ABSTRACTS

Miklós Bakk: **The Status of Analysis or Doing Things with Words (I.)**

The author offers further reflection on the issues raised by Zoltán Bognár's keynote paper, which, in his vision, makes the following major claims: 1) though political analysts are not political scientists, and political analyses are not academic papers, these are not political editorials either, they somehow pertain to political science; 2) the credibility of political analysis is defined by its objectivity and neutrality; 3) objectivity has an external, measurable criterion, that of strictly and consequently adhering to a methodology, as well as an internal, ethical standard set by the analysts for themselves, "doing everything in their power to ensure that their analyses result in understanding reality as accurately as possible, instead of representing the prejudices, beliefs or aspirations of the analysts themselves or of other persons." The interplay of the two standards makes objectivity not so much a measurable quality of analysis, but "a discourse that must be actively maintained."

Bognár's most important further claims concerning "Hungarian public political analyses in Romania" are that 4) although Hungarian-language media requires professional political analyses, in fact the editorial offices do not create a sound demand (they do not have the financial means necessary), which leads to the predominance of political editorializing; 5) in the "manoeuvring space of Hungarians from Romania" there developed a certain accumulation of roles, which is not going to disappear in the near future. For our purposes, the most important roles such joined are those of professional political analyst and political editorialist.

From these issues, the author wishes to address the problem of "objectivity" and the accumulation of roles in the Hungarian public sphere from Romania.

Keywords: political analysis, academic paper, objectivity, media

Zoltán Bognár: **Hungarian-language Public Political Analysis in Romania**

The study was written with the aim of provoking reflections on Hungarian-language political analyses from Romania. The first part attempts to set out a conceptual framework, focusing on: the meaning of the expression

'political analysis', its relationship to political editorials and political science, and types of political analysis. In practice, universal and particular issues arise together, not separately from each other.

The second part is structured around issues that should serve as points of reflection for all those engaging in Hungarian-language public political analysis in Romania: political analysis as a profession, public political analysis as a genre, the accumulation of roles by political analysts, the training of political analysts, the fora of political analysis. Finally, the author makes suggestions regarding the conflicts of roles, the problems of training and ways of creating a sound demand for political analysis.

Keywords: political analysis, political analyst, academic paper, objectivity,

Craig Calhoun: **Nationalism and Ethnicity**

Neither nationalism nor ethnicity is vanishing as part of an obsolete traditional order. Both are part of a modem set of categorical identities invoked by elites and other participants in political and social struggles. These categorical identities also shape everyday life, offering both tools for grasping pre-existing homogeneity and difference and for constructing specific versions of such identities. While it is impossible to dissociate nationalism entirely from ethnicity, it is equally impossible to explain it simply as a continuation of ethnicity or a simple reflection of common history or language. Numerous dimensions of modem social and cultural change, notably state building (along with war and colonialism), individualism, and the integration of large-scale webs of indirect relationships also serve to make both nationalism and ethnicity salient. Nationalism, in particular, remains the pre-eminent rhetoric for attempts to demarcate political communities, claim rights of self-determination and legitimate rule by reference to "the people" of a country. Ethnic solidarities and identities are claimed most often where groups do not seek "national" autonomy but rather a recognition internal to or cross-cutting national or state boundaries. The possibility of a closer link to nationalism is seldom altogether absent from such ethnic claims, however, and the two sorts of categorical identities are often invoked in similar ways.

Keywords: state, identity, colonialism, individualism, social movements

Antonela Capelle-Pogăcean – Nadège Ragaru: **What Makes "Ethnic Parties" Ethnic? The MFR and the DAHR**

A rather neglected theme in Soviet and Eastern European studies before the end of communism, ethnic politics and minority policies in Central and South-East Europe have given birth to a very rich body of literature in the 1990s. Some analyses have been influenced by the so-called "transitology" paradigm; others have borrowed from ethnic conflict studies. In both cases, though, ethnocultural diversity has mostly been treated in a normative way and portrayed as an obstacle to democratization. As for ethnic parties, they have alternatively been presented as conducive to better political participation and integration for the minorities (in a multiculturalist perspective) or as a threat to state stability and to democracy. Regardless of these cleavages, most research on ethnic identifications and on their mobilization in politics has been grounded upon substantial definitions of ethnic "groups" and has reified differences between "generalist" and "ethnic" parties. The present comparison between the trajectory of the Movement for Rights and Freedoms (MFR, which represents the interests of the Turks and other Muslims in Bulgaria) and that of the Democratic Alliance of Hungarians in Romania (DAHR, representing the Hungarian population) departs from these approaches in two ways. First, it emphasizes the centrality of the sociology of collective action to understanding the politicization of ethnicity, while insisting on the need to trace the particular historical processes through which ethnicity has been constructed and politicized in every single case. Second, attention is brought to the role social imaginings play in shaping the strategies of social and political actors. To put it otherwise, we make the argument that identities are not exogenous to politicization processes; they are redefined, renegotiated and reappropriated as social actors invest the political field. "Ethnic parties" are in urgent need of de-exoticization: Like most parties, they cannot elude the traditional dilemmas of political representation, in particular the need to be perceived as both responsive and accountable.

