Center for Documentation and Information on Minorities in Europe - Southeast Europe (CEDIME-SE)

MINORITIES IN SOUTHEAST EUROPE

Hungarians of Romania

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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)

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 *comities* 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 *comities*, 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 co-existence 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, Cloşca and Crişan (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. After1830, 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

between Hungarians and Romanians (Ormos: 1998, L. Nagy: 1998, Erdély története, 1987: 1701-1732, Roth, 1996: 121-125).

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 km^2. 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 Babeş 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 Babeş-Bolyai University in 1959 already mentioned above (Vincze, 1999a: 225-260).

During the first year of Ceauşescu'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 Ceauşescu 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 Ceauşescu'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 Ceauşescu 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 Timişoara, near the Hungarian border, initiated the end of the Ceauşescu 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 Ceauşescu 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-Mureş, 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 Mureş 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, Crişana, and Maramureş 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. Mureşan (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. Ceauşescu 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.

Nationality	***1850***	***1857***	***1869***	***1880***	***1890***	***1900***	***1910***	***1920***	***1930***	***1941***	***1948***
Romanians	*59.4*	*60.7*	*59*	*57*	*56*	*55.1*	*53.8*	*57.3*	*58.3*	*55.9*	*65.1*
Hungarians	*26.1*	*28.1*	*24.9*	*25.9*	*27.1*	*29.5*	*31.5*	*25.5*	*24.4*	*29.4*	*25.7*

*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.

Nationality	1956	1966	1977	1992
Romanians	65	67.9	69.4	73.6
Hungarians	25	24.1	22.5	20.8

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 *Seklars' 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).[1]

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 Romaniai Magyar Demokrata Szövetség (RMDSZ), and the Uniunea Democratica 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 whad 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,

1998:231). 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 commonalties 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, Ceauşescu'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 Ceauşescu 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-Pogăcean, 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 ethnocentrist 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 Timişoara 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 Ceauşescu 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 Mureş 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 (Tóth, 1994) (see also 2.1.3).

The Ethnobarometer also poses some questions providing an insight into the behavioural patterns of Hungarians. Raţ (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 Interethnic 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 Democrația) 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.[2] 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 (Andreescu, 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 longerpart 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 reasearches (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 Românească* (Romanian Hearth), an extremist organisation formed in Târgu Mureş 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 Mureş in March. Under Ceauşescu 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 Ceauşescu had caused them. This impatience, coupled with the violence in Tîrgu Mureş, 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 renowed 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 (74,021 in the 1992 census), most of whom are residents in the counties of Braşov, Cluj, Mureş, 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, Iaşi, Timişoara, 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 Braşov 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 Ceauşescu the rights and freedoms of Hungarians were gradually restricted.

The Constitution of the "Socialist Republic" from 1965, written in the year Ceauşescu 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 provision 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)

	Students	Hungarian Students	
Academic year	Total	Number	%
1989-1990	3,007	661	21.98
1990-1991	7,342	1,357	18.48
1991-1992	9,257	1,570	16.96
1992-1993	12,082	1,917	15.86
1995-1996	16,825	2,682	15.94
1999-2000*	22,727	4,904	21.57

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)
* the percentage of Hungarian pupils in the entire school population

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

Source: The Ethos of Education for National Minorities in Romania 1999/2000 School Year, 2000

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 minoritty (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 Mureş 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. enlarging 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).

Type of schools	*1989/90 (%)*	*1991/92 (%)*	*1994/95 (%)*	*1995/96 (%)*	*1996/97 (%)*	*1997/98 (%)*	*1999/00 (%)*
Kindergarten	*5.3*	*6.4*	*6.6*	*6.6*	*6.5*	*6.7*	*6.5*
Primary schools	*5.3*	*5.1*	*4.9*	*4.8*	*4.8*	*4.9*	*4.7*
High schools	*2.5*	*4.3*	*4.1*	*3.8*	*3.7*	*3.8*	*3.8*
Vocational schools	*0.04*	*1.6*	*1.9*	*1.9*	*1.1*	*–*	*2.6*
Higher education	*4.3*	*4.3*	*N/A.*	*3.8*	*4.1*	*–*	*4.3*

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.

