocsai István
7. Minority institutions and/or associations concerning social and economic development:

- Agro-Caritas Transilvania Alapítvány
  Str. Márton Áron nr. 16, 4200 Gheorgheni
  Tel: 066 116726, 163 644
  President: Barth Ottó

- Anna Nőszövetség–Nagyvárad (Asociația Femeilor Ana–Oradea - Women’s Association–Anne)
  Str. Ady Endre nr. 11, 3700 Oradea
  Tel: 059 146 592
  President: Kelemen Mária

- A Munkanélküliség Kezelésének Helyi Programja (Fundatia PAEM Local pentru Tratarea Șomajului Odorheiu Secuiesc - Programme of Active Emloyment Measures)
  P-ța Libertății nr. 5, 4150 Odorheiu Secuiesc
  Tel: 066 214 481
  President: Bunta Levente
  evente@udv.ro

- Apsis Alapítvány (Fundatia Apsis)
  Allea Garoafelor nr. 4, 4150 Odorheiu Secuiesc
  Tel: 066 212 412
  President: Bálint Árpád

- Atro-Fami Alapítvány
  3997 Atea, Com. Dorolț, jud. Satu Mare
  Tel: 061 712 068
  President: Gyüre Sándor Zsolt, Pierre Welcomme

- Gazdakör–Kovászna (Cercul Gospodarilor–Covasna)
• Gazdakörök Központja–Kézdivásárhely (Centrala Cercurilor Gospodarilor–Târgu Secuiesc)
  Str. Nouă 17 Bl. 19/7, 4050 Târgu Secuiesc
  Tel: 067 363 188, 362 908
  President: Orbán Dezső

• Gyulaferhévári Főegyházmegyei Caritas Szervezet Gyergyószentmiklósi Mezőgazdasági Rézslege (Arhidiocéza Romano-Catolică Alba Iulia Secţia Agricolă Gheorgheni)
  Str. Márton Áron nr. 16, 4200 Gheorgheni
  Tel: 066 164 726
  President: Barth Ottó

• Human Reform Alapítvány (Fundatia Human Reform - Human Reform Foundation)
  Str. Crişan nr. 13, 4150 Odorheiu Secuiesc
  Tel: 066 216 015
  Fax: 066 214 481
  President: Balla Zoltán

• Junior Business Club Egyesület (Asociaţia Junior Business Club - Junior Business Club Association)
  Str. 1 Decembrie 1918 nr. 2, 4000 Sf. Gheorghe
  Tel: 067 311 006
  Fax: 067 351 781
  President: Dénes István
  office@jbc sbnet.ro

• Kishomoród Alapítvány (Fundatia Kishomoród - Kishomoród Foundation)
  4157 Lueta nr. 321, Jud. Harghita
  Tel: Lutea 38
  Contact person: Egyed József
  egyjo@udv.csoft.pcnert.ro

• Landwirtschaft-Agricultură-Mezőgazdaság-LAM Alapítvány
  (Fundatia LAM– Landwirtschaft-Agricultură-Mezőgazdaság)
  Str. Principală nr. 222, 4016 Ilieni, Jud. Covasna
  Tel/fax: 067 351 874
  President: Kató Béla
  lam@cosys.ro

• Nemzetközi Alapítvány egy Emberarcú Polgári Társadalomért Romániában
  (Fundatia Internatională pentru Promovarea Unei Societăţi Civile Umane în România - International Foundation for Promoting a Human Civil Society in Romania)
  Str. T. Vladimirescu nr. 21/22, 4100 Miercurea Ciuc
  Tel/fax: 066 112 695
  President: Zólya Éva Gabriella
  ezolya@nextra.ro

• OVR Lázár Társaság (Asociaţia OVR–Lăzarea)
  Str. Principală nr. 696, 4215 Lăzarea, Jud. Harghita
  Tel/fax: 066 164 464
  President: Kolcsár Géza

• Regionális Fejlesztési Központ (Centrul de Dezvoltare Regionă Ciuc)
  Aleea Copiilor nr. 5, 4100 Miercurea Ciuc
Contact person: Koszta Csaba

- RegioNet Alapítvány–Térség- és Vállalkozásfejlesztési Központ Gyergyószentmiklós (Fundatia RegioNet–Centru de Deyvoltare Regională âi Antreprenorială Gheorgheni - RegioNet Foundation–Gheorgheni Regional Development Center)
P-ţa Libertăţii nr. 1, 4200 Gheorgheni
Tel: 066 164 310
Fax: 066 164 310
President: Török Zoltán

- “Rotary-Kányád” Alapítvány (Fundatia „Rotary-Ulieş” - „Rotary-Ulieş” Foundation)
4193 Ulieş nr. 29B, Jud. Harghita
Tel: 066 212 863
Present: Toró József

- Szatmár Megyei Polgármesterek Egyesülete (Asociaţia Primarilor din Judeţul Satu Mare)
Str. Mioriţei nr. 63, 3911 Botiz, Jud. Satu Mare
Tel: 061 734 892
Contact person: Bondici Miklód

- “Székely Faluért” Alapítvány (Fundatia “Székely Faluért” - Foundation for Sekler Towns)
Str. Bânski Donáth nr. 40, 4000 Sf. Gheorghe
Tel: 067 351 114
Fax: 067 351 114
President: Király Károly

- Temesvári Magyar Nőszövetség (Asociaţia Femeilor Maghiare din Timişoara - Association of Hungarian Women from Timişoara)
B-dul Revoluţiei nr. 8, 1900 Timişoara
Tel: 056 192 817, 092 696 899
Fax: 056 193 499, 193 338
President: Szász Enikő

8. Minority institutions and/or associations concerning interethnic dialogue:

- Arménia Örménymagyar Baráti Társaság
Str. Dornei nr. 30, 3400 Cluj-Napoca
Tel: 064 136 735
Contact person: Bálint Júlia

- Marco Alapítvány (Fundatia Marco)
Str. G. Coşbuc nr. 17, 3900 Satu Mare
Tel: 061 715 681
President: Valdrad Erzsébet

- Szigetfalui Szórványközpont (Centrul de Diasporă–Sculia - Center of Diaspora–Sculia)
1837 Sculia nr. 73, Jud. Timiş
President: Virág János

- Szórvány Alapítvány (Fundatia Diaspora - Diaspora Foundation)
Str. Popa Laurenţiu nr. 7, Ap. 12, 1900 Timişoara
Tel/fax: 056 201 390
President: Bodó Barna

9. Minority institutions and/or associations concerning interests defence
10. Minority institutions and/or associations concerning civil society

• Bethlen Alapítvány
  Str. Mihai Viteazu nr. 54, Ap. 1, 4300 Tg. Mureș
  Tel: 065 213 676, 210 152, 214 912
  President: Bethlen Anikó

• Alapítvány az Erdélyi Magyar Civil Szervezetekért
  Str. Pietroasa nr. 12, 3400 Cluj-Napoca,
  Tel/fax: 064 431 488
  President: Egri István

• “Mentor” Jótkonyásági Egyesület (Asociația de Caritate “Mentor” - “Mentor” Charity Association)
  Str. Horea nr. 67-73, ap. 11, 3400 Cluj-Napoca
  Tel: 064 432 443, 1311 661
  Fax: 064 196 171
  President: Bálint-Besenszky Sándor