Keywords: ethnic parties, ethnocultural diversity, Movement for Rights and Freedoms, Democratic Alliance of Hungarians in Romania

Ernest Gellner: **The Coming of Nationalism and Its Intepretation: the Myths of Nation and Class**

This is a theoretical essay. It purports to offer a general theoretical account and explanation of a very significant social transformation, namely, the coming of nationalism in the course of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The claims made are the following:

A major and distinctive change has taken place in the social conditions of mankind. A world in which *nationalism*, the linking of state and of 'nationally' defined culture, is pervasive and normative is quite different from one in which this is relatively rare, half-hearted, unsystematized and untypical. There is an enormous difference between a world of complex, intertwined, but not neatly overlapping patterns of power and culture, and a world consisting of neat political units, systematically and proudly differentiated from each other by 'culture', and all of them striving, with a great measure of success, to impose cultural homogeneity internally. These units, linking sovereignty to culture, are known as nation-states. During the two centuries folowing the French Revolution, the nation-state became a political norm. How and why did this happen?

A theoretical model is available which, starting from generalizations which are eminently plausible and not seriously contested, in conjunction with available data concerning the transformation of society in the nineteenth century, does explain the phenomenon in question.

Most, though not all, of the relevant empirical material is compatible with this model.

These are strong claims. If sustained, it means that the problem under discussion – nationalism – unlike most other major problems of historical social change, does have an explanation. Most of the other major transformations which have occurred in history have also repeatedly provoked attempts at explication. But the explanations offered only consist of specifying interesting possibilities, or provide plausible partial contributions to a final answer. They are seldom definitive and sufficient and convincing. By contrast, a cogent, persuasive explanation of nationalism is available.

Keywords: Nationalism, culture, social conditions, nation-state

Henry E. Hale: **Explaining Ethnicity**

Although scholars often treat "ethnicity" as one of the most important phenomena in politics, nothing close to a consensus has emerged about not only what its effects are but also what it is. Theorists typically divide this debate into two camps, usually dubbed "primordialism" and "constructivism," but these categories are unhelpful and actually obscure some of the most important questions. This study recasts the debate by providing a micro-level explanation for why and how people tend to think and act in terms of macro-level identity categories in the first place. Drawing heavily on recent psychological research, this approach reveals why ethnicity is special and why it is ascribed importance by researchers in fields as diverse as sociology, anthropology, and political science. As it turns out, neither constructivism nor primordialism is fully accurate, and theorists are advised to think in terms that are more consistent with psychological research.

Keywords: ethnicity; identity; nationalism; race; ethnic conflict

Attila Koncz: **Instead of Treating Symptoms: The Need for Strengthening the Media Environment of Hungarian-language Public Political Analysis in Romania, and Its Possible Means**

Reflecting on Zoltán Bognár's study, the author calls attention upon the organic link between the press and political analysis, and the consequences arising from here. Written media provide the forum of appearance for political analysis, defining its characteristics as a genre, and submitting it to their own rules of communication. It should come as no surprise then that the crisis of the press is also the crisis of political analysis, and when writing about the problems of political analysis, one also often reflects upon the problems of the press. The author claims that the points made by Zoltán Bognár should be completed by questions concerning the general state of the press and its unwilling transformation throughout the world. The conclusions arising from such an analysis could contribute to creating a media strategy that should provide an efficient solution not only to the problems of the press in Romania, but also to a large part of problems faced by political analysis.

Keywords: political analysis, media, rules of communication

Béla Makkai: **Views of Hungarians and Romanians of Each Other as Neighbours in Old Romania at the Turn of the 19ᵗʰ–20ᵗʰ Centuries**

Inquiries into the complicated changes of Hungarian-Romanian relationships have unduly neglected the *émigré Hungarians.* Although their views reflected rather that shaped the general Romanian perception of Hungarians, their self-perception and their perception of Romanians manifest several interesting characteristics, given their intermediary position.

As the majority of sources on Hungarians migrating to the East are yet unexplored, this study concentrates on analysing the way the fate of Hungarians in the Old Kingdom integrated into the living conditions of the majority population, the way their living together and their occasional frictions influenced the image of these "expatriates" of themselves, of their original and their host nation, an image laden with prejudices and grievances.