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 Babeş-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 Babeş-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 Timişoara 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 Firss 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 Mureş (5 hours a day), Cluj (4 hours a day) and Timişoara (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 Timişoara (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 Timişoara 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
  alfa@fto.org.soroscj.ro

- Általános Műveltség Alapítvány (Fundația Cultură Generală – General Cultural Foundation)
  Cart. Florilor nr. 2, 4200 Gheorgheni
  Tel: 066 164 992, 164 598
  President: Borzási 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. Péntek 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 Braşov
  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 (Fundația Apsis – Apsis Foundation)
  Aleea Garoafelor 4/5, 4150 Odorheiu Secuiesc
  Tel: 066 212 412
  President: Bálint Árpád

- Aranka György Alapítvány (Fundația Aranka György - Aranka György Foundation)
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- A Kárpátok Kincsei Alapítvány (Fundația Naturală Darurile Carpaților - Carpathian Nature Treasures' Foundation)
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  Tel: 066 124 751
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- 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/

- „Kriza János" Néprajzi Társaság (Asociația Etnografică „Kriza János" - „Kriza 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. Coşbuc nr. 17, 3900 Satu Mare
  Tel: 061 715 681
  Fax: 061 734 761
  Contact person: Valdraf Erzsébet

- "Mikes Kelemen Líceum" Alapítvány (Fundația "Mikes Kelemen Líceum")
  Str. Kríza János nr. 1-3, 4000 Sf. Gheorghe
  Tel: 067 351 342, 315 967, 323 824
  Fax: 067 351 407
  President: Fazakas Mihály

- Millenium Alapítvány (Fundația Millenium - Millenium Foundation)
  P-ța 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

Tel: 062 432 585
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- 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. Luminişului nr. 1, 4800 Baia Mare
  Tel: 062 213 586
  Contact person: Vida Zoltán

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

- Petőfi Sándor Általános Iskola Alapítványa (Fundația 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 (Fundația "Pro Agricultura Hargitae")
  Str. Florilor Bl. 9/8, 4100 Miercurea Ciuc
  Tel/fax: 066 171 143
  President: Dr. György Antal

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

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

- Pro Philosophia Alapítvány (Fundația 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 Mediaş
  Tel: 069 821 473
  President: Székely Éva

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

- Radó Ferenc Matematikaművelő Társaság (Asociaţia 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. Densuşianu nr. 6/A, 3400 Cluj-Napoca
  Tel/fax: 064 414 042
  President: Dáné Tibor Kálmán
  muvfoo@emke.cj.edu.ro

- Romániai Magyar Diakújságirók 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. Topliţa nr. 20, 4100 Miercurea Ciuc
  Tel/fax: 066 171 377
  President: Lászlóffy Pál
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- Romániai Magyar Közgazdász Társaság (Asociaţia Economiştilor 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 (Asociaţia de Psihoterapie prin Relaxare, Simboluri şi Hipnoză)
  Str. Salciei nr. 1, Bl. A, ap. 13, 4100 Miercurea Ciuc
  Tel: 066 113 817
  President: Kedves Enikő

- Székely Károly Alapítvány (Fundaţia 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 (Fundaţia Talentum pentru Promovarea Talentelor - Talentum Foundation for gifted Children)
  Str. Furtunei nr. 13, 4300 Tg. Mureş
  Tel: 065 164 624
  President: Dóczy Tamás
  tdocyz@netsoft.ro

- Teleki Alapítvány – Szováta (Fundația Teleki–Sovata - Teleki Foundation–Sovata)
  Str. Rozelor nr. 147, 3299 Sovata, Jud. Mureş
  Tel: 065 577 625
  Fax: 065 570 725
  President: Bíró István
  teka@netsoft.ro

- Teodidaktos Humanitárius Alapítvány (Fundația Umanitară Teodidaktos)
  B-dul 1 Decembrie 1918 nr. 30, 3400 Cluj-Napoca
  Tel: 064 186 734, 185 366, 197 280
  President: Vizi Imre

- Vadrózsák Alapítvány (Fundația Măceşul)
  P-ța Libertății nr. 9, 4000 Sf. Gheorghe
  Tel: 067 351 560
  President: Cserkész Adalbert

- Váradi-Bartalis Alapítvány (Fundația Váradi-Bartalis - Váradi-Bartalis Foundation)
  Str. Benedek Elek nr. 20, 4000 Sf. Gheorghe
  Tel: 067 313 110
  President: Mike Lázár

