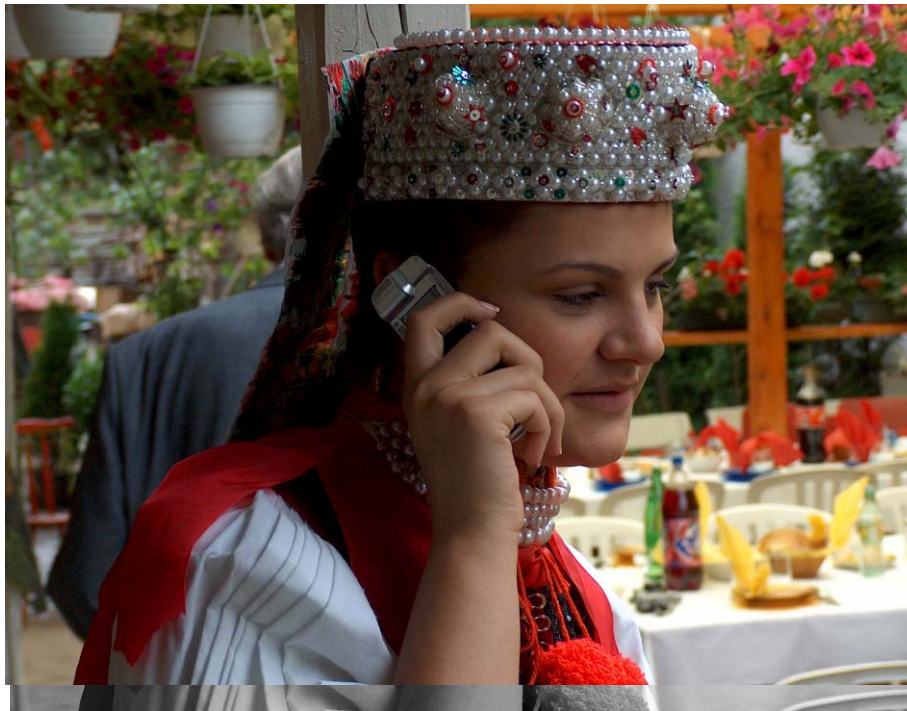


György Ránki Hungarian Chair Symposium

**Strategies of Identity Construction: Ethnic Politics,
Minorities, and European Integration
in Transylvania**

Saturday-Sunday, April 14-15, 2007

**Kelley School of Business Graduate and Executive Education Center
Room 1008; 1275 E. 10th Street; Indiana University, Bloomington**



The György Ránki Hungarian Chair Symposium is sponsored by the Indiana University György Ránki Chair in Hungarian Studies, the Department of Central Eurasian Studies, the Office of International Programs, the Inner Asian and Uralic National Resource Center, and the Russian and East European Institute.

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As one of the three main historic regions of modern Romania, Transylvania has a rich multiethnic, multireligious, and multicultural past and present and thus provides an excellent field for interethnic studies. Its population of over 7 million consists of a Romanian majority (75%), a shrinking but still considerable Hungarian minority (20%), and several other sizeable ethnicities, such as Roma, Germans, and others. Dynamics of power-relations as well as local majority and minority relations offer a great variety of examples of interethnic cooperation and conflict. Recent demographic trends as well as ongoing processes of “intra” and “inter” migration and assimilation have been continuously refiguring ethnic patterns, while also outlining certain permanent trends such as the advance of diasporization of certain ethnicities. In the last seventeen years since the fall of the Ceausescu Regime, dynamic economic and social changes have taken place both in the cities and in the countryside. Scholars of various social sciences (anthropology, ethnography, history, human geography, political science, sociology, etc.) who started to study the transition process and its preceding decades have discussed the collapse of the socialist economic system; the processes of privatization, rapid capitalization, and globalization; the emergence of new institutions of political life and civil society; transnational processes; shifting identities; forms of national(istic) narratives and rhetoric; and politics of regional and local communities. Easier border crossing and relaxation of earlier administrative barriers have made both archival research and anthropologic fieldwork much less difficult. Closed archival holdings have been opened up and taboo topics have started to be discussed as of the beginning of the 1990s. Scholars both from within the countries of transition and from abroad have started to make use of the new research opportunities. On the other hand, there still exist some aspects of 20th century Romanian-Hungarian history which have been highlighted only recently and need further analysis. In the year in which Romania has become a new member of the European Union, the annual Hungarian Chair Conference of 2007 would like to initiate a trans-disciplinary discourse by offering a forum on the strategies of identity construction in the region.

SATURDAY, April 14, 2007

8:30 – 9:00 Continental breakfast and conference check in

9:00 - 9:20 Welcoming Remarks

Elliott Sperling, Chair of CEUS Department, Indiana University

Patrick O'Meara, Dean of International Programs, Indiana University

9:20 - 11:10 **Panel I: Ethnic Politics, Minorities, and Regionalism in the EU Context**

Chair: **Toivo Raun**, Indiana University

Romanians and Hungarians in a Changing World

Andrew C. Janos, Professor Emeritus of Political Science and

Professor of the Graduate School, University of California Berkeley

Prevailing Identity Structures and Competing Ethno-political strategies in Transylvania after the EU Accession