11. Minority institutions and/or associations concerning international cooperation:

• Román-Magyar Baráti Társaság Csíkszereda–Pécs (Asociația de Prietenie Româno-Ungură din Miercurea Ciuc–Pécs)
  Str. Majláth Gusztáv nr. 4A, ap. 9, 4100 Miercurea Ciuc
  Tel: 066 112 806
  Fax: 066 112 806
  President: Szüszer Nagy Kata

• Rés Club Alapítvány–Dés (Fundação Res Club)
  Str. Florilor nr. 39, 4650 Dej
  Tel: 064 213 877
  President: Luidort Péter

• Riehen Egyesület Csíkszereda
  P-ia Libertăţii nr, 16/47, CP 114, 4100 Csíkszereda
  Tel: 066 112 469
  Contact person: Borbáth Erzsébet

12. Minority institutions and/or associations concerning religion:

• Dávid Ferenc Egylet
  B-dul 21 Decembrie nr. 9, CP 24, 3400 Cluj-Napoca
  Tel: 064 193 236, 195 927
  Fax: 064 193 236, 195 927
  President: Molnos Lajos

• Dávid Ferenc Ifjúsági Egyletek Országos Szövetsége (Asociația Națională de Tineret Dávid Ferenc - Dávid Ferenc Unitarian Youth Association)
  Str. Kós Károly nr. 2, 4000 Sf. Gheorghe
  Tel: 067 313 813
  Fax: 067 351 470
  B-dul 21 Decembrie nr. 9, 3400 Cluj-Napoca
  Tel/fax: 064 193 236, 195 927
  President: Szabó László
  david@odfie.sbnet.ro
  odfieszl@proteo.cj.edu.ro
13. Minority institutions and/or associations concerning youth (youth organisations):

- Alapítvány az Ifjúságkutatásért és Képzésekért (Fundacja pentru Studii și Seminarii în Probleme de Tineret - Foundation for Youth Research and Training)
  Str. Kórösi Cs. Sándor nr. 6/3, 4100 Miercurea Ciuc
  Tel/fax: 066 124 695
  President: Borboly Csaba
  nk@nextra.ro

- Aradi Magyar Ifjúsági Szervezet (Organizația Tinerilor Maghiari din Arad - Arad Hungarian Youth Organization)
  Str. Alecu Russo nr. 6, 2900 Arad
  Tel: 057 254 605
  Fax: 057 250 627
  President: Pócsai Ildikó

- Orbán Balázs Alapítvány (Fundação Gimnaziului Orbán Balázs)
  Str. Orbán Balázs nr. 1, 4180 Cristuru Secuiesc
  Tel: 066 218 366
  Fax: 066 218 366
  President: Gergely György

- Református Diákotthon Alapítvány (Fundação Câmine de Elevi ale Bisericii Reformate - Student Hostel Foundation of the Reformed Church)
  Str. Rákóczi Ferenc nr. 17, 4150 Odorheiu Secuiesc
  Tel: 066 218 060
  Fax: 066 218 060
  President: Dobai László
dda@rda.org.soroscj.ro

- SZINFO–Székelyudvarhelyi Ifjúsági Információs és Tanácsadó Iroda–Alapítvány (Fundação SZINFO–Biroul de Informare și Consiliere pentru Tineret - SZINFO Foundation–Youth Information and Counseling Office)
14. Political parties and/or associations founded by the minority

- Democratic Alliance of Hungarians in Romania (DAHR). Referred to inconsistently in publications as UDMR (Uniunea Democrată Maghiarilor din România) and RMDSZ (Romániai Magyar Demokrata Szövetség).
  President: Markó Béla
  Str. Herastrău 13, Bucharest
  Tel: 01 230 6570, 230 5877, 230 4936
  Fax: 01 230 6570, 230 5877, 230 4936
  Str. Ulciorului 4, 4300 Tîrgu Mureș
  Tel: 065 210 020, 218 692
  Fax: 065 210 020, 218 692

- Honorary President: Bishop Tökés László
  Bishop of the Királyhágómellék Reformed Church District
  Str. Antonescu 27, 3700 Oradea
  Tel: 059 432 837
  Fax: 059 432 837

- Executive President: Takács Csaba
  Str. Bilașcu 60, 3400 Cluj-Napoca
  Tel: 064 190 758, 193 108, 190 757
  Fax: 064 190 758, 193 108, 190 757

- President of the Representatives Council: Dézsi Zoltán
  4200 Gheorgheni
  Tel: 066 111 606
  Fax: 066 111 606

15. Minority media

- Hargita Népe Alapítvány (Fundação Social-Culturală Hargita Népe)
  Leliceni St. No. 45, CP 36, 4100 Miercurea Ciuc
  Tel: 066 172 633
  Fax: 066 171 322
  President: Borbély László

- Háromszéki Magyar Sajtóalapítvány (Fundatia de Presă Maghiară Trei Scaune - Harmas Foundation)
  Presei St. No. 8/A, 4000 Sf. Gheorghe
  Tel: 067 351 504
  Fax: 067 351 253
  President: Farkas Árpád
  hpress@3szek.ro
http://www.3szek.ro

- Kritérium Alapítvány (Fundatia Kritéron - Kritéron Foundation)
  N. Bálcescu St. No. 17, 4100 Miercurea Ciuc
  Tel: 066 171 874
  Fax: 066 171 874
  President: Domokos Géza

- Minervá Művelődési Egyesület (Asociația Culturală Minerva)
  Napoca St. No. 16, 3400 Cluj-Napoca
  Tel: 064 198 985
  Fax: 064 197 206
  kpabadsag@mail.dntcj.ro

- Syn TV Alapítvány (Fundatia TV SYN)
  P-ţa Libertăţii No. 22, 4200 Ghergheni
  Tel: 066 164 043
  Fax: 066 164 610
  President: Fazakas Enikő

Radio Stations

- Astra Rádió, 4000 Sfântu-Gheorghe
  Tel: (067) 351 019

- Bukaresti Rádió
  Str. Gen. Berthelot nr. 62, 70747 Bucharest
  Tel: 01 323 8253; 312 6991
  Fax: 01 222 5641
  Director: Sánta Dan
  bukiradio@radio.rornet.ro

- Cenk Rádió, Str. Simion Bărnuţiu nr. 17, 2200 Braşov
  Tel: 068 150 220
  Fax: 068 150 220
  Director: Kiss Éva

- Galaxia Rádió
  Casa de Cultură a Sindicatelor, et. 2, 4800 Baia Mare
  Tel: 062 218 880
  Fax: 062 422 301
  Director: Darnai Árpád
  Editor-in-chief: Szaniszló Pál
  office@galaxia.sintec.ro
  galaxia@sintec.ro
  www.sintec.ro/galaxia

- Kolozsvári Rádió
  Str. Dónáth 160, 3400 Cluj-Napoca
  Tel: 064 180 116; 186 065
  Fax: 064 180 116
  Editor-in-chief: Orbán Katalin
  Director: Florin Zaharescu
  kvradio@radiocluj.ro

- Marosvásárhelyi Rádió
  B-dul 1 Dec. 1918 nr. 109, 4300 Tîrgu Mureş
• Mix FM Rádió
Str. Gh. Doja nr. 225, 4300 Tîrgu Mureş
Tel: 065 252 122
Fax: 065 252 916
Director: Sfăriac Octavian
city@netsoft.ro
www.mixfm.ro