- Vox Humana Művelődési Társaság (Asociația Culturală Vox Humana - Vox Humana Chamber Choir)
  Str. Muzelor nr. 1, Bl. 12, ap. A/29, 4000 Sf. Gheorghe
  Tel: 067 312 252
  Fax: 067 312 252
  President: Szilágyi Zsolt

- Wildt József Tudományos Társaság (Asociația Ştiințifică Wildt József - Wildt József Scientific Society)
  Str. Soarelui nr. 10 Bl. 5/26, 2200 Braşov
  Tel: 068 271 032
  President: Bencze Mihály

- Xántusz János Alapítvány (Fundația Xántusz János)
  Str. Toplița nr. 112, 4100 Miercurea Ciuc
  Tel: 066 112 152, 115 878
  President: Ferencz Erzsébet

3. Minority institutions and/or associations concerning health:

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

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

- Dr. Simonffy Sámuel Alapítvány (Fundația 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 (Fundația "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. Mureş
  Tel: 065 166 049
  Contact person: Dr. Salat Csaba

- Hygeia Alapítvány (Fundația 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

- Kovászna-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
  Str. Szív nr. 2B, Ap. 2, 4100 Miercurea Ciuc
  Tel: 066 116 317, 124 192
  Contact person: Bokor Márton

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

Contact person: Finna Csaba

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

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

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

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

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

- Profilaxis Egészségügyi Egyesület
  P-ța Mărăşeşti nr. 20, 4300 Tg. Mureş
  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

- Reumás Gyermekek Alapítványa
  Calea Sighisoarei nr. 11, Ap. 4, 4300 Tg. Mureş
  Tel: 065 147 524
  Contact person: Kincse Péter

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

- Romániai Bálint Társaság (Asociația Bálint din România - Bálint Association of Romania)
  Str. Pieții 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 Egyesületn (Asociația Creştină 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 Viteazul nr. 10, 3900 Satu Mare
  Tel: 061 735 162
  President: Csirák Csaba

- Iulius Weil Alapítvány – Régen
  Str. Pandurilor 36/A, 4225 Reghin, Jud. Mureş
  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 Creştin 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. Someşului 44, 4300 Tg. Mureş
  Tel: 065 165 355
  President: Székely Csaba

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

- Asklepios – Marosvásárhely
  Str. Secuilor Martiri nr. 10-12, Sc. A, Ap. 3, 4300 Tg. Mureş
  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. Careiului nr. 16, 3831 Foieni
  Tel: Foieni 78
  Contact person: Heirich Mihály

- Caritas Alapítvány (Fundația 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 (Asociația Caritas)
  Str. Delavrancea nr. 13, 3900 Satu Mare
  Tel: 061 716 845
  Fax: 061 710 464
  Contact person: Schupler Tibor

- Caritatea Alapítvány (Fundația Caritatea)
  Str. Trotuşului nr. 9, 4300 Tg. Mureş
  Tel: 065 168 550
  Fax: 065 161 444
  Contact person: Vitus Lajos

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

- Concordia Alapítvány (Fundația Concordia)
  Str. Principală nr. 1, 4279 Sâmbriaş, Jud. Mureş
  Contact person: Szabó György

- Család Alapítvány (Fundația 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
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- 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. Mureş
  Tel: 065 217 333, 211 595
  Contact person: Benedek Imre

- Domus Karitatív Szervezet (Asociația Caritativă Domus - Domus Association)
  P-ța Libertății nr. 27, PO Box 19, 4180 Cristuru Secuiesc
  Tel: 066 218 380
  President: Szőcs Pál

- Dorcas Aid International Romţnia Egzeslet
  Str. Călăraşilor nr. 86, 4300 Tg. Mureş
  Tel: 065 216 790, 147 211
  Contact person: Szabó István

- Ecclesia Mater Humanitárius Alapítvány (Fundaţia Umanitară Ecclesia Mater - Ecclesia Mater Humanitarian Foundation)
  Str. Moscovei nr. 14, 3700 Oradea
  Tel: 059 134 664
  President: Dr. Földes Béla
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- Élesdi Református Gyermekotthon
  Str. Viilor 32, 3575 Aleşd, Jud. Bihor
  Tel: 059 341 621