Levente Salat, Associate Professor, Political Science Department

Babeş–Bolyai University, Cluj

Cultural and Territorial Autonomy Related to the Hungarian Identity Issue

Gabriel Andreescu, Associate Professor, Faculty of Political

Sciences/ SNSPA, Bucharest

Coffee-break 11:10-11:30

- 11:30 - 12:30 **Keynote Address**
Hungarians, Transylvania and the European Union
György Schöpflin, Member of European Parliament for Hungary,
 Brussels, and former Jean Monnet Professor of Politics at University
 College London
- 12:30 – 2:30 Lunch in the Federal Room, Indiana Memorial Union second floor,
 hosted by IU Dean of International Programs Patrick O’Meara
 (Note: If you did not receive an invitation, inquire at registration desk about
 lunch availability)
- 2:30 - 3:40 **Panel II: Majority-Minority Relations - Ethnicity in Everyday Life**
 Chair: **Gustav Bayerle**, Indiana University
- Changing Ethnic Patterns in Transylvania since 1989*
Károly Kocsis, Geographical Research Institute of Hungarian
 Academy of Sciences
- Roads toward Extinction – Hungarian Diasporas around Cluj/Kolozsvár*
Ágnes Fülemile, Hungarian Chair Professor, Indiana University,
 Institute of Ethnology of Hungarian Academy of Sciences
- Coffee-break 3:40 - 4:00
- 4:00 - 5:10 **Panel II (Continued)**
 Chair: **Ágnes Fülemile**, Indiana University
- The Experience of Ethnicity in Urban Everyday Interactions: The Case of
 Cluj/Kolozsvár*
Margit Feischmidt, Research Fellow, Ethnic and National Minority
 Research Institute of Hungarian Academy of Sciences
- Two ‘Little Americas:’ Global Integration, Labor, and National Identity in
 Two Transylvanian Regions*
David A. Kideckel, Professor of Cultural Anthropology, Central
 Connecticut State University
- 5:15 - 6:00 **Presentation of recently published books of interest**
 Victor Neumann: *The History of the Jews of Banat*, Tel-Aviv University
 Press
 By **Victor Neumann**
- Rogers Brubaker, Margit Feischmidt, Jon Fox & Liana Grancea:
Nationalist Politics and Everyday Ethnicity in a Transylvanian Town,
 Princeton University Press
 By **Margit Feischmidt**
- Zoltán Pálffy: *National Controversy in the Transylvanian Academe: The
 Cluj/Kolozsvár University, 1900-1950*, Akadémiai Press, Budapest
 By **Zoltán Pálffy**

Balázs Balogh - Ilyés Zoltán (eds): *Perspectives of Diaspora Existence*,
Akadémiai Press, Budapest

By **Balázs Balogh**

SUNDAY, April 15, 2007

8:30 – 9:00 Continental breakfast and conference check in

9:00 - 10:50 **Panel III: Historical Memory, Conceptions of Identity, and Multiethnic Realities**

Chair: **György Kara**, Indiana University

*National Controversy in the Transylvanian Academe as Reflected in
Enrolment Patterns at the University of Cluj/Kolozsvár, 1900-1944*

Zoltán Pálffy, Political Science Department, Babeş-Bolyai University
Cluj

The Bolyai University and Minority Elite Recruitment: 1944-1959

Andrew Ludanyi, Professor of Political Science, Ohio Northern
University

*“Erdélyi Fiatalok”: The Hungarian Village and Hungarian Identity in
Transylvania in the 1930’s*

Keith Hitchins, Professor of History, University of Illinois at Urbana-
Champaign

10:50 - 11:10 Coffee break

11:10 - 1:00 **Panel III (Continued)**

Chair: **Denis Sinor**, Indiana University

Trauma, Nationalism and the Memory of World War II in Transylvania

Maria Bucur, Professor of History and Acting Director of the Russian
and East European Institute, Indiana University

*History, Memory, and the Other: Narratives of Ethnic Tensions between
Hungarians and Romanians in the Light of the Conflicts of 1940-1944*

Balázs Balogh, HAESF Visiting Scholar at Indiana University,
Institute of Ethnology of Hungarian Academy of Sciences

Multicultural Timisoara/Temesvár - Remarks About Its Past and Present

Victor Neumann, Professor of History, Universitatea de Vest
Timisoara, and former Jean Monnet Professor of History

PLACES AND FACES FROM TRANSYLVANIA

Photographs by **Ágnes Fülemile** and **Balázs Balogh** from their 2005 anthropologic
fieldwork

Andrew C. Janos

Andrew C. Janos is Professor Emeritus of Political Science and Professor of the Graduate School of Political Science, University of California Berkeley. Professor Janos' research and teaching field is comparative East European politics. His current research interests focus on ethnic politics in southeast Europe and German-Hungarian relations. In addition to other items, he is the author of *The Politics of Backwardness in Hungary, 1825-1945* (Princeton University Press, 1981), *Politics and Paradigms: The Changing Theories of Change in Social Science* (Stanford University Press, 1986), *Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia: Ethnic Conflict and the Dissolution of National States* (1997), and *East Central Europe in the Modern World: Political Change in the Borderlands from Pre- to Post-Communism*.

Romanians and Hungarians in a Changing World

Remarks of a life-long academic and personal observer of the two countries and cultures emphasizing similarities and differences, and how these bear on the future of minorities.

Levente Salat

Levente Salat is an Associate Professor at the Political Science Department, Babeş-Bolyai University, Cluj, Romania. He holds a Ph.D in political philosophy, based on a thesis dealing with the relevance of Will Kymlicka's theory on multiculturalism in the context of European integration. He is president of the Ethnocultural Diversity Resource Center in Cluj, an independent NGO active in the field of minority issues and interethnic relations in Romania. Between 2004-2006 he was vice-rector of the Babeş-Bolyai University, and served as board-member of the Open Society Foundation, Romania; in 2005 he was chair of the Board. He is the author of three books, and editor or co-editor of eight volumes. He also published several chapters, articles and studies in Hungarian, Romanian and English, mainly on minority and interethnic issues, in Romania and abroad.

Prevailing Identity Structures and Competing Ethno-political Strategies in Transylvania after the EU Accession

Seventeen years of ethno-political struggle by the Hungarian minority in Romania has yielded modest results: in spite of the remarkable political mobilization and disciplined ethnic voting of the Hungarian community, just a few of the major objectives envisaged, soon after the 1989 turnover, by the political elite of the community proved to be attainable with the instruments of participation in the country's political life. The hypothesis of the presentation is that the prevailing identity structures in Transylvania and the competing ethno-political strategies of the Romanian majority, on the one hand, and that of the Hungarian minority, on the other, bear an important share of the responsibility for the failure. The arguments aiming to support the hypothesis will build on results of the Romanian ethnic relations barometers conducted between 1994-1996 and 2000-2002, as well as on previous researches of the author. The paper will conclude by identifying, in the context of the post-EU-accession, the necessary changes in the Hungarian minority's identity construction and ethno-political strategy-building in order to facilitate a more successful integration of the Hungarian minority into the Romanian state and the larger frameworks of the EU.

