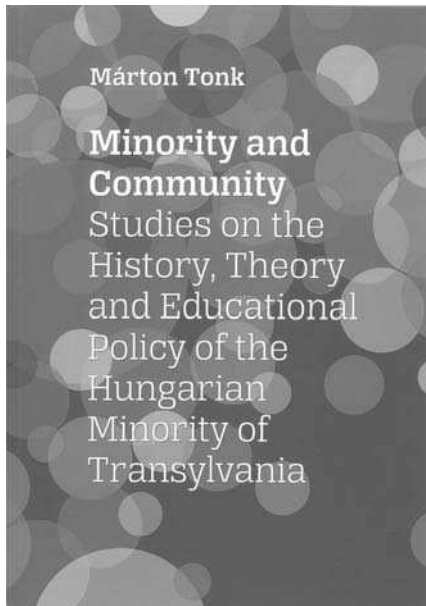


Book Appearances 2014

Books published in 2014 by members of the Department of European Studies.

1. Márton Tonk: *Minority and Community. Studies on the History, Theory and Educational Policy of the Hungarian Minority of Transylvania*. The Romanian Institute for Research on National Minorities, Cluj-Napoca, 2014. 148 p.



The volume makes an attempt at offering a representative and comprehensive perspective on the research and professional activity of the author in the past fifteen years. The main topics of the studies are national minority theory, the history of minority thinking and philosophy, as well as Hungarian-language educational policies in Romania, aiming at offering an overall presentation of the professional path of the author in these fifteen years. The starting points of the professional ‘itinerary’ are the themes of Hungarian thinking and philosophy in Transylvania, as well as research projects through which certain specific problems of social and political theory can be discussed (also connected to the Hungarian minority community of Transylvania); and by their

help, minority theories and rights can be analysed (in a larger, more general, European context), and researches and ‘case studies’ conducted about Hungarian educational policies in Transylvania.

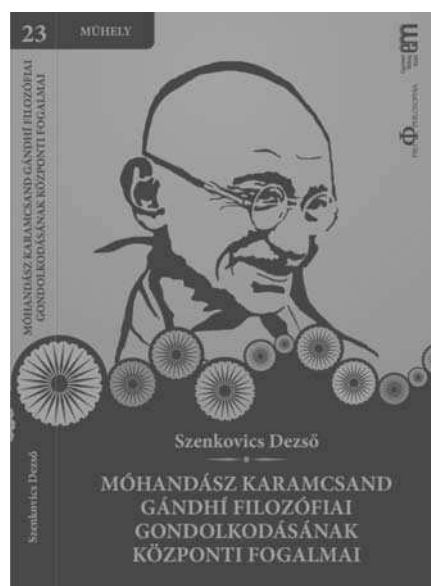
The first thematic structure of the volume (Chapter: *The History and Theory of the Hungarian Minority of Transylvania*) includes analytical studies in the area of history of thinking and (national) Hungarian philosophy (with special emphasis on Hungarian thinking in Transylvania). It discusses issues such as national philosophy ‘identity,’ the history, historiography and the present state

of Hungarian thinking in Transylvania, and of minority theory within it, with a special in-depth focus on the thinkers of the so-called ‘Cluj school of thought’ between the two world wars. Within the frames of these studies, a special accent is laid on ‘identity problems’ and the central paradigms of national philosophical historiography, and a detailed analysis of the work of one of the important authors of the ‘Cluj school of thought’ is presented.

In the second unit (Chapter: *Minority Rights and Educational Policy*), the author gives an insight into the situation and the problems of minority protection on a European level, and – as a ‘case study’ of domestic minority protection and right enforcement – into the specific situation and challenges of Hungarian-language education policy in Romania. The issues discussed within the frames of the latter theme are primarily organized around Transylvanian Hungarian-language higher education policy and strategy, respectively the issues of university-level education in the Hungarian language, the intention of the author being to present and argue over their professional, minority policy, demographic and institutional strategy contexts.

2. Szenkovics Dezső: *Móhandász Karamchand Gándhi filozófiai gondolkodásának központi fogalmai*. Kiadók: Pro Philosophia Alapítvány, Egyetemi Műhely, Kolozsvár, 2014. 225 old.