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

- Esély Alapítvány (Fundaţia Şansă - Chance Foundation)
  P-ţa Libertăţii nr. 2, 4200 Gheorgheni
  Tel/fax: 066 162 036, 164 056
  President: Bernád Ildikó
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- Etelköz Alapítvány (Fundaţia Etelköz - Etelköz Foundation)
  Str. Daczó nr. 11, 4000 Sf. Gheorghe
  Tel/fax: 067 315 441
  President: Kispál Vilmos

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

- Fiatalok a Demokráciáért Alapítvány
  Str. Dreptăţii nr. 21, 3900 Satu Mare
  Tel: 061 715 318
  Contact person: Csiha István

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

- Fundaţia Caritativă Creştină şi Educativă Eliada
  Str. Drăganilor nr. 81, 3900 Satu Mare
  Tel: 061 717 792
  Contact person: Budai Lajos

- Fundaţia Cristiana

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

- Fundația
  Str. Odobescu No. 23, 3900 Satu
  Tel: 061 713
  Contac person: Ács Róbert

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

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

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

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

- Gondviselés Egyesület (Asociația Providența)
  Str. Cetății nr. 10, 3400 Cluj-Napoca
  Tel: 064 136 475, 185 366
  President: Vizi Ildikó

- "Ház a Holnapért" Egyesület (Asociația "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 (Asociația Umanitară Hunyadi János - Hunyadi János Humanitarian Society)
  Str. Revoluției nr. 5, 2750 Hunedoara
  Tel: 054 714 582, 715 805
  Fax: 054 714 582, 715 805
  President: Schmidt Alfréd
  auhj@inext.ro

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

- Jakab Lajos Alapítvány (Fundația Jakab Lajos - Jakab Lajos Foundation)

4162 Mărtiniş nr. 10, Jud. Harghita
Tel: Mărtiniş 98/A
President: Kedei Mózes

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

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

- Kászonaltízi Spitex-Chur Társaság (Asociaţia Spitex Chur)
  4134 Plăieşii de Jos nr. 104, Jud. Harghita
  Tel: 066 133 053, 133 028
  President: Bocskor Gizella

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

- Keresztyén Ifjúsági és Diakóniai Alapítvány (Fundaţia Diaconică şi a Tineretului Creştin - 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

- "Kölcsey Ferenc" Alapítvány (Fundaţia "Kölcsey Ferenc" - "Kölcsey Ferenc" Foundation)
  P-ţa Păcii nr. 2, 3900 Satu Mare
  Tel: 061 717 346
  Fax: 061 717 346
  President: Cziprisz Imre
  kfalap@lksm.soroscj.ro

- "Lazarus" Alapítvány (Fundaţia "Lazarus")
  Str. Arany János nr. 1/A, 4000 Sf. Gheorghe
  Tel: 067 314 231
  President: Albert Álmos

- Lazarus Alapítvány (Fundaţia Lazarus)
  P-ţa Eroilor nr. 2, 3900 Satu Mare
  Tel: 061 712 505
  Contact person: Pallai Adalbert

- Lázárénum Alapítvány–"Lidia" Gyermekotthon (Fundația Lazarenum–Căminul de Copii "Lidia" - Lazarenum Foundation–"Lidia" Children's Home)
  Str. Mihai Eminescu nr. 30, 4300 Tg. Mureş
  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 Satu Mare
  Tel: 061 712 455

- Magyar Mozgáskorlátozottak Társulata Kolozsvár (Asociația Maghiară a Handicapaților 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. Mureş
  Tel: 065 161 690
  Contact person: Demeter Magdolna

- Márton Áron Alapítvány
  Str. Coşbuc nr. 80, 4100 Miercurea Ciuc
  Contact person: Eigel Ernő

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

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

- Nem-látok Romániai Katolikus Egyesülete (Asociația Catolică a Nevăzătorilor din România)
  Str. Mihai Vitezul nr. 19, 3900 Satu Mare
  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 Bálan, 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

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

- Oikodomos Karitatív Keresztény Alapítvány (Fundația Caritativ Creştină 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. Mureş
  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
  Str. Trandafirilor nr. 3, Bl. 3, Sc. A, Ap. 3, 4333 Miercurea Nirajului
  Tel: 065 576 501, 576 057
  Fax: 065 576 403

