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THE CIVIC EDUCATION AND THE HUMAN RIGHTS THROUGH AN INTERCULTURAL PERSPECTIVE. THE ROMANIAN CASE

I. The Historical and Political Framework of the 19th-20th Century East Central Europe. The Re-Definition of the Concepts

One of the major issues in East Central European countries is the development of the civil society. There are regions where a certain tradition concerning with the civic and the human rights education has been provided and its renewal of interest depends on the education policy and on abandoning centralised networks that perpetuate the totalitarian ways of thinking and acting. There are certain regions in Eastern Europe where the local administrations have one day played an important role in providing the proper rules to stimulate the real working of the different linguistic, religious, and professional communities. Those regions remained partially multi- and interculturally oriented, having more open societies as a consequence of the co-habitation among a great many of identities. Thus that they have nowadays plenty of opportunities to adjust themselves quicker to the dynamics of the contemporary world, and to understand and to promote the pluralism and democracy. The promotion of the civic and the human rights education through an intercultural perspective depends both on the rational evaluation of the past, and on the trials to re-define the concepts that are in the background of the East European nations' and states' formation. The recovery of the multiple values that eased the first modernization of the regions under discussion might contribute to overcome the narrow and monoculturally way of understanding of the world. I intend to present the Romanian case, making allowance for the fact that this issue has not been approached through a systematically research work under the mentioned aspects. The formulation of the working hypotheses, their assertion or invalidation based on arguments, particularly based on theoretical research

and documentary survey, are put together in a scientific study that might be useful for the educational reform in Romania.

For a closer approach of the issue, I considered to be reasonable to introduce the main political ideas professed in East Central Europe. Thus one can learn, on the one hand which were the intellectual references in the Romanian modern state, and the domestic and international political context that eased the state's setting up; on the other, the study will reveal the ideological options of the East Central European communities during the last two centuries. Being familiar with the political and administrative inheritances coming out from the history of the two empires, the Habsburg and the Ottoman, one can find whence the issues of the interculturality come, how they survived and what pedagogical role might they have nowadays. The hypothesis in keeping with the 19th century concepts are still viable in certain countries of the East Central Europe — Romania among them — justifies the re-evaluation of the history of political thought in this area. The fundamental literature that stays in the background of nationalism will emphasize why was a priori rejected the multi- and interculturalism of the communities in the advantage of the monocultural, collectivist education.

A well-grounded approach of the issue of Central and Eastern Europe requires to take into account on the one hand, the content and the flow of information in the 18th and 19th centuries and therefore the effort made for emancipation, and the moment of consciousness raising, on the other. The process is not taking place at the same rate in all the mentioned regions. There are economic policies (for instance the ones of the Habsburg Empire during the Enlightened despotism of Maria Theresa and of Joseph II) that contribute decisively to create a real communication network arousing small intellectual revolutions. The group of scholars trained in the universities of Padua, Rome, Paris, Heidelberg, Lemberg (Lwów, L'viv), London, Leiden, Utrecht, Amsterdam, set the pace in a process of recovery of the gaps that separate the mentioned area from the Western Europe. In spite of all the mentality variance between Western and Central-Eastern Europe we learn that where the intellectuals of Enlightenment succeeded in spreading new trends, where they managed to introduce pragmatic information in their communities, where they were concerned by systematically learning, by the understanding and translating of literary, philosophical and political works, there they were successful¹. Both in Central Europe and in other regions, the theologues were the first intellectuals who gave importance to renewal, even though the Enlightenment contains itself an anti-theologist ideology. Beside the translations of the Bible and of the most famous bible exegeses, into national languages, they would favour literature, historiography, medical sciences. They would spread the most advanced methods of agriculture

practice, as well as they would equally advocate the opening of the first handicrafts shops necessary to process raw materials in their regions. Among the prelates there would develop linguists, historians, philosophers, ideologists.

In the regions of Central and Eastern Europe, Joseph II's reformism made to be possible the access to texts, ideologies, political concepts; it entranced the progressist intellectuals of their peoples. Though the Habsburg Empire included inside its borders an enormous variety of communities, it was to encourage their emancipation from under the medieval mentality colonnade; it was to provide legislation that imposed linguistical, cultural, and religious diversity. Under the pressure of the German *Aufklärung* the Empire ensured the minimum training necessary to an economic development. The first time when illiteracy among an important part of the communities that lived in the Danube Europe was done away with happened in the years of the Enlightened despotism. The normative impositions of the Austrian state aimed at developing the bourgeoisie and capitalism, the gradual replacement of the traditional ways with modern ones, and safeguarding a quasi-identical living standard all around the regions in its composition. The same intervention emphasizes both the importance granted to the administrative supervision of the provinces and to the necessity to provide for the Empire's territorial integrity through a rigorous control of demographic fluctuation. Such emphases, together with those concerning the trade rules and the observance rules in the free imperial towns, were part of Vienna's general policy.

The Habsburgs' interest was to achieve a kind of Austrian consciousness that would provide the empire's unity and security. The germanization of the populations and especially of the intellectuals (when possible) had consequences during the whole of the 20th century. Analysing the literary and philosophical sources that underlie the intellectual background of that time's scholars there ensue either the assimilation tendencies due to the homogenizing policy professed by the imperials, or the discriminatory tendencies to be seen in the cases of those personalities who had not taken for granted the secular and religious values practised by the Habsburgs. This is happening especially in communities with different religious and linguistic traditions. In all its provinces Vienna insisted that its reference system should be created and that its power should be reinforced through more or less discreet proceedings. The Empire had spread reformist ideas concerning getting dignity for its linguistic and confessional communities. It needed an Enlightened ideology of a special type that should lay the stress on a higher cultural standard, on the necessity of co-operation between the intellectuals and the mass of peasants, on gaining self-

consciousness and preserving traditions². These measures had been taken depending on the political interests of the imperial power. To be more accurate however, despite its limits, despite its fall behind in comparison with the ideals of France at the end of the 18th century, the Austrian cosmopolitanism lied a step ahead of the elite of Central European nations. To such cosmopolitanism is due the more accurate perception of the regional development phase hence the stress lay on the assimilation of educational methods and on meeting their knowledge needs. The imperial programme concerning the administrative and economic competence raising up to a satisfactory standard played a challenging role for a social segment of the small then developing nations. Therefore, in spite of the effort made for achieving an 'Austrian consciousness', the national moments made themselves felt perceived in the first decades of the 19th century.

I think it proper to call attention that during that period of intellectual assimilation and mutation in the way of reflection about life, the historicism trend of the history of thought was to get a kind of sympathy; but beginning with the Romanticism the sophisms of the metaphysical historicism was to prevail (for a long period still going on) over the critical spirit. Analysing the retardation of the East-European countries, István Bibó concludes that the former national frame had not been destroyed in that part of the continent, so the bourgeois revolutions at the middle of the last century had done nothing but resurrect the Middle Ages endeavours. He is assured that all medieval entities that existed all over Central and Eastern Europe had lived on through institutions, or at other times in a symbolic way or through memories. Even so, failed in anarchy and in provincialism, they represent a political stimulus hardly negligible in respect with the Austrian power bodies, otherwise neither too old nor too well rooted. In the concept of the same historian of political thought things are not very different in South-eastern Europe, where the Ottoman Empire had not been able to press the Balkan peoples into a proper national structure, namely to create integrated bodies, valid to any independent political entity³.

The discussed phenomena cannot be understood through the perspective of the nationalism's century only, as it comes out from the scheme proposed by the above mentioned author; and that, on the one hand, because the religious and linguistic traditions of the regional communities within both empires were preserved in spite of all difficulties; on the other, because modern emancipation would have been ever more belated not having those administrative and political structures that could provide for the chance to surpass the backward mentalities. To be more specific let us add that the mentioned regions of the continent enjoyed neither the Enlightenment, nor religious reform in the Western sense. The echo of the

two great trends was felt in Central Europe, while in the Balkans we positively cannot speak about their perception at the moment when the religious, artistic and literary testimonies show the presence of different, even contrary ideas to the reformist and Renaissance tendencies.

Even in the 18th century the regions belonging to South-eastern Europe had not fallen inside the Western influence and been even still fewer accomplices to the religious, cultural, scientific, and political disputes, and they opened and deeply marked the modern world, even nowadays' policy as well. The very few exceptions concerning the cultural and political endeavours towards state and South-eastern societies' modernisation — the case of scholars Theophil Corydaleu and Dimitrie Cantemir — are rather atypical for the zone under discussion. Though it contains multiple cultural inheritances — Greek, Thracian, Roman, Byzantine ones — the civilisation of South-eastern Europe was not a co-participant to the mutation produced by the scientific and political thinking of the Renaissance. It would be natural to ask ourselves what historical and political processes the isolation, respectively the delay in the history of political thought, is due to? There are many arguments invoked by the historians to explain the phenomenon in question, the Turkish occupation being usually in the foreground. The facts revealed through documentary research show that historians are only sometimes justified in referring to such arguments. There are uncomfortable topics that cannot be ignored, however, referring to: the weight of the Orthodox religion in the political and juridical life; the unacceptance of a reform within its doctrine; the church—state relation, respectively the contribution of this relation to the authoritarianism establishing; the caste privileges and their role in South-eastern political societies; the values taken from the Asian civilisation and found again in all social milieus; the importance of the village community in mentality founding; and the proclamation of obedience to the dominant social category.

The retardation aspect of both empires has to be mentioned for a more sensible understanding of the cultural level of the societies lying within them. We equally have to admit that despite the limited horizon of the absolutist political bodies in the Eastern part of the continent, both the Habsburgs and the Ottoman Porte contributed to new tolerance forms spreading; to promoting the East—West dialogue, to realising trade policies; to introducing and spreading some of the bourgeois milieu principles; and to the people's schooling and political emancipation. The cohabitation itself among different denominational communities such as: Catholic, Orthodox, Lutheran, Calvinist, Jewish, Mohammedan has been possible as a consequence of Vienna's and Constantinople's permissivity. Likewise the national identities' assertion has been possible that, in its turn, was to

contribute to the establishment of the states of Central and Eastern Europe in the last two centuries. The starting point in this process is the Enlightenment not the Renaissance as it happens in the West. Despite all the great and unavoidable delays the regions in discussion would find the first great recovery stage in the decades 1770 to 1850.

The temptation for writing an own history is due to the political interest concerning a national consciousness shaping. Elaboration and propagation of the question of identity in the most various forms will generate a normative outlook about the past and the future. The new vision about the past was to purposefully exaggerate the issue related to 'origin'; it was to generate the archetype, using the sophisms of the metaphysical historicism; it was to superpose many dreams and illusions on reality. This intellectual practice will lead to the creation of the nation myth that, as it was then considered, had to fulfil the political options of all the human communities, no matter where they lived. The Romantic trend will lead to the rejection of the Enlightened rationalism on the one hand, and to the promotion of the teleological conception of the human being, its Present and its History on the other. The way of thinking dominated by that kind of cosmology will contribute to the forming of the nation-state concept.

The fact to be highlighted is that during the first decades of the last century a few of the German theorists and philosophers who advocated the nation-state concept won great sympathy, becoming the most read scholars or, simply, becoming reference points for a few generations of educated people in Central and Eastern Europe. Among them, Johann Gottfried Herder is to be mentioned. His work will fascinate not only part of his generation, but especially the coming one (the revolutionists of 1848) having, together with Fichte's work, a brilliant ideological career. Herder's ideas became known especially through his *Ideen zur Philosophie der Geschichte der Menschheit*⁴. We shall naturally ask ourselves how is this romantic philosopher's work remarkable and how it will succeed to become a reference point in Central-Eastern Europe's political reference material. The question is the more useful the more it invites unconventional answers.

Herder favoured all fields of sciences of that time: the philosophy of history, the history of culture and of Humanism, the history of religions, peoples' mythology. The attraction for greatness is of first rank in his mind as the people's happiness or unhappiness, their demeanour, physiognomy, their conversation and their occupation depend on it. By the same feeling of greatness might depend the taste for poetry, stories and thought expressing, and it might equally cause the interest in speculation, and in the so-called essence of philosophy. The propensity towards language and folklore learning, specific to the Romantics, has a very clear political motivation: the

nation-state building. Apud Herder's viewpoint language is the motive stimulus of the soul's resources, a possibility meant for the culture and for 'the deepest education'. His enthusiasm for his own language has no limits. In his acceptance, language had to be the linking point between different provinces; a good education can be got only in the language of the people and of the country where you are born. He establishes a subtle way of approaching the individual biography through his or her origin place. The submission to space becomes defining; confinement within language borders may favour creation. Such viewpoints were quite simple to be assimilated, all the more so in societies where individualism had been rejected *ab initio*. While Voltaire encouraged individual emancipation from under all servitude imposed by authorities, Herder would impose language and *Volksgeist* identity. The Enlightenment's ideal, with all its victories, will not only be contradicted but also annulled with the wording of the romanticists' radical aspiration.

Fichte himself was a similar presence in the modern history of political thought, by widely promoting certain myths. It is not the Fichte of *Wissenschaftslehre* but the Fichte who wrote *Reden an die Deutsche Nation* in 1807-8, a work that contributed to the nation-concept elaboration, more exactly to the concept of 'romantic autopoetic nationalism'. Fichte's image of the Frenchman as the archetype of the enemy is a quite notorious example of inciting and manipulating the public opinion. The irrational nationalism formulated by Fichte had been taken over and adapted in Central and Eastern Europe by the intellectuality who became the teacher of the nation; this concept can be found up to the present day in mental reflexes, in the image about otherness, in majority-minorities relations, respectively in relations between neighbouring nations. Also from Fichte was taken over the idea that it was not the concrete reasons but the metaphysical status that ensured the outstanding historical achievements of a nation.

Herder's benign internationalism, where the interest concerning the past of Africa penetrates the interest for Asian history, the attraction for the South-eastern Europe's ethnography is an interest for antic languages, too, where the peoples are seen as individuals or super-individuals⁵, all this contributes to grounding the nation-state theory. The German philosopher conceives unity and diversity as perfect features describing all the lasting creations of nature. He also says that the education, formation and the human being's way of thinking are genetic, wherefore might have also resulted the existence of exquisite national characters. Herder thought himself to be contemporary to an end of an era; he considered that the political systems were in a crisis, so they are unsteady. From his viewpoint the old political practices were not flexible enough to adapt nation-state

theories. In fact, Herder wanted to teach people to understand matters through their historical determination. The success of his ideology was to come to life through the elaboration of the nationalist doctrine in many of the Habsburg's Empire regions, and in territories of the Ottoman Empire⁶. Recent studies emphasized that there existed and still exist more variants of European nationalism of Herder, or Fichte-Herder type⁷.