Gabriel Andreescu

Gabriel Andreescu is an Associate Professor at the Faculty of Political Sciences SNSPA, Bucharest. 2003: Ph.D/Summa cum Laude/ "*The European System of the Protection of National Minorities*"
2005-present: Editor: "Noua Revistă de Drepturile Omului"
2004-present: columnist: national newspaper "Ziua"

2003-present: Member of the Scientific Council of the National Institute for the Memory of the Romanian Exile

Member of the Advisory Council of more publications including *Altera* and *Helsinki Monitor*, member of the *Writer's Union*; founder of numerous Romanian associations and foundations.

Civic-political activity during the communist regime: 1989 - June: hunger strike as a protest for the continuing violation of human rights in Romania; 1988-1989: protest letters, published in Western mass-media; December 1987-January 1988: arrested for anticommunist activity

Books, studies and articles: 18 books; 2001: "The success of the New Approach," All Publishing House, 2000; about 80 studies, about 1.000 articles

Awards: 2007: Roma Civic Alliance Award; 2006: Roma Civic Alliance Prize; 2003: "Diploma Pro Minoritate," Diaspora Foundation/Timisoara, National Order "Steaua României," Cavalier (from Romanian President); 2000: The first prize for the Study "A Romanian Conception of Federal Europe" (written with Adrian Severin – from Open Society Foundation); 1999 - "Three Millenium Award" (from Roma Party); 1998 - Honorary Member of the Pro Europa Ligue; 1998 - Pro Amicitia (second time, from Hungarian Journalists Association from Romania); 1996 - Awarded for the best essay on the Romanian-Hungarian friendly relations (from LINIE); 1996 - European Journalist (from the Delegation of the European Union Comission; 1995 - Pro Minoritate (from the Government of Hungary); 1994 - Pro Amicitia (from Hungarian Journalists Association from Romania); 1990: Human Rights Monitor (from Human Rights Watch).

Cultural and Territorial Autonomy Related to the Hungarian Identity Issue

The first part of the study looks at the historical context of the symbolic and territorial competition between Romanians and Hungarians, dwelling on the issue of Transylvania and the competition for historical legitimacy. It bridges, against this background, the question of Hungarian identity to a concept developed elsewhere as a part of a national minorities doctrine: that of community privacy. Territorial autonomy, currently invoked in several Hungarian projects, represents one possible answer to the need for community privacy of the Hungarians in Romania. Another manifestation of community privacy is cultural autonomy. The study then discusses the provisions of the current draft law on the statute of national minorities in Romania and shows that it has reduced cultural autonomy to its political dimension. This form of reductionism, together with the role granted to organizations of citizens belonging to the national minorities, harms the internal democracy of minority communities. Such a normative model, the study argues, cannot be a blueprint for consensus within the communities. Given the current political and social context, in order to be successful in their promotion of autonomy the relevant actors in the Hungarian community must agree on a set of minimal goals as an expression of their identity.

György Schöpflin

György Schöpflin has been a Member of the European Parliament for Hungary since 2004. He sits for Fidesz-Hungarian Civic Union, a member of the Group of the European People's Party (Christian Democrats) and European Democrats. He serves as a full member on the Parliament's Foreign Affairs Committee and its Subcommittee on Human Rights, and as a substitute member on the Constitutional Affairs Committee. In 2006-2007, Professor Schöpflin was also a member of the Parliament's Temporary Committee on the alleged use of European countries by the CIA for the transport and illegal detention of prisoners. Professor Schöpflin is also a member of the Parliament's Delegation to the EU-Turkey Joint Parliamentary Committee.

Born in Budapest, Professor Schöpflin lived in the UK from 1950 to 2004. He graduated M.A., LL.B. from the University of Glasgow (1962) and pursued postgraduate studies at the College of

Europe in Bruges (1962-1963). He then worked at the Royal Institute of International Affairs (1963-1967) and the BBC (1967-1976) before taking up university lecturing, at the School of Slavonic and East European Studies, University of London (1976-2004), including latterly as Jean Monnet Professor of Politics and Director of the Centre for the Study of Nationalism.

Professor Schöpflin's principal area of research is the relationship between ethnicity, nationhood and political power, with particular reference to post-communism. He is the author of *Politics in Eastern Europe 1945-1992* (Blackwell, 1993) and *Nations, Identity, Power* (Hurst, 2000) as well as of many other works, including numerous articles on ethnicity and nationhood. He is co-editor of and contributor to *Myths and Nationhood* (Hurst, 1997, with Geoffrey Hosking) and *State Building in the Balkans: Dilemmas on the Eve of the 21st Century* (Longo, 1998, with Stefano Bianchini). His latest book, *The Dilemmas of Identity*, is forthcoming in English and has already appeared in Hungarian as *Az identitások dilemmája* (Attraktor, 2004).

In the European Parliament, Professor Schöpflin has been particularly active in pursuing issues of ethnic rights, the future of the Constitutional Treaty and the implications of Turkey's projected membership of the EU.

Hungarians, Transylvania and the European Union

Identity construction is a collective and discursive process underpinned by various identity stabilizers, notably mythic narratives, symbols, rituals and boundary mechanisms.

From this perspective identity is more fluid than what appears at first sight, but collectivities go to a very great length to ensure that the identity appears fixed and permanent to the members of the community concerned.

In a case of the Hungarians in Transylvania, as is not as unusual with ethnic minorities, the members of this collectivity have to contend with various forms of pressure and counter-pressure that shape their identity. These include the Romanian state, the policies of the Hungarian state, the complex nature of the Hungarian minority itself, the international community and, since 2004, the presence of Hungary in the European Union (followed by Romania in 2007).