Contact person: Csíki Sándor

- "Regnum Christi" Humanitárius Alapítvány (Fundația Umanitară "Regnum Christi" - "Regnum Christi" Foundation)
  Str. Prieteniei nr. 1, ap. 2, 4300 Tg. Mureş
  Tel: 065 148 660
  Fax: 065 146 629
  President: Bereczki Béla

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

- Romániai Családok és Nagycsaládok Országos Egyesülete (Asociația Națională a Familiilor şi Familiilor Mari din România - National Association of Large Families from Romania)
  Str. Şelimbăr nr. 2, ap. 2, 4300 Tg. Mureş
  Tel: 065 145 755, 168 209, 216 471
  President: Both Gyula

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

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

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

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

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

- Szent Erzsébet Intézet Alapítvány (Fundația "Sfânta Elisabeta")
  Str. T. Vladimirescu nr. 62/A, 3700 Oradea
  Tel/fax: 059 138 813
  President: Kulcsár A: Sándor
  argenta@oradea.iiruc.ro

- "Szent Ferenc" Alapítvány (Fundația "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. Someş nr. 11, 3825 Carei, Jud. Satu Mare

- Szent Vincze Családi Csoport Alapítvány Csíkszereda
  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 Szervezete (Organizația Vecinătatea - Neighbourhood Organization)
  Str. Grivița Roşie nr. 19, 4300 Tg. Mureş
  Tel: 065 137 597, 210 310
  Fax: 065 219 247
  President: Borzás Jenő

- Talita Kumi–Árva és Elhagyott Gyermekeket Támogató Társaság (Talita Kumi–Asociație pentru Ajutorarea Copiilor Orfani ăi 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 (Fundația "Tulip" - "Tulip" Foundation)
  Str. Gr. Bălan nr. 35, Bl. 52, ap. C/7
  Tel: 067 325 126
  Fax: 067 351 780
  President: Bogdán Zoltán
  ax@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

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

- "Ügyes Kezek" Alapítvány (Fundația "Mâini Dibace")
  Str. G-ral Traian Moşoiu nr. 7/A, 4300 Tg. Mureş
  Tel: 065 164 507, 215 071, 168 688
  President: Hochmal Magda

5. Minority institutions and/or associations concerning enviromental protection

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

- Biró Lajos Ökológiai Társaság (Societatea Ecologică Biró Lajos)
  Cart. M. Viteazul Bl. JV5, Ap. 7, 3825 Carei, Jud. Satu Mare
  Tel: 061 861 379
  President: Benedek Zoltán

- "Czárán Gyula" Alapítvány (Fundația "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 şi de Orcrotirea Naturii - Csík 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
  cstte@nextra.ro

- "Csukás" Alapítvány (Fundația "Csukás" – "Csukás" Foundation)
  Str. Gării nr. 10, Bl. B/12
  Tel: 066 135 310
  President: Tóth Mária

- Ecomond Ökológiai Társaság–Arad (Organizaţia Ecologică Ecomond–Arad - Str. Dornei nr. 34, CP 10, 2825 Sebiş, Jud. Arad)
  Tel: 057 420 009
  Fax: 057 421 009
  President: Patkó Róbert
  ecomond@sbnet.ro

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

- Frainetto Alapítvány (Fundaţia Frainetto)
  Str. Olt nr. 94, 4111 Băile Tuşnad
  Tel/fax: 066 135 440
  Contact person: Szász János

- Független Öko Klub–Székelyudvarhely (Eco Club Independent–Odorheiu Secuiesc)
  Independent Ecological Club
  P-ţa Libertăţii 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 (Asociaţia Halit Eco Club)
  4174 Praid nr. 421, Jud. Harghita
  Tel: 066 240 318
  President: Serényi Éva
  feki@kabelkon.ro

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

- Naturland Alapítvány (Fundaţia Naturland - Naturland Foundation)
  Str. Carpaţilor 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–Pécska (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 (Fundaţia Öko-Info)
  Str. M. Eminescu bl. 4/1, 4100 Miercurea Ciuc
  Tel: 066 111 623, 112 766
  President: Makfalvi Zoltán Ferenc

- "Pro Biciklo-Urbo" Környezetvédelmi Szervezet (Asociația pentru Protecția Mediului şi Naturii "Pro Biciklo-Urbo")
  Str. Argeşului nr. 9, 4300 Tg. Mureş
  Str. Cuteyanței nr. 43, ap. 3, 4300 Tg. Mureş
  Tel: 065 140 566, 146 148
  Fax: 065 162 170
  President: Varga István
  office@focus.sbnet.ro