In the Balkans, the neo-Greeks, the Romanians, the Albanians and the Serbs immediately took Herder as a milestone when they find out that he had referred directly to their right to express themselves in their languages. Living in the 1848 revolutionary milieu of Paris and having at his disposal the French edition of the main work *Idées sur la Philosophie de l'Histoire de l'Humanité*, the Romanian politician Nicolae Balcescu was deeply committed to concepts like people, historical destiny, grandness, assimilating both from Herder and from Quinet all that might refer to the ethnic unity question. Herderianism, more than other political philosophies will rise not only interest but even passion among intellectuals and politicians in the above-mentioned area. The concepts — among the most attractive being that of *Volksgeist* — become known through books and magazines that were in high circulation during the first half of the 19th century. Fragments from the German romantic scholar's works are now translated into Hungarian, Romanian, Greek, Serbian. An important role in spreading ideas was played by revolution programmes, by the revolution of 1848 itself. They became so popular that it is not surprising that in Central and Eastern Europe there were enough politicians who used those ideas elaborated by Herder without knowing the name of their author. It will be not forgotten that there was a moment when the intellectuals and the politicians were dominated by the German philosopher's historicism, so it was not surprising that they forgot the concrete reality in their proximity.

This is the period when an irresistible wish for a rapid recovery is making way for itself, namely the first aspiration of the people in the eastern half of the continent to become European, to come into the civilized societies. We witness, at the same time, the loosing sight of the information selection ability, the lack of the critical spirit; the copying of the most used methods in the most advanced countries and regions, as well as ignoring own economic, social, and administrative possibilities. Enthusiasm captures mainly the intellectuality who became the first political class of the area. Thus can partially be explained the ideological confusion to be born on the eve of the 1848 revolution that will for long mark the meanings of both the political thought and the politics itself. The ambiguity of the ideals, put in the first place by the revolutionists of 1848 (namely the liberalism and the

nationalism) will generate great theoretical disputes on which depended and still depends the revolution of the political life in this region.

In the context of the 'nation' and 'nation-state' concepts assimilation history will be asked to become the promoter of *Volksgeist*, namely it was going to prove the active role played by culture (especially the folk culture), by race, by class — in a word the role of the superiority of the collective structures. Alongside the historians, there are the archaeologists, ethnographers, journalists and writers in the region who draw upon the German romantic works to look for their ancestral origins of their communities. Even though in Central and in Eastern Europe a few of the dominant trends of the Enlightenment's political rationalism had penetrated, they did not have enough time to develop those very few concepts necessary for coherent political thinking based on reason and individual responsibility. This aspect has dramatic consequences in the economic field, when the liberal doctrine promotion will be at stake, and in the social field, where the aspiration to variety will matter. The concept of 'ethnicity' will substitute the concept of 'national'. The myths concerning the purism of the origins, the common religious traditions and the continuity of living in the same area will be the main elements that will substitute the liberal and the social-democratic values spread by the French Revolution of 1789.

It was not difficult at all that the process of the modern state-building should take such turn, when in the regions we refer the main role in creating a cultural and political identity was given to the rural community, not to the urban one. The peasantry represented the ideal of purity of the people. This is why the French *peuple* has here other connotations, as well, but the ones known in the West. While for the Western politicians and scholars 'people' defined the dynamics of the social rising, for the Eastern ones the same term meant national specificity preserving the criteria of national affiliation (language, rural customs) in a purer way than that of the mixed ruling class⁸. This can well be noticed in the way that generations at the mid-nineteenth century and especially of the second half of the nineteenth century understood to approach the citizen condition, and in the way that they referred themselves to the question of the emancipation of certain cultural and religious minority communities. However it has to be noticed that in the case of 1848 revolutionist, for a very short time, the influence of the French liberalism is felt, promoted by the Great Revolution (namely in a very few programmes of 1848, in cultural and political debates, in the articles, and books and brochures of the time), influences found again in the endeavour for historical emancipation of society. The failure of the 1848 revolutionists' approach in Central and Eastern Europe is not only due to the late penetration of the liberal ideas, or to the very few number of public and

private institution who really wanted to absorb the political orientation of the century, but to the lack of certain intermediary social categories, able to perceive and multiply the messages that revolutionized the Western political system. A few fundamental aspects have to be invoked to support the above statement. Such would include: the lack of proper administration at the beginning of the modern epoch; ignoring the capitalist economy functioning; the lack of a dynamic bourgeoisie connected to the goods market of the time; and the existence of a very thin urban society layer. The tradition of the rural collectivist way of life, has an important role in preserving discrepancy existent within the regions under discussion, and those between themselves and the socially and politically advanced countries. The difference between the elite and the mass of people in these regions was tremendous and, in some countries, it was kept until nowadays.

The main idea I intended to emphasize was the background that made possible that the influence of the German romanticism should be fast assimilate and should open the process of rooting into nation idea. Diverse cultural and political pedagogies turn Herder's, Fichte's and Hegel's works into reference points of the Eastern intelligentsia. We can recognize such sources when the same segment will start a very political crusade in the name of the collective soul. *The historia magistra vitae* syntagm that is discovered with real satisfaction by literates, historians, and politicians in Hungary, Serbia, Romania, Greece turns imperceptibly in a way of thinking about politics. All the scholars have to progressively impose the survey of the past with the declared goal to give an impulse to the political militantism. From the 1848 revolutionists until nowadays the syntagm has remained active in the states of Central and Eastern Europe, having ideological implications in almost all regime changing. The myth of the scholar made possible both the excessive cultivation of the interest for the past, and the political manipulation based on the so-called historical arguments, as well.

II. The Educational System in Romania and the Civil Society Development

In this chapter I am going to emphasise the multi- and intercultural realities of contemporary Romania, as well as many aspects related to the origins of the communitarian pluralism. I am going to put the stress especially on the assimilating tendencies of the official educational system that hindered the assertion and the development of the civil society. I formulated a few solutions, based on documentary research moreover on school and

university investigations, solutions that might be used in building another educational system. I meant, for instance the teaching of the trainers including school inspectors, teaching-counsellors, primary and secondary school teachers, and higher education teachers; programmes that might contribute through courses and public lectures to introducing classes necessary to assimilate the 'conceptual core' as of the civic education and the human rights through an intercultural perspective. I have taken in consideration the observations made by Western pedagogues' and researchers'. According to them the teacher training is a "revolving board" for the intercultural education⁹. I consider that this issue takes a very important place in setting up a competitive and co-operative educational system throughout the world.

Interculturally oriented education has not been under public debate in Romania. The topic is little known in the countries of Central and Eastern Europe and it is often mistaken for education in the mother-tongues of the minority communities. There are a number of reasons why this form of pedagogy lags behind, the major being the lack of competencies in this field. Political trends, conservative as a rule, did not encourage development of an open pedagogy, sensitive to a trans-national communication. Being at its beginnings, the civil society has only sporadically intervened in this process, not having the expected impact on the representative personalities of culture, let alone on the politicians in power. The extremely varied cultural heritage in different regions of Romania might well be valued in fundamental human sciences research; and then in intercultural education. The linguistic and religious communities within Central and Eastern Europe reflect convergence on all fields. The civilisation of each country cannot be fully made to stand out without knowledge of the mutual transfer of ideas, customs, traditions, creations, expressions and different forms of thinking and existence. Without such a restoring effort, major moments in the history of political thought and in actual political life cannot be understood; nor can the deeper meanings of the written culture be decoded. The habitat of the people in this region of Europe, including Romania, has, because of a history where interference prevailed, many features in common. Interculturality is the very consequence of the overlappings. A fear of interculturality has been introduced through the 'romantic autopoetic philosophy' whose trend has been dominated by the *Volksgeist* concept. This is what explains the totalitarian regimes of the 20th century having benefited from the political thinking of the nation-states in the 19th century.

II.1. A brief description of the Romanian Educational System

The law of education adopted by the Romanian Parliament in 1995 mentions that the state should promote the principles of a democratic education and that its organization and content cannot be structured along exclusivist and discriminatory political, ideological, religious and ethnical criteria. The right to a differentiated education is incorporated to the concept of educational pluralism¹⁰. The national educational system is comprised of:

- I. kindergarten including:
 - A. low group
 - B. medium group
 - C. high group/ school preparatory group.
- II. compulsory education:
 - A. primary school
 - B. secondary school
- III. post-secondary education including:
 - A. high-school
 - B. vocational school
 - C. apprentice schools
- IV. higher education
 - A. university
 - B. posthigh school
 - C. formen school
- V. postgraduate education
- VI. doctorate.

The process of education is subordinated to the Ministry of Education and has the following structure:

- a) Department of Financial Control;
- b) Department of International Relations;
- c) Department for High Education and Scientific Research in Higher Education;
- d) Department of Human and Financial Resources;
- e) Department for Material Resources;
- f) Department for European Integration;
- g) Department for Primary and Secondary Education;
- h) Department for School and Extra-curriculum Activities;
- i) Department for Education, Strategy, and Development;
- j) Department for Education of National Minorities;
- k) Department for Education of Romanians Living Abroad;
- l) Department for Co-ordination of the Reform Project for Primary and Secondary Education;
- m) Department for Co-ordination of the Reform of the Higher Education;

- n) Department for Curricula and Teachers Training;
- o) SOCRATES National Agency;
- p) LEONARDO National Agency¹¹.

An introduction to the responsibilities of the Ministry of Education will show what kind of ideologies (theoretical references) lays in its background.

According to the *Education Law 84/1995*, the Ministry of Education has the following responsibilities:

- “to co-ordinate and control the national educational system;
- to organize the school network;
- to establish the number of pupils per school, by consulting with the schools, the local authorities and other interested local companies;
- to approve the educational plans, curricula and textbooks for primary and secondary education;
- to organize national contests for development of textbooks and to finance their publishing;
- to elaborate the methodology for the university entrance examination;
- to co-ordinate the scientific research in the education system;
- to approve the establishment of secondary schools, vocational training schools, colleges and faculties;
- to approve the organisation and functioning regulations for the subordinated units;
- to elaborate, approve and distribute education materials;
- to co-ordinate the activity of the subordinated university libraries;
- to supervise the training and specialization of teachers;
- to appoint, transfer and keep the records of the personnel in public schools;
- to assess the national education system;
- to elaborate and implement the long and short term strategies for the education reform;
- to elaborate the specific norms for the school constructions and facilities;
- to establish the procedure of recognition for the studies and diplomas;
- to establish the structure of every year of study, final exams, entrance examinations and school holidays for primary and secondary education;
- to develop and control the assessment system for pupils, students, teachers and professors;
- to distribute to each of its subordinate units the due share of budget and to ensure the units comply with the financial established norms;
- to develop, diagnose and assess studies for the reconstructing and modernization of the educational system;

- to develop specific programs for students with special emotional, physical and psychological needs;
- to manage (counselling and control) of auxiliary staff;
- to cooperate on protocol basis with the Romanian Diaspora states to promote education in Romanian;
- the control of financing performance”¹².

We can briefly draw the following conclusions: the Ministry of Education assumes the responsibility to guide, control, elaborate, establish the assessment criteria of the professional merits and of promoting teachers and professors; to establish the curricula for the primary, secondary, high and vocational schools; and to establish the remuneration for the teachers, professors and auxiliary staff.

The initiatives of the universities and educational research institutes are also subordinated to the Ministry of Education. The autonomy of the public universities is merely on paper since many of the senate’s proposals must be approved through ministerial order. Accredited private education institutions are also under professional control of assessment commissions constituted at the level of the mentioned Ministry. The possibility of real competition is controversial in this case too. Quite often such methods encourage obscure procedures of accreditation of the private education institutions. In addition, most of the grants abroad depend on the Ministry’s approval and control, this authority being justified by the law to manage all international contacts. The centralist position of the ministry — the fact that it comes from the political parties in power — makes it easier for such parties to interfere in directing education. This aspect is important, considering a political background where doctrines are not very well outlined as yet. The impossibility of making decisions in a one-sided way without compulsory consultation of the subordinated institutions — an aspect due to the perpetuation on the pyramidal organization — essentially prevents solving a great many of the problems of public education. The impossibility of autonomous co-ordination of educational activities by the universities and by the County General Inspectorates obstructs not only the chance for self-administration but also the chance of training their pedagogues, teachers and professors according to the region’s intellectual needs, interests and their financial possibilities.

The same centralism inherited from the previous totalitarian regimes, perpetuated through the articles of the Education Law 84/1995, facilitates the intervention of the state’s office holders in the local institutions’ administration. The professional relations among researchers, the teaching

staff, and Romanian and foreign institutions, are co-ordinated also by the Ministry of Education.

The local school network institutions of primary and secondary education are managed by a School Inspectorate, led by a general inspector. The School Inspectorate, established in each county, is comprised of:

- a) a managing board composed of the general inspector (president), the deputy general inspectors, the subject inspectors, the director of the Teachers Resource Centre, the chief accountant and the legal adviser of the Inspectorate;
- b) an advisory council, composed of directors of education institutions, prestigious teachers and professors, parents, representatives of the local authorities, of the religious communities and of the local companies¹³.

The general inspector, his/her deputies, and the head of the Teachers Resource Centre are appointed by the Minister of Education.

The main responsibilities of the County General Inspectorate include the following:

- to recommend a local school network to the Ministry of Education;
- to create, with the approval of the Ministry of Education, public education institutions including kindergartens, primary schools, lower secondary schools, and institutions of vocational and apprenticeship training;
- to ensure the appropriate personnel for the education institutions;
- organizes the scientific research;
- to co-ordinate the organization of entrance examinations, graduation examinations and of school contests;
- to control the education process in the subordinated institutions;
- to co-ordinate the activity of the Teacher Resource Centre and of the school libraries¹⁴.

As can be seen, the general inspector of the County General Inspectorate is also President of the Council of Administration (Managing Board)¹⁵ of the institution. This essentially means that all decisions are made by one single person, benefiting of very dictatorial powers without control by a board. To be general inspector and the president of the Council of Administration at the same time means that democratic consultance is on paper only. The same is the case with the school principals, who are simultaneously presidents of the School Boards and presidents of the Managing Boards (Councils of Administration). The institutions of primary and secondary education are directed by principals. According to the law, the principals are assisted in their governing activity by the School Board and the Managing Board. The principal and the assistant principals are appointed by the general inspector¹⁶. This is one of the totalitarian ways to impose

decisions found in the educational system of Romania during the years of transition towards democracy.

This centralized form of organization of education stimulates the perpetuation of the nationalist mentalities and hinders the initiatives of the civil society. For example the NGOs (non-governmental organizations) which have in their programmes topics concerning the education and the culture must get an agreement from the Ministries of Education and, respectively from the Ministry of Culture to obtain the right of functioning. In this respect, the stipulations are included in a law that was elaborated in 1924 and reactivated in 1990.

What does the state understand through the strategy concerning the relation between the majority and minorities, and what role does it grant to these relations within the civic education?

According to the article number 6 of the Constitution (passed in 1992) “the state recognize and warrants to persons belonging to ethnical minorities the right to preserve, develop, and express their ethnical, cultural, linguistical and religious identity.” According to the same article, “the measures of protection taken by the govern to preserve, develop and express the minorities’ identity must be according to the principles of equality and non-discrimination regarding other Romanian citizens.” The Law of Education says that “the Romanian citizens have equal rights and free access to the all levels and forms of education indifferent of his/her social and material condition, sex, race, nationality, political or religious affiliation.”