• Mix FM Rádió
P-ţa Mihai Viteazu nr. 15, 4000 Sf. Gheorghe
Tel: 067 351 019
Fax: 067 351 147
mix@planet.ro

• Prima Rádió
Str. Victoriei nr. 12, 4150 Odorhei-Secuiesc
Tel: 066 214 477
Fax: 066 213 612
Director: Molnos Zoltán
primaradio@prima.nextra.ro

• Radio GaGa
Str. Călăraşilor nr. 1, 4300 Tg. Mureş
Tel: 065 219218
Fax: 065 219218
Director: Nagy István
redactie@radiogaga.ro

• Rádió XXI, P-ţa Libertăţii 16, 4100 Miercurea-Ciuc
Tel: 066 172 066
Fax: 066 172 049
Director: Balázs Ildikó

• Rubin Stúdió
Str. Márton Áron nr.16, 4200 Gheorgheni
Tel.: 066 164 715; 094 268 146
Fax: 066 164921
Director: Berszán-Árus György
rubin@revox.ro

• Samtel Radio
P-ţa 25 Octombrie nr. 1, CP 545, 3900 Satu Mare
Tel: 061 710 226
Fax: 061 711 713
94fm@samtel.ro

• Siculus Rádió
Str. Gábor Áron 2, 4050 Tîrgu-Secuiesc
Tel: 067 362 757
Fax: 067 364 861
Director: Dr. Szöcs Géza
siculus@honoris.ro

- Sonvest Rádió
  Str. Pannonius nr. 25/A, 3700 Oradea
  Tel: 059 436 111
  Fax: 059 411 222
  Director: Takács Jenő
  sonvest@roetco.ro

- Star Radio
  Digital 3 RT, Str. Rákóczi Ferenc nr. 1, PO 55, 4150 Odorheiu Secuiesc
  Tel: 066 215 167
  Fax: 066 216 499
  Director: Bíró Enikő
  star@d3.topnet.ro

- Temesvári Rádió
  Str. Pestalozzi nr. 14/A, 1900 Timișoara
  Tel: 056 191 084; 190 585
  Fax: 056 191 084
  Director: Anghel Mihai
  Editor-in-chief: Bartha Csaba
  maghiara@radiotm.online.ro
  www.online.ro/radiotm/

Television Stations
- Bukaresti TV
  Calea Dorobanților nr. 191, 71281 Bucharest
  Tel: 01 230 5144
  Fax: 01 230 5104
  Director: Boros Zoltán
  redactia.maghiara@tvr.ro

- Csíki TV, Szabadság tér 16, 4100 Miercurea-Ciuc
  Tel: 066 115 868
  Fax: 066 172 109
  Director: Székedi Ferenc
  sikitv@sgi.kahonet.ro

- Digitál 3
  Str. Rákóczi nr. 1, 4150 Odorheiu Secuiesc
  Tel: 066 218 043; 213 954
  Fax: 066 217 824
  Editor-in-chief: Baloga Sándor
  Director: Ráduly Mihály
  digital3@d3.topnet.ro
  skorpio@d3.topnet.ro

- Háromszék TV
  Aleea Sănătății nr. 5, ap. 7, C.P. 179, 4000 Sfântu-Gheorghe
  Tel: 067 324 029
  Fax: 067 316 901
  Director: Ferencz Réka

- Kolozsvári TV
  Str. Donath 160, 3400 Cluj-Napoca
  Tel: 064 182 916, 186 065
Fax: 064 420 037  
Director: Csép Sándor  
na@tvrcj.mail.dntcj.ro

- Maros TV, Str. Parângului nr. 2/42, 3400 Tîrgu Mureș  
  Tel:065 167 137  
  Director:Katyi Antal

- Polyp TV  
P-ța Gábor Áron nr. 2, CP 30, 4050 Tg. Secuiesc  
  Tel: 067 362 262  
  Fax: 067 362 262  
  Director: Kész Imre  
poly@tgs.planet.ro

- Samtel TV  
P-ța 25 Octombrie nr. 1, CP 545, 3900 Satu Mare  
  Tel: 061 710 226  
  Fax: 061 711 713  
94fm@samtel.ro

- Selectronik TV  
P-ța Mihai Viteazu nr. 15, 4000 Sf. Gheorghe  
  Tel: 067 315 225  
  Fax: 067 313 040  
  Director: Erdélyi András  
 tv@planet.ro

- Syn TV  
P-ța Libertății nr. 22, 4200 Gheorgheni  
  Tel: 066 164 610  
  Fax: 066 164 610  
  Director: Kovácsics László  
  syntv@knet.ro  
syntv@kabelkon.ro

- Transilvania TV  
P-ța Enescu nr. 4, 2200 Brașov  
  Tel: 068 476 868; 144 671  
  Fax: 068 476 444  
  Editor-in-chief: Bálint Ferenc  
  Director: Florin Boitos  
  balintf@deuroconsult.ro

- TV O, Str. Republicii nr. 8, 3700 Oradea  
  Tel: 059 418 499  
  Director: Meleg Vilmos

- TV S  
Str. Independenței nr. 24, 3700 Oradea  
  Tel: 059 137 623  
  Fax: 059 447 253  
  Director: Paul Pintea  
Editor of the Hungarian program: Bimbó-Szuhai Tibor  
  vsnews@mail.rdsor.ro

- Temesvári TV
Newspapers

- **A Hét (The Week)**
P-ţa Presei Libere nr. 1, 79776 Bucharest 33
  Tel: 01 222 24839
  Fax: 01 224 3728
  Editor-in-chief: Gálfalvi Zsolt

- **Áttekintő**
  C.P. 117, 4100 Miercurea Ciuc

- **Bányavidéki Új Szó (New Word of Bányavidék)**
  Str. V. Babeş 62, 4800 Baia Mare
  Tel: 062 218 204
  Fax: 062 216 173
  Editor-in-chief: Szilveszter Mária
  genius@sintec.ro

- **Besztercei Híradó (Messenger of Beszterce)**
  Str. Gh. Ţincui nr. 16, 4400 Bistriţa
  Tel: 063 233 413
  Fax: 063 233 413
  Editor-in-chief: Koszorus Zoltán

- **Bihari Napló (Journal of Bihar)**
  Şirul Canonicilor nr. 25, O.P. 2, CP 14, 3700 Oradea
  Tel: 059 412 727; 412 581
  Fax: 059 415 450
  Editor-in-chief: Rajs W. István
  bnnaplo@partner.rdsor.ro
  www.biharinaplo.ro
  www.hhrf.org/biharinaplo

- **Brassói Lapok (Pages of Brassó)**
  Str. Mihail Sadoveanu nr. 3, 2200 Braşov
  Tel/fax: 068 475 303
  Editor-in-chief: Ambrus Attila
  brassoi@brasovia.ro

- **Cimbora (Companion)**
  Str. Sajtő 8/A, 4000 Sfântu-Gheorghe
  Tel: 067 313 268
  Editor-in-chief: Forró László

- **Délnyugat (Southwest)**
  C.P. 77, 1700 Reşiţa
  Tel: 055 212 136
  Editor-in-chief: Makay Botond