Dezső Szenkovics: *The Core Concepts of Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi's Philosophical Thought*



It has passed more than six decades since *Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi* suffered a violent death. It all happened on January 30, 1948: he was on his way to his usual place of worship, where he would say the prayers in front of large audiences, when a Hindu extreme nationalist, namely, Nathuram Vinayak Godse, got close to him and fired three gunshots, putting an end to Mahatma's life. Gandhi's last words bear witness to his life-style, philosophy and strong belief: 'Hey Ram,' that is, 'Oh, God' – these were the last words that left the lips of the great Indian freedom fighter, spiritual leader, political and religious philosopher.

Gandhi's death meant the end of a chapter in the history of modern India and

the beginning of a new era in world history at the same time. It may seem coincidental, but Mahatma's death marked the closing of probably the most significant period in the history of modern India. Hereby, I am considering the period hallmarked by the joy of attaining independence and shaking off the colonial status as well as bearing the burdensome consequences of separation. August 14 and 15, 1947 mark the moment of Pakistan's and India's official establishment as independent and separate states only to see the world shocked at Gandhi's ironic death shortly afterwards: 'the apostle of non-violence' became the victim of violence; on the face of it, the dark forces of evil and hatred gained victory over the good and the righteous.

However, I tend to share the opinion that Gandhi's death turned over a new leaf in the book of world history. A process started then that has never stopped evolving up to this day, which we may define most appropriately as the processing, systematization and interpretation of Gandhi's personality, life and philosophy. At the same time, we could also witness another process, pertaining strictly to the Gandhian philosophy and idea of life as several other sets of examples standing for the practice and adoption of non-violent resistance can be found outside the Indian borders, such as the movement led by Martin Luther King Jr. in behalf of the black people's equal rights in the United States of America, the South African anti-apartheid efforts, or the Solidarity's activity in Poland, who pursued a non-violent conflict resolution method in order to wind up the communist dictatorship.

According to the central proposition of my book, the Indian nationalist movement characterized by Gandhi's personality could surpass any other previous nationalist movement and achieve most of the goals on its agenda, thus becoming highly effective, because, on the one hand, Gandhi considered politics as sort of practising religion on an everyday basis while, on the other hand, in perfect line with his previously mentioned conviction, he conferred a new, politically and socially comprehensible, additional meaning to the ancient, well-known and widely understood religious concepts. Consequently, he succeeded in forging the socially, religiously, linguistically and culturally fragmented and heterogeneous Indian society into one nation for the time of the movements for independence. Furthermore, another ambition of my book is to answer whether the Gandhian ideas have their relevance in the 21st century, whether they have a message waiting to be decoded and put into practice, and whether the Great Soul's philosophy, propagations and actions have any actual *raison d'être* in our ever-globalizing world.

Besides formulating the hypothesis, the introductory part of this volume touches upon several vital issues. This section is dedicated to the personal, subjective factors which motivated me in choosing the topic and are tightly connected to my study trips in India carried out in 1996 and 1998. In addition

to this, the first part of the book discusses the methods adopted in preparing and compiling my paper, which rest upon text analysis and interpretation, on the one hand, and – in the case of the concepts central to the Gandhian philosophy – etymological, morphological and semantic analysis, on the other. Immediately following the presentation of the applied methods, you can find a short summary of the research results obtained prior to writing my thesis and this book.

The introductory part mentions in particular a brief presentation of the works I consider the most standard in terms of Gandhi's research history, which I classified into three categories based on Chakrabarty's typology: biographical works (biographies by Romain Roland, Louis Fischer, Kathryn Tidrick, Joseph Lelyveld and Jad Adams), standard works treating the socio-philosophical aspects of Gandhi's philosophy (Raghavan Iyer, Joan Bondurant, Bhikhu Parekh and Bidyut Chakrabarty). As for the third category, it is made up of works that give us a historical reading of the topic in question, which, however, are not meant to be treated within the scope of my thesis since they cannot really provide any additional information on Mahatma to those already available to us through the biographical monographs.