Much of the wording and content in this law allows for contradictory interpretations to the above-mentioned issues. For example, the legislator introduced stipulations that can be interpreted as being restrictive such as: “during the secondary and the high school period, the *History of the Romanians* and the *Geography of Romania* is taught in Romanian”, or “the main subjects — within the public education (vocational, apprentice school, economical, administrative, agrarian, forest, agro-alpine schools), as well as within the post high school education — are taught in Romanian, being provided, as well as possible, the assimilation of the speciality terminology in the mother-tongue.”⁸ The fact has not been overlooked by the representatives of the Hungarian (Magyar) minority of Romania who even in the project phase of the law launched an alert on the legislator’s intent to introduce “subsidiary legal stipulations”, thus restricting the text of the Constitution¹⁸.

Using the syntagm “the History of Romanians” as a title of a subject taught in high school and university has brought, and still brings ideological disputes because it perpetuates 19th century clichés and incites to contradictory viewpoints between the population of majority and the

populations of minority. If we examine the general dispositions of the law, we can conclude that one of the declared objectives is “to promote the attachment towards the homeland, toward the historical past and the traditions of the Romanian people”¹⁹, which reflects a monocultural viewpoint that guided the legislation of many of the East-Central European states in the time of their formative period or during the dictatorship one. Regarding such concerns as: multiple identities, plurilingual phenomenon, different regional cultures produced by the eighteen minority communities of Romania, multiple denominations and the relationship between them, and the study of the intercultural phenomena, the law does not provide proper stipulations that are self-understood in a democratic country. From the above mentioned law there does not result any systematic concern to preserve the richness of diverse traditions that might facilitate a quicker access to a plural culture for the Romanian citizens. On the contrary, what results, is an exaggerated concern to assimilate the majority’s ethnic traditions, to appropriate the history and geography according to the monoculturally-oriented ideologies that prevailed during all Romanian political regimes of the 20th century, beginning with 1918.

Including general principles — formally adapted to a democratic speech — the Education Law does not cover the demands of modern pedagogy. There lack stipulations as to the study of otherness which might benefit the entire population, meaning nothing else but the diminution of Romania’s chance of real adjustment to its inner multiculturalism, to the cultural diversity of Europe, and to a democratic mentality where the role of the citizen comes first as compared to its affiliation to a linguistic and religious community.

II.2. Demographics of Romania, Including Various Subgroups and Their Cultures. Their Experiences with the Mainstream Educational System

Romania has an area of 238,391 square kilometres, and a population of 22,760,449 (census of January, 1992) inhabitants, boasting a population composed of many different linguistic and religious communities. The majority group is represented by the Romanians (about 22,760,449 inhabitants). The minorities include: Hungarians (Magyars), Romas (Gypsies), Germans, Serbs, Ukrainians, Slovaks, Czechs, Croatians, Turks, Jews, Russian-Lippovans, Bulgarians, Poles, Armenians, Greeks, Italians. The most numerous minority community is the Hungarian (Magyar) having 1,620,199 inhabitants (census of 1992). The number of the Roma (Gypsy) population is quite uncertain, but thought, by the 1992 census, to be about

409,723 inhabitants, although other statistics show a number ranging from 1.8 to 2.5 million people. Other minorities are quite insignificant as concern their number: 119,436 Germans; 66,833 Ukrainians; 29,533 Turks; 29,080 Serbs; 9,107 Jews; 20,672 Slovaks; 4,180 Croatians; 38,688 Russians-Lippovans; 24,649 Tartars; 9,935 Bulgarians; 5800 Czechs; 4,247 Poles; 3,897 Greeks; 2,023 Armenians (see *Appendix 1*)²⁰. Two communities who played a major role in Romania's history have decreased sensibly: the German and the Jewish ones who had 550,000 and 420,000 inhabitants respectively just after the World War II. Both communities left Romania during the communist dictatorship for political and economical reasons.

The experience of the communities that compose the contemporary Romania's population shows for the most part a long period of living-together even since the Middle Ages. Multiculturalism has been favoured here by the geographical diversity of the regions as well as by their administrative and political affiliation to the empires that existed in the central, eastern and south-eastern part of Europe; including the Habsburg, the Turkish and the Tsarist Empires. For example, the counties of Transylvania, Banat, Maramures and Partium were in the Hungarian kingdom during the Middle Ages (from the 11th to the 16th centuries). During the period from 1542 to 1699, Transylvania was the only region in Central and Eastern Europe that benefited by the status of autonomous principality being committed to pay a yearly tribute to the Turkish Empire. The Hungarian Kingdom had been conquered by the Turks at Mohács in 1526, thus the Hungarian political class was restricted to the East (in Transylvania). The period as a principality was a flourishing one, of the economic and cultural aspects under the influence of the Renaissance and the Reform. The Royal House was under the rule of the Calvinist Hungarian aristocracy.

Banat was an Ottoman province from 1552 to 1716 under the name of Sanjak of Timisoara (a subdivision of a Turkish province), and was included in the Pashalik of Buda. Then, for two centuries all the mentioned regions were included in the composition of the Habsburg Empire that became, after 1867, the Austro-Hungarian Empire. Bessarabia was part of the Tsarist Empire, and Wallachia, Moldavia and Dobrudgea had been under the influence of the Ottoman Empire or under its direct rule for five centuries. Bukovine, another border region of Romania (part of it is included, nowadays, in the north-eastern part of Romania, and another part, in Ukraine) has itself meandering history. It is the meeting point of the Polish, Russian, Austrian, and Romanian political and economical interests for five centuries. Hence the inheritance of a patrimony of great diversity.

In general, the empires facilitated the life together of many linguistic and religious communities within the same region. At other times, they played

the role of an arbitrator between two or more groups where viewpoints as of their origin, historical right, religion, administration were divergent. The communitary pluralism was born in direct relation with the policy of the mentioned empires, kingdoms or principalities. It is obvious that this pluralism has generated an emulation in all fields of activity: organizational, financial, commercial, scientific and artistic ones. The plural history of the centuries from the 16th to the 19th created the premises of modernization in the regions we refer to. The autonomy of the towns and villages of Transylvania needed a good communication and understanding among its communities. The legislative authorities had representatives of all human groups belonging and living in that respective region. The Transylvanian nobility had not been divided on linguistical criteria.

The common cultural phenomena were registered for the first time in the documents of the Transylvanian Diet in Turda, 1557, which stipulated that “everyone lives after the law he/she chooses”. In 1568 the Diet proclaimed the complete freedom of faith, thus generating a form of tolerance among the four recognized denominations in Transylvania at that time: Unitarian, Calvinist, Catholic and Evangelic. The Greek-Catholic Church of Romania, settled in 1701 with the intention to convert the mass of Orthodox reveals, in its turn, the possibility of coexistence of both principles of Orthodoxy and Catholicism, and not the falling out between them, as their hierarchs often announced. The Greek-Catholic religion had been recognized by the Pope, being among the denominations accepted by the Habsburg authorities, later by the Austro-Hungarian ones, and, after the unification of Transylvania with Romania, by the Romanian officials.

I propose two of the essential aspects to take in consideration: firstly, the existence of many independent cultures based on different languages, and secondly, the mixture that generated a civilization with multiple origins. In the latter sense, the spiritual Romanian-Hungarian convergence is the consequence of living-together over a long time, begun in the centuries of the Middle Ages. The same holds true for the Romanian-German, Romanian-Turkish, Romanian-Jewish coexistence. All these set a specific imprint on the contemporary Romanian civilization, generating a sum of rapprochements and, varying with the regions, many specific features.

One of the greatest deficiencies of the Romanian educational system was that it did not question the equality of chances. Although almost all official documents stipulate that the minorities have the right to instruction in their mother-tongue (See *Appendixes 2,3,6*), the County School Inspectorates do not always take into account the demographical reality. That is, when those institutions establish the education plans they deprive the pupils belonging to minority communities of their right to learn in their mother-

tongue, ignoring the necessity to set up schools with teaching in languages other than the majority's one. There are cases when the School Inspectorates do not respect the pupil's right to continue their instruction in their mother-tongue at the vocational schools or other apprentice schools. This is the reason for the low percentage of the pupils in high schools with teaching in Hungarian language in comparison with the percentage of the Hungarian (Magyar) inhabitants in those regions²¹. The situation can be understood through statistics on the changes in the ethnic composition of students in higher education with students at Babes-Bolyai University of Cluj from the year 1958 to 1993. While the number of students who studied in Romanian increased from 2,917 (in 1958) to 10,102 (in 1993), the number of students who attended school in Hungarian increased only from 1,266 to 1,917 for the same period²². During the same time period one can notice a decrease in the number of German students, from 102 to 54, and the number of students belonging to other minorities, from 102 to 9²³. This data demonstrates on the one hand the carelessness of the schools about preserving plurilingual education, and on the other the intention of assimilation more evident during Ceausescu's nationalist-communist dictatorship.

The problem of integration in schools of children belonging to the Roma minority has not been completely neglected, but it has not been very successful either. Today many facts and explanations are put forward to explain the problem of integration in schools and society of this group including the lack of specialists in this field, therefore a lack of strategy concerning how best to work with this children; the non-observance of the school curricula; and ignorance of the means of communication specific to the Roma minority. To all these I can add that skin colour resulted in marginalization of the group and, in other cases it marginalized itself. The integration of the Roma communities continues to be a problem in many of the East and Central European countries. It is not only a social question, but also a cultural one. It will be desirable to take this into account when they begin to focus on the civic education of the whole population. The educational programme of the population of majority has to be seriously adjusted, in order to eliminate racist ideologies and practices that happened in certain cases, voluntary or involuntary, on account of the trainers' and political and socio-cultural authorities' behaviour. The new minister of education said that the education in Romania, on the whole, suffers from its administrative system, respectively from its excessive centralism²⁴. Such state of facts is motivated by the weak organization of the civil society.

II.3. Perceived Obstacles and Solutions to Addressing Intercultural Issues in Schools

Studies concerning the intercultural phenomena have been completely neglected in Romania. Inheriting the mental reflexes promoted by the extreme right and extreme left totalitarian regimes, Romania has remained behind in promoting the interculturally-oriented topics. For a better understanding I am going to refer to some dysfunction created out of schools. By this I mean the perpetuation of thinking based on traditions that ignore or are ignorant of the way of thinking and acting of the contemporary world. Aspects of this come from a certain education practised in the family, particularly in close societies. For example, a visible obstacle to promoting interculturalism is represented by the collectivist habitat. Such an orientation may cause a closing of the mind, suspicion, fear for the unknown, and the tendency to assimilate into the crowd. The idea of sacrifice is promoted only in the name of the collective good. Individualism, on the contrary, is often mistaken for selfishness. This kind of behaviour has its origins in the medieval rural community, very well preserved until nowadays. A society structured on village ideals and life forms rejects the urban behaviour rules. The transition from village to city requires crossing from one set of rules to another, an aspect completely ignored by Ceausescu's dictatorship, which initiated the forced industrialization and the great migration of the village people to the factories from the urban milieus. If we cross-examine the way in which the couples who settled in towns in the last decades educate their children, we can learn how the chain of dependencies, taken from the rural milieu, is multiplied voluntary or involuntary. The collective way of life is conveyed from one generation to another which means that even today the successor, or mature adult refuses to assume individual responsibilities. His or her complexes of superiority and inferiority, very often due to the violent breaking off family relations, shows the persistence of a collective mentality reticent to innovations and to the life style changes. Among the examples that show the cultural maladjustment to the urban milieu are the discriminatory attitude against the old, sick and disabled people, against homosexuals and women — attitudes that stay at the origin of resentments against other linguistic and confessional communities (Hungarian, Roma, Jewish) that the majority's ones. As a consequence, such a background reveals some of the main elements that contribute to obstruct the civic education through an intercultural perspective, and to hinder the understanding the role of the pluralist way of thinking and of the man moulding towards accepting any kind of diversity to accept and respect the human rights irrespective of sex, denominations, customs, nationality, and

language. The linguistic discriminations, the racist and anti-Semitic behaviours are consequences of an inefficient civic education. The fact that there are published quite often articles, studies, essays, and books with an anti-Hungarian, racist and anti-Semitic content — and against with whom the civil societies' reaction is kept waiting or is completely avoided — is another evidence that the civic education is in its incipient phase.

The Democratical Union of Hungarians from Romania draw the FUEN's attention (The Federal Union of European Nationalities) through a report offered on the occasion of the Timisoara congress in May 15th-19th, 1996, on the above mentioned discriminations. This organization stated that the suspicions become manifest through the military supervision of the Hungarians (Magyars) in regions where they are in majority (in counties of Harghita and Covasna). The same report highlights the chauvinistic outbursts of Gheorghe Funar, the mayor of Cluj. The lack of a real interest for learning about minorities in Romania is quite visible not only concerning the Hungarian minority but also the German, Roma, Turkish, and Russians-Lippovans ones. The cultural values coming from the mentioned communities are generally ignored. The promotion of their names is casual and it is motivated by the intention to prove the working of the minorities' rights. The reference to such names is quite inexistent in universities (with teaching in Romanian) and Romanian language mass-media. In such conditions, the Hungarian (Magyar) minority, for instance took defence measures to preserve its own culture. Its political body set up a department for cultural and cultural (confessional) problems and organized a cultural society of the Hungarians in Transylvania: *The Self Organization of the Intellectual Life of the Hungarians from Romania*.

In its turn, the official educational system is only partial and lately adapted to the European rules, where from its permissivity for the chauvinistic manifestations, and anti-Semitic and racial orientations. The fact that the Parliament allots a very small budget from the state budget to education means that this field is being neglected by many important social segments. The accent put on the training of so-called elite pupils and students (as the leaders of the Ministry of Education in the Vacaroiu cabinet declared) shows how a stale way of thinking about education has been inculcated from the top, perpetuating the totalitarian way of thinking of the Ceausescu's regime.

Even though some of the researchers called attention to the discrepancies between the theory that rules the Romanian education and the theory that stays at the basis of the Western one, the Romanian bureaucrats of the ministry have not ever noticed that the role of the modern education is

to prepare a well trained professional middle class which assumes the living rules of the community where it aims to be integrated into.

The negligence of the civic education is visible on all the educational levels. The fact is that the trainers and teachers are not themselves satisfactory prepared to teach the fundamentals of civism. It is not less true that the gaps on the education are due to the lack of investments in this field. During the totalitarian regimes the stress was put on information and indoctrination in the detriment of the individual education and it left deep consequences in the mental reflexes of the teachers and their students. The lack of the theoretical, well argued reference points, the relatively law scientifically exigency in granting university degrees (Ph.D., for instance), the incoherent policy of the decision making elements in educational system, as well as the serene acceptance of a system long ago obsolete shows why nowadays the reform in this field is on the same phase as in 1990. The superficial way in which topics like interethnic and intercultural relations are approached has visible consequences in the development of the civil society, in learning and assuming the human rights, and in establishing a natural communication between two or more communities.

