VOTE AND PARLIAMENTARY REPRESENTATION IN ROMANIA: A GEOGRAPHIC-HISTORICAL APPROACH, IN THE CONTEXT OF THE REGIONAL AND LOCAL DEVELOPMENT (PART II)

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Abstract: This work proposes to present, in a spatial-temporally prospective, the convergences and the differentiation between the percent of electoral vote and the percent of parliamentary political parties. We considered that spatial-temporally repartition of these electoral realities is necessary for the sustainable regional and local development.


Key words: vote, political parties, parliamentary representation, spatial-temporally prospective, local and regional development

Cuvinte cheie: vot, formațiuni politice, reprezentare parlamentară, perspectivă spațio-temporală, dezvoltare locală și regională

1. INTER-WAR AND POST-WAR/CONTEMPORARY PERIOD (1919-2007)

It has as main feature in terms of political-electoral, the introduction and application of the general voting universally applied, the geographical-political-territorial in a surface of Romania greatly increased compared to 1918, even if, following territorial cessions years of the Second World War, has suffered some amputations.

1.1. Inter-war sub-period (1919-1939)

End of 1918 brought not only by itself end the First World War, but related to it, and further national-unity Romanian state, through acts of the Union of Cernăuți (November 1918) and Alba Iulia (1 December 1918). After less than a year, voters in all provinces inhabited by Romanian (and even in countries which, after 1920, will no longer belongs to the country - Bichiş and Cenad) were called to vote, many - for the first time, including the Old Kingdom, the first election conducted on the basis of universal voting.
This sub-period could be subdivided into 3 parts: a period of transition, in which the provinces were united with integrated country - including from an administrative point of view, the political-electoral, financial-monetary (1919-1922), a second - representing a range of Romanian democracy inter its peak (1926-1937) and last, very short, which coincides with the end of democracy and slipping towards authoritarianism and totalitarianism, dictatorship introduced by Carol II (1938-1940), continuing after the beginning the Second World War, by Antonescu-Legionar Movement dictatorship (1940-1941), the Antonescu military regime (1941-1944), and after World War II, after several troubled years, all the "transition" (1945-1948), with the establishment of the communist totalitarian regime (1948-1989).

If in the first period were kept in large, the old regulation, adapted (including the election), after the promulgation of the 1923 Constitution was adopted and an electoral system that promote successful party, which is given to the so-called "electoral prime".1 This system worked until 1937, when no one party failed to get 40%. After the appointment of a minority government at the beginning of next year, Carol II has dissolved Parliament, organized a plebiscite, which was to express "agreement" with the electorate new Constitution, thus establishing a dictatorship. For the first time, the only political

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1 The political party obtained at least 40% of votes received, automatically, half of the parliamentary mandates, and then proportionately, the other seats are shared in proportion among all formations in excess of what the electoral threshold (set at 2%).
formation, "single party", became the Front of National Rebirth. Elections held in the middle of the following year gave gaining concerned, "the unanimity of votes" FRN candidates. The vote was granted and women, but on the other hand, was reinstated census vote.

Reform which was supposed to unified in plan of the administrative inter-war Romania (1925) have a role to ponderate the differences between some counties and counties of Basarabia and Banat very large and the little’s Bucovina districts. Thus, Romania was composed of 71 counties (which have been added in 1937, and Capital, the status apart). Data from the 1919-1922 years, which relate to the old administrative units before the administrative reform of 1925, were recalculated according inter-war counties. On his way and proceeded with data from the 1939 elections, where, since the votes and seats for a single political formation, the recalculation of the data reported in ținuturi established in 1938 by Carol II was made easier.

Taking into account this context, there is the following, in respect of voting for different political formations: PNL has dominated political life inter-war authoritarian, particularly because of the vote, consistently exceeding the national average, given the political formations of the electorate of the Old Kingdom (including the voters of Dobrogea whole) 2. The concentration of votes in the inter Transylvania and Banat above the average national Romanian National Party, became the National Peasant Party, from 1926 through the merger with the Peasant Party from the Old Kingdom and explains why this political formation has become second in importance as the inter-war Romania 3, taking place “concurrent” of the PNL, belonging before 1918, the old Conservative Party.