My brief survey on the research on Gandhi touches in particular upon the fact that Romanian literature has almost no mention of Gandhi despite an explosive increase seen in the number of works published on Eastern religions and cultures in the dawn of the nineties. While there is a worldwide interest in Mahatma's personality and activities, there is an almost complete, baffling absence thereof in Romania.

Acknowledgements close the introductory section, where I express my gratitude to those who have contributed to my work either professionally or with their helping attitude.

The second part of the book is an attempt at presenting Gandhi, the man, without trying to provide with an overall picture. As a matter of fact, it is not my intention to give a biographical presentation of Mahatma, as we can find hundreds of such works written in the last few decades; instead, I would like to draw attention to the way he speaks about himself (this is the actual aim of the first subchapter: *Gandhi, in the Light of His Biography and Works*). Then again, the second subchapter (*Gandhi's Image As Seen by Friends, Colleagues, Biographers, and Researchers*) tries to turn our attention to the many faces – present both in the West and the East – of one of the most eminent personalities of the 20th century, placing in the limelight the opinions of his contemporaries and those of various prominent personalities, members of the subsequent generations.

The third chapter, bearing the title *The Historical and Social Context of Gandhi's Work in India*, is dedicated to help the reader see the events that took place in India at the end of the 19th and in the first decades of the 20th century, and place them into a historical and social context in order to gain a better insight into

the Gandhian oeuvre. First and foremost, the correct understanding of Gandhi's life-work presupposes the reader to form the right picture of the characteristics and relevant events pertaining to the historical period under discussion. The first subchapter (*Gandhi's Years Spent in England and South Africa*) treats Gandhi's time spent in England and South Africa, since both his three years spent in England and those two decades spent in South Africa significantly determined the career and philosophy of the Great Soul. The second subchapter (*Historical and Political Situation in India in Gandhi's Time*) deals with the Hindu and Muslim origins of the Indian national awakening. Distinct attention is paid to the role and impact of the Hindu religious reform movements (Arya Samaj, Brahmo Samaj and Ramakrishna Mission), as well as to the presentation of the objectives set by the moderate and radical Hindu nationalist movements that developed in the bosom of Hinduism. A separate subchapter is dedicated to treat the appearance of Muslim Nationalism and its most relevant representatives. Two subchapters cover the Indian National Congress: while the initial part touches upon the circumstances of its establishment, its original objectives and the adopted methods, the second part gives a presentation of the Congress found under the leadership and influence of Gandhi.

The fourth chapter of my book (*Key Concepts in Gandhi's Philosophy*), which represents the actual core of my paper, has its ambition to make an analysis of the categories central both to the Gandhian philosophy and one of the most extensive socio-political awakenings in the 20th century, bringing about a wave of national revivals that would spread across an entire continent. I discuss the etymology of the categories of *satya*, *ahimsa*, and that of *satyagraha*, which rests upon the previous two; I look into their original meaning embedded in the religious tradition and present the changes and developments in content and meaning that complement the above-mentioned categories of religious origins inside the Gandhian philosophy.

Within the scope of the very same chapter, I give a brief introduction of the religious and philosophical influences that played the greatest part in shaping the Gandhian philosophy. Hereby, I consider certain deep and decisive spiritual influences with stimulative effects on Gandhi such as Hinduism, Christianity or Lev Tolstoy. Furthermore, besides presenting the basic principles, Chapter 4 guides us through the stages of development in the Gandhian philosophy by investigating the statements: 'God is Truth' and 'Truth is God'.

These analyses are based upon the primary bibliography, especially the writings published by Gandhi himself and the various analyses of the Gandhian oeuvre. To a great extent, the sources of texts attached to Mahatma's name are made up of his biography published in English as well as in Hungarian, a work of translation published under my editorial care, entitled *Hind Szvarádsz, avagy az indiai önkormányzat* [*Hind Swaraj or Indian Home Rule*], and the *Collected*

Works of Mahatma Gandhi, a collection of texts published in the form of 98 volumes of electronic books and internet databases.