Károly Kocsis

Károly Kocsis is the Head of Human Geography Department at the Geographical Research Institute of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Budapest and a Professor and Director of Institute of Geography at the University of Miskolc. Main areas of his research activity are the study of the geographic-historic backgrounds of the ethnic-religious conflicts, the changing ethnic patterns, the international mediator role of the Hungarian minorities, the situation of the Roma (Gypsy) population, the ethnically mixed border areas and the destructive demographic, economic effects of the historically new state borders in the Carpatho-Pannonian area and in the Balkans.

Changing Ethnic Patterns in Transylvania since 1989

The aim of this paper is to provide an overview of changing ethnic patterns in Transylvania, covering the last half of the millennium briefly and the post-communist period in more detail. The ethnic structure of this multicultural province was dominated by the Hungarians, Germans and Romanians from the early 13th until the middle of 20th century, and by Romanians, Hungarians and Roma (Gypsies) since 1989. The natural decrease and the increasing (e)migration of the population connected with the epochal economic, social and political changes in Romania resulted in

considerable changes in the ethnic structure of Transylvania. The most striking ethnic changes were the accelerating decrease in the population of the national minorities (mostly of Germans and

Hungarians) and the dynamic demographic headway of the Roma population. According to the latest Romanian census (2002), nearly half of the Hungarians live in municipalities where they represent the absolute majority of the local population. On the basis of present-day ethnic patterns, following the example of many Eurasian countries the realization of ethnic-based territorial autonomy could be conceivable only in the settlement areas of half of the Transylvanian Hungarians (eg. Szeklerland, parts of Bihor-Satu Mare-Sălaj counties). Today 85% of the Roma still reside in such municipalities where their ratio is below 20%. The dynamic increase of the Roma (+25% between 1992 and 2002), the largest minority group of Romania (2.5 million) could be braked by their emigration to the „Western” countries of the European Union.

Ágnes Fülemile

Ágnes Fülemile is Senior Research Fellow and Head of the Historical Ethnography Department at the Institute of Ethnology of Hungarian Academy of Sciences. Currently she is the Visiting György Ránki Chair of Hungarian Studies at IU, Bloomington. She holds university degrees in History of Art, History and Ethnography from ELTE University, Budapest. She has a Ph. D in Ethnography from ELTE, Budapest and an M. Phil in the History of Dress from the Courtauld Institute of Art, University of London. Since 1990 she has been a regular lecturer at University of California's Education Abroad Program at ELTE, Budapest and at the Study Abroad Program of CIEE (Council on International Educational Exchange) at the Budapest University of Economics.

In 1992-1993, with a Fulbright grant she spent half a year at the Anthropology Department of UC Berkeley and another half a year at the Costume Institute of the Metropolitan Museum of Arts, New York. In 1999 she was a visiting professor at the Hungarian Institute of Rutgers University, New Brunswick, New Jersey.

Her research interests include: contemporary social processes, acculturation of peasant culture, historic and recent problems of ethnicity, identity issues, creation of national culture, symbols and dress. She has done extensive field-work in several village communities in Hungary. Since 1990 she has been continuously doing fieldwork in 80 Transylvanian communities together with Balázs Balogh (living full-time for half a year in 2005). A book on this research was published by the Académiai Press: Balogh, Balázs – Fülemile, Ágnes: *Társadalom – tájszerkezet – identitás Kalotaszegen. Fejezetek a csoportképzés történeti folyamatairól.* (Society, Regional Structure and Identity in Kalotaszeg. Chapters on Historic Processes of Regional Group Formation) 2004, Budapest. She has also published articles on the recent social and economic processes and ethnic issues in rural communities of Transylvania following the 1989 political changes in Romania. She is currently working on a monograph about the Transylvanian Hungarian Diaspora community of Iara (Alsójárá) with Balázs Balogh, scheduled for publication by the end of this year.

Roads toward Extinction – Hungarian Diasporas around Cluj/Kolozsvár

The ethnic and cultural map of Transylvania has often been likened to a mosaic with good reason. Nowadays more than half of the ethnic Hungarian population in Romania lives in a diaspora situation. There are many ways to meet the challenges posed by a diaspora situation on the community and the individual level alike. When analyzing the actual local variations of diaspora situations and the stations of the diasporization process, these are set up one after another to the feeling of “solitude” of the individual, and the ethnic-minority group can no longer provide a

satisfactory conceptual framework. The various answers and strategies of “turning inwards” or “forging new ties” are influenced by a great number of historical, cultural, demographic and mental factors. The paper is based on fieldwork carried out in several rural settlements around the Kalotaszeg region and Cluj/Kolozsvár.

Margit Feischmidt

Margit Feischmidt was born in Cluj, studied cultural anthropology in Budapest and European ethnology in Berlin, from where she received her Ph.D for her dissertation, published in 2003 by LIT-Verlag: *Ethnizität als Konstruktion und Erfahrung. Symbolstreit und Alltagskultur im siebenbürgischen Cluj*. During her fieldwork in Cluj, she met Rogers Brubaker and Jon Fox, and later Liana Grancea, with whom she collaborated on *Nationalist Politics and Everyday Ethnicity in a Transylvanian Town* (Princeton University Press, 2006). Meanwhile she has been involved in other research projects, such as one on the relation of the Hungarian education system to the immigrant children and another on ethnic segregation and integration processes in the Hungarian countryside. Since 2005 she has been Research Fellow at the Ethnic and National Minority Institute of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, and since 1996 lecturer at the Department of Communication and Media Studies, Pécs University.

The Experience of Ethnicity in Urban Everyday Interactions - the Case of Cluj/Kolozsvár

Outcomes of our research project on nationalist politics and everyday ethnicity in a Transylvanian town (with Rogers Brubaker, Jon Fox and Liana Grancea) will be presented, focusing on one of our main questions: how ethnicity - in the context of nominal mixedness of people's everyday life - becomes experientially relevant in certain moments or situations. Four modalities of creating ethnicity in the phenomenological sense will be introduced here (1) through overt disagreement or conflict, (2) through the self-conscious avoidance of ethnically marked or sensitive topics, (3) through ethnically framed joking or teasing and, (4) through the choice between institutionally defined and ethnically marked alternatives using our interview and participant observational data on Cluj/Kolozsvár.