- **Délhegyalja**
4707 Ciunani nr. 260
Tel: 066 151 029
Fax: 066 151 029
Editor-in-chief: Ambrus Árpád
rbpcs@server.ro

• EMT Tájékoztató
B-dul 21 Decembrie nr. 116, C.P. 1-140, 3400 Cluj-Napoca
Tel: 064 190 825, 194042
Fax: 064 194 042
Editor-in-chief: Egly János
emt@emt.ro
www.emt.ro

• Erdélyi Napló (Journal of Transylvania),
Șirul Canonicilor nr. 25, OP 2, CP 13, 3700 Oradea
Tel: 059 417 158
Fax: 059 417 126
Editor-in-chief: Dénes László
erdelyinaplo@texnet.ro
www.hhrf.org/erdelyinaplo

• Erdélyi Figyelő (Transylvanian Observer),
Str. Városháza 1, 4300 Tîrgu Mureș
Tel: 065 166 910
Fax: 065 168 688
Editor-in-chief: Lázok János

• Erdővidék
Str. Kossuth nr. 139, 4023 Baraolt
Tel: 067 377 969
Fax: 067 377 969

• Értesítő (Report),
Str. Primăriei nr. 1, 4300 Tîrgu Mureș
Tel: 065 168 688
Fax: 065 168 688
Editor-in-chief: Ambrus Attila
mure@netsoft.ro

• Európai Idő (European Time),
Str. Daliei 44, sc. C/1, 4000 Sfântu-Gheorghe
Tel: 067 314 322
Fax: 067 314 322
Editor-in-chief: Willmann Walter
szerkeszt@eurid.planet.ro
http://www.eurid.planet.ro

• Gyergyói Kisújság (Little news of Gyergyó),
P-ța Libertății nr. 22, 4200 Gheorgheni
Tel: 066 164 128
Fax: 066 164 128
Editor-in-chief: Ábrahám Imre
kisujjsag@server.ro

• Hang
Str. I. B. Deleanu nr. 11, 2900 Arad
Tel: 057 256 421
Fax: 057 250 421

- **Hargita Népe (Harghita People), (People of Harghita)**
  
  Str. Lelicieni nr. 45, CP 36, 4100 Miercurea-Ciuc
  
  Tel: 066 172 633, 171 322, 110507
  
  Fax: 066 171 322, 172 633
  
  Editor-in-chief: Borbély László
  
  hargitanepe@topnet.ro
  
  www.topnet.ro/hargitanepe

- **Háromszék (Three Chairs – name of a region)**
  
  Str. Presei nr. 8/A, 4000 Sfântu-Gheorghe
  
  Tel: 067 351 504; 351 135
  
  Fax: 067 351 253, 322 214
  
  Editor-in-chief: Farkas Árpád
  
  hpress@3szek.ro
  
  http://www.3szek.ro

- **Helikon (Helicon),**
  
  Str. Iașiilor nr. 14, 3400 Cluj-Napoca
  
  Tel: 064 132 309
  
  Fax: 064 132 096
  
  Editor-in-chief: Szilágyi István

- **Heti Új Szó (Weekly New Word)**
  
  B-dul Revoluției din 1989 nr. 8, 1900 Timișoara
  
  Tel: 056 196 708
  
  Fax: 056 196 708
  
  Editor-in-chief: Graur János
  
  ujszo@saratoga.ro
  
  www.ujszo.saratoga.ro

- **Hunyad Vármegeye**
  
  Str. Barițiu nr. 9, 2700 Deva
  
  Tel: 054 231 500
  
  Editor-in-chief: Gáspár Barra Réka

- **Kalotaszeg (place-name)**
  
  P-ța Republicii nr. 28, Of. P. 2, C.P. 8, 3525 Huedin
  
  Tel: 065 254 239
  
  Editor-in-chief: Kusztos Tibor

- **Keddd**
  
  Str. Kossuth Lajos nr. 20, 4150 Odorheiu Secuiesc
  
  Tel: 066 218 027
  
  Fax: 066 213 371
  
  Editor-in-chief: Szabó Attila
  
  uff@kabelkon.ro
  
  www.kabelkon.ro/uff

- **Kisküküllő**
  
  Str. Republicii nr. 76, 3225 Tîrnăveni
  
  Tel: 065 440 600
  
  Editor-in-chief: Kakassy Sándor

- **Kis Tükör (Little Mirror)**
• Krónika (Chronicle)
Str. Rahovei nr. 7/A, 3400 Cluj
Tel: 064 420 320
Fax: 064 420 330
Editor-in-chief: Werner Péter
kronika@mail.dntcj.ro
www.kronika.dntcj.ro

• Közoktatás (General Education),
P-ťa Presei Libere nr. 1, 71341 Bucharest 33
Tel: 01 224 4629
Fax: 01 224 4629
Editor-in-chief: Gergely László
euromedia@gmx.net
http://www.euromedia.go.ro

• Magnificat
Str. Luminii nr. 3, 2600 Orăștie
Editor-in-chief: Fr. Pap Leonárd

• Margitta és Környéke
Str. Republicii nr. 2, 3775 Marghita
Tel: 059 361 300
Editor-in-chief: Albert Attila

• Máramarosi Hírnök
Str. Lucian Blaga nr. 48, 4925 Sighetu Marmăției
Tel: 062 311 908
Editor-in-chief: Zahoránszky Ibolya

• Nagykároly és Vidéke (place-name)
Str. Kőlcsey Ferenc nr. 2, 3825 Carei
Tel: 061 864 864
Fax: 061 864 864
Editor-in-chief: Zsilimon Várday Zoltán

• Nagyküküllő
Str. J. Honterus nr. 2, 3125 Mediaș
Tel: 069 832 657
Fax: 069 832 657
Editor-in-chief: Iszlay László

• Népújság (Peoples’ News),
Str. Dózsa György nr. 9, 4300 Tîrgu Mureș-Mureș
Tel: 065 166 780
Fax: 065 166 270
Editor-in-chief: Makkai János
impress@netsoft.ro
http://www.hhrf.org/nepujsag
• Szatmári Friss Újság (Fresh News of Szatmár),
  Str. Mihai Viteazul nr. 32, 3900 Satu Mare
  Tel: 061 712 024
  Fax: 061 714 654
  Editor-in-chief: Veres István
  szfu@multiarea.ro

• Szemfüles
  Șirul Canonicilor nr. 25, 3700 Oradea
  Tel: 059 427 322
  Editor-in-chief: Molnár Anikó

• Székelyföld
  P-ța Libertății nr. 5/22, CP 149, 4100 Miercurea Ciuc
  Tel: 066 111 026
  Fax: 066 111 026
  Editor-in-chief: Ferenczes István
  gyorgyattila@nextra.ro
  szekelyfold@cchr.ro

• Székely Hirmondó
  P-ța Gábor Áron nr. 4, CP35, 4050 Tg. Secuiesc
  Tel: 067 364 980
  Editor-in-chief: Kovács Mária
  hirmondo@planet.ro

• Szigeti Turmix
  Cart. 1 Mai nr. 4/17, 4925 Sighetu Marmației
  Tel: 062 318 262