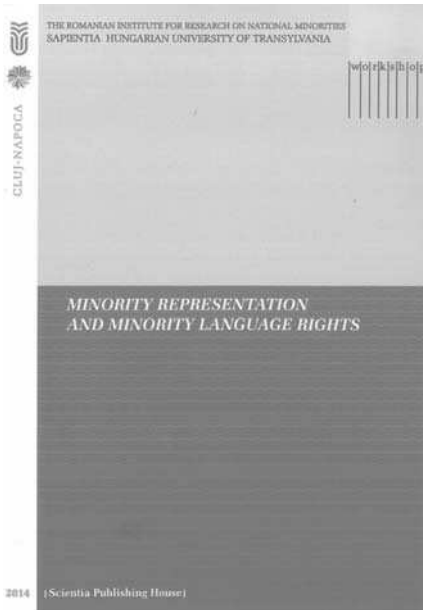
At the same time, my analyses of the Gandhian life-work and categories rely in a large measure on the most relevant researchers' (Ajay Shanker Rai, Bal Ram Nanda, Bhikhu Parekh, Bidyut Chakrabarthy, Douglas Allen, David Hardiman, Edward Thompson, Glyn Richards, Joan V. Bondurant, Kathryn Tidrick, Raghavan N. Iyer, Ravindra Varma, Terrence J. Rynne etc.) viewpoints and theories.

Chapter 5 (*The Relevance of Gandhian Principles in the 21st Century*) is founded on the hypothesis that the Gandhian oeuvre as well as the principles and teachings formulated therein have their own message and relevance both for the individuals and the societies existent in the 21st century. It is my strong belief that Gandhi's life and philosophy as well as the warnings it gives voices to and the consequences deducible therefrom can provide an answer to the problems our presently globalizing world suffers from such as religious fanaticism, worldwide terrorism, economic crisis originating from the moral crisis of the individual and the society, the ever-extending ecological footprint etc. I am convinced that Gandhi's message has a concrete and actual relevance, with the only question remaining as to whether we are or will be able to decode this message as both individuals and societies, and apply it on an individual and societal level. In other words, with full knowledge of the present problems and future challenges, we may pose the question whether we, as (groups of) individuals and societies, will be able to achieve a certain level of mental development that would enable us to properly understand and adopt the Gandhian principles on an everyday basis.

The last chapter of the book sums up the final conclusions. In the light of the above, it can be said that the issues discussed in the present research are at the crossroads between history and the history of religion, as well as, between the philosophy of religion and political philosophy. The subject itself gives room for this sort of categorization as it makes use of a historical framework to analyse the Great Soul's philosophical dimensions and visualizes the socio-political processes that may be considered the direct consequences of his life-work and the tightly related activities. Certain concepts that appear in the thesis – truth, god, love, non-violence etc. – belong to the domain of philosophy, while others – non-violent resistance, independence, local government etc. – fall within the thesaurus of political philosophy and political science. At the same time, it also needs mentioning that Gandhi's case does not allow of such a surgical scientific separation between these concepts since his own interpretation does not distinguish religion from politics at all; in his view, religion is politics itself, as our belief in God and Truth, the continuous search for them has to determine every single moment of the human life. Therefore, it becomes impossible to draw a fine line between religion, philosophy and politics in Mahatma's case.

3. István Horváth – Ibolya Székely – Tünde Székely – Márton Tonk (eds.): *Minority Representation and Minority Language Rights*, Scientia Publishing House, Cluj-Napoca, 2014. 440 p.

Dezső Szenkovics: *Introduction: Quo vadis European Union?*



The most popular and well-known motto of the European Union, 'United in Diversity,' came into use in 2000. According to the official website of the European Union, the concept 'signifies how Europeans have come together, in the form of the EU, to work for peace and prosperity, while at the same time being enriched by the continent's many different cultures, traditions and languages'.

As we have quoted, the linguistic diversity is considered by the European Union as a real value of the Old Continent which has to be protected both by the European Union and the 28 member states. The slogan, as a statement, as a declarative goal and nothing more, sounds very good, but can we possibly say that the problem of the minority language rights in the member

states of the European Union and in those where negotiations are carried on regarding the conditions, terms and time of the accession are satisfactorily and definitely solved?