Consider the example offered by the Babes-Bolyai University of Cluj which, in March 1997, continues to oppose solving the Hungarian (Magyar) community's request concerning the establishment of an independent higher institution teaching in the second language of the region. The motivation of the Hungarian minority to achieve a Hungarian-teaching higher education institution must be sought in the relatively low number of Hungarian speaking students and specialists in the Babes-Bolyai University of Cluj and not in the so-called separatist tendency often invoked by the mass-media, or by some of the politicians in Romania. The tacit promotion of the experts on identity criteria, or on the criteria of numerical representativeness of his or her linguistical and religious community has created a perceptible frustration. In social sciences departments of the Babes-Bolyai University of Cluj is quite obvious such tendency, obstructing the competency and the free assertion of values. During Ceausescu's dictatorship the lists with persons of non-Romanian extraction were conceived depending on name criteria and not on the base of individual option or declaration. Having traditions during the interwar period in all the universities of Romania, this way has let deep marks in the collective mentality, in the bureaucratic educational system that continues today also in promoting competence varying with the ethnicist identitarism. Hence the confusions and discrepancies between the affirmations of the Ministry of Education and what the civil society "dares" to say (in the last years), and respectively the representatives of one of the minority groups.

The legal and institutional framework invoked by the Vacaroiu administration is partly relevant because the formal aspects often take place of the concrete things. An example could be the Council for National Minorities, a centralist body without a necessary professional ground to promote a dynamic of the inter-communitarian relations. Such bodies do not impose in the public life because the way in which they have been created is a rigid one, while their relationship with the society is flexibility wanting for a good communication.

This usage that excludes the natural affirmation of the social and individual diversities, respectively the promotion of the civics based on the intercultural phenomenon understating (to be seen that the responsibilities and the decisions delegation are often due to quite incompetent individuals) are directly dependent on the obsolete concepts used by the educational system.

To conclude, the perceived obstacles to addressing intercultural education are determined by:

- the attempt to preserve the 19th century political ideology (promoted by the states of Central and Eastern Europe after 1848) which says that the “nation” concept is overlapping with the “ethnic” one;
- the lack of a culture and belief concerned with the rights and the obligations of the citizens;
- the preservation of behaviour and thinking characteristic of closed, totalitarian societies;
- an ignorance about minority languages and cultures;
- the minor role and place of the individual initiative;
- the persistence of the centralized political and administrative system;
- the perpetuation of the myth of democracy during the interwars of Romania;
- the use of textbooks containing stereotypes that sustain the nationalist-oriented education;
- the mutual permission or maintenance of the suspicion and inequality of opportunities for the minority communities’ members, and for the mixed families’ members;
- the propagation through the media of confusions regarding the Holocaust and the World War II;
- the influence of the mass-media in creating myths, and perpetuating myths.

Solutions which I might propose for overcoming those obstacles include:

- the introduction of compulsory plurilingual education for all children in regions with mixed population;
- the elaboration of history, literature, geography, and ethnography textbooks which contain information about the culture, the traditions, the language, and religion of the minority communities living in Romania, as well as data about the convergences between these cultures and the the majority one;
- the introduction of laws against any type of discrimination toward minorities;
- granting equal opportunities in professional competition to all citizens of the country irrespective of nationality, sex, religion, race;
- the promotion of the interculturally-oriented advanced studies within the department of social sciences in universities;
- decentralisation of the educational system and granting legal opportunities to local organization and administration of the education in minority languages; granting the material and professional support to apply the interculturally-oriented education in all teacher training colleges;
- introducing the new core curriculum concerning the study of history in secondary and high schools, a curriculum that would stress the convergent dimension of civilization and on the moulding of open thinking, responsive to alternatives, giving up the excerpts based on stereotypes which feed chauvinistic, anti-Semitic and racist political speeches;
- using the common cultural heritage in the benefit of the country's culture and civilization;
- delivering civic education courses at primary and secondary educational level;
- disseminating local examples of interculturality in schools, lycées, colleges, universities, cultural institutions and media;
- promoting the principles of the anti-racist education in schools;
- granting the trainers' professional and civic competencies in the field of interculturally-oriented education; and,
- the stimulation of non-governmental organizations set-up to promote the civic education in intercultural perspective to cover history, tradition, and religious forms of thinking of the minorities, as well as for the study of intercultural phenomena.

II.4. Teacher Trainer Colleges and the Intercultural Education

The educational institutions of Romania are not sufficiently open to information coming from other sources than those of the higher hierarchy.

Some of the researchers state that it has gotten so far as to the sacralization of the formal rule and of hierarchical subordination¹⁷.

What results after analysing the way of working of the Romanian educational system is that the teacher's and the pupil's initiative, or the school's one, is completely discarded. What is the reason of such attitude? The educational services offered by schools, colleges, lycées, universities have the possibility of imposing an ideological trend and defying the interests of the local communities. They do not reflect the multiple cultures, languages and denominations belonging to various regions of the country. On the contrary, it shows the state's control over the educational system and the subordination of every teacher trainer, pupil, student, school, lycée (high school, college), and university. Thus, promoting monoculturalism became the main ideological support of the educational institutions. The lack of a culture of diversity made an important and large segment of the collectivity reject the changes, be blind to any type of pluralism, and oppose the tendencies of opening towards other forms of cultural expression. The situation of the higher education and of the vocational schools with teaching in minority languages is only an aspect of many others. The same as the discrepancies between the Orthodox and the Greek-Catholic confessions as concerning the churches only hide an evident repudiation of the doctrine of one of the oldest Romanian denominations (three hundred years old) being in minority.

I consider that along with the educational institutions that bear the working peculiarities of the totalitarian regimes the great void in education toward cultural and political diversity, as well as toward a civic briefing adequate to the civil society, come from the ideological orientation of mass-media, namely television. Through television, propaganda of the ideas and activities that have as a main support the "ethno-cultural" concept and not the "civil society" one are perpetuated. The preference to politicise the TV programmes function of the governing party (or coalition of parties) made that the most important public TV channel be completely deprived of a coherent theory of programmes. This is one of the factors causing clumsy, at any rate non-profitable, education. For example the excessive use of the "Romanian" and "Romanians" terms in their ethnic acceptance favours the superiority consciousness of the population of majority. The use of the above mentioned appellation instead of "citizen", "society", and the name of the country lead, toward confusions, or at any rate toward the voluntary ignoring of the other language speaking communities, with other religions, customs than the population of majority. The tacit preserving of the numerical proportion in promoting the specialists in the top fields (especially in social sciences) as

well as in the politics is a reflex of a totalitarian thinking where the monocultural education plays a decisive role.

The teacher trainer colleges — maybe the most important educational institutions as of their purpose — respond to the same state control. Their activities are among the most standardized, namely they obey subsquously to bureaucratic forms established by the ministry.

Interculturally-oriented education is not addressed in teacher trainer colleges and their curricula do not indicate the need to teach two or more neighbouring cultures or the convergence between them. Minorities' literatures, traditions and denominations are taught in educational institutions with teaching in their mother-tongues (See *Appendixes 2-6*). The minority languages, seen only as a means of inter-community communication, have been and are completely ignored in schools with teaching in Romanian. The history of Romanian and the Romanian literature is often made to the damage of a good understanding of the cultural interference and of their concrete results. The textbooks themselves seem to be conceived in order to overestimate the national culture meant in the sense of ethnicity, thus being explained the trainers' tendencies of isolation. The main goal, declared or not, of the ministerial curriculum is to indoctrinate the pupils and students with the same monocultural ideology (often carrying the signs of the xenophobic stereotypes). Let us admit that this is a very low level form of education that does not require explanations or questions, let alone the formation of thinking adapted to a plurality of cultures. The initiatives in the sense of renewal of the curricula are rejected or neglected by the politicians whose background does not permit them to join theories, doctrines and methodologies that are not part of the standard thinking. The competence of the teachers and teacher trainers is low, hence their lack of creativeness, and of the open dialogue with the pupils. The free exchange of ideas is disconsidered, instead favouring rigid quarterly and weekly planning by the hierarchical fixed teaching norm and by the differentiation between teachers with leadership positions²⁶. This phenomenon causes the perpetuation of the educational system through control.

Additionally there exists the isolation of science from reality, a very often met practice in the teacher training colleges. All these elements are not innocent delays, as might be believed at first sight. Rather, they show how the ethnic centralist state can survive at the height of an area of globalization²⁷. The teacher training colleges are tributary to the above mentioned framework. Having the role to prepare teachers, these schools are more seriously involved in the creation of the mental reflexes. Once they submit to totalitarian rules it is obvious that they contribute to the preservation of one-sided information and thus train pseudo-competent

persons in the field of education, culture and civic action. Subsequently, the issue of competitiveness²⁸ in the Romanian educational institutions have been left to the narrow-minded bureaucrats, who engendered the lack of appeal of school-milieus for high IQ students. There are many cases where this is the reason for the lack of professionals at the university chairs.

It has to be outlined that in certain social milieu the need to change both the educational system and its legislative framework is felt. An argument is often made to schools by pupils and their parents when they remark on the enormous discrepancy between the endless theory they have to cram into their minds and the practical problems they face in their everyday life that require another type of thinking. The civic education using interculturally-oriented methods, concepts and information represents a credible alternative to the monoculturally-oriented one that is prevalent today at each educational level in Romania. It is obvious that through it there might be many useful solutions that could make Romanian programmes and Western ones compatible. Such projects might stimulate competitiveness, competence and a sense of unification through the dissemination of complementary doctrines. Intercultural pedagogy, maybe more than the other ones, has as its goal the increase the country's population chances to be integrated into political, economical, and administrative supranational structures which will prevail into the next millennium.

III. The Interculturality of the Region of Banat

III.1. Arguments to Overcome the Controversies Based on Ethno-Cultural Criteria

Which are the most persuasive reference points of the nowadays Romania, having in view the assimilation of the civic education and the human rights through an intercultural perspective? In order to give an answer I am going to present the inheritance of the past and the present of a certain region in Romania. I have chosen Banat, a border region located in the south-western part of the country, with multilingual and pluri-communitarian background that might offer possible examples in the above mentioned sense. I have to mention that the inter- and multicultural features survived until now, that they cannot be idealized, and — as well as in the past — the merit of their preserving belongs to its inhabitants rather than the policy of the authorities. During my presentation in the following paragraphs I will take

in consideration the nationalist policy of the last decades, a policy that concerned the very existence of diversities all around Romania.

Comparing with other regions in Europe, Banat has specific features that define the equilibrium among different religions' influences, customs and traditions, and different life styles. The interferences between the Orthodox and the Catholic religions; between the Germans and Austrians, the Romanians and the Serbs, the Slovaks and Germans, and between the Bulgarians and the Germans; the Romanian-Hungarian and Romanian-Serbian convergences; the co-habitation between the German Jews (speaking Yiddish) and the Spanish Jews (speaking Ladino), all these represent many wonderful examples that contribute to another way of understanding the past and the present. From this perspective the history of Romania itself has both a Central European dimension and a South-eastern European one. Such aspects — requiring another manner of assessment — have often been overlooked by the Romanian historians (but also political scientists, sociologists, and journalists). They took exagerately into account the role of the events and facts and especially the orientation of the ideas that they were committed to, willingly or unwillingly. Hence the controversies on topics that require — we are going to see the reason in this study — to a plurality and complementary of interpretations. Considering the results of fundamental research, I try to compel attention on the fact that the historic geography cannot be ignored as long as it suggests the inner and external signs of the civilisations. My study emphasizes how the historical and social circumstances — during times that have generated multiple interfering cultures — are due to the very geographical position that instead of spatial compulsion stimulated the openings, hence the flew of ideas, the cultural and the civilisation results and the circulation of persons.

The region of Banat shows more convergence than any other region in Central and South-eastern Europe; it shows also how there has been possible the cohabitation of many cultures and different languages. The phenomenon — defined nowadays with the term of interculturality — not only that did not cause conflicts, but it was able to stimulate the development of a community where the interests in the name of civilisation have been placed above ethnicity, or beyond the closed societies. Thus has been possible to put into practice the inventive mind better and more efficient than in other neighbouring regions. It has also been possible for the individual life to become important and to be placed beyond the abstract ideologies; the cultural creation to be inspired from the social reality and not conversely; the collective traditional values to be preserved as a result of the contribution of the multiple identities. If I have been interested how and what results the external civilisations had been influenced the civilisation of Banat, I have

done it because I have had in view to emphasize the collective psychism that resulted from such a convergence. A psychism that I found as being a tolerant one, symbolising a permanence during almost three centuries.

The examples content in the next paragraphs might be found in other regions as well. They are based on personal investigations of archive and library sources written in different languages. These sources have never been analyzed comparatively and never have been put in circulation as they might deserve. It is less about a technical demonstration or about a study that summarizes data concerning the phenomenon of crossings between different cultures and civilisations in Banat, as particularly it is about a re-evaluation of the past asserted by academical and ideological arguments able to suggest a few important methods and conceptions concerning the reform of the educational system. Thus it might be resorted successfully the experiences of this region in order to set up the civic education through an intercultural perspective. The fruits of the intellectual life and of civilization belonging to Romanians, Serbs, Germans, Hungarians, Jews, Bulgarians, Slovaks in Banat have been turned into a common patrimony through their cohabitation. The acceptance of the idea that this patrimony has multiple identities contributes to a better understanding of both the History and the contemporary world. Generally, the cultures in the border regions of a country are plural ones. They cannot be completely find themselves in a single language. Thus the south-western part of nowadays Romania cannot be studied through the fruits of the Romanian culture only. A kind of plurilinguism has deeply marked the region under discussion; its inhabitants, the heirs of a plural civilisation and the promoters, willingly or unwillingly, of the concept of "convergence". The historical and literary works written in Romanian in the 19th century by Paul Iorgovici, Constantin Diaconovici Loga, Damaschin Bojinca, Eftimie Murgu, Vasile Maniu, etc. interfered with the ideas of the School of Transylvania, and of the Moldavian and Wallachian romantic scholars. They have also met the aesthetic and political values promoted by the revolutionists from 1848 in the capital cities of Europe. More of it, some of the Romanian scholars in Banat themselves spoke both the Hungarian and the German, thus promoting plurilinguism in order to gain inside easier into the cultural and political milieus of the ancient Habsburg Empire.

The German, Hungarian and Serbian language writers were quite numerous and their contributions are impossible to pass over in silence. Quite interesting have been and still are the Slovak and Bulgarian cultural results, as well. A lot of these scientists and writers professing in the above mentioned languages raised to the Central and Western European academical standards. The examples of the works signed by imposing names

that must be recognized belonging both to the local cultural patrimony and to the Central European one — such as: Mathäus Heimerl, Johann Nepomuk Preyer, Leonhard Böhm, Szentkláray Jenő, Moritz Löw, Milleker Bodog, Borowski Samu, Singer Jacob, Franz Liebhardt, Hertha Müller, Richard Wagner — is illustrative for the understanding of what I called earlier the multi- and the intercultural physiognomy of the Region of Banat.