David A. Kideckel

David A. Kideckel is Professor of Cultural Anthropology at Central Connecticut State University in New Britain, Connecticut. He has published widely on social life and change during and after socialism in East Central Europe. His last research focused on transformations in the physical lives and perceptions of workers in two Romanian regions and his book, *Getting By in Post-Socialist Romania: Labor, the Body, and Working Class Culture* will appear later this year (Indiana University Press). An earlier book *The Solitude of Collectivism* (Cornell University Press) was recently published in Romanian translation (*Colectivism și Singurătate în Satele Românești* Iași: Polirom).

He also recently produced a video documentary on Romania's Jiu Valley coal miners (*Days of the Miners: Life and Death of a Working Class Culture*) and has recently begun a research project on “Transformations of Citizenship and Political Identity” comparing globalization's effects on service workers in Romania and Kerala state, India. Kideckel was editor of the *Anthropology of East Europe Review*, and has served as a consultant to a variety of national and international organizations. Most recently he was a Fulbright Senior Specialist consulting on Curricular Development in Anthropology at both Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznan, Poland and Babeş-Bolyai University in Cluj-Napoca, Romania and served as Senior Scholar at the Woodrow Wilson Center's Junior Scholar

Training Seminars and also Senior Consultant at the joint IREX-WWC Regional Policy Symposium on EU transformation. Kideckel is past president of the Society for the Anthropology of Europe, a constituent organization of the American Anthropological Association.

Two Little Americas: Labor, Global Integration, and Transylvanian Identities

Globalization theory often singles out the importance of the integration of local labor in global systems as critical to the formation of identities. This paper considers the relationship of globally-related labor and ethnic identity formation and practice in two Transylvanian regions. The Jiu Valley mining area deemphasized ethnicity while in the Făgăraș region it was and is key in individual consciousness. These differences appear in the common metaphor “Little America” used in both regions. In the Jiu Valley, the in-gathering of people from throughout the Habsburg empire for work in the mining industry prompted locals to celebrate sameness, often glossed by defining America as “melting pot.” In Făgăraș an unambiguous ethnic division of labor between Romanians, Saxon Germans, and Magyars, economic diversification, and upward mobility facilitated extensive emigration, especially of Romanians. Here the notion of “Little America” emphasized achievement by competition and hence difference. These historic identities orient each population to changing global economy and society. In the Jiu Valley global forces are seen as problematic for the mining-based economy while in Făgăraș people have been more emigration oriented. These stances are further examined for their influence on local family structures and educational and political sentiments.

Zoltán Pálffy

Zoltán Pálffy is lecturer in Comparative History of Central and South-Eastern Europe, Minority Studies and Theories of Nationalism at the Political Science Department of Babeş-Bolyai University in Cluj, Romania. He holds BA degrees in Romanian and English, Hungarian and Ethnography (Babeş-Bolyai University), MA and Ph.D degrees in History (Central European University, Budapest). He was a Higher Education Support Returning Scholar Program grantee in 2000-2001, and a participant in the Academic Fellowship Program in 2005-2006. His book on the history of the University of Cluj, *National Controversy in the Transylvanian Academe: The Cluj/Kolozsvár University in the First Half of the 20th Century*, was published in 2006 by Akadémiai Press, Budapest. His current research focuses on majority-minority relations in education in 20th century Romania and Hungary.

National Controversy in the Transylvanian Academe as Reflected in Enrollment Patterns at the University of Cluj/Kolozsvár, 1900-1944

The paper focuses on the assessment of Hungarian and Romanian degree-holder contingents of the University of Cluj/Kolozsvár in times of spectacular political change and relative social stagnation. Comparing enrolment statistics of each period discussed, I shall follow the fluctuation of the ethno-cultural composition of student contingents at this university, which has always been localized within a higher educational market mostly limited to the needs of the ethnically mixed population of Transylvania, needs that were seldom, if ever, reflected in equitable enrolment ratios. Nevertheless, local ethnic competition in and through the academe was always conditioned by external centers of political gravitation. The integrative role of the university altered each time the centre changed, and each time it was exerted not so much along socio-economic but rather ethno-political lines. Thus, the late imperial educational commonwealth before World War I was largely dominated by the Magyar element. In the inter-war period the subsequent nation-state framework reshaped majorities and minorities and reversed the situation to the advantage of Romanians. This was followed by yet another turn-over between 1940 and 1944. All the while the university was less an agent of modernization than a fortress of survival in a continuous struggle for national dominance. Ethnic

dominance tended to substitute reform and social advancement, and repeated failures in these latter were ascribed to the presence of the rival ethnic other in the competition.

Andrew Ludanyi

Andrew Ludanyi is Professor of Political Science at Ohio Northern University in Ada, Ohio, where he has been an instructor since 1968 with primary responsibility in the subfields of Comparative Politics and International Relations. Ludanyi received his B.A. from Elmhurst College (Illinois) in 1963 and his M.A. (1965) and Ph.D (1971) from Louisiana State University in Baton Rouge, Louisiana. His research has focused on interethnic and inter-nationality relations in East Central Europe, with particular attention to developments in the Transylvanian region of Romania and the Vojvodina region of northern Yugoslavia/Serbia. He has been an IREX and Fulbright Scholar to Hungary on two occasions (1982-83, 1992-93) and a recipient of the Hungarian Republic's Small Cross Merit Medal (1992). At his home institution he has been named the Wilfred E. Binkley Chair in history twice (1976-78, 1991-92) and the Kernan Robson Chair in Political Science on ten occasions from 1972 to 2006. He has published numerous articles and reviews and edited three books in his research area, including studies on nationalities policies in Titoist and post-Titoist Yugoslavia as well as in Ceausescu's Romania, including *Transylvania: The Roots of Ethnic Conflict* (1983), *Hungary and Hungarian Minorities* (1996), *The Fate of Magyars in Vojvodina* (2002), and *Historiography in Transylvania* (2004).

