

## ABTRACTS

**Miklós Duray**

■ ***Revolution or Takeover?***

Keywords: *regime change, Czechoslovakia, nationalities question*

The study discusses the following issues: the takeover of power in Czechoslovakia; the rise of new political movements and the Independent Hungarian Initiative (*Független Magyar Kezdeményezés*); the legitimization of the takeover; the election campaign and the anti-Hungarian demonstrations; the parliamentary election.

**Géza Jeszenszky**

■ ***The Antall Government's Policy towards the Neighbours and the Hungarian Minorities***

Keywords: *József Antall, Hungary, government's policy, neighbours, Hungarian minorities*

The essay summarizes the most difficult element of Hungary's foreign policy following the collapse of communism: the attitude and steps towards the neighbouring countries and the 2.5 million Hungarians who were separated from Hungary by the Peace Treaty of 1920 (Trianon) and its confirmation at Paris (1947). A detailed exposition of the subject appeared in Hungarian in 2016 by the author (*Kísérlet a trianoni trauma orvoslására. Magyarország szomszédsági politikája a rendszerváltás éveiben*. Osiris Kiadó, Bp., 2016). The centre-right coalition's aim was to be on the best possible terms with all the neighbours, while promoting the political, linguistic and cultural rights of the Hungarian communities, who survived many decades of ill-treatment and denial of basic rights. The wished-for model was Switzerland with its autonomous Kantons and the position of the Austrian minority in South Tyrol, in Italy and the Swedish in Finland. The most promising way to achieve that was the adoption of binding international conventions adopted by the Council of Europe and the CSCE, and bilateral treaties with all the

neighbouring states. Their most important elements were mutually renouncing territorial claims and safeguarding the collective rights of the minorities. With the break-up of Yugoslavia, the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia József Antall's government concluded such treaties with the Ukraine, Croatia and Slovenia. Similar efforts with Romania and Slovakia did not bring the hoped-for results.

**József Juhász**

■ ***Regime Change or "Change of State"? Yugoslavia at the turn of the 1980s and 1990s***

Keywords: *Yugoslavia, federation, confederation, Milošević, hybrid regimes*

The study analyses the political situation in Yugoslavia at the turn of the 1980s and 1990s. It presents Milošević's „antibureaucratic revolution”, the attempt of democratic transition (emergence of political pluralism, first multiparty elections) and the inter-republican conflicts about federation, confederation and asymmetric state union. Its final conclusion is that a joint Yugoslav regime change was impossible, as the republics failed to reach agreement on statehood, mainly because of Serbia's lack of willingness to compromise. After 1991, wars blocked the democratic transformation of the independent republics, leading to the emergence of so-called hybrid regimes in the successor states, except Slovenia.

**Csaba Kiss Gy.**

■ ***"Time Zone": On Some Areal Aspect of the Hungarian Transition***

Keywords: *Central and Eastern Europe, Hungary, regime change, 1989-1990, relations, parallels, differences, historical background*

The title is borrowed from the 1995 volume of the poet Gáspár Nagy. Addressing his “writer kinsfolk”, the poems, essays and other texts of this book emphasize our common fate. The similar function of culture and literature was essential in the context of intellectual resistance. The zone is

none other than Central and Eastern Europe, the region between the Baltic, the Adriatic and the Black Sea, while the time is that of political transformation: 1988-1989. The essay reflects on the Hungarian transition from a comparative perspective, with a view to the relationships, parallels and differences. The events in Poland had the greatest impact on Hungary. From the year 1988, almost like in 1956, the Polish and Hungarian events mutually supported each other. Another important aspect consists in the situation of the trans-border Hungarians (especially in Romania).

**Béla Markó**

■ ***How to Change Our Regime? Some Lessons of the Romanian Regime Change***

Keywords: *regime change, Romania, tradition, modernism, Romanian-Hungarian coexistence*

The events of December 1989 began as a revolution, but ended as a regime change. The difference is one of depth: the process (i.e., the violent removal of the national communist leaders) went quite quickly in Romania; however, it left much “debris” behind. Romanian society has denied the old regime, but was not ready for complete regime change. Thus, the “new” leadership effectively meant a mixture of old and new. Our regime change was not completely successful, if one takes into account the current situation of the minorities – and especially of the Hungarian minority –, the discussions on the restitution of properties, which are still going on today, and the continuous fight between traditionalism and modernism.

**István Németh**

■ ***Regime Change in the GDR***

Keywords: *German Democratic Republic, regime change, united Germany*

The western powers have not been unanimous in the appreciation of the German unification. France and Great

Britain viewed the newly emerging Central European order with historical doubts. The United States could also not stay away from these events, since the bipolar order gained new building blocks. The leadership of the GDR envisioned a confederation of the two states until February 1990, while Chancellor Kohl wished to see the integration of the GDR into the Federal Republic of Germany. The focus of the negotiations shifted increasingly toward the Soviet-West German relations, due to the liquidity of the latter. The credit contract signed on June 18 first guaranteed a loan of 5 billion Deutsche Marks to the Soviet Union; the „London Declaration” of the NATO and the massive loan from Bonn ensured the survival of Gorbachev. In early September, the costs of the unification were established at 15 billion Deutsche Marks. At the formal meeting held on July 16, 1990, the parties agreed to conclude the negotiations with a binding international contract.