In the same meaning, there is important the various artistic, architectural and musical fruits, the identity of which is quite impossible to be defined from a so-called ethno-cultural perspective. Quite often, the writers themselves have not been able to assume a certain identity, being descendants of the mixed families in the Region of Banat. The inter-communitarian linking bridges have been found easily in many human collectivities, in many languages and cultures. Being aroused to make suppositions about the uncertain concept of 'ethnicity', some of the scholars might have been lured by the totalitarian ideologies. But, generally, the impact of their propaganda has been of brief standing and minor. I dared to re-think the facts, considering that the teaching of the interculturally oriented history might be very useful to get the reference points concerning the otherness, reference points that were denied and even erased from the collective memory by the fascist and the communist regimes. Today, after seven years from the collapse of the communist dictatorship, the Romanian institutions continue to play a dominant role in building the image of a single cultural identity of the country. In a few cases they promote a nationalist propaganda, having rarely something in common with the nowadays European spirit — let alone with the intercultural phenomenon — where from the forms of isolation that Romania has to get through.

The practice of the cultural pluralism has to face with great difficulties as yet, and unfortunately this aspect is quite visible not only in the case of the representatives of the ruling parties, but also in the case of the opposition. All these motivate again that, through this case study, the interculturality of the Region of Banat become better known as a model of inter-regional and inter-state tolerance. It is an argument that I consider to be quite justified that this issue to be promoted as a matter of study in high schools and faculties.

III.2.The Past and the Present of the Population of Banat and its Cultural Patrimony

A closely survey of the cultural patrimonies of certain regions as the Banat reveals the multiplicity of the values, and especially the permanent

tendency to realize and maintain a common material and spiritual wealth. I have chosen, as an example, the intercultural situation of the Region of Banat, in order to emphasize the complex relationships between the majority and minorities, and among minorities themselves, as well as their influence with the civil society in this region of Romania²⁹.

Situated in the western extremity of Romania, Banat is an area of multiple dialogues. Its intercultural make-up is the result of the cohabitation of several populations: Romanians, Germans, Hungarians, Serbs, Croats, Jews, Bulgarians, Slovaks, Bohemians, (Roma) Gypsies and Turks — it is also the result also of confessional encounters among Orthodox Christians, Catholics, Protestants, Calvinists, Jews and Moslems.

The society that was developed in Banat from the eighteenth century (See *Appendix 8*) onwards is the product of an exchange of opinions and material values. How can this phenomenon be explained? Ideas have not remained at the abstract level; they were developed while an education in which multi-lingualism, assimilation of traditions and customs, interference of religions, and alliances of cultural aspirations with religion were fundamental. Crucial to this process was the coming together of different groups based on mutual interests. Proof of this is the appearance of mixed families both ethnically and denominationally. Interculturalism was developed in the form of a double or multiple cultural inheritance. During the time, the need for the inter-community communications led to the establishment of official relations, presupposing the acquisition of at least four languages: German, Hungarian, Romanian, Serbian.

These multi-ethnic, multi-linguistic and multi-confessional arrangements are a consequence of Habsburg colonisation in the period of Enlightenment. The Empire led to a particular way of thinking in the region, enforced its interests, and introduced an administrative organisation for the Central European regions under its domination. Subsequently, however, the area experienced a distinct evolution in comparison with surrounding territories, political conditions were novel and the background required for the appearance of all kinds of multicultural manifestations started to take shape. Banat had been a Turkish province for 165 years (1552-1718), during this time part of the area's social economic and traditional organisational structures disappeared, submerged as it was in the Turkish political and administrative system. After 1718, the region had to be reorganized every respect. The structures that were erected in order to address contemporary realities, and in accordance with Viennese interests (as witnessed by the statutes of nobles, peasants, clergy, lords, border guards) must be understood with the ideology of 'enlightened despotism'. Another feature characteristic of Banat's 'collective personality' was the impressive degree of

open communication between social strata. The discontinuation of this practice was not possible due to the rapid rebuilding of social structures. This is how an essential social and psychological balance of communities, living in the area between the Danube and the Mures, was reached. The creation of new ways of thinking took place against the background of the transition from Ottoman to Habsburg domination³⁰.

The profound mutations that may be observed can be explained by the following factors:

- multiple cohabitation since the Middle Ages;
- the receptivity of the local population (when it was not imposed against local norms and traditions, and when its particular skills and crafts were encouraged, such as mining, agriculture, metallurgy, forestry, dying, and the mechanical and fine arts) to the new Habsburg establishment;
- Schwabian colonisation, with all its consequences for the region's economic development, linking the region with Central Europe and Enlightenment culture;
- the encounter of the Oriental Christian teaching with Western teaching: Greek-Catholic;
- the building of a civil society;
- meetings and an exchange of values favoured by geography;
- the ethnic and religious make-up of the region — the stimulating element of spiritual amalgamation (interference).

Banat was a model of peaceful co-existence during the decades from 1800 to 1950, an example to others of mutual understanding and the creation of interethnic and interconfessional relations (See *Appendixes 8-12*). István Bibó's book, *A kelet-európai kissállamok nyomorúsága*, provides eloquent testimony of this³¹.

Despite a number of significant demographic dislocations, due to the discriminatory measures imposed by Ceausescu's nationalist-communist regime, a sense of community was retained in the western part of Romania. This took place in defiance of xenophobic, chauvinistic, and anti-Semitic provocation; although two of the main ethnic and religious communities have virtually disappeared because the Swabs left for Germany and the Jews for Israel. The Region of Banat includes nowadays the Counties of Timis, Arad, Caras-Severin and parts of the Counties of Hunedoara and Mehedinti. The region's mentality continues to be a tolerant one, although its ethnic configuration has changed completely (See *Appendixes 13-17*). Multi-lingualism continues to characterise 20% of the population³².

The use of two, three or even four languages, which we find in Banat, is an uncommon phenomenon and quite rare in Europe. The multi-lingualism of the people living in this part of the country dates back one-and-a-half

centuries, in some cases even two centuries. The wide dissemination of this phenomenon can be observed in all historical periods, despite the tendency of the national culture and language to extend its influence to the detriment of minority cultures. The need to communicate and to understand their cultural heritage, alongside economic interests, were the reasons for learning the languages of neighbouring communities. The region's multilingualism may be described as the common inheritance on every inhabitant. It is remarkable that none of the ethnic or religious groups has viewed multi-lingualism as a threat. It was perceived as a possibility of bring people together. The educational dimension of this phenomenon has been well understood by the region's inhabitants, resulting in a cultural heritage that now belongs to all equally. In societies of this kind, diverse because of their very genesis, recognition of the role of the interculturally-oriented education is an important step³³. In the Region of Banat multi-lingualism has been lent continuity by the school and the family. Romanian is the dominant language, being the mother-tongue of the majority: In most primary and secondary schools teaching takes place in Romanian. The school curriculum stipulates the study also of English, French, and German, but only two hours a week and without enough material support from the government. Teaching in German, Hungarian, Serbian, Slovak, and Bulgarian is maintained as a local tradition. There have been attempts to set up education in Romany, at the request — for the first time — of the Roma minority. From a linguistic point of view diversity — which is a part and parcel of Banat's society— has generated a complementary aspect, the desire to establish secondary schools that provide instruction in English and French. In Timisoara, for instance, during the last five years, the 'Shakespeare' and the 'Jean Louis Calderon' secondary schools have been established³⁴.

The practice of multi-lingualism — the result of the co-habitation between the Romanian majority and the Magyar, German, Serb, Bulgarian, Jewish, Slovak and Roma (Gypsy) minorities — is closely linked to the historical process of modernisation. It has long been a significant feature of the life experience of a large part of the population. It has not been imposed from outside: diversity and multiple identities have emerged naturally. Nevertheless, the survival of the region's intercultural heritage is under threat. I am going to explain why. In the past, the family was always able to keep alive the mother-tongue and other aspects of the regional inheritance. But the educational system had not always been based on social needs, or on demographic and linguistic diversity of the region.

While statistics covering the period 1934 -1937 show that assimilation was taking place³⁵, current legislation on education in Romania tends to incite the minorities. Despite the difficulties and the absence of links

between bureaucracy and mainstream politics on the one hand, and the expert analysis of its multi-ethnic and multi-lingual configuration on the other, there are still a few schools in the Banat region that provide education in minority languages. In both Timisoara and Arad there is a German-language secondary school; while at Lugoj, Resita, and in the German-populated villages, there are classes that provide education in German (See *Appendix 7*, p.12). Experience of cultural interaction between Germans, Magyars and Romanians has given rise to an interesting phenomenon: the desire of many Romanians and Magyars to study in secondary schools that provide instruction in German. As a result of the massive emigration of Germans and Jews mentioned above, 80% of the pupils of these primary and secondary schools are Romanian.

Teaching in the Hungarian language has a tradition going back more than 150 years. There are primary and secondary schools or classes that provide education in Hungarian in Timisoara, Arad, and Lugoj, as well as in other towns and villages in the Region of Banat (See *Appendix 7*, pp.8,9,12). The fall in the number of Hungarian speakers is the result of assimilation and the rise in the proportion of mixed families, in which the Romanian language prevails. It is also due to the political pressure exercised by the nationalist-communist regime in the 1980s, the impact of which became clear after 1989. Last but not the least, the situation has been exacerbated by the disagreements between the governing party and that of the Magyar minority (during the Iliescu regime: 1990- November 1996).

The Serb schools meet the needs of over 40,000 local inhabitants. Primary schools are run in every village with a Serb or mixed population; a secondary school in Timisoara provides some sort of continuity in Serb language study (See *Appendix 7*, p.13) .

The Slovakian primary school in Nadlac caters for the Slovak minority (See *Appendix 7*, p.13). It offers an opportunity for cultural convergences between Romanians and Slovaks with evident benefits in respect of European ideals of integration. The Bulgarians are in a similar situation.

Multi-lingual education in Banat is able to function today due to a particular life-style and mode of civilization. Nevertheless, the active support — both material and spiritual — of the authorities is essential: in this way the generation of the specialists required if the region is to meet the standards required by modernity could take place more quickly. The authorities could also facilitate relationships with Central and Western Europe, and with Balkans. This could entail the beginning of a profound transformation as regard mentality and behaviour, at present hampered by the inheritance of previous totalitarian regimes and economic backwardness. The population's

efforts indicate that Banat is one East-Central European region in which the emergence of an open society can readily be envisaged.³⁶

Multi-lingualism in Banat is promoted not only by schools and the family, but also by minority cultural associations. The Catholic church provides lectures on religion in Romanian, Hungarian and German. The small Jewish community in Timisoara also makes a contribution along these lines. The Hebrew lectures given by the Chief Rabbi and his colleagues are offered, not only to Jewish students, but also to students from the University of Timisoara, for example.

The Romanian Orthodox bishop, together with the German Catholic bishop has started an interconfessional movement in support of inter-ethnic tolerance. This indicates mature religious dialogue, and the acceptance of formal communication. It shows that religious traditions may be practised in a multilingual way, and so on the acceptance of diversity. It is significant that Banat is the only region in Romania where confiscated Greek-Catholic churches were returned without protest after 1989, having been in the possession of the Orthodox church since 1948, when they were confiscated by the ruling dictatorship. In present, relations between adherents of the Orthodox church and Greek-Catholics are good, underlining the inhabitants' high civic level.

As early as the Enlightenment, the books and press played an important role. At present, the publications of the minority communities are completely cast out. There is still a German paper *Allgemeine Deutsche Zeitung*, with small circulation in many cities, including Timisoara, Arad, Lugoj, Resita, Deta, and Jimbolia. The Hungarian newspaper *Temesvári Új Szó* has declined from a daily paper to a weekly one with an insignificant circulation. There is also a quarterly Serbian review. On the other hand, three Romanian daily papers appear with runs of from 10,000 to 30,000. These papers are predominantly nationalist in orientation and obscure the multicultural traditions of the area. The current critical situation created by incompetent local government³⁷ and excessive administrative centralisation,³⁸ that has led to the partial loss of multi-lingualism as a bridge with European diversity. This is clearly shown by the demographic statistics, although it is also perfectly 'at ground level'. Banat's demographic structure has radically changed during the last five years. Situated in the western part of Romania and with the most successful economy in the country, it has been inundated by ethnic Romanians from Oltenia, Maramures and Moldavia. This phenomenon has its origins in Ceausescu's policy of forcing minorities, especially the Germans, to leave their homelands and to replace them with Romanians, who generally have little or no experience of multi-ethnic and

multi-lingual co-existence. In such circumstances, ethnic conflicts cannot be ruled out.³⁹

At the same time, the existence of a functioning multicultural society is indicated by the broadcasts of Radio Timisoara in Romanian, German, Hungarian and Serbian, the Hungarian 'Csiky Gergely' Theatre, the German Theatre in Timisoara, and the Serbian and Bulgarian folklore associations.

III.3. The Multiple Interferences Between Majority and Minorities and Interfefernces Among Minorities

The present population of Banat can be divided roughly into two major categories: those who belong to the region by birth and ancestry and those who have come from other regions in Romania in recent decades. Furthermore, even the Romanian majority is not culturally homogenous. Most social analysts of the region have observed, however, that in many cases newcomers embrace the region's specific multicultural mode of life. Those able to accept the local ethnic, religious, linguistic and cultural diversity gradually adopt, however unconsciously, the particular life-style of the region's 'indigenous' inhabitants, copying the style of house construction, the local cuisine, and the manner of celebrating cultural traditions. He assimilates even the popular linguistic patrimony of Banat, containing many expressions of German, Hungarian and Serbian origin. Even more interesting for the sociologist and historian of mentalities is the fact that many 'immigrants' acquire Hungarian and German; some of them prefer mixed marriages; others develop working relations (that sometimes turn into friendship) with Hungarians and Serbs from Banat, as well as with people from Hungary and Serbia. The development of such relationships depends on private commerce; the small businessman from Banat — in the process of reacquiring the 'universal' rules of commerce — was the first to realise the importance of dealings with other minorities. Even the craftsman (whose mode of life was threatened with extinction by Ceausescu's totalitarian regime) is on the road to recovering, not only his practical role, but also his civic one.

The Romanian majority originating in Banat continues to have good relations with minorities; in many cases, they stand up against the extremist political trends exhibited by some parts of the media in Bucharest. Xenophobic—nationalist ideology is still quite rare in the region owing to the sizeable middle class that understands the multicultural origins of the regional culture. Those attempting to sour interethnic relations in the region generally belong to a particular category of pseudo-politicians, pseudo-

journalists, and pseudo-teachers or -researchers. They are not yet numerous, but their active presence is alarming⁴⁰. Nationalist extremism has its origin in both an inferiority complex and in misguided notions of superiority. Twenty five years of nationalist-communist dictatorship have also left their mark on education and on individual families: the study of world history and literature has been abandoned; information concerning ethnic and religious minorities has been deliberately removed from textbooks; the teaching of modern languages has fallen into desuetude; every attempt was made to impose a single culture and to ignore diversity. The authorities went so far as prohibiting the public use of the regions' name in order to obscure its geographical, ethnographic, linguistic, and religious variety⁴¹. A few families living in Banat (less than in other regions of Romania) have been influenced by populist and extremist ideology during a veritable crusade against civility, culture, religion. and diversity. The historical diversity of the region has managed to keep relations between the majority and most minority groups calm, however. Oral communication and contacts between Germans, Hungarians, and Serbs from Banat and people from their country of origin have maintained the flow of information. The neighbourhood of the former Yugoslavia and Hungary has represented, at times of crisis, an opening to diversity. Other views of the world have been seen through TV channels broadcasting from Budapest, Belgrade, Novi Sad. Social relations between majority and the ethnic minorities cannot be pigeonholed according to a particular ideology. Reality always contradicts mere assertion, however credible the arguments brought forward to back it up.⁴²

The remarkable minority relations in Banat have always been supported by the region's widespread multi-lingualism. Magyars also speak Romanian and German; the Serbs and Bulgarians have always been bilingual, the Romanian has been assimilated as a second language in their families. The Jews are generally multilingual; and the Slovak minority in Nadlac speaks both Romanian and Hungarian, and Slovakian also.