• Szilágyság (weekly),
  Str. Kossuth Lajos nr. 33, CP 68, 4700 Zalău
  Tel: 060 661 685
  Fax: 060 661 685
  Editor-in-chief: Józsa László
  mdsszilah@netcompsj.ro

• Udvarhelyi Híradó (Messenger of Udvarhely),
  Str. Bethlen Gábor nr. 2, 4150 Odorhei-secuiesc
  Tel: 066 218 361
  Fax: 066 218 340
  Editor-in-chief: Pintér D. István
  uh@nextra.ro
  www.nextra.ro/infopress/uh.htm

• Udvarhelyszék
  Str. Kossuth Lajos nr. 6, 4150 Odorhei Secuiesc
  Tel: 066 218 316
  Fax: 066 218 316
  Editor-in-chief: Bagyi Bencze Jakab
  udvarhelyszek@iname.com

Magazines

• Corvin Rejtvénymagazin (Corvin Magazine),
  Str. Barițiu nr. 9, C.P. 138, 2700 Deva
  Tel: 054 234 500
Fax: 054 234 500
Editor-in-chief: Csatlós János
corvin@mail.recep.ro

- Erdélyi Gazda (Transylvanian Farmer),
  Str. 21 Decembrie nr. 116, 3400 Cluj-Napoca
  Tel: 064 431 896
  Fax: 064 431 896
  Editor-in-chief: Farkas Zoltán
  erdelyi_gazda@mail.dntcj.ro

- Erdélyi Gyopár (a type of plant), (Edelweiss)
  Str. Iuliu Maniu nr. 7, OP 1, CP 41, 3400 Cluj-Napoca
  Tel: 064 196 148
  Editor-in-chief: Váradi Gyula
  gyopar@codec.ro

- Erdélyi Múzeum (Transylvanian Muzeum),
  Str. Napoca nr. 2, C.P. 191, 3400 Cluj-Napoca
  Tel: 064 195 176
  Editor-in-chief: Sipos Gábor

- Korunk (Our Age)
  Str. Iaşiilor nr. 14, CP 273, 3400 Cluj-Napoca
  Tel: 064 432 154
  Fax: 064 432 154
  Editor-in-chief: Dienes László, Kántor Lajos
  korunk@mail.dntcj.ro

- Látó
  Str. Primăriei nr. 1, CP 89, 3400 Tg Mureş
  Tel: 065 167 091
  Fax: 065 167 087
  Editor-in-chief: Markó Béla
  lato@netsoft.ro

- Magyar Kisebbség (Hungarian Minority)
  Str. Universitatii nr. 2/5, 3400 Cluj-Napoca
  Tel: 064 439 399
  Fax: 064 439 399
  Editor-in-chief: Székely István
  szekely@sapientia.ro

- Mára marosi Havasok
  Str. Bogdan Vodă nr. 4, 4925 Sighetu Marmaţiei
  Tel: 062 311 783
  Editor-in-chief: Serșnzi Sprenger Ferenc

- Moldvai Magyarság (Hungarian people of Moldavia),
  Str. Vasile Goldiş nr. 1/33, 4000 Sfântu-Gheorghe
  Editor-in-chief: Ósz Erőss Péter

- Művelődés (Culture),
  P-ţa Unirii nr. 11, ap. 7, C.P. 201, 3400 Cluj-Napoca
  Tel: 064 191 267
  Fax: 064 191 267
  Editor-in-chief: Szabó Zsolt
• Napsugár (Ray of Sunshine),
Str. L. Rebreanu nr. 58, ap. 28, C.P. 137, 3400 Cluj-Napoca
Tel: 064 141 323
Editor-in-chief: Zsigmond Emese

• Népújság (Peoples’ News),
Str. Dózsa György nr. 9, 4300 Tîrgu Mureş-Mureş
Tel: 065 166 270
Fax: 065 166 270
Editor-in-chief: Makkai János

• Romániai Magyar Szó (Hungarian Word of Romania),
P-ţa Presei Libere nr. 1, Bucharest 79776
Tel: 01 222 3308; 222 5802; 222 3324
Fax: 01 222 9441; 222 3211
Editor-in-chief: Gyarmath János

• Szatmári Friss Újság (Fresh News of Szatmár),
Str. Mihai Viteazul nr. 32, 3900 Satu Mare
Tel: 061 712 024; 714 654; 715 963
Fax: 061 712 024
Editor-in-chief: Veres István

• Szivárvány
Str. Liviu Rebreanu 58/28, CP 137, 3400 Cluj-Napoca
Tel: 064 141 323
Editor-in-chief:

• Szövetség
Str. Ulciorului nr. 4, 4300 Tg. Mureş
Tel: 065 218 692
Fax: 065 218 692
Editor-in-chief: Csernik Attila
elhivmsv@netsoft.ro

• Tabu Magazin (Taboo Magazine),
Str. Poşta nr. 3, 4300 Tîrgu Mureş-Mureş
Tel: 065 219 229
Fax: 065 219 229
Editor-in-chief: Szucher Ervin

Denominational newspapers

• Búzamag (Grain of Wheat),
Str. Progresului nr. 6, 2700 Deva
Tel: 054 214 873
Fax: 054 214 873
Editor-in-chief: Bőithe Csaba
sztf@mail.recep.ro

• Caritas és Egyház (Caritas and the Church),
Str. Matei Corvin nr. 2, 1900 Timişoara
Tel: 056 194 812
Fax: 056 194 812
Editor-in-chief: Boér Jenő
• Ébresztő (Wakening)
  Str. Mică nr. 593, 3715 Oșorhei
  Editor-in-chief: Kállay László

• Értesítő (Report),
  Str. I. C. Brătianu nr. 51, 3400 Cluj-Napoca
  Tel: 064 192 453
  Fax: 064 195 104
  Editor-in-chief: Gyenge János

• Evangélikus Harangszó
  Str. 21 Decembrie nr. 1, 3400 Cluj-Napoca
  Tel: 064 196 614
  Fax: 064 193 897
  Editor-in-chief: Kisgyörgy Réka
  luthphkolozsvar@zortec.ro

• Harangszó (Chime [e.g. of a bell]),
  Str. Mareșal Ion Antonescu nr. 27, 3700 Oradea
  Editor-in-chief: Csúry István
  partium@rdsor.ro

• Igehirdető (Preacher),
  Str. Ponorului nr. 1-3, 3400 Cluj-Napoca
  Tel: 064 440510
  Editor-in-chief: Jenei Tamás

• Keresztény Magvető
  Str. 21 Decembrie nr. 9, 3400 Cluj-Napoca
  Tel: 064 193 236
  Fax: 064 195 927

• Keresztény Szó (Christian Word)
  P-ța Unirii nr. 16, C.P. 1090, 3400 Cluj-Napoca
  Tel: 064 196 478
  Fax: 064 197 788
  Editor-in-chief: Jakab Gábor
  kerszo@mail.dntcj.ro

• Kistestvér (Little Brother),
  Str. Kájoni János nr. 47, 4100 Miercurea-Ciuc
  Tel: 066 171 575
  Fax: 066 171 770
  Editor-in-chief: Lux István

• Küldetésben (In Mission)
  P-ța Roza nr. 61, 4300 Târgu-Mureș
  Tel: 065 169 126
  Fax: 065 214 280
  Editor-in-chief:

• Mégis
  Str. Bethlen Gábor nr. 3, 2500 Alba Iulia
  Tel: 058 813 887
  Fax: 058 816 192
Editor-in-chief: 
lesz@apulum.ro

- Mustármag (Mustard Seed),
  Str. Gen. Berthelot nr. 5, 3700 Oradea
  Tel: 059 415 015
  Editor-in-chief: Szilágyi László
  Mustarm@rdsor.ro

- Mustármag (Mustard Seed)
  2212 Sâcele nr. 48
  Tel: 068 270 540
  Editor-in-chief: Török Beáta

- Partium Közlöny, (Gazette of Partium)
  Str. Jean Calvin nr. 1, 3700 Oradea
  Tel: 059 431 710
  Fax: 059 432 837
  Editor-in-chief: Barabás Zoltán
  partium@rdsor.ro

- Református Család (Reformed Family),
  Str. I. C. Brâteanu nr. 51, 3400 Cluj-Napoca
  Tel: 064 192 453
  Fax: 064 195 104
  Editor-in-chief: Nagy István

- Református Szemle (Reformed Review),
  Str. I.C. Brâteanu nr. 51, 3400 Cluj-Napoca
  Tel: 064 192 453
  Fax: 064 195 104
  Editor-in-chief: dr. Bustya Dezső
  refch@mail.dntcj.ro

- Szeretet (Charity),
  Str. Berthelot nr. 5, 3700 Oradea
  Tel: 059 418 221
  Fax: 059 415 424
  Editor-in-chief: Vékás Zoltán
  szeretet@rdsor.ro

- Szent Mihály Üzenete (Saint Michael’s Message)
  P-ța Unirii nr. 16-17, 3400 Cluj-Napoca
  Tel: 064 195 252
  Fax: 064 195 252
  Editor-in-chief: Szilágyi Júlia

- Új Kezdet
  P-ța Bernády nr. 3, 4300 Tg. Mureș
  Tel: 065 215 199
  Fax: 065 215 199
  Editor-in-chief: Fülöp G. Dénes
  vartemp@netsoft.ro

- Unitárius Közlöny (Unitarian Gazette),
  Str. 21 Decembrie nr. 9, 3400 Cluj-Napoca
  Tel: 064 193 236
Fax: 064 195 927
Editor-in-chief: dr. Szabó Árpád

- Üzenet (Message),
  Str. I.C. Brăateanu nr. 51, 3400 Cluj-Napoca
  Tel: 064 192 453
  Fax: 064 195 104
  Editor-in-chief: dr. Bustya Dezső
  refch@mail.dntcj.ro

- Vasárnap (Sunday),
  P-ţa Unirii nr. 16, C.P. 1090, 3400 Cluj-Napoca
  Tel: 064 197 788; 196 478
  Fax: 064 197 744
  Editor-in-chief: Jakab Gábor
  kerszo@mail.dntcj.ro

Publishing Houses

- Ablak Kiadó
  P-ţa Libertăţii nr. 8, 4150 Odorhei-secuiesc
  Director: Majla Sándor

- Alutus Kiadó
  Str. Harghitei nr. 108/A, 4100 Miercurea-Ciuc
  Tel: 066 171 837, 172 407
  Fax: 066 171 837, 172 407
  Director: Horváth

- Ábel Kiadó
  Tel: 064 185 225
  Director: Boné Ildikó
  consiliu@mail.dntcj.ro

- Baraprest Kft.
  Str. Marsilia nr. 50, 3400 Cluj-Napoca
  Tel: 061 711 554

- Bihari Napló Kiadóvállalat
  Șirul Canonicilor nr. 25, 3700 Oradea
  Tel: 059 412 727
  Fax: 059 415 450
  bnaplo@medanet.ro

- Bon Ami Könyvkiadó Kft.
  Str. Brazilor nr. 10, 4000 Sfântu-Gheorghe
  Tel: 067 315 039
  Fax: 067 315 039
  Director: Balogh László

- CE Koinónia Kiadó,
  Str. Tâietura Turcului nr. 4, 3400 Cluj-Napoca
  Tel: 064 187 044
  Fax: 064 187 044
  Director: Viski András
  coinonia@mail.dntcj.ro
• Charta Kft.
  Str. Gábor Áron nr. 14, 4000 Sf. Gheorghe
  Tel: 067 315 279
  Director: Kis György Tamás

• Corvina Impex Kft.
  Str. Ciucului nr. 1, 4000 Sf. Gheorghe
  Tel: 067 325 038, 315 684
  Director: Vajda Anna, Kerestély Ilona

• Corvina CP
  Str. Florilor nr. 60, 4100 Miercurea Ciuc
  Tel: 066 172 018
  Fax: 066 115 063

• Diforescar Kft.
  Str. Plaiului nr. 1/A/34, 4300 Tg. Mureș
  Tel: 065166 760
  Fax: 065166 760

• Disz-Tipo
  Str. G. Moroianu nr. 45, 2212 Săcele, Jud. Brașov
  Tel: 068 273 145
  Fax: 068 273 145
  Director: Dávid István

• Erdélyi Gondolat Kiadó
  Str. Tamási Áron nr. 87, 4150 Odorhei-Secuiesc
  Tel: 066 212 703
  Director: Beke Sándor

• Erdélyi Hiradó
  Str. Cișmigiu nr. 1, 3400 Cluj-Napoca
  Director: Szőcs Géza

• Erdélyi Múzeum-Egyesület
  Str. Napoca 2-4, OP 1, CP 191, 3400 Cluj-Napoca
  Tel: 064 195 176
  Fax: 064 195 176
  Director: Sipos Gábor

• Erdélyi Református Egyházkerület Misztótfalusi Nyomda
  P-áv Avram Iancu nr. 13, 3400 Cluj-Napoca
  Tel: 064 191 368
  Director: Tonk Sándor

• Erdélyi Sajtóház Kiadó
  Şirul Canonicilor nr. 25, 3700 Oradea
  Tel: 059 417 158
  Fax: 059 417 126
  erdelyinaplo@medanet.ro

• Erdélyi Szépmives Céh
  Str. Cișmigiu nr. 1, 3400 Cluj-Napoca
  Tel: 064 190 275, 190 824
- Fulgur Kiadó
  Str. Soarelui nr. 10, bl. 5, et. 2, ap. 26, 2200 Brașov
  Tel: 068 271 032
  Director: Bence Mihály

- Gazda Kiadó Kft.
  B-dul 21 Decembrie 1989 nr. 116, OP 13, CP 943, 3400 Cluj-Napoca
  Tel: 064 431 896
  Director: Sebestyén Csaba
  erdelyi_gazda@mail.dntcj.ro

- Glória Kiadó
  P-ța Unirii nr. 16, OP 1, CP 1090, 3400 Cluj-Napoca
  Tel: 064 197 744, 197 788
  Fax: 064 197 744, 197 788
  Director: Hoch Sándor

- Hungalibri kft.
  Str. Mihail Sadoveanu nr. 29, 4100 Miercurea-Ciuc
  Tel: 066 171 139
  Fax: 066 171 139

- Impress Kiadó kft.
  Str. Gh. Doja nr. 9/II/57, 4300 Tîrgu Mureș-Mureș
  Tel: 064 168 854
  Fax: 064 168 854
  Director: Petelei István