- Pro Natura Alapítvány (Fundația Pro Natura - Pro Natura Foundation)
  Str. Şcolii nr. 122, 4043 Boroşneu Mic, Jud. Covasna
  President: Damó Gyula

- Rhododendron Környezetvédelmi Egyesület (Asociația pentru Protecția Mediului Rhododendron - Rhododendron Environmental Association)
  Str. V. Babeş nr. 11, ap 221, OP 1, CP 45, 4300 Tg. Mureş
  Tel: 065 210 230
  Fax: 065 210 545
  President: Sidó István
  rhodo@sbnet.ro

- Ursus Spelaeus Barlangászklub Egyesület (Asociația Clubul de Speologie Ursus Spelaeus - Ursus Spelaeus Speological Club)
  Str. Grigorescu nr. 6, Ap. 20, 4300 Tg. Mureş
  Tel/fax: 065 167 410
  President: Boros Gellért

6. Minority institutions and/or associations representing the profesionals intrests

- Erdélyi Falusi Vendégfogadók Szövetsége (Asociația Transilvăneană pentru Turismul Rural - Transsylvanian Federation for Rural Turism)
  Str. Mihai Viteazu nr. 29/10, ap. 10, 4300 Tg. Mureş
  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: 066 161 563
  President: Tóth Károly

- 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: Halmen Péter

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

- Keresztény Orvosok Szövetsége
  Str. Măgurei nr. 15, Ap. 2, 4300 Tg. Mureş
  Tel: 065 136 853, 164 837
  Contact person: Dr. Bocskai István

- Magyar Kisvállalkozók Egyesülete – CEDIMMAR
  Str. Blajului nr. 2, 2900 Arad
  Tel: 057 273 934

- Magyar Újságírók Romániai Egyesülete (Asociaţia Ziariştilor Maghiari din România)
  Str. Primăriei nr. 1, 4300 Tg. Mureş
  Tel/fax: 065 168 688
  President: Ágoston Hugó

- Profitász Egyesület (Asociaţia Profitász - Profitász Association)
  Str. Timocului nr. 2, 1900 Timişoara
  Tel: 056 132 882
  President: Panczél Zoltán

- Rajka Péter Vállalkozók Szövetsége (Asociaţia Întreprinzătorilor "Rajka Péter")
  Str. Dacia nr. 3, Bl. 5, AP 2, 3400 Cluj-Napoca
  Tel/fax: 064 130 466
  President: Farkas Mária

- Romániai Magyar Gazdák Egyesülete
  B-dul 21 Decembrie 1989 nr. 116, 3400 Cluj-Napoca
  Tel: 064 431 896
  erdelyi_gazda@mail.dntcj.ro

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 (Asociaţia 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 (Fundaţia PAEM Local pentru Tratarea Şomajului Odorheiu Secuiesc - Programme of Active Emloyment Measures)
  P-ţa Libertăţii nr. 5, 4150 Odorheiu Secuiesc
  Tel: 066 214 481
  President: Bunta Levente
  leventeb@udv.ro

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

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

- Gazdakör–Kovászna (Cercul Gospodarilor–Covasna)

Str. Piliske nr. 1, 4055 Covasna
Tel: 067 340 001, 340 668
President: id. Király Sándor

- 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

- Gyulaferhérvári Főegyházmegyei Caritas Szervezet Gyergyószentmiklósi Mezőgazdasági Részlege (Arhidioceza Romano-Catolică Alba Iulia Secția Agricolă Gheorgheni)
  Str. Márton Áron nr. 16, 4200 Gheorgheni
  Tel: 066 164 726
  President: Barth Ottó

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

- Junior Business Club Egyesület (Asociația 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 (Fundația Kishomoród - Kishomoród Foundation)
  4157 Lueta nr. 321, Jud. Harghita
  Tel: Lutea 38
  Contact person: Egyed József
  egyjo@udv.csoft.pcnet.ro

- Landwirtschaft-Agricultură-Mezőgazdaság-LAM Alapítvány
  (Fundația 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
  (Fundația Internațională pentru Promovarea Unei Societăți 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 (Asociația OVR–Lăzarea)
  Str. Principală nr. 696, 4215 Lăzarea, Jud. Harghita
  Tel/fax: 066 164 464
  President: Kolcsár Géza