Social relations between minorities are multifarious and take the form of cultural co-operation, and recognition of and respect for the traditions of other regions and their common problems. Their extensive linguistic resources have enabled the local ethnic minorities to acquire a rich understanding of the particular inheritance of Banat. They only sometimes tend towards minority preferences, being largely sensitive to such ideals as the equality of all citizens, ethnic and religious tolerance, and for other languages and traditions. Germans and Hungarians come together under the auspices of the Calvinist, Lutheran and Catholic churches; the latter also brings together the small Slovak and Bulgarian minorities. Cultural

differences and mentalities which are product of centuries of co-habitation may be seen in every aspect of the public life of the minorities.⁴³

It might be supposed that my standpoint is biased; of course, no position can be value-free. Nevertheless, few would question the assertion that too many parts of Central and Eastern Europe are now either subject to or threatened by the nationalist 'red-herring', and in regions like Banat, by a centralist-nationalist one. As I have so often had the occasion to mention during the present essay, however, in Banat a deep sense of democracy persists because of the pluralism generated from the bottom to the top by a pluriethnic society. Does this constitute an alternative to the ethnic divisions of East European nationalism? In any case, there can be no doubt that the nationalist movements can only hinder the modern and performant structure of the world.

To what extent does the present population of Banat itself comprehend the role and importance of multi-lingualism and interculturality; and what efforts is it prepared to make to safeguard the future? My preference is for a rational approach to the problem. The special nature of the region would not be endangered and its well-being and stability would be greatly enhanced if the educational system were not be fundamentally reformed. This would entail the involvement of Western European universities, for example, in running courses concerning the history of Europe, democracy and cultural diversity , including the comparative history of Central and South-Eastern Europe.

IV. Conclusions: The Educational Meanings of Interculturalism

The issue of the social and cultural competencies is very important for a future Europe of the regions. The European community needs not only cultural conventions⁴⁴, but also a large availability to understand the different parts of the history. Interculturalism is a reality through which it might be reached a proper knowledge, in any case a more closer one to the truth, about the regions' patrimony. To be more specific, I mean the recovery of the common origin, and of the common moral values; the admission both in

the past and in the present of the common fundamental problems. Such an extent might provide to Europe the 'strategy of the common destiny'. The interculturally oriented education is an alternative to the actual nationalism throughout Eastern Europe. It is also among the very few educational means able to forestall the nationalism. Is there justified indeed the fear before the nationalist discourse of the East? If the answer is affirmative, what about contemporary Romania?

Nationalism continues to become manifest on the Romanian political scene today. After it served for Ceausescu's regime, from 1971 to 1989, now it represents the ideology of the conservatory political powers that obstruct a quicker institutional modernization. Many political scientists contend that nationalism has interposed itself between communism and democracy, leading to stagnation and promoting reactionary tendencies of the conservative social groups. Moreover, the emigration of Jews and Germans cannot be viewed separately from the nationalist influence on government policy. Economic decline and falling living standards have been the result, as well as uncertainty and restrictions for minorities.

It is my belief that education could do a great deal to overcome these problems. The main advantage of the historical model provided by the Region of Banat is that it creates a linking bridge among different multicultural, intercultural, and anti-racist objectives. Recognition of the right of minorities to their own cultural and linguistic development within the confines of the nation state depends largely on the attitudes of the majority. Education (both at school and at home) can have a considerable influence on this. The inter-ethnic, multi-linguistic and multicultural approaches that have emerged historically in different regions were strongly contested by the nationalist-communist groups in the former regime. While much democratic progress has been made, the totalitarian regime lives through nationalism. European integration depends on the flexibility of the regional population, on its abilities to set good example concerning communication with diversities.

The interculturalism of the Banat region could be a point of departure for the younger generation, a wonderful example to be put forth in school textbooks, the press, television and radio, and scholarly works. Why is this the case? The assimilation of different cultural information sources tends to emphasize the positive role of interference. The bilingual or trilingual education of minorities in Romania, especially in Transylvania, Banat and Partium has resulted in a diversity of cultural or patrimonial viewpoints. As a consequence, an educational system that used the past to construct the European identity would be extremely effective and when we talk of Europe we have in mind not East and West, but mutual relations, symbiosis⁴⁵. The multiple identity of certain regions in Romania may contribute — as long as

demagogy and forceful imposition are abandoned — to rebuilding the bridges between this country and the 'civilised' world.

The study of the intercultural history of the Region of Banat has a deeper importance than the mere recognition of the facts. It is a matter of replacing a totalitarian standpoint with a liberal and open one; it is a matter of generating spiritual support consonant with social realities, with the multi-ethnic and multi-confessional nature of the region; it is a matter of recovering a *modus vivendi* in concordance with the European traditions, based on diversity and tolerance. The development of civil society depends on education and scholarly curriculum, while a separate chapter might be written about interculturalism. Not only the populations of Banat and Transylvania, but also the neighbouring regions could benefit from considering the intercultural approach. The examples offered by the multi-lingual and multicultural past could serve to stimulate the development of trans-regional relations. The student, the trader, and the entrepreneur will readily come to an understanding of Western mentalities and democratic aspirations if they know more about their own region's inheritance, if they can become heirs of European civilization, both past and present. Since Romania's various social groups (Romanians and Germans, Hungarians and Jews, Germans and Hungarians, Serbs and Romanians, Jews and Romanians) have been able to develop a *modus vivendi* in certain regions (creating the first factories and markets in these regions, a common cuisine, and the most important schools, print and publishing houses and an architecture combining different styles and colours) surely they are able to realise the importance of the inter-ethnic collaboration for the sake of becoming more economically competitive.

The history of cultural relations between the Romanians and Hungarians (Magyars) should be studied as a foundation upon which the continuity of regional tolerance may be upheld, and as an acceptance of the linguistical and cultural diversities by the population of majority. A good knowledge of the every day relationships between them, as well as the major role played by the contemporary trans-national communication might serve as a good starting point for reconciliation between the nations in Central and Eastern Europe.

An unbiased assessment of cultural relations between the eighteenth and the twentieth centuries (the period of modernisation) could help to model the mental reflexes. The Past of Banat region could inspire more flexible educational models in the families, high schools and universities of Romania; it could inspire the surpass of the contemporary tensions (particularly visible in the case of the political elite) fly in the face of a common history, ignoring an unchallengable reality: numerous mixed families clearly indicating the existence of a mixed culture. Ethnic vanity must be eschewed, not only in the

name of social solidarity, but also in the name of European unification. This could happen, firstly, at the individual level, by using the languages of other groups more frequently, by learning to respect other cultures, and by trying to understand the common bases of moral values, discovering multiple identities in their own and collective biography.

The present-day inhabitants of Romania are only partial heirs of the country's pluralist patrimony. Thus the education through the study of intercultural history is therefore a *sine qua non* condition of human being existence. This must constitute the main alternative to the nationalist way of understanding both the past and the present. One could ask about the institutional modalities to approach the intercultural history. To this end, the following might be considered essential:

- the state monopoly of information must cease;
- autonomy must be attained in the educational system;
- practical orientations might be furnished through the study of the intercultural history of Romania;
- papers and reviews on intercultural subjects from Banat, Transylvania, Bukovina, Dobrugea, Moldavia, and other regions of Central and Eastern Europe where the phenomenon may be observed, should be provided;
- the teaching of regional and local languages should be extended;
- specialists should be trained in subjects of contemporary relevance on the basis universal values;
- the rich resources made available by Romania's intercultural history should be mobilised in schools;
- tragedies of Romanian, European, or world history arising from nationalism, xenophobia and anti-Semitism should be explained;
- the cultural inheritances that could be used in the benefit of both local and European emancipation should be studied;
- reference points that transcend specific characteristics should be provided;
- ideals of culture vs. civilisation similar to those of other European regions must be acquired;
- particular attention should be paid to Romania's multiconfessional history, on the basis of full and equal consideration for all its regions' religions.

The recovery of the intercultural inheritance depends both on the schools and on other social and cultural institutions. Where there are communities and institutions that provide pluralist education the need for bilingual or trilingual communication is readily understood. It is also readily understood that the various cultural inheritances do not have a unique origin, that they are the bearers of multiple cultural traditions. Of particular

importance at present is teacher training in a social milieu that demands that mental reflexes change. It must be added that the younger generation in Romania appears eager to understand its past, thus providing fertile ground for the approach I am advocating.

The intercultural history of Banat speaks eloquently of the possibilities envisaged in the present study. If we are able to use its resources fully the identity crisis currently afflicting post-communist Europe may be addressed more confidently. I have no wish to glorify an ideal past, but I believe that the ideal examples I have set forth of cohabitation between the majority and minorities and numerous common creations, may all be directed towards a pluralist understanding of history and liberation from the phantom of national vanity. With regard to the current situation in Eastern Europe I have tried to emphasize the survival in regions like Banat, Transylvania and Partium of forms of social organisations, traditions and *forma mentis* which have their origin in the so called '*long durée*' of the history, and are synchronous with continental 'civilisation' as a whole. With effort and intelligence they could help to stimulate an individual and collective wish for integration in a Europe of regions. Perhaps the best chance for the former communist states is to build upon aspects of their past which point in the direction of democratic development. In Romania, these regions mean the most European parts of the country. This is why they could act as a mediating agent for renovation of the society. Obviously, the legacy of the communist regime can only be overcome after great efforts. The workability of a new system will depend on educational reform capable of inculcating the main characteristics of democratic thought. The civic education in intercultural perspectives would have to play a decisive role in the country's development.

Timisoara, June 1997

NOTES

1. For a detailed presentation of the cultural and political life development, of the multiple identities and their convergence, in Central and Eastern Europe during the Enlightenment period, see Victor Neumann, *The Temptation of Homo Europeus. The Genesis of the Modern Ideas in Central and South-eastern Europe*, East European Monographs, Boulder, Columbia University Press, New York, 1993, pp.125-149, the chapter: "Homo Europaeus and the Intellectual Revolution of the Enlightenment".

2. The examples offered by the process of the emancipation of Romanians and the Serbs of the Empire are relevant in the sense. See, also Keith Hitchins: *The Romanian National Movement in Transylvania, 1780-1849*, Harvard University Press, 1969; Idem, *The Idea of Nation: The Romanians of Transylvania 1691-1849*, Editura Stiintifica si Enciclopedica, Bucuresti, 1985; Andrija B. Stojkovic *Filosofski pogledi Dositeja Obradovica Les vues philosophiques de Dositej Obradovic*, Beograd, 1980.

3. Bibó István, *A kelet-európai kissállamok nyomorusága [Missery of the Small States of Eastern Europe, nn.]*, in Idem *Összegyűjtött Munkái [Complete Works, nn.]* 1, prepared for publishing by István Kemény and Mátyás Sárkőzi, with a foreword of Arpád Szölősi and with an introduction of Zoltán Szabó. Edited by Európai Protestáns magyar szabadegyetem (Bern), [The Free European Hungarian Protestant University of Bern, nn.], Munich, 1981, pp.202-252. See also the French edition: István Bibó, *Misère des petits Etats d'Europe de l'Est*, translated from Hungarian by György Kassai, Paris Editions l'Harmattan, 1986. Bibó was one of the most important characters of the intellectual and political life in Central and Eastern Europe. From the perspective of the history of political thought it can be said that he was the personality who mostly contributed to opening political thinking in Hungary. He was and still remained a first rank theorist to whom the Hungarian political culture in the last decades relates. His works refers both to the immense confusions in the history of political thought, and to the history proper of Hungary and the neighbouring countries' as well.

4. *Ideen zur Philosophie der Geschichte der Menschheit*, was the work that stirred positive comments in all cultures of Central and Eastern Europe. It was a first rank reference during the region's Europeanization and that because its political messages met the aspirations of the forming nations in the mentioned regime. It must be said that the German culture and civilisation was greatly enjoyed by the population of these regions, being often considered an absolute reference point. The lack of the critical spirit and of the possibilities of comparing — justified only through the perpetuation of isolation inside a folk culture for a long time — encouraged shallow and one-sided reception. We could mention, among others, that the Anglo-Saxon political and philosophical thought did not play an important role in Central and Eastern Europe. For Herder's

reception by Romanians and Hungarians, see Victor Neumann: *Convergente spirituale. Studii privind istoria relatiilor politice si culturale în Europa Centrală si de Est ,1750-1850 [Spiritual Convergences. A Survey on the Political and Cultural Relations in Central and Eastern Europe, 1750-1850, nn.]*, Bucharest, 1986, pp. 16-38, 38-56, and 84-103.

5. Isaiah Berlin, *Four Essays on Liberty*, Oxford University Press, 1992. The book circulates being translated now in the languages of Central and Eastern Europe. The Romanian and Hungarian editions show an increasing interest for the British philosopher in the region's university milieus. Only after the World War II, and especially after the communist regime collapse, the British and American history of political thought benefits of a perception worth noting.
6. In the Balkans, in Greece and Romania, there circulated the French translation of his main work: *Idées sur la philosophie de l'histoire de l'humanité*, translated by Edgar Quinet, Paris, 1834. In Bohemia, Hungary, and Transylvania the work was read in the original. For its influence in Transylvania, see, for example, Iosif Wolf: *Die rumänische Herderrezeption im Vormärz und Perspektiven*, in "Cahiers roumains d'études littéraires", nr. 2, 1979. For Herder's influence in forming of the neo-Greek political culture, see C. Th. Dimaras: *Neoellinikos diafotismos*, Athene, 1977.
7. See Endre Kiss, *A Typology of Nineteenth Century Concepts of Nationhood*, in "East European Quaterly", XXX, 1, Spring, 1996, pp.27-62. Future research will cast new light upon the philosophical and political errors of the two thinkers, a thing the more necessary as the interpretations they give to the *nation building* concept is more divergent from a good part of the references that describe their works.
8. István Bibó, *op.cit.*, p.207.
9. Francine Best, *Pour l'éducation aux droits de l'homme*, The Press of the Council of Europe, Strasbourg, 1992.
10. See *Education Law 84/1995* published in Romania's Gazette, year VII, number 167, 31st of July 1995, Title I: "General Provisions", Article 5, Paragraph 2, and Article 12, Paragraph 2.