- Juventus Kiadó
  Str. Poștei nr. 3, 4300 Tg. Mureș
  Tel: 065 210 438

- Komp-Press Kiadó kft.
  Str. Iașiilor nr. 14, 3400 Cluj-Napoca
  Tel: 064 432 154, 136 530
  Fax: 064 432 154, 136 530
  Director: Cseke Péter

- Kriterion Könyvkiadó
  P-ța Presei Libere nr. 1, 71341 Bucharest
  Tel: 01 224 3628, 222 85 42
  Fax: 01 224 3628, 222 85 42
  Director: H. Szabó Gyula

- Litera Impex Kft.
  Str. Ciucului nr. 1, 4000 Sf. Gheorghe
  Tel: 067 311 383

- Literator Könyvkiadó
  Str. Oglinzilor nr. 1, 3700 Oradea
  Tel: 059 413 956, 433 089
  Fax: 059 415 450
  Director: Fábián Ernő

- Lyra Kiadó
Str. Păltiniș nr. 4, 4300 Tg. Mureș
Tel: 065 256 975, 165 373
Fax: 065 256 975, 165 373

- Master Druck
  Str. Laposnya nr. 2, 4300 Tg. Mureș
  Tel: 065 167 924, 162 359
  Director: Klosz Viktor

- Mediaprint
  Str. Livezeni nr. 6, 4300 Tg. Mureș
  Tel: 065 255 382
  Director: Cludiu Albu

- Mentor Kiadó
  Str. Păltiniș nr. 4, 4300 Tg. Mureș
  Tel: 065 256 975, 165 373
  Fax: 065 256 975, 165 373
  Director: Káli Király Károly

- Nis Könyvkiadó
  Str. Dacia nr. 3, 3400 Cluj-Napoca
  Tel: 064 134 067
  Fax: 064 432 421
  Director: Nistor Gáspár

- Pallas Akadémia Könyvkiadó
  Str. Petőfi Sándor nr. 4, 4100 Miercurea-Ciuc
  Tel: 066 171 955/171 036
  Fax: 066 171 955/171 036
  Director: Tőzsér József
  pallas@nextra.ro

- Polis Könyvkiadó
  I. C. Brătianu nr. 12, ap. 2, OP I, CP 16, 3400 Cluj-Napoca
  Tel: 064 196 988
  Fax: 064 196 988
  Director: Dávid Gyula

- Polsib
  Șos. Alba Iulia nr. 40, 2400 Sibiu
  Tel: 069 210 085
  Fax: 069 218 350
  Director: Neagoie Daniela

- Procardia Kiadó
  Str. Mihai Eminescu nr. 3, 4300 Tg. Mureș
  Tel: 065 114 501
  Fax: 065 166 900

- Pro-Print Kiadó
  Str. Timișoarei nr. 19, 4100 Miercurea-Ciuc
  Tel: 066 171 041, 114 257, 114 884
  Fax: 066 171 041, 114 257, 114 884
  Director: Burus Endre
• Scripta Kiadó, Al. Rogerius nr. 5, bl. Master, ap. 407, 3700 Oradea
  Tel: 059 165 642
  Fax: 059 164 637
  Director: Stanik István

• Stúdium Kiadó
  Str. Moțiilor nr. 4, 3400 Cluj-Napoca
  Tel: 064 431 969
  Fax: 064 431 969
  Director: Tőkés Elek

• Szenci Kertész Ábrahám Nyomda
  Str. Moscovei nr. 14, 3700 Oradea
  Tel: 059 416 067
  Director: Főrizs Attila

• Szeretet Szerkesztőség Nyomda
  Str. Berthelor nr. 5, 3700 Oradea
  Tel: 059 418 221

• Takács & Varga Corvin Magazin
  Str. Barițiu nr. 9, CP 138, 2700 Deva
  Tel: 054 234 500, 231 758
  Fax: 054 234 522
  Director: Bálint Zsombor
  corvin@mail.recep.ro

• Tinivár Lap- és Könyvvkiadó
  B-dul 21 Decembrie 1989 nr. 21, 3400 Cluj-Napoca
  Tel: 064 199 374
  Fax: 064 192 474, 192 729
  Director: Bartha Zoltán

• Tipo Cromatic
  Str. Morii nr. 12, 4300 Tg. Mureș
  Tel: 065 215 597, 213 531
  Director: Ormenișan Vasile

• Tipo Mur
  Str. Poligrafia nr. 3, 4300 Tg. Mureș
  Tel: 065 169 104
  Fax: 065 166 590
  Director: Filip Salvica

• Tipoholding Nyomda
  Str. Avram Iancu nr. 27, 3400 Cluj-Napoca
  Tel: 064 198 659
  Fax: 064 430 153
  Director: Coltea Tibor

• Trisedes Press Kft.
  Str. Presei nr. 8/A, 4000 Sfântu-Gheorghe
  Tel: 067 351 268
  Director: Gajzágó József

• Unitárius Egyházi Nyomda
The first “newspaper” only on Internet, i.e., not the Internet version of some newspaper distributed on paper, in Hungarian has already been edited. It is called the Transindex and it is edited in Cluj.

Maintains web pages for the DAHR. Also provides links to Hungarian organisations in Slovakia, the International Association for Hungarian language and culture in Hungary, and the Hungarian Reformed Federation of America. It also has links to Hungarian language press.

Puppet Theatres

- Brighella Bábszínház
  Str. Retezatului nr. 12, 3900 Satu Mare
  Tel: 061 711213
  Director: Szilágyi Regina

- Árkádia Ifjúsági és Gyermekszínház – Nagyvárad – Ludas Matyi Társulat
  Teatrul pt. Copii și Tineret „Arcadia”
  Str. V. Aleksandri 8, 3700 Oradea
  Tel: 059 133 398
  Fax: 059 133 398
  Director: Szöke Kavinszki András

- Matyi Műhely Magánbábszínház
Atelier „M”
3700 Oradea
Str. Moscovei nr. 8 (Tempo Club)
Tel: 059 131 948
Director: Meleg Attila
babosceh@lady.rdsor.ro

- Puck & Co.
  Zona Timocului T 27, et. II., ap. 8, 1900 Timişoara
  Tel: 056 286 847
  Director: Megyes Lábadi Éva
  iuliueva@hotmail.com

- Puck Bábszínház
  Teatrul de Păpuși “Puck”
  Str. Brâtianu nr. 23
  Tel: 064 195 992
  Fax: 064 195 992
  Director: Marcel Mureșeanu
  Hungarian section: György László

- 1001 Mese Bábszínház
  Str. N. Iorga nr. 11, 4650 Dej
  Tel: 064 211 457
  Director: Bereczky Gyula

- Kejfeljancsi Komédia Kompánia – Kolozsvár
  (Homo Ludens Alapítvány)
  Fundaţia “Homo Ludens”
  Tumbler Comedians’ Company
  3400 Cluj, Str. Maramureşului 182/3
  Tel: 094 699 616
  Director: Vincze László
  homoludens@mail.dntcj.ro

- Ariel Ifjúsági és Gyermekszínház
  Teatrul pt. Copii şi Tineret „Ariel”
  4300 Tg. Mureş, Str. Poştei nr. 2
  Tel: 065 120 428
  Fax: 065 215 184
  Director: Gavril Cadariu
  Literary secretary: Székely Katalin
  lfest@orizont.net