A separate case had Basarabia and Bucovina. If during the first inter-war years electors voted, especially for the Peasant Party of Basarabia respectively for the Democratic Party of Union, after the merger with PNL, not all voters in those provinces have preferred him to liberals. The electorate of Basarabia was directed, in part, to peasant fractions (led by C. Stere, N. Lupu or Gr. Iunian), while the electors of Bucovina were oriented to the extreme-right, and that can reply to vote for Members of the minority Party Hebrew. Also belonging to minorities does vote here and voted for the social-democrats (situation applies to a lesser extent and Moldavian voters) and even representatives of the extreme-left (in 1931) 4.

Inter-war sub-period brought on the other hand, for the first time, the presence of the Romanian Parliament, some deputies belonging to national minorities. We said the deputies Hebrew, but sporadic, were elected Members of Parliament Ukrainians, Slovaks and Bulgarians. Much frequently entered the legislature inter-war Romanian parliamentarians Saxon or Swabians (often completing the electoral alliances with the Romanian parties)

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2 PNL was, actually, the only inter-war party who managed to lead a parliamentary mandate for up to 4 years and yet the final twice: in 1922-1926 (Prime Minister Ion I. C. Brătianu) and 1933-1937 (Prime Minister: Gheorghe Țătărescu).
3 Party being taken in the Austro-Hungarian Empire in 1869 and is therefore even older than the PNL. Is situate practically leading the fight of the Romanians in Transylvania and Banat for national and political rights, the party continued to occupy a special place in Romanians’ preferences over the mountains and the inter-war period and beyond.
4 Mandates assigned to the candidates of the Block of Workers and Peasants (communist orientation) have been invalidated.
and, almost continuously, the Hungarians. This is not, however, the first noticeable, but the consistency with which, from the inter-war period, hungarophon majority of the electorate of szeklers counties - Odorhei, Ciuc and Trei Scaune - and has voted in the Romanian Parliament.

In his scarce time and were sent through the vote, representatives of the legislature from Bucharest, voters in the counties Bichiş (only in 1919) and Cenad (and in 1920) have designated representatives of the PNR and / or minority Slovaks.

Things are presented somewhat like and respect crono-spatial distribution of seats, a sign that, broadly, "the electoral prime" has not distorted popular vote. Thus, the net two distinct classes, which groups two-thirds of the inter-war counties. A first class are highlights in the Old Kingdom (and the county Cetatea Albă in Basarabia), with above average representation continues to liberals. The second grouping most of the intra-carpatic counties where, in general, PNR / PNȚ benefits and mandates, not just votes above average. Concerning crono-spatial distribution of seats in Basarabia and Bucovina, can be found, in general, the same features listed in the voters preferences. Also, it is noted szeklers counties with assigned seats, in general, representatives of the Party of Hungarian and the temporarily Romanian counties Bichiş and Cenad, with the mandate of the PNR or belonging to Slovak minority.

**Fig. 2. Crono-spatial distribution of seats on the political formations in Romania (1919-1939). Ascending hierarchical classification.**

Repartiția crono-spațială a mandatelor pe formațiuni politice în România (1919-1939). Clasificare ascendentă șterarhică.

**1.2. Communist totalitarian sub-period (1946-1985).**

End of the second world conflagration not restored in Romania the course of inter-war interval or in the administrative plan - just as northern Transylvania was reincorporated to the national territory, remaining losses northern Bucovina, Basarabia and the ţinut of Herța (USSR) and southern Dobrogea, called Quadrilater (Bulgaria) - nor political (after a
timid start the transition towards a democratic politics, power was confiscated gradually, communists, for nearly a half century).