11. "Central authorities" in *The Structure of Education and initial Training System in Romania*, The Euridyce Unit Romania, October 1996, pp.3-4.
12. See Title IV, Chapter I, Article 141: "Administration of education" in *Education Law 84/1995*.
13. See "Regional authorities" in *The Structure of Education and initial Training System in Romania*, The Euridyce Unit Romania, October 1996, p.4.
14. *Ibidem*, p.5.
15. See Title IV "Administration of Education", Chapter II "School Inspectorates" in *Education Law 84/1995* that says: "The general inspector is the president by right of the Council of Administration (Managing Board)". This statement facilitates the breach of position, the centralism of decisions, the lack of a democratical control of the mentioned institution's management.
16. See "Institutional levels" in *The Structure of Education and initial Training System in Romania*, The Euridyce Unit Romania, October 1996, p.5.
17. See Chapter XII, Article 22, Paragraph 1: "The education for persons belonging to national minorities" in *Education Law 84/1995*.
18. See "The complaint of the Democratical Union of Magyars from Romania (DUMR) containing the objections and requirements in the field of teaching in the languages of Romania's minorities, with special regarding to the Magyar community" in *Documentele UDMR* [Documents of the DUMR, nn.], 2, Cluj, 1994, pp.18-23. As concerning the restrictive paragraphs of the *Education Law 84/1995*, they were included by the previous government (a coalition of parties composed by three extremist political groups) ruled by the Party of the Social Democracy of Romania. The restriction concerning the Hungarian language using in higher education in Romania have been recorded in the international press, too. See Janusz Bugajski "The Many Faces of Nationalism" in "Uncaptive Minds", a journal of information and opinion on Eastern Europe, published by the Institute for Democracy in Eastern Europe, Washington, vol.8, no.3-4, 1995-96, p.24.

19. See Article 4, Paragraph 2: "General Provisions" in *Education Law 84/1995*.
20. As of the informal statistics, the number of Hungarians (Magyars) in Romania is about 2.3-2.5 millions of inhabitants. Cf. Ellemér Illyes, *National Minorities in Romania: Change in Transylvania*, Boulder, Colorado, East European Monographs, New York, 1982, p.33. See also Andrew Bell, *The Hungarians in Romania since 1989*, in "Nationalities Papers", vol.24, No.3, 1996, pp.492-505. See the Romanian statistics of 1995 in *The Educational System in Romania. Tuition in the Languages of National Minorities*, printed by the press of The Romanian Government .
21. Cf. "The Complaint of the DUMR....." in *Documentele UDMR* [The Documents of the DUMR, nn.] 2, p.21.
22. *Ibidem*, p.28.
23. *Ibidem*, p.28.
24. See the interview with Virgil Petrescu, the minister of education, in "22" Magazine, no.8, 25th of February 1997, pp.8-9.
25. Dan Oprescu, "Politica si educatie" [Politics and Education, nn.] in "Sfera Politicii" [Sphere of Politics, nn.] Magazine, no.45/1997, pp.2-3.
26. Serban Iosifescu, "Despre profesionismul profesoral" [On the Teachers' Professionalism] in *Idem*. pp.11-13.
27. Victor Neumann, "Semnificatii ale istoriei gindirii politice in Europa Centrala si de Est" ["Meanings of the history of political thought in Central and Eastern Europe", nn.], the paragraph "Geneza statului natiune. Rolul conceptului de Volksgeist" [The genesis of the nation-state. The role of the Volksgeist concept", nn.] in "Sfera Politicii" Magazine no. 46/1997, pp.56-57.
28. Dan Oprescu, *I.c.*
29. The debates focused on this topic became actual again in Germany of '80s. See the historians' controversy (*Historikerstreit*) followed by many public debates, especially in the years following the reunification. For a detailed analyze of the ideas concerning the national identity within the

German contemporary culture and historiography, see: Stefan Berger, *Historians and nation building in Germany after reunification (Viewpoint)*, in "Past & Present" (A Journal of historical studies), Oxford, 1995, August, No.148, pp.187-222. See also, Harald Heppner, *Geschichte als interkulturelle Suche: Der Fall Südosteuropa*, in "Geschichte und Gegenwart" (Graz), 1995, No.2, pp.115-125.

30. See, also, Victor Neumann, *The Temptation of Homo Europaeus*, East European Monographs, Boulder, Columbia University Press, New York, 1993, Chapter VII: "Banat During the XVIIIth Century: a Measure of Civilization in Central and South-eastern Europe?", pp. 211-239.
31. Istvan Bibó, *op.cit.*, vol.1, pp.202-252.
32. Apud *Anuarul statistic al Romaniei (Romanian Statistical Yearbook)*, Bucuresti, 1994.
33. Pieter Batelaan, "Education interculturelle en Europe" in Collot, A., Didier, G. & Koueslati, B.: *La pluralité culturelle dans les systèmes éducatifs européens*. Nancy: CNDP/CRDP de Lorraine, Utrecht, 1994. See, also, the excellent review on this topic conceived and edited by P. Batelaan: "European Journal of Intecultural Studies".
34. Both schools run in English teaching language, respectively in French teaching language.
35. (Siculus), *Romaniai magyar kisebbség kulturális helyzete [The Cultural Situation of Hungarian (Magyar) Minority in Romania nn.]*, Varosi Nyomda, Debrecen, 1938, p.46. For example, in 1933 in Arad county run 24 schools in Hungarian teaching language and in 1937, only 18. In Caras-Severin County, in the same period their number decreased from 8 to 3. In Timis-Torontal County, they decreased from 42 to 10. See the statistics in (Siculus) *op.cit.*, p.46.
36. For the situation of the last century, see *Die Projektirte Banaterbahn von politischen, mititarischen und volkswirtschaftlichen Standpunkte beleuchtet*, Wien, Verlag von L.W. Seidel u.Sohn, 1870, p.1.
37. The administrative staff is under the European level. The bureaucratic system of the mayoralities stops in a way the free initiative. The care concerning the urban appearance is a formal one; as a consequence, the

ancient buildings are under degradation; they are on the way to crumble in the absence of competent persons (to be seen the case of Timisoara). It's also true that the delay of drawing up and promulgating a law concerning the local administration (the using of its own budgets) hinders the making up of a responsible group that could co-ordinate the public activities.

38. For any far-reaching local initiative is necessary to request the agreement of the overloaded bureaucratic apparatus from Bucharest, creating in this way great difficulties for privatization, for individual and institutional actions.
39. I have observed the relatively high proportion of mixed population indicated in marriage registers between 1970-1995. See *Arhiva Municipiului Timisoara. Fond registre de casatorii* [The Archive of Timisoara Municipality. Stock of Marriage Registers, nn.].
40. For example, in the spring of 1995 the Culture Committee of Timis County Council has taken into discussion the suitability to built a statue of Antonescu's Marshal -- a fascist dictator of Romania between 1940-1944. Whatever motivation they have, it could be seen the radicalism of such an option. Although it doesn't reflect the consciousness of majority, it have to be said that there are political leaders who spread, by ignorance or recklessness such kind of ideas that are against the principles of democracy and against the pluralist physiognomy of Banat region.
41. See in this sense the handbooks between 1975-1990. The new history handbook entitled *Istoria Romanilor* [History of Romanians, nn.] (for high schools, last year of study) was elaborated by the Ministry of Education. It is a unique history handbook and doesn't contain significant modifications; it continues the style of the former handbook one: many chapters are covered by national propaganda elements, ignoring any kind of varieties concerning the history of the region.
42. The only a little bit strange relationship between majority and minorities could be seen concerning the Roma minority. On the one hand it is owned to the lack of civic education in the case of the mentioned minority and, on the other, to the absence of a really cognition concerning the past, the traditions and the way of manifestation specific to Romas. At least, their labelling by the local press is not favourable in the sense of promoting relations of mutual tolerance. This is, probably, the most delicate subject

concerning the relationship between majority and minorities in Banat, in Romania, also, and in other countries or regions from Eastern Europe. Personally, I think that there is necessary to improve sociological studies that could offer through their results the data base necessary to create programs for scholar family, and civic education of the Roma population. An international co-operation would be welcomed.

43. See the statistics of Minorities Department of Ministry of Culture from Romania, dates offered by the minorities' cultural organizations. There are 37,000 Swabs; 124,000 Hungarians (Magyars); 220,000 Serbs; 9,000 Slovaks; 7,500 Bulgarians; 1,800 Jews, 10,000 Ukrainians.
44. See Carolina Brossat, *Kulturpolitischer kompetenzkonflikt Europarat und Europäische Union*, in "Dokumente, Zeitschrift für de deutsch-französischen Dialog", No.4/1995, pp.306-313. The author compels attention on an extremely important topic, namely the divergence between two of the most important institutions — the European Union and The Council of Europe — as of the culture policy.
45. The various issues surrounding a common European identity, trans-national multi-lingual communication, and historical and contemporary mutual conditioning were discussed at a conference organized by Warsaw University from 28 to 30 September 1995, entitled *What is Europe?- Revisited*. At the workshop 'The History of the Idea of Europe' I raised the problem of including the history of Central and South-eastern Europe in future European History courses, to be provided by the envisaged Open University. The subject is constantly in the intellectual spotlight. Ten years ago, Hugh Seton Watson raised some very important questions concerning the European community. One of them was: 'Would economic and political convergence be possible on the basis of a common cultural sense of being European?' It seems to me essential that the authors — starting from an investigation of different historical experiences — should conceptualise the term 'Europe' more carefully. This is now more necessary than ever, after the fall of the Iron Curtain. See H. Seton Watson, *Where is Europe? From Mystique to Politique*, "Encounter", July/August 1985, vol. LXV, No.2. For a more recent evaluation of the term, see Geert Hofstede, *Images of Europe*, in "The Netherlands Journal of Social Sciences", vol. 30, August 1994, No.1, pp.65-82.

POPULATION BY NATIONALITY*
(census of January 7, 1992)

Romania's total population: 22,760,449

Romanians	20,352,980
Magyars	1,620,199
Romas (Gypsies)	409,723
Germans	119,436
Ukrainians	66,833
Russians-Lippovans	38,688
Turks	29,533
Serbs	29,080
Tartars	24,689
Slovaks	20,672
Bulgarians	9,935
Jews	9,107
Croatians	4,180
Czechs	5,800
Poles	4,247
Greeks	3,897
Armenians	2,023
Other nationalities*	8,420
Unstated ethnic descendent	1,047

*Including those persons who declared themselves to be Carashovenians and Csángs (2,775; respectively 2,165)

* Source: The Government of Romania, The Council for National Minorities: *The Education System in Romania, Tuition in the Languages of the National Minorities. The 1994-5 School Year*, p.42

Appendix 2

**THE SYSTEM OF PRE-UNIVERSITY EDUCATION IN ROMANIA BY
TEACHING LANGUAGES IN THE 1994-95 SCHOOL YEAR***

Teaching language	Units and sections	%	Total number of children and pupils	%
Total country	28,566	100	4,288,332	100
Total minorities	2,814	9.9	232,645	5.4
Magyar	2,395	8.4	207,765	4.8
German	302	1.0	20,949	0.5
Ukrainian	20	-	821	-
Serbian	37	0.1	969	-
Bulgarian	3	-	188	-
Slovak	39	0.1	1,370	-
Czech	7	-	200	-
Croatian	5	-	144	-
Turkish	4	-	184	-
Roma (Gypsy)	1	-	30	-
Greek	1	-	25	-

* Source: The Government of Romania, The Council for National Minorities: *The Education System in Romania, Tuition in the Languages of the National Minorities. The 1994-5 School Year*, p.42

Appendix 3

**PRE-UNIVERSITY EDUCATION SYSTEM IN ROMANIA
BY EDUCATIONAL LEVELS AND TEACHING LANGUAGES
IN THE 1994/95 SCHOOL YEAR ***

Teaching language	Units	Section	Total u+s	%	Total number of pupils and children	%
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I. Preschool education

Total country	12,027	638	12,665	100	715,514	100
Total minorities	700	638	1,338	10.6	56,316	7.9
Magyar	659	468	1,127	8.9	47,487	6.6
German	15	148	163	1.3	7,248	1.0
Ukrainian	5	5	10	-	387	-
Serbian	4	10	14	0.1	358	-
Bulgarian	-	2	2	-	164	-
Slovak	12	-	12	-	321	-
Czech	2	-	2	-	75	-
Croatian	3	-	3	-	73	-
Turkish	-	3	3	-	148	-
Gypsy	-	1	1	-	30	-
Greek	-	1	1	-	25	-

II. Primary education (grades 1-4)

Total country	5,861	301	6,162	100	1,335,973	100
Total minorities	293	301	594	9.6	73,434	5.5
Magyar	272	199	471	7.6	64,695	4.8
German	2	70	72	1.1	7,442	0.6
Ukrainian	-	6	6	-	237	-

* Source: The Government of Romania, The Council for National Minorities: *The Education System in Romania, Tuition in the Languages of the National Minorities. The 1994-5 School Year*, p.43-44

Serbian	3	14	17	-	318	-
Slovak	12	9	21	-	527	-
Czech	4	-	4	-	120	-
Croatian	-	2	2	-	71	-
Bulgarian	-	1	1	-	24	-

Teaching language	Units	Section	Total u+s	%	Total number of pupils and children	%
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III. Middle school education (grades 5-8)

Total country	6,760	394	7,154	100	1,160,838	100
Total minorities	281	394	675	9.6	62,900	5.4
Magyar	272	340	612	8.6	58,242	5.0
German	2	49	51	0.7	4,113	0.3
Ukrainian	-	2	2	-	35	-
Serbian	1	3	4	-	121	-
Slovak	5	-	5	-	384	-
Czech	1	-	1	-	5	-

IV. Secondary education (grades 9-12/13)

Total country	1,176	100	1,276	100	757,673	100
Total minorities	51	100	151	11.8	33,306	4.4
Magyar	42	89	131	10.3	30,774	4.0
German	6	8	14	1.4	2,024	0.3
Ukrainian	-	2	2	-	162	-
Serbian	1	1	2	-	172	-
Slovak	1	-	1	-	138	-
Turkish	1	-	1	-	36	-

V. Vocational and post-secondary education

Total country	1,258	51	1,309	100	318,334	100
Total minorities	4	51	55	4.2	6,689	2.1
Magyar	4	49	53	4.0	6,567	2.0
German	-	2	2	-	122	-

Appendix 4

**TEACHING STAFF
WITHIN PRE-UNIVERSITARY EDUCATION BY EDUCATIONAL LEVELS
AND TEACHING LANGUAGES
IN THE 1994/1995 SCHOOL YEAR***

Teaching language	General total	Preschool teachers	Primary school teachers	Teachers (including foremen)
Total country	267,652	37,603	59,000	171,049
Total minorities	15,776	2,832	3,904	9,040
Magyar	14,297	2,450	3,468	8,379
German	1,204	314	333	557
Ukrainian	49	15	18	16
Serbian	69	17	28	24
Slovak	114	14	41	59
Czech	14	2	9	3
Bulgarian	9	7	2	-
Croatian	8	3	5	-
Turkish	10	8	-	2
Roma (Gypsy)	1	1	-	-
Greek	1	1	-	-

* Source: The Government of Romania, The Council for National Minorities: *The Education System in Romania, Tuition in the Languages of the National Minorities. The 1994-5 School Year*, p.44

Appendix 5

**ACCOUNT ON THE TEXTBOOKS IN THE LANGUAGES OF NATIONAL
MINORITIES
AS STIPULATED BY THE DIDACTIC AND PEDAGOGICAL PUBLISHING
HOUSE IN ITS EDITORIAL PLAN FOR THE 1995/96 SCHOOL YEAR***

Teaching language	No. of titles	Copies
Magyar	91	818,000
German	32	101,000
Serbian	11	2,100
Ukrainian	10	5,400
Slovak	10	3,900
Czech	1	200
Bulgarian	4	400
Turkish	2	200
Croatian	1	400
Polish	4	500
Russia-Lippovan	3	1,600
Roma (Gypsy)	1	3,000
Total	170	936,700

* The Government of Romania, The Council for National Minorities: *The Education System in Romania, Tuition in the Languages of the National Minorities. The 1994-5 School Year*, p.44

Note 1: Magyar textbooks are published every year; those in German every two years; as for the other minorities, their textbooks are issued at an interval of 4-5 years owing to the low number of their pupils.