The conference entitled 'Minority Representation and Minority Language Rights' (MIREMIR), which has been organized in co-operation with the Department of Juridical Sciences and European Studies of the Sapientia Hungarian University of Transylvania, the Romanian Institute for Research on National Minorities, the European Studies Department of the University of Amsterdam and the European Consortium for Political Research Standing Group on Federalism and Regionalism, has covered two important topics of the minority issues, trying to find an answer for the above-formulated question. One of these topics is concerning the problem of minority representation, involving issues related to autonomy and minority self-government, electoral politics and parties. On the other hand, as we can see in this volume, the problem of language rights, language policies and of the real-life practices of European minorities

living inside the EU or in countries willing to become member states of the EU was the second important topic of the conference.

Before we try to give an overall picture of the published presentations of the MIREMIR conference, we have to mention that MIREMIR is part of a series of conferences organized by the Department of Juridical Sciences and European Studies of the Sapientia Hungarian University of Transylvania, analysing different issues of the minority status. The first international conference held in Cluj took place between 27 and 29 March 2008. The conference entitled 'Nations and National Minorities in the European Union' dealt with issues related to the status and future of national minorities within the European Union. The second conference took place between 17 and 19 June 2010 and was entitled 'Minority Politics within the Europe of Regions'. It was a natural and logical continuation of the first conference, but at this time the focus was moved to topics such as language rights and cultural policies, ethno-regionalism and autonomy, the past and the present of ethnically and/or religiously divided societies. During the conference, there was a special panel investigating the situation and the protection of national minorities in Romania.

It took another two years till the third conference, which was held between 11 and 14 October 2012. The main theme was selected by the organizing institutes in a way which made possible the continuation of the previous two conference's tradition.

The present volume of studies includes those essays and studies which were presented at the conference. As we can see, there are five major chapters, each of them dealing with a special issue such as language rights, language policies and everyday practices, historical and international legal perspectives of the minority rights, existing autonomy and minority self-government models in Europe, topics related to the political representation of the minorities etc.

With no claim of being exhaustive, let me draw your attention to a few studies reflecting on interesting and special minority issues, problems.

One of these studies is signed by Türk Fahri and Karamucho Sencar. The study deals with the language rights of the Turkish minority in Kosovo from 1974 till nowadays. If in the former Yugoslavia the use of the Turkish language in public places, local administration and education was a constitutional right for the Turks living in Kosovo, the situation has changed to a great extent in the last two decades, and the Turkish language has lost its official language status.

In this volume, you will find two extremely interesting studies (signed by István Szilágyi and Endre Domokos), both of them focusing on the Spanish Constitutional model adopted in 1978 and its direct consequence, the Catalan autonomy, as a practicable and applicable models for the Hungarian minorities living in Central and Eastern Europe/the Carpathian Basin.

Last but not least, I would like to draw your attention to the study investigating the problem of ‘unemployed graduates’ in Romania. The paper signed by Márton Tonk and Tünde Székely is based on a research project regarding the implementation and consequences of the Bologna Process. The authors state in this study that the Bologna Process – after five years of being implemented in the Romanian universities – has not been able to produce the expected major goals such as student mobility and the preparation of the graduates for the expectations and demands of the labour market.

Taking one thing with another, we can consider that the MIREMIR conference was a great opportunity for the researchers concerned in minority issues to share their problems, experiences and results. At the same time, we are firmly convinced that this new volume of scientific studies will have an important role and contribution in the field of minority researches and will be used in the teaching process by those who are preoccupied by these topics.

5. Tonk Márton: *Világnézettől közösségig*. Válogatott filozófiatörténeti és kisebbségelméleti tanulmányok. Kiadók: Pro Philosophia és Egyetemi Műhely, Kolozsvár, 2014. 200 old.



The volume is a collection of studies on the history of philosophy and the theory of minorities published by the author in the recent years. The volume offers a representative insight into the most important issues and dilemmas of our time.