- Tamacisza Társulat
  Trupa “Tamacisza”
  Str. Târgului nr. 2, 4300 Tg. Mureş
  Director: Kozsik József

- Tamási Áron Színház Bábtagozata
  P-ţa Libertăţii nr. 1, 4000 Sf. Gheorghe
  Tel: 067 312 104, 351 886
  Fax: 067 351 886,
  Director: Nagy Kopeczky Kálmán

Theatres
• Teatrul de Stat din Oradea (Secția „Szigligeti”) (National Theatre)
  Bd. Republicii 6 Oradea 3700, Jud. Bihor
  Tel. 059-130.885
  Fax: 059-417.864
  Manager: Petre Panait

• Teatrul Maghiar de Stat, Cluj (Hungarian State Theatre)
  Emil Isac 26-28. 3400 Cluj-Napoca
  Tel: 064-193465
  Director: Tompa Gabor
  Contact person: Kelemen Kinga
  E-mail: huntheat@mail.soroscj.ro

• Teatrul „Figura Studio”, Gheorgheni (Figura Theatre Gheorghieni)
  Str. Kossuth Lajos 25 Gheorgheni 4200, Jud. Harghita
  Tel. 066-164.370
  Fax: 066-164.370
  E-mail: figura@server.ro
  Contact person: Szasbo Tibor

• Teatrul Dramatic, Sf. Gheorghe (Secția „Tamási Áron”) (Tamási Áron Theatre)
  Piata Libertatii nr. 1 Sfântu Gheorghe 4000, Jud. Covasna
  Tel. 067 312 867; 351 886
  Fax: 067 351 886
  Manager: Nemes Levente

• Teatrul Național, Tg. Mureș (Secție) (National Theatre)
  Piata Teatrului 1, C.P.50, Târgu Mureș4300, Jud. Mureș
  Tel. 065 164.848; 214 240
  Fax: 065 164.848; 114 835
  Manager: Fodor Zeno

• Teatrul de Nord din Satu Mare (Secția „Harag György”) (Theatre of Nord)
  Str. Horea 3 Satu Mare 3900, Jud. Satu Mare
  Tel. 061 715 76; 061 712 538
  Fax: 061 15 76
  Manager: Ioan Cristian

• Teatrul „Csiki Gergely”, Timișoara (Csiky Gergely State Theatre)
  Strada Alba Iulia, nr. 2 1900, Timișoara, Jud. Timiș
  Tel: 056 134 814, 194 029
  Fax: 056 194 029
  E-mail: hungethea@mail.dnttm.ro
  Director: Demeter András István

• Opera Maghiară din Cluj (Hungarian State Opera House)
  Emil Isac nr. 26-28, 3400 Cluj
  Tel: 064 193 463
  Contact person: Simon Gabor
  Director: Simon Gabor

• Ansamblul Folcloric „Háromszék”, Sf. Gheorghe (Háromszék Folk Ensemble)
  Piata Mihai Viteazu 15, Sfântu Gheorghe 4000, Jud. Covasna
  Tel. 067 315 418
  Fax: 067 311 408
  E-mail: home@casys.ro
  Manager: Deak Gyula Levente
• Ansamblul Secuiesc de Stat „Harghita”, Miercurea Ciuc (Szekler’s State Ensemble)
  Str. Timisoarei 6 Miercurea Ciuc 4100, Jud. Harghita
  Tel. 066 171 362
  Fax: 066 171 362
  Manager: Andras Mihaly

• Ansamblul artistic „Mureșul”, Tg. Mureș (Folk Center Foundation)
  OP. 2 CP. 279, 4300 Târgu Mureș
  Phone: 094 699 915 Czerán Csaba
  Tel: 094-857 144 Takács Zoltán
  Tel: 092-318 035 Puskás Attila
  mailto:folkc@netsoft.ro

REFERENCES


Alba Iulia Declaration from November 18/December 1, 1918 (www.cimec.ro/Istorie/Unire/alba.htm)


Ethnobarometer 2000 May-June. Realized by The Research Center of Interethnic Relationship under the United States Agency for International Development’ patronage.


Kristó, Gyula (1996). **A székelyek eredetéről.** (Szeged)


Lăcramjan, Ion (1986). **Toamna fierbinte** (Bucharest).


Lovat, Catherine (2000). **Glutton for Punishment.** [www.ce-review.org]

Ludanyi, Andrew, Cadzow, F. John, and Elteto, J. Louis (eds.). **Transylvania: The Roots of Ethnic Conflict** (Kent, 1983).


Makkai, László (1944). Erdély története (Budapest).


Mikó Imre (1941). Huszonkét év. Az erdélyi magyarság politikai története 1918. december 1-től 1940. augusztus 30-ig. (Budapest: Studio).


Mitu, Sorin, “Iluzii şi realităţi transilvane” in Molnár, Gusztáv si Gabriel Andreeescu, Problema transilvană (Bucharest: Polirom 1999).


Nouzille, Jean (1996). Transylvania an area of contact and conflicts. (Editura Enciclopedica, Bucuresti)


Páll, Judit (2000). Interview with the EDRC researcher. (December, 2000)[Historical background]


Pecican, Ovidiu (2000). Interview with the EDRC researcher. (December, 2000) [Historical backround]

Péntek, János (2000). Interview with the EDRC researcher. (October 5, 2000).


*Romania, Language, Education, and Cultural Heritage.*
[http://lcweb2.loc.gov/frd/cs/rotoc.html](http://lcweb2.loc.gov/frd/cs/rotoc.html)


*Schools, Language, and Interethnic Relations in Romania: The Debate Continues,* (1997). [home.slav.hokudai.ac.jp/eng/cee/roma-e.htm](http://home.slav.hokudai.ac.jp/eng/cee/roma-e.htm)


Severin, Adrian, Romanian Foreign Ministry, quoted in *The Event of the Day*.


**Superlex** (legislative database) [http://domino2.kappa.ro/mi/superlex.nsf](http://domino2.kappa.ro/mi/superlex.nsf)


Szilágyi, Zsolt (2000). Interview with the EDRC researcher. (October, 2000)


MAIN LITERARY WORKS OF DIFFERENT PERIODS
All of the writers below have produced far more than that listed. The following is therefore a sample of what is considered to be their most important work.


Reményik Sándor (1890–1941). Vadvizek zúgása (Vuiet de ape sălbaticice) 1921, Romon virág (Flori pe ruine) 1935, Magasfeszültség (Înaltă tensiune) 1940.


Tamási Áron (1897–1966). Ábel a rengetegben (Ábel în codru) 1934, Ábel az országban (Ábel în țara) 1934, Ábel amerikában (Ábel în America) 1934.

AUDIO-VISUAL MATERIALS
Nothing found.

GENERAL BIBLIOGRAPHY ON THE MINORITY


Bíró, A. Zoltán (1998). Stratégiák vagy kényszerpályák?: tanulmányok a romániai magyar társadalomról. (Csikszereda: Pro-Print)


Constantiniu, Florin (1997). O istorie sinceră a Poporului Român (Bucharest: Univers Enciclopedic)

DAHR’s web page. [http://www.rmdsz.ro](http://www.rmdsz.ro)