Fig. 3. Crono-spatial distribution of votes on political formations in Romania (1946-1985). Ascending hierarchical classification. Repartiția crono-spațială a voturilor pe formațiuni politice în România (1946-1985). Clasificare ascendentă ierarhică.

The biggest problems they raise the veracity of information on the elections in 1946. Voting popular results were clear counterfeit, the percentages essentially the reverse⁵. This was acknowledged even by representatives PCR, in an "ultra secret" analysis, showing that the Block of Democratic Parties subordinated Communists lost the elections ⁶. Accordingly, we had to elaborate how many 3 maps, both as regards crono-spatial distribution of popular vote, and in conjunction with space-temporal distribution of seats on political formations. Thus, the first map - in both cases - reflected the distribution of the vote, respectively mandates, after official data, the second - after the information from PCR analysis, and a third is the outcome estimates compiled from actual information, incomplete and the books that deal question.

⁵ Official data in 1946.
⁷ Idem, p. 340. Even in the material prepared by the Communists, some data were modified, of course, in favor of BPD.
Thus, the map that reflects the official result of the vote in 1946 shows that during totalitarian, voted against the communist regime until 1952, voters in a number of counties in northern Transylvania and Moldova (Maramureș, Năsăud, Rădăuți, Botoșani, Roman, Vaslui and Fălciu), subsequently notified authorities data showing a "support" slightly above average, the Communists. Instead, "support" for BPD - and especially for its ally, the Hungarian People's Union - was strong in most counties Transylvania, is turning, but after 1960, than the average votes against the regime. Cara-behaved and Hungarians and Szeklers voters in eastern Transylvania, which until 1952 were favorable BPD (and, primarily, UPM), so that, subsequently, and the backdrop the translation of communism in Romania in the direction of nationalist, transform itself in opposition to the regime. Some counties appear to have voted against the system (more precisely for the PNL-Bejan) in 1948, in the rest inscribed, in general, within the limits of national (Tecuci, Constanța, Argeș, Vâlcea), other supporting independent candidates (mentioned only in 1946 and 1948), as was the case of counties Câmpulung, Baia, Neamț, Tutova, Brăila, Olt, Gorj, Mehedinti, Caraș and Făgăraș. According to official data, but most of the country,

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8 In 1946 – official data.
9 Opposition to be understood by percentage of votes "against", however modest, but above the national average (for example, 5% in these counties, when the national average was 1-2% against).
especially in extra-carpathic regions, but also in southern Transylvania and Banat, a "sustained" in the years 1946-1948, the Communist authorities and their allies, after inscribed in the general trend.

Concerning crono-spatial distribution of mandates, things are even simpler because, in 1952, has not existed than a political formation that has earned the parliamentary seats: People's Democratic Front (1952-1965), became the Socialist Unity Front (1969 -1975) and then Front of Democracy and Socialist Unity (1980-1985). For the first post-war years (1946 and 1948) are some features notes. First, with all falsification of results, most of the mandates for PNȚ were distributed in the counties of Transylvania, where in 1948, were assigned to the other party mandate of the same orientation, Democratic Peasant Party (in 1946 he obtained places in Moldova). PNL-Bejan obtained seats in central Moldova (where, actually, is attributed and two years earlier, when, led by Gheorghe Tătărăscu, the party was part of BPD). Isolated, liberals have obtained seats in 1948, in some counties in northern Moldova, Oltenia and isolated in Transylvania and Banat. Beyond the allocation of seats for UPM to Transylvania, and in particular the 3 szeklers counties, stands out the dominance of the Communists and their allies.

If we do call upon the information provided by "secret" analysis of PCR, things start to change. Thus, the votes for the PNL-Dinu Brătianu be found over the national media, in particular in the extra-carpathic counties (but also in Hunedoara and Caraș), since 1948 votes close to the national average. Grand perdant of elections in 1946, PNȚ, fall, slightly above average, all in Transylvania - but also in the area of the capital and northern

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10 For 1946, information provided from the PCR "secret" analysis.
Moldova, where the votes would have received above average and PŢD (it - both in 1946 and in 1948).