The Bolyai University and Minority Elite Recruitment: 1944-1959

The Bolyai University was the Hungarian half of the current Babes-Bolyai University in Cluj/Kolozsvár, Transylvania. It was an independent Hungarian University until its merger with the Babes University in 1959. This merged institution is one of the most important centers of higher education in present-day Romania. However, it has a past that can be traced back to the 16th century within the context of the independent Transylvania of John Sigismund and Stephen Bathory. It later evolved into a Habsburg institution, then a Hungarian and a Romanian University. Finally, during World War II it operated as two separate institutions with Hungarian and Romanian faculties respectively. The two were merged by the Gheorghiu-Dej communist government in 1959. Ever since, Hungarian minority intellectuals have called for the restoration of the independent Bolyai University. The current paper focuses on the independent Bolyai University between 1944 and 1959. It reflects on its role as the premier institution for the recruitment and training of the Hungarian minority's cultural and educational elite. The paper links the fate of this institution to the communist transformation of Romania and its consequences for the Hungarians of Transylvania.

Keith Hitchins

Keith Hitchins is a Professor of History at the University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign, and offers courses and does research on the history of Southeastern Europe, the Habsburg Monarchy, Romania, and Transylvania. He also has an interest in nationalism and in the history of Central Asia and the Kurds.

“Erdélyi Fiatalok”: The Hungarian Village and Hungarian Identity in Transylvania in the 1930's

The paper deals with the efforts made by a significant part of the young generation of Hungarian intellectuals in Transylvania in the 1930's to strengthen the sense of Hungarian identity by investigating material and cultural conditions in the village and by creating a close relationship between the village and the intellectuals. The “Erdélyi Fiatalok” were certain that the survival of the Hungarian nation in Transylvania depended upon improvements in the economic, educational, moral,

and social conditions of villagers, who formed the majority of the Hungarian population of Transylvania. In approaching the village, the “Erdélyi Fiatalok” placed themselves within a broad scholarly and ideological framework. They drew inspiration from similar investigations (falukutatás) in Hungary and among the Hungarians of Slovakia. But perhaps the most important source of inspiration for them was the so-called monographic study of the village in Romania initiated and conducted by Dimitrie Gusti and his Romanian Social Institute in Bucharest. The relationship of the “Erdélyi Fiatalok” with Gusti suggests their willingness to pursue their goals within the new, post-1918 Romania.

Maria Bucur

Maria Bucur is Professor and Acting Director of Russian and East European Institute at Indiana University, Bloomington. Her research and teaching interests focus on European history in the modern period, especially social and cultural developments in Eastern Europe, with a special interest in Romania (geographically) and gender (thematically). She began her intellectual journey by investigating the ways in which cultural producers and social policy makers tried to engineer the future during the first half of the twentieth century. This led to the publication of her first book, *Eugenics and Modernization in Interwar Romania*. Subsequently she moved on to examine how various local communities and official state institutions in Eastern Europe tried to engineer the past, by constructing representations of wartime violence through monuments and commemorative processes. This project has become a book manuscript she is currently writing, entitled *The Violence of Memory and Memory of Violence on the Edge of Europe*. In addition to these books, she has published a number of essays on eugenics, philanthropy, the cultural history of the Great War, commemorations of World War II, and gender and war. Her teaching combines these specific research interests with broader pedagogical ones. She has taught courses on the idea of Europe, film and history, gender in Modern Europe, as well as communism in Europe. She is also the chair of the gender and sexuality field in the History department.

Balázs Balogh

Balázs Balogh is a Senior Research Fellow, the Head of Social Anthropology Department at the Institute of Ethnology of Hungarian Academy of Sciences working there from 1993. Previously, in 1989-1993, he was a museum curator at the Museum of Ethnography (Budapest). 2004-2006 he headed the Folk Art Curatorial Board of the National Cultural Endowment of the Hungarian State (NKA). Currently he is a visiting scholar with a HAESF Senior Leaders & Scholars Fellowship at Indiana University. The main emphasis within his scholarly interest concentrates on understanding recent social processes; historic and recent problems of ethnicity, with a special focus on studying identity issues, acculturation and integration processes of emigrant/displaced/minority ethnic communities. In 2001 he earned his Ph.D degree in Ethnography at the European Ethnology Doctoral Program at ELTE in Budapest. His dissertation was published by the Akadémiai Press: *Gazdák és Zsellérek. Gazdálkodási stratégiák Tápon. /Well-to-do Farmers and Cotters. Strategies of Farming in Táp, a village in Transdanubia/* 2002, Budapest. In 1991-1992 with the scholarship of Ministry of Culture of Bavaria he studied an “Ungarndeutsch” (Hungarian-German) community in Gerestried (Germany), which was expelled from Hungary after World War II. In 1992/93 with a grant from the Herder Stiftung he spent a year at the Institute für Volkskunde at the University of Vienne. In 1995 with a Soros Grant he spent two months at the Social Anthropology Department at the University of Cambridge, while in 1997 he spent a month in Paris with a research grant from the Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales.

For over 10 years he has been carrying out field-work together with Ágnes Fülemlile in 80 communities of Transylvania, living there full-time for half a year in 2005. A book on this research was published by the Academic Press: Balogh, Balázs – Fülemlile, Ágnes: *Társadalom – tájszerkezet – identitás Kalotaszegen. Fejezetek a csoportképzés történeti folyamatairól.*/Society, Regional Structure and Identity in Kalotaszeg. Chapters on Historic Processes of Regional Group Formation/2004, Budapest. With Ágnes Fülemlile he is currently working on a monograph about a Transylvanian Hungarian Diaspora community of Iara (Alsójár), scheduled for publication by the end of this year.