- Regionális Fejlesztési Központ (Centrul de Dezvoltare Regionaă Ciuc)
  Aleea Copiilor nr. 5, 4100 Miercurea Ciuc

Contact person: Koszta Csaba

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

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

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

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

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

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 (Fundația Marco)
  Str. G. Coşbuc nr. 17, 3900 Satu Mare
  Tel: 061 715 681
  President: Valdraf Erzsébet

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

- Szórvány Alapítvány (Fundația Diaspora - Diaspora Foundation)
  Str. Popa Laurențiu nr. 7, Ap. 12, 1900 Timişoara
  Tel/fax: 056 201 390
  President: Bodó Barna
  bbodo@diaspora.sorostm.ro

9. Minority institutions and/or associations concerning intrests defence

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

10. Minority institutions and/or associations concerning civil society

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

- "Mentor" Jótékonysági 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-Ungară 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 (Fundația Res Club)
  Str. Florilor nr. 39, 4650 Dej
  Tel: 064 213 877
  President: Luidort Péter

- Riehen Egyesület Csíkszereda
  P-ța Libertății 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

- Erdélyi Ifjúsági Keresztyén Egyesület (Asociaţia Tinerilor Creştini din Transilvania)
  Str. Moţilor nr. 84, 3400 Cluj-Napoca
  Tel/fax: 064 198 050
  President: Dr. Buzogány Dezső

- Romániai Keresztyén Nők Ökumenikus Fóruma (Forumul Ecumenic al Femeilor Creştine din România - Ecumenical Forum of Christian Women of Romania)
  Str. Prieteniei Bl. 10, ap. 5, 4300 Tg. Mureş
  4329 Stejeriş, OP Acăţari, Jud. Mureş
  Tel: 065 127 003
  Fax: 065 127 003
  President: Soós Noémi

- Temesvári Magyar Református Nőszövetség (Str. Timotei Cipariu nr. 2, 1900 Timişoara)
  Tel: 056 192 992

- Unitárius Lelkészek Országos Szövetsége (B-dul 21 Decembrie nr. 9, 3400 Cluj-Napoca)
  Tel: 064 193 236, 195 927
  Fax: 064 193 236
  4186 Avrămeşti, OP Cristuru Secuiesc
  Tel: 066 104 913-19
  President: Jakab Dénes

13. Minority institutions and/or associations concerning youth (youth organisations):

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

- Aradi Magyar Ifjúsági Szervezet (Organizaţia Tinerilor Maghiari dinArad - 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 (Fundaţia 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 (Fundaţia Cămine 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
  rda@rda.org.soroscj.ro

- SZINFO–Székelyudvarhelyi Ifjúsági Információs és Tanácsadó Iroda–Alapítvány (Fundaţia SZINFO–Biroul de Informare şi Consiliere pentru Tineret -
  SZINFO Foundation–Youth Information and Counseling Office)

Str. Kossuth nr. 20, 4150 Odorheiu Secuiesc
Tel: 066 215 790
Fax: 066 215 790
President: Mihály István
szinfo@udv.csoft.ro

- Udvarhelyi Fiatal Fórum (Forumul Tânăr din Odorhei - Odorhei Youth Forum)
  Str. Kossuth Lajos nr. 20, 4150 Odorheiu Secuiesc
  Tel: 066 213 371, 218 027
  Fax: 066 213 371
  President: Nagy Pál
  uff@kabelkon.ro

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 Mureş
  Tel: 065 210 020, 218 692
  Fax: 065 210 020, 218 692

- Honorary President:Bishop Tőkés 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. Bilaşcu 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 (Fundația 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 (Fundația 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

- Kritérion Alapítvány (Fundația Kritérion - Kritérion Foundation)
  N. Bălcescu St. No. 17, 4100 Miercurea Ciuc
  Tel: 066 171 874
  Fax: 066 171 874
  President: Domokos Géza

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

- Syn TV Alapítvány (Fundația TV SYN)
  P-ța Libertății 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 Bărnuțiu 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
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  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

Tel: 065 167 720; 169 103
Fax: 065 169 103
Editor-in-chief: Borbély Melinda
Director: Mirela Moldovan
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- Mix FM Rádió
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  Tel: 065 252 122
  Fax: 065 252 916
  Director: Sfariac 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 Odorheiu-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. Szőcs 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 Timişoara
  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 Dorobanţilor 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
  csikitv@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 Sănătăţii 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
maghiara@tvrcj.mail.dntcj.ro