**Zoltán Csaba Novák**

■ ***The Romanian Regime Change and the Emergence of the Nationalities Question***

Keywords: *Romanian regime change, nationalities question, unsolved problems, conflictual situations*

One of the most important problems emerging in the first months of the Romanian regime change was the nationalities question, paradoxically declared to have been solved by the previous regime. First, the new power structures made promises to the national minorities on the declarative level. The questions emerging during the political transition and the unsolved problems stemming from Romanian-Hungarian coexistence at the local level have soon given a new direction to the problem of the nationalities. The weak central leadership, already suffering from problems of legitimacy, subordinated this issue to the preservation of power. Conflictual situations

arose in the ethnically mixed area, culminating in the event of March 1990 in Târgu Mureş/Marosvásárhely.

### Ignác Romsics

#### ■ *The International Background of the Changes of Regime in Eastern Europe*

Keywords: *change of regime, East-Central and Southeastern Europe, 1989-1990, internal and external factors*

As is true of most great turning points in world history, the changes of regime in East-Central and Southeastern Europe in 1989-1990 were brought about by the concatenation and interplay of several internal and external factors. Fundamental among these was the realignment of international power relations. The Soviet-American rivalry, ongoing since the end of World War II, culminated in victory for the United States. In his essay, Ignác Romsics analyses the different phases and aspects of this struggle focusing in the 1980's, that is the era of Ronald Reagan and Michael Gorbachev. He concludes that by 1989 the Brezhnev Doctrine was replaced by the so-called Sinatra Doctrine ("I did it my way"). It meant that in contrast to 1956, 1968 and even indirectly 1981, Communist elites in the Soviet bloc henceforth could no longer rely on the armed assistance of the Soviet Union. The future of the Eastern European Communist regimes now depended exclusively on their strength, their acceptance by society and their ability. And this sealed their fate. Within some months all of the Communist regimes having established after World War II with Soviet

military and political help, collapsed and new, democratically elected parliaments and governments were formed.

### János Tischler

#### ■ *Poland – 1989*

Keywords: *Poland, regime change, Solidarity, Lech Wałęsa*

The 1981 martial law could only save the personal power of Wojciech Jaruzelski. The social acceptance of the regime was minimal, the catastrophic state of the economy remained and the living standards continued to decline. The general was not able to crush the opposition concentrated in the Solidarity movement, forced into the underground. He had to recognize, in autumn 1987 at the latest, that if he wants to avoid the repeated use of force, he has only one chance: to initiate a dialogue with the Solidarity and to share the power, in order to obtain the support for an economic and political program promising essential changes. From the perspective of society, the 1982-1987 period was one of increasing desolation. The Solidarity got tired of its prolonged illegality and has lost much of its momentum and support. While in 1981, given the methodology of the exertion of political power, Jaruzelski did not have other options than to declare martial law, an alternative has begun to emerge in 1988, due to the economic and military collapse of the Soviet Union. Although the original goal consisted in preserving the communist regime, the Solidarity led by Lech Wałęsa recognized the opportunity and managed to overthrow it without bloodshed.



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**Jeszzenszky Géza** (1941) – történész, egyetemi tanár, az MDF alapító tagja, az Antall-kormány külügyminisztere, Budapest

**Juhász József** (1955) – történész, habilitált docens, ELTE BTK, tanszékvezető, Kelet-Közép-Európa és Oroszország Története Tanszék, Budapest

**Kész Orsolya** (1994) – kritikus, Csíkszereda

**Kiss Gy. Csaba** (1945) – irodalom- és művelődéstörténész, az MTA doktora, c. egyetemi tanár, az MDF alapító tagja, Budapest

**Markó Béla** (1951) – író, költő, politikus, az RMDSZ volt elnöke, Marosvásárhely

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**Romsics Ignác** (1951) – történész, az MTA rendes tagja, egyetemi tanár, Eszterházy Károly Egyetem, Eger

**Szilágyi Júlia** (1936) – irodalomkritikus, esszéíró, ny. egyetemi oktató, Kolozsvár

**Tettamanti Béla** (1946) – képzőművész, Budapest

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„Lehet ugyan utólag Romániában is vitázni arról, hogy forradalom, népfelkelés vagy államcsíny zajlott-e azokban a napokban, de akkor az utcára tódult tömegek kétségtelenül egyet akartak: mindenestül szemétre dobni az előző rendszert, vagyis teljes egészében kicserélni valami mással. A kérdés az, hogy tudtuk-e akkor, mi is ez a más, és miképpen kell elképzelni az ország új politikai és közigazgatási struktúráját, milyen alkotmányos keretek között kellene működni az új rezsimnek. Tudtuk is, nem is. Nyilván tudtuk, hogy mit kell megtagadnunk: azt a pártállamot, amely állampolgárait folyamatosan éhezeti, felügyeli és terrorizálja. Hiszen alapjában véve valószínűleg nem államcsíny, de nem is forradalom buktatta meg Nicolae Ceaușescu, hanem éhséglázadás. Ez a heves tagadás Kovácsoltá egységbe néhány napra Románia népét oly mértékben, hogy még a diktátorházaspár száználmas kirakatperét és kivégzését is jóváhagyólag, a megtisztulás eufóriájával fogadtuk mindannyian, mint egyfajta szükséges áldozatot az új rend oltárán.”

(Markó Béla)

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