History, Memory, and the Other: Narratives of Ethnic Tensions between Hungarians and Romanians in the Light of the Conflicts of 1940-1944

The paper deals with the narratives of events of the 1940-1944 period collected in the Kalotaszeg (Zona Călatei) region of Transylvania. The Hungarian-Romanian state border, due to the annexation of Northern Transylvania to Hungary in 1940, divided Kalotaszeg into two lengthwise, more or less parallel to the 50 km long Bánffyhunyard-Kolozsvár highway, 7-15 kilometers to the south. The older generation of Hungarian and Romanian villagers of the multiethnic settlements on both sides of the former border carries deep memories of the double border change. Researchers in the field undoubtedly hear that grave atrocities occurred in the region and also that every Hungarian village in Kalotaszeg was looted in 1944. While from one-side a well-functioning media and propaganda machine demonized the picture of the “other,” on the other side there were no opportunities to speak out and heal the wounds. The mutual image of the Hungarians and Romanians of Kalotaszeg is very complex, varying in fact from village to village. Up until now social anthropology has hardly taken - for a long time could not take - into account the deep spiritual marks left by the period in the relations between the two ethnicities, which however have played a decisive role to the present in the life of certain villages and in forming the negative or positive nature of their mutual image.

Victor Neumann

Victor Neumann is Professor of History at the West University of Timișoara, Romania. He was counselor for the Ministry of Culture of Romania (1990-1992), senior researcher at the Institute of Social Theory in Bucharest of the Romanian Academy (1992-1994), Director of the Intercultural Institute of Timișoara set up by the Council of Europe (1994-1996), and visiting professor at the University of Bucharest (Romania), University of Angers (France) and lectured at eleven universities in the USA in 1999. He was also visiting Fulbright scholar at the Catholic University of America in 2000/2001 and visiting lecturer at the National Foreign Affairs Training Center – Foreign Service Training Institute, in Washington, D.C (January and June, 2001). His international experience includes lectures, presentations and research conducted in the United Kingdom, Germany, France, Italy, Israel, The Netherlands, Poland, Hungary and the U.S.A. He was fellow of the Central European University (Hungary), the Hebrew University (Israel), IREX (USA), the Netherlands Institute for Advanced Studies, Wassenaar, Friedrich Ebert Foundation, Bonn, Wissenschaftskolleg zu Berlin, Institute for East and Southeastern European Studies – University of Vienna, Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales - Paris, Maison des Sciences de l’Homme – Paris. For 1995-1997 he was awarded a NATO Individual Research Fellowship, the “A.D. Xenopol” Prize of the Romanian Academy (1993), with the Chevalier title for the outstanding contribution to culture and science by the president of Romania (2002), and with Diploma of Excellence accorded by the mayor of Timisoara (2006).

His main research interests are focused on Romanian and East-Central European intellectual history, history of political thought, majority-minorities relations in Romania and interculturality and

multiculturality. His main publications in English, French and German include: *The Temptation of Homo Europaeus* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1993), *Identités multiples dans l'Europe des régions. L'interculturalité du Banat* (Timișoara: Hestia, 1997); *Between Words and Reality: Studies on the Politics of Recognition and Regime Changes in Contemporary Romania* (Washington, D.C., The Catholic University of America, 2001); *Conceptually Mystified. East-Central Europe Torn Between Ethnonationalism and Recognition of Multiple Identities* (Bucharest: Enciclopedica Publishing House, 2004); *The End of a History. Jews of Banat from the Beginning until Nowadays*, (Bucharest University Press, 2006); National

Political Cultures and Regime Changes in Eastern and Central Europe in the collective volume *The History of Political Thought in National Context*, edited by Dario Castiglione and Iain Hampsher-Monk (Cambridge University Press, 2001); Die bürgerliche Kultur in Siebenbürgen und im Banat: Die Rolle Temeswars in den politischen Umgestaltungsprozessen vom Dezember 1989 (in *Halbjahresschrift für südosteuropäische Geschichte, Literatur und Politik*, Nr.1/1999); Vergleichende Betrachtungen über die multikulturelle Philosophie (in *Forschungen zur Volks- und Landeskunde*, Rumänische Akademie, Band 48/2005).

Multicultural Timișoara (Temesvár/Temeschburg/ Temišvaru) : Remarks About Its Past and Present

The endorsement of modern values was to be an important landmark in the evolution of urban societies. The City of Timișoara, located 550 km southwest of Vienna and 250 km from Budapest, had rapidly assimilated the influences transmitted by the two imperial capitals. Second to Budapest, Timișoara became one of the most important and modern cities in the eastern half of Austro-Hungary. The city had 72,555 inhabitants in 1910, benefiting from two institutions of higher technical education, two bishoprics, 62 small- and average-sized factories, 132 scientific and professional associations, 7 daily newspapers, 17 printing houses and a vibrant musical life. Timișoara was also a city of schools, with 11,656 students in 1906. The European opening had been facilitated by practicing plurilingualism by interculturality and by the multiple religious confessions of the local population. In all respects – industrial, urban, social, cultural, pedagogic and behavioral – Timișoara was in 1910 integrated in Europe and had the role of “main liaison between the Empire and the Balkans.” The basis laid during the decades of dualism proved to be useful throughout the 20th century.

Community sectarianism did not shape the political orientation of the city. Due to cohabitation, similar economic and social condition of most inhabitants, as well as due to the mixture of families of various origins, Timișoara avoided assimilation, ethno-nationalism or religious excesses. Its cultural hybridism generated a level of civilization that made it attractive to technical premieres and trade. In spite of a magyarization pressure exerted between 1880 and 1914, a Serbian annexation attempt during World War I and Romanization policies carried out since 1919, Timișoara has been throughout the 20th century the epitome of a cosmopolitan city. The inhabitants of Timișoara used German, Hungarian, Serbian, Yiddish and Romanian for a remarkably long period of time. The name of the city was known in all languages used by its inhabitants. Awareness of diverse historic heritages was the rule, which made possible the diversity of religious practices. These diverse heritages generated the multiple cultural codes of the city's inhabitants. These are partly identifiable even today in the definition and self-definitions of one's own identity as well as in social pedagogy, in the cross-religious customs. The same diversity of heritages resulted in the preservation of German, Serbian, Hungarian middle schools and the emergence of schools in English and French. All of these define a multi and intercultural physiognomy where the pioneering role was played by mixed families.