UPM retains the fief in eastern Transylvania, but some counties in the rest of the province, populated mostly by Romanian, all becoming, in the years '60, areas with votes against the regime. BPD would be received, probably above average votes in some counties with a significant share of urban population and in particular the proletariat: Iaşi, Timiş, Prahova, Roman, etc., counties, which gradually will be converted into centers opposition against the regime. An important part of the proletariat would vote, but in 1946, the Independent Social-Democrat Independent Party (led by Constantin-Titel Petrescu), either in capital or in counties of Timiş, Severin, Sibiu, Suceava etc.

Regarding the mandates that were supposed to return each political formation, liberals would have obtained seats above average especially in extra-carpatic areas but also in Târnava Mare, Hunedoara and Caraş. PNŢ would have been mandated not only above average in southern and northern Transylvania, but also in the west of Moldova in the area of the capital, etc. In the central part of Transylvania, they would be awarded mandates of Anton Alexandrescu peasant's, enter the BPD, and UPM and would hold supremacy, and in respect of seats in Parliament in the szeklers counties. In 1948, liberals led by Bejan, would have obtained seats in Moldova in some central and southern counties of the country.

We reconstituted the election results in a form closer to what should have been. According to these estimates, the votes for PNŢ in 1946 would have been slightly above average in a large part of Transylvania and Banat, but also in Bukovina, northern and central Moldova, capital and some neighboring counties, etc. PNL and would hold supremacy considered inter-war years in the extra-carpatic counties and in some counties in western Transylvania and Banat (Hunedoara, Timiș). BPD would be obtained only votes than the average in Bacău and Fălciu where, however, the real winners would have been the Peasant-Democrats of Dr. N. Lupu. And this time, UPM had been passed by the electorate clear majority in the hungarophon counties in eastern Transylvania. It notes the fact that, by 1961-1965, most of Transylvania and would have expressed opposition to the regime by the presence than the average of the votes against.

On the background of a peasant victory, where compliance with the wishes of the likely electorate PNŢ would be obtained seats than the average in some counties in northern and southern Transylvania and Moldova, while the PNL would be seen above average in many of the counties where seems it has also been passed over national percentages. Social Democrats would have had seats in Timiş, Arad, Cluj, Târnava Mică, Vâlcea, Putna etc. BPD would have obtained seats in some counties of southern and northern Transylvania and Moldova (where, it seems, would have obtained seats above the average national the peasants), and UPM and would be kept well-known supremacy, and by mandate, in eastern Transylvania.
Fig. 7 Crono-spatial distribution of votes on political formations in Romania (1946-1985). Ascending hierarchical classification.\textsuperscript{11}
Repartiția cronospațială a voturilor pe formațiuni politice în România (1946-1985).
Clasificare ascendentă IERARCICĂ.

Fig. 8 Crono-spatial distribution of seats on the political formations in Romania (1946-1985). Ascending hierarchical classification.\textsuperscript{12}
Repartiția cronospațială a mandatelor pe formațiuni politice în România (1946-1985).
Clasificare ascendentă IERARCICĂ.

\textsuperscript{11} For 1946 it estimates.

\textsuperscript{12} In 1946 – estimated data.
1.3. Post-Decembrist sub-period (1990-2007)