Keywords: Hungarian-Romanian relationships, Romanian perception of Hungarians, Hungarian perception of Romanians

Ambrus Miskolczy: **Ferenc Kazinczy and His Policy toward the Nation in the Age of the Napoleonic Wars**

Ferenc Kazinczy was an apolitical or private politician. He was interested in politics, but also afraid of it, as his conditions constantly made him exposed and vulnerable. He could hardly have agreed with the linguistic decree of Emperor Joseph II, but as a bureaucrat he could not rebel against it either. His Josephinism was not loyalty to the Emperor, but to the Enlightenment and the country ennobled by its ideas. The Emperor was a possible ally and patron, a necessary good, although he could have been better. Kazinczy respected the Emperor for his firm reform policies, but disagreed with his anti-constitutional stance. In serving the public good, he wanted to achieve the possible. His characteristic notes meant for himself referred to the Emperor in a much more critical manner than his writings meant for his friends or posterity. The latter praised the Emperor and were probably also meant to suggest that there was room for a better enlightened ruler.

Keywords: private politician, linguistic decree, reform policies, nation

István Nagy: **Competitiveness in Szekler Counties**

Whether a region is developed or underdeveloped, whether it is home to internal inequalities, or whether it is competitive and to what extent are questions the answers to which are sought by many, for various reasons. Sociologists, economists and politicians continue to engage with these issues to this day. Analysing the factors determining the rise and decline of a region, the consequences of the latter, and measuring the territorial inequalities are important aspects of economic and regional policy studies. The level of competitiveness and the understanding of differences are of central importance, and should serve as a basis for decisions aimed at decreasing divisions. The development of regional programmes reacting more flexibly to environmental factors and more sensitive to local needs and conditions is rising to the fore, complementing the strategy-building role of government. Decisions thus taken can make development possible for regions with troubles that are not their own fault, and these could impact on the whole economy.

The present research looks into the competitiveness of Szeklerland (Harghita, Covasna and Mureş counties), since the generally accepted indicators, GDP per capita and its versions (GNP per capita and GNI per capita), the proportion of the services industry and the different complex indicators failed to satisfy my "curiosity". The author analyse the above mentioned counties using the dual index (labour productivity, the occupational rate of the manpower), but also the three factor model (labour productivity, occupational rate of manpower, and the age-structural coefficient).

Keywords: competitiveness, development of regional programmes, economy, productivity

József Nagy: **Hungarian Border Troops – Romanian Border Guards. Border Incidents on the Frontiers of Szeklerland in the Second World War**

The study presents the process of organising the border guarding tasks that became necessary after the Vienna Dictate. Analysing the border incidents between fall 1940 – summer 1944 shows that the situation presented both Hungarian and Romanian border guards with a task that was beyond their capabilities, yet both sides created a more or less organised and functioning system. Looking into particular situations also shows the extent to which the great powers were capable of playing small countries against each other for their own purposes, and how the small countries, instead of

working together, forced each other down in a competition generated by the great powers.

Keywords: border incidents, Szeklerland, Second World War

Attila Seres: **The Mission of Péter Pál Domokos at the Hungarian Embassy in Bucharest (1940–1941)**

The study publishes Hungarian archival materials relating to a little known and little researched element of the biography of Péter Pál Domokos (1901–1992). Domokos was an ethnographer, historian and teacher, researcher of the history and ethnography of the Csángós from Moldova, a Hungarian group historically displaced from the Hungarian state. In 1940-41 he was appointed a diplomat to the Hungarian embassy in Bucharest for six months, with the assignment to inquire into the situation of the Moldova Csángós and Bucovina Szeklers, and make preparations for their possible relocation to Hungary. This was the only period in his life when he had a direct influence on the highest-level political decision-making concerning the Moldova Csángós. The scholar's Bucharest assignment however was unsuccessful, as he got entangled into personal and conceptual disputes concerning the schedule and geographical scope of the relocation. Consequently, he resigned from his position at the embassy before the term of his diplomatic assignment expired.

Keywords: Csángós from Moldova, Bucovina Szeklers, ethnography

Tibor Toró: **Can there Be a Political Analysis (Hungarian, in Romania)?**

The study reflects on the paper by Zoltán Bognár printed in this issue. According to the author, Bognár attributes two main characteristics to political analysis: (1) the objectivity and neutrality of the analysis and the analyst, and (2) the credibility of the analyst (including the intentions, knowledge, objectivity and position of the analyst). Hungarian political analysis in Romania is defined by these general characteristics, as well as two specific problems: demand and quality.

The present study addresses these questions without upholding the methodological differentiation between the general theoretical characteristics and specific features of Hungarian political analysis in Romania, and reflects on the two together.

Keywords: political analysis, objectivity, neutrality

REGIO.

Kisebbség, Politika, Társadalom.

20. évfolyam, 2009. 4. szám

TARTALOM

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