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

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

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

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

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

- Transilvania TV
  P-ţa Enescu nr. 4, 2200 Braşov
  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. Independenţei nr. 24, 3700 Oradea
  Tel: 059 137 623
  Fax: 059 447 253
  Director: Paul Pintea
  Editor of the Hungarian program: Bimbó-Szuhai Tibor
  tvsnews@mail.rdsor.ro

- Temesvári TV

Str. Pestalozzi 14/A, 1900 Timişoara
Tel: 056 191 084
Fax: 056 191 084
Director: Brânduşa Armancă
Editor of the Hungarian program: Bartha Csaba
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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. Şincai 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
  bnaplo@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
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- Cimbora (Companion),
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  Editor-in-chief: Forró László

- Délnyugat (Southwest),
  C.P. 77, 1700 Reşita
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  Editor-in-chief: Makay Botond

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

- Erdélyi Figyelő (Transylvanian Observer),
  Str. Városháza 1, 4300 Tîrgu Mureş
  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 Mureş
  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
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  http://www.eurid.planet.ro

- Gyergyói Kisújság (Little news of Gyergyó),
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  Tel: 066 164 128
  Fax: 066 164 128
  Editor-in-chief: Ábrahám Imre
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- Hang
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Tel: 057 256 421
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- Hargita Népe (Harghita People), (People of Harghita)
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  Fax: 066 171 322, 172 633
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- Helikon (Helicon),
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  Editor-in-chief: Szilágyi István

- Heti Új Szó (Weekly New Word)
  B-dul Revoluţiei din 1989 nr. 8, 1900 Timişoara
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- Kalotaszeg (place-name)
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- Kisküküllő
  Str. Republicii nr. 76, 3225 Tîrnăveni
  Tel: 065 440 600
  Editor-in-chief: Kakassy Sándor

- Kis Tükör (Little Mirror)

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- Közoktatás (General Education),
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  Editor-in-chief: Gergely László
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- Magnificat
  Str. Luminii nr. 3, 2600 Orăştie
  Editor-in-chief: Fr. Pap Leonárd

- Margitta és Környéke
  Str. Republicii nr. 2, 3775 Marghita
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- Máramarosi Hírnök
  Str. Lucian Blaga nr. 48, 4925 Sighetu Marmaţiei
  Tel: 062 311 908
  Editor-in-chief: Zahoránszky Ibolya

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  Editor-in-chief: Zsilimon Várday Zoltán

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  Str. J. Honterus nr. 2, 3125 Mediaş
  Tel: 069 832 657
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  Editor-in-chief: Iszlay László

- Népújság (Peoples' News),
  Str. Dózsa György nr. 9, 4300 Tîrgu Mureş-Mureş
  Tel: 065 166 780
  Fax: 065 166 270
  Editor-in-chief: Makkai János
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- Nyugati Jelen (Present [i.e. the present time])
  B-dul Revoluției nr. 81, 2900 Arad
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  Tel: 065 120 428
  Fax: 065 215 184
  Director: Gavril Cadariu
  Literary secretary: Székely Katalin
  dfest@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 (Secţia „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 (Secţia „Tamási Áron”) (Tamási Áron Theatre)
  Piata Libertatii nr. 1 Sfantu Gheorghe 4000, Jud. Covasna
  Tel. 067 312 867; 351 886
  Fax: 067 351 886
  Manager: Nemes Levente

- Teatrul Naţional, Tg. Mureş (Secţie) (National Theatre)
  Piata Teatrului 1, C.P.50, Târgu Mureş4300, Jud. Mures
  Tel. 065 164.848; 214 240
  Fax: 065 164.848; 114 835
  Manager: Fodor Zeno

- Teatrul de Nord din Satu Mare (Secţia „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”, Timişoara (Csiky Gergely State Theatre)
  Strada Alba Iulia, nr. 2 1900, Timişoara, Jud. Timiş
  Tel: 056 134 814, 194 029
  Fax: 056 194 029
  E-mail: hungthea@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, Sfantu 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 „Mureşul", Tg. Mureş (Folk Center Foundation)
  OP. 2 CP. 279, 4300 Tirgu Mures
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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.

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