The main feature of this sub-period is comeback, gradually, to democracy. Another aspect is laudable that the Constitution adopted in 1991, the right to parliamentary representation "in office" for those minorities who fail to secure their legislative voting representative. Also, in addition constancy of the Hungarian minority who voted with the Democratic Union of Hungarians in Romania (UDMR), 1996, we assisted at cooptation, in various forms, such formations along with political groups on political governance. In these circumstances, the voting intentions were canalized on several main directions. Thus, in extra-carpathic regions highlights are two classes, in close relation sympathies voters: one includes sympathizants of FSN / FDSN / PDSR / PSD, which, in the years 1992-2004 were associated with above average and votes with PRM and in 2007 have been added for future PD-L. The second includes the counties whose electorate voted continuously over the average social-democracy, and in 2007 - and the PNL, grouped practically in eastern and southern Moldavia and Wallachia. An important class is given by the electorate in the northern and southern Transylvania, Banat, Prahova, Constanţa and the capital, which have shown, consistently above average in respect of voting intentions formations with the centre-right, whether it was a case about PNŢCD, Romanian Democratic Convention, the Alliance D.A. PNL-PD, PSDR, USD or, in 2007, PD. It noted that the electorate preferred until 2000 to vote with peasants or CDR, led PNŢCD, redirected is subsequently to the DA Alliance and more recently to PD, redefined as a popular party / Christian-democratic orientation. Thus, the current PD-L took over the old pool of electoral PNŢCD.

The northern half of Transylvania has been for over a decade, the "land of confrontation" between electoral Romanian nationalist forces - led until 1996 by the PUNR, then PRM - and the formation of political Hungarian minority - UDMR. Since 2004, and the backdrop of resumption of economic growth in Romania, integration into NATO and the European Union, nationalist rhetoric has not caught the Romanian electorate, as European elections have made for the first time, face to face, the two political forces of Hungarians: along with former UDMR, independent candidate Tökes László has captured a great part of the votes of the ethnic Hungarian electors. May the land of strong "electoral confrontation" was the county of Mureş, where the two ethnic groups have close percentages: if Romanian nationalism has yet by 2000, signs of lessening (reported in national media) in 2007 and is observed here that Hungarians they have preferred, in good measure reformed pastor. A similar effect occurred in the three counties in eastern Transylvania, where the ethnic background of the vote, principally for UDMR in 2007 appeared a first "cleavage", confessional injunction: if the old districts of Odorhei and Trei Scaune, Reformed confession, in good measure, they have preferred to Tökes, Ciuc Hungarians, mostly Catholics here have voted, however, more with UDMR.

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13 As regards the vote, we took into account the results of the elections and European elections in November 2007. In another vein, taking into account the merger of PD and PLD (2008), we combined votes for the two political formations.
The parliamentary mandates reveal approximately the same trends. This time, extra-carpathic space is represented by a single massive class, in which social-democracy has supremacy (making and, sometimes, and sometimes place a mandate PSM - 1992 or PRM - in 2000 and 2004). Exceptions them the former administrative unit from Bucovina (including former county of Baia old Moldova), Tulcea - where PNL already granted mandates than the average in 2004, but also mentioned Prahova and Bucharest (with former inter-war Ilfov county), and from this point the specifics will be in Banat and the northern and southern parts of Transylvania. On the other hand, and the level of mandates, west-central part of Transylvania was over a decade under the sign of "electoral fight" between Romanian nationalists and UDMR, dominates the course of this eastern provinces. Mureș if it was a case in respect of the votes, as regards mandates, highlights net former Transylvanian Năsăud county, which the translation from FSN-UDMR vote in 1990 to a "battle"PUNR-UDMR, to go then, of 2000, mandates polarization between members of the former Alliance D.A. and PRM.\(^\text{14}\)

\(^\text{14}\) We preferred to take into account and dates for European elections in 2007, even if there is a distribution, even at regional level, the mandates of euro-deputies. We have done this, because the general trends and representativeness (euro) parliamentary highlights, faithfully, the result of the vote: mitigation - to below the electoral threshold - Romanian extremist vote (PRM has not sent deputies in Strasbourg) and the beginning of
Fig. 10 Crono-spatial distribution of seats on the political formations in Romania (1990-2004). Ascending hierarchical classification.


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polarization Hungarians the two forces (realities confirmed by the results of local elections in June 2008, when PRM has not collected 5% of the vote nationally, and the UDMR was competed in Transylvania, the Hungarian Civic Party, recently founded).
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