As a result of World War I, some of the former regions of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy became the driving forces for industrialization in the newly formed nation states. The region of Banat played such a role within the new Romania. Timișoara came under the influence of Bucharest. This was tantamount to imposing a cultural and political model that was different from the heritage of the former Austro-Hungarian Monarchy. The weight of Timișoara and the Banat region in social and political life decreased and the national state was deprived of a strong economic drive that had become already functional and had a relatively high performance during the dualist monarchy. Nicknamed the “Manchester” of Transleithania between 1900-1910, Timișoara lived a little longer on the industrial success and commercial affluence previously gained. Gradually, between 1919 and 1940, the city became a center deprived of its own administrative power and of the financial resources needed for a sustainable development in accordance to its aspirations. This is why its inhabitants had a nostalgic relationship to the period prior to WW I and expressed a more vehement regional identity or manifested superiority complexes in respect to Southern Romania, and especially Bucharest. There were, however, no radical ideologies and political practices that would converge to ruptures or to the autonomy of Timișoara and the Banat region within Romania. Such an outcome would have been impossible anyway due to the 1923 Constitution that promoted centralism as a state policy and blocked any local decisional power. The role of Bucharest as capital of Greater Romania led to proposing the mixture of Western and Oriental features to the entire nation. The cultural model of Bucharest, inspired by Ottoman Turkey and the Phanariot rulers on the one hand, by the French – Prussian intellectual sources on the other hand, had to be appropriated by all regions and cities integrated into Greater Romania. As a first step, a consolidation of the state was sought. The fear of the neighbors and their possible territorial claims increased the popularity of Romanian nationalism. Even communism derived inspiration from this doctrine, appropriating surprisingly well relevant fragments of Romanian nationalism to justify its own policies. Professional progress in institutional hierarchies relied on ethnic, cultural and confessional criteria.

Promoting the artificial division between the capital and the province, centralist policies caused a form of exclusion of western and northern regions and their cities from public administration. In social terms as well as in terms of living standards, Timișoara was long considered to have the top position in the country. Timișoara adapted with greater difficulty to the style imposed from Bucharest. The multicultural profile and the critical behavior inherited from the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy also contributed to Timișoara’s benign resentment towards centralist policies imposed from Bucharest. This is still visible today in administrative and economic issues, in sporting events and even in the interpretations of recent history. The model of a Central European city was still more attractive to the inhabitants of Timișoara than the Balkan model proposed by the dominant elites of the capital. Hence the resistance towards the uniformity of identity imposed upon the regions.

Indiana University Hungarian Chair History

The György Ránki Hungarian Chair at Indiana University is funded by the Hungarian Academy of Sciences and Indiana University to ensure teaching and research focused on Hungarian Studies, including history, politics, culture, language and literature, art, and other topics relevant to Hungary's past and present. The Chair functions within the Department of Central Eurasian Studies. Courses offered by the Chair form an integral part of the curriculum of the Department and of Indiana University.

A listing of Hungarian Chair appointees and conferences/symposia sponsored or co-sponsored by the Hungarian Chair since its inception:

1980-1981	György Ránki	Apr-81	"Hungarian History-World History"
1981-1982	György Ránki	Mar-82	"Hungarian Economy in International Perspective"
		Apr-82	"Béla Bartok Symposium"
1982-1983	György Ránki	Oct-82	"The Image of the Hungarians in the United States"
1983-1984	György Ránki	Oct-83	"Habsburg-Ottoman History Conference"
		Apr-84	"Hungarian Studies Conference for Graduate Students"
		Apr-84	"Beginning a Third Century of Tibetan Studies: A Conference Honoring the Birth of Csoma de Körös in 1784"
1984-1985	György Ránki	Oct-84	"Hungarians in the US: Population Figures and Social Structure"
		Feb-85	"Conference for Young Hungarian and American Economists"
		Apr-85	"Hungary in European Civilization"
1985-1986	György Ránki (fall)	Oct-85	"Latin Sources on Medieval Hungary"
	Kálmán Kulcsár (spring)		
1986-1987	György Ránki (fall)	Oct-86	"New Perspectives on the Renaissance in Hungary"
		Dec-86	"Public Education in Hungary and the USA: A Comparative Study"
	Mihály Szegedy-Maszák (spring)		
1987-1988	György Ránki (died 02/1988)	Oct-87	"Political Thoughts in Hungary"
	Tamás Bácskai (spring)		
1988-1989	Mihály Szegedy-Maszák		
1989-1991	Mihály Szegedy-Maszák	Mar-90	"National Identity and Culture: Hungarians in North America"
1991-1992	Csaba Pléh	Apr-92	"The Structure of Hungarian: Contemporary Approaches"
1992-1993	László Csorba	Apr-93	"Religions and Churches in Modern Hungary"
1993-1994	Ignác Romsics	Mar-94	"20th Century Hungary and the Great Powers"
1994-1995	Ignác Romsics (fall)		
	Mihály Szegedy-Maszák (spring)		
1995-1996	Ignác Romsics		
1996-1997	László Borhi (spring)	Apr-97	"Hungarian Contributions to Scholarship"
1997-1998	Ignác Romsics		
1998-1999	János Mazsu (spring)	Apr-99	"Hungary NATO, and the European Union"
1999-2000	László Borhi	Apr-00	"Political Transitions in Hungary in Comparative Perspective"
2000-2001	János Mazsu (fall)		
2001-2002	Pál Hatos	Apr-02	"Lajos Kossuth in Changing Context: History, Freedom And Memory in Modern Hungary, 1848-2001"
2002-2003	Ignác Romsics	Apr-03	"Between East and West: Hungarian Foreign Policy in the 20th Century"
2003-2004	Pál Hatos	Apr-04	"Imre Kertész in Perspective: Hungarian and Jewish Culture in the 20th Century"
2004-2005	Csaba Pléh	Apr-05	"Creativity, Mind, and Brain in Hungarian Scholarship: Past and Present"
2005-2006	László Borhi	Mar-06	"The 1956 Hungarian Revolution and War of Independence: 50th Anniversary Conference"
2006-2007	Ágnes Fülemile	Apr-07	"Strategies of Identity Construction: Ethnic Politics, Minorities, and European Integration in Transylvania"

Papers from many of the symposia can be found in the journal *Hungarian Studies*, published by the Akadémiai Press, Budapest.