Note 2: The data in this appendix have been notified by the Didactic and pedagogical publishing house under the communication no. 26931/21-02-1995.

Appendix 6

**ACCOUNT ON THE NUMBER OF STUDENTS
BELONGING TO SOME NATIONAL MINORITIES, STUDENTS WHO ATTEND
SCHOOLS PROVIDING ROMANIAN TEACHING LANGUAGE,
AND STUDY, UPON THEY REQUEST, THEIR MOTHER-TONGUE
THE 1994-5 SCHOOL YEAR**

*

Mother tongue	No. of units	Total students	Students grades 1-4	Students grades 5-8	Students grades 9-12	Total number of teachers
Ukrainian	51	7,265	3,559	3,647	59	92
Russian-Loppovan	15	1,711	712	942	57	21
Turkish	43	1,936	1,149	749	38	56
Polish	6	317	152	165	-	7
Bulgarian	4	541	271	140	130	11
Serbian	11	241	114	109	18	14
Slovak	7	159	42	117	-	6
Czech	3	103	17	86	-	3
Croatian	6	602	315	287	-	7
Greek	1	11	5	6	-	1
Roma (Gypsy)	8	302	247	-	55	8
Armenian	2	45	37	8	-	2
Italian	1	38	16	22	-	1

* Source: The Government of Romania, The Council for National Minorities: *The Education System in Romania, Tuition in the Languages of the National Minorities. The 1994-5 School Year*, p.45

Total	158	13,271	6,636	6,278	357	229
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Appendix 7

List including secondary schools and sections providing teaching in the languages of national minorities in the 1994/ 1995 school year (by counties)*

THE MAGYAR (HUNGARIAN) LANGUAGE

A. COUNTIES AND SECONDARY SCHOOLS PROVIDING MAGYAR TEACHING LANGUAGE

Alba

1. "Bethlen Gábor" Academic Secondary School in Aiud
2. The Roman-Catholic Theological Seminary in Alba Iulia

Arad

"Csiki Gergely" Industrial School Group in Arad

Bihar

1. Ady Endre" Academic Secondary School in Oradea
2. The Reformed Theological Seminary in Oradea
3. The Roman-Catholic Theological Seminary in Oradea

Brasov

- 1."Aprily Lajos" Academic Secondary School in Brasov
2. "Rab István" Academic Secondary School in Sacele

* Source: The Government of Romania, The Council for National Minorities: *The Education System in Romania, Tuition in the Languages of the National Minorities. The 1994-5 School Year*, p.45-48

Cluj

- 1.The Reformed Theological Secondary School Seminary in Cluj
- 2.The Unitarian Secondary School Seminary in Cluj
- 3.The Romano-Catholic Theological Secondary School in Cluj
- 4.The Academic Secondary School No.2 in Cluj
- 5.The Academic Secondary School No.3 in Cluj

Covasna

- 1."Szekely Mikó" Academic Secondary School in Sfintu Gheorghe
2. "Mikes Kelemen" Academic Secondary School in Sfintu Gheorghe
3. "Bod Peter" Normal School in Tirgu Secuiesc
- 4."Nagy Mozes" Academic Secondary School in Tirgu Secuiesc

Harghita

- 1."Marton Àron" Academic Secondary School in Miercurea Ciuc
2. The Secondary School of Arts in Miercurea Ciuc
3. The Roman-Catholic Theological Seminary in Miercurea Ciuc
4. "Tamási Àron" Academic Secondary School in Odorheiu Secuiesc
5. "Palló Imre" Secondary School of Arts in Odorheiu Secuiesc
6. "Bányai János" Industrial School Group in Odorheiu Secuiesc
7. The Industrial School Group No.2 in Odorheiu Secuiesc
8. The Sanitary School Group in Odorheiu Secuiesc
9. The Agricultural School Group in Odorheiu Secuiesc
- 10."Benedek Elek" Normal School in Odorheiu Secuiesc
- 11."Salamon Ernő" Academic Secondary School in Gheorgheni
- 12."Gábor Àron" Industrial School Group in Vlăhita
- 13."Petőfi Sándor" Academic Secondary School in Dănești
- 14."Puskás Tivadar" Academic Secondary School in Ditrău
- 15.The Agricultural Secondary School in Sinmartin
- 16.The Academic Secondary School in Corund
- 17.The Academic Secondary School in Zetea
- 18.The Agricultural School Group in Joseni
- 19.The Roman-Catholic Theological Seminary in Lunca de Sus

Satu Mare

1. The Reformed Theological Secondary School Seminary in Satu Mare
- 2."Ham János" Roman Catholic Theological Secondary School Seminary in Satu Mare
3. The Roman Catholic Theological Secondary School Seminary in Carei
- 4."Kolcsei Ferenc" Academic Secondary School in Satu Mare

Salaj

The Reformed Theological Secondary School Seminary in Zalau

Timis

- 1."Bartók Bela" Academic Secondary School in Timisoara

2.The Roman-Catholic Secondary School Seminary in Timisoara

Municipality of Bucuresti

“Ady Endre” Academic Secondary School

B. SECONDARY SCHOOLS PROVIDING SECTIONS IN MAGYAR LANGUAGE

Arad

“Gheorghe Lazăr” Academic Secondary School in Pecica

Bihar

1.”Mihai Eminescu” Academic Secondary School in Oradea

2.”Petőfi Sándor” Academic Secondary School in Săcuieni

3.The Academic Secondary School in Valea lui Mihai

4.”Iosif Vulcan” Normal School in Oradea

5. The Secondary School of Arts in Oradea

6.The Industrial School Group - Oil Industry in Marghita

7.The Industrial School Group in Salonta

8.The Agricultural School Group in Valea lui Mihai

9.The Agricultural School Group in Oradea

Bistrita-Năsăud

“Andrei Muresanu” Academic Secondary School in Bistrita

Brasov

1.”Constantin Brincoveanu” Industrial School in Brasov

2.The Energetics School Group in Brasov

3.”Stefan Octavian Iosif” School Group in Rupea

Cluj

1.”Brassai Sámuel” Academic Secondary School in Cluj

2. The Academic Secondary School No.4 in Cluj

3.”Andrei Mureasanu” Academic Secondary School in Blaj

4.”Ocatavian Goga” Academic Secondary School in Huedin

5.”Petru Maior” Academic Secondary School in Gherla

6.”Mihai Viteazul” Academic Secondary School in Turda

7.The Music Secondary School in Cluj

8.The Adventist Theological Secondary School Seminary in Cluj

9.The Electrotechnical School Group in Cluj

Covasna

1.”Oltul” Industrial School in Sfintu Gheorghe

2.The Economic, Administrative and Catering School in Sfintu Gheorghe

3.”Puskás Tivadar” Industrial School in Sfintu Gheorghe

4. The Secondary School of Arts in Sfintu Gheorghe
5. The Agricultural School Group in Sfintu Gheorghe
- 6."Gábor Áron" Industrial School Group in Tirgu Secuiesc
- 7."Kőrösi Csoma Sándor" Industrial School Group in Covasna
8. "Baróti Szabó Dávid" Industrial School Group in Baraolt
9. "Apor Péter" Industrial-Agricultural School Group in Tirhgu Secuiesc
- 10."Perspectiva" Industrial School Group in Sfintu Gheorghe

Harghita

- 1.The Wood Industry School Group in Miercurea Ciuc
- 2.The Machine Building Industrial School Group in Miercurea Ciuc
- 3."Joannes Kájoni" Economic, Administrative and Catering School Group in Miercurea Ciuc
- 4.The Mining Industrial School Group Bălan
- 5."Orban Balázs" Academic Secondary School in Cristuru Secuiesc
- 6.The Machine Building Industrial School Group in Gheorgheni
- 7.The Agricultural School Group in Gheorgheni
- 8."O.C.Tăslăuanu" Academic Secondary School in Toplita
- 9.The Building School Group in Miercurea Ciuc

Hunedoara

- 1."Traian" Academic Secondary School in Deva
2. The Academic Secondary School in Petrosani

Maramures

- 1.The Assembly Engineering Industrial School Group in Baia Mare
- 2."Gheorghe Sincai" Academic Secondary School in Baia Mare
- 3."Mihai Eminescu" Academic Secondary School in Baia Mare
- 4."Dragos Vodă" Academic Secondary School in Sighetu Marmatiei

Mures

- 1."Al.Papiu Ilarian" Academic Secondary School in Tirgu Mures
- 2."Uniunea" Academic Secondary School in Tirgu Mures
- 3."Bolyai Farkas" Academic Secondary School in Tirgu Mures
- 4."Mihai Eminescu" Normal School in Tirgu Mures
- 5.The Secondary School of Arts in Tirgu Mures
- 6."Avram Iancu" Industrial School Group in Tirgu Mures
- 7."Gheorghe Sincai" Industrial School Group in Tirgu Mures
8. "Electromures" Industrial School Group in Tirgu Mures
9. The Industrial School Group No.1 in Tirgu Mures
- 10.The Industrial Chemistry School Group in Tirgu Mures
- 11.The Forestry School Group in Tirgu Mures
12. The Assembly Engineering School Group in Tirgu Mures
13. The Agricultural School Group in Tirgu Mures
- 14."Mircea Eliade" Academic Secondary School in Sighisoara

- 15.The Academic Secondary School in Reghin
- 16."Petru Maior" Industrial School Group in Reghin
- 17.The Forestry School Group in Sovata
18. The Academic Secondary School in Tirnăveni
- 19.The Academic Secondary School in Band
- 20.The Academic Secondary School in Singeorgiu de Pădure
21. The Academic Secondary School in Miercurea Nirajului

Satu Mare

- 1.The Normal School in Satu Mare
- 2.The Academic Secondary School in Carei
- 3.The Machine Building Industrial School Group No.3 in Satu Mare
- 4.The Industrial School Group in Tăsnad
- 5.The Agricultural School Group in Carei
- 6.The Agricultural School Group in Livada
- 7.The Machine Building Industrial School Group in Carei

Sălaj

- 1.The Academic Secondary School in Zalău
- 2."Gheorghe Sincai" Normal School in Zalău
- 3."Simion Bărnutiu" Academic Secondary School in Simleu Silvaniei
- 4.The Industrial School Group in Cehu Silvaniei
- 5.The Industrial School Group in Crasna
- 6.The Industrial School Group in Sărmășag
- 7."Al.Papiu Ilarian" Industrial School in Zalău
- 8."Iuliu Maniu" Industrial School Group in Zalău
- 9.The Agricultural School Group in Simleu Silvaniei

Sibiu

- 1."Octavian Goga" Academic Secondary School in Sibiu
- 2."Axente Sever" Academic Secondary School in Medias

Timis

- 1.The Auto School Group Timisoara
- 2."Electromotor" Industrial School Group in Timisoara

THE GERMAN LANGUAGE

A. SECONDARY SCHOOLS PROVIDING GERMAN TEACHING LANGUAGE

Arad

The German Academic Secondary School in Arad

Brasov

"Johannes Honterus" Academic Secondary School in Brasov

Sibiu

“Brukenthal” Academic Secondary School in Timisoara

Timis

“Nikolaus Lenau” Academic Secondary School in Timisoara

Municipality of Bucuresti

“Hermann Oberth” Academic Secondary School

B. SECONDARY SCHOOLS PROVIDING SECTIONS WITH TEACHING IN GERMAN

Brasov

The Energetics Industrial School Group in Brasov

Caras Severin

The Academic Secondary School No4 in Resita

Cluj

“George Cosbuc” Academic Secondary School in Cluj

Mures

“Joseph Haltrich” Academic Secondary School in Sighisoara

Satu Mare

“Mihai Eminescu” Academic Secondary School in Satu Mare

Sibiu

1. “Andrei Saguna” Normal School in Sibiu

2. “Axente Sever” Academic Secondary School in Medias

3. “St.L.Roth” Academic Secondary School in Medias

Timis

“C.Brediceanu” Academic Secondary School in Lugoj

THE SLOVAK LANGUAGE

SECONDARY SCHOOLS PROVIDING SECTIONS WITH TEACHING IN SLOVAK

Arad

“J.Gregor - Tajovsky” Academic Secondary School in Nădlac

THE SERBIAN LANGUAGE

A. SECONDARY SCHOOL PROVIDING TEACHING IN SERBIAN

Timis

“Dositej Obradovic” Academic Secondary School in Timisoara

B. SECONDARY SCHOOL PROVIDING SECTIONS WITH TEACHING IN SERBIAN

Caras - Severin

The Industrial School Group in Moldova Nouă

THE UKRAINIAN LANGUAGE

SECONDARY SCHOOLS PROVIDING SECTIONS WITH TEACHING IN UKRAINIAN

Maramures

1.The Normal School in Sighetu Marmatiei

2.”Dragos-Vodă Academic Secondary School in Sighetu Marmatiei

Appendix 8

The Population of Banat County in 1774

Nationality	Number of inhabitants
Romanians	220,000
Serbians and Greeks	100,000

Germans	53,000
Magyars and Bulgarians	2,400
Jews	340

Source: Johan Jacob Ehrler, *Das Banat von Ursprung bis Jetzt*

Appendix 9

The Population of Timisoara in 1851

Nationality	Number of inhabitants
Germans	8,775
Romanians	3,807
Magyars	2,346
Serbians	1,770
Jews	1,551
other Slavs	712
Gypsies	179
Greeks	39

Italians	22
Turkish	18
others	2,810

Source: J.N. Preyer, *Monographie der Königlichen Freistadt Temesvar*, Temesvar, 1853

Appendix 10

The Most Important Confessions from Timisoara in 1851*

1. Catholic
2. Orthodox
3. Greek-Catholic
4. Protestant
5. Jewish

* Source: J.N. Preyer, *Monographie der Königlichen Freistadt Temesvar*, 1853

Appendix 11

The Confessions of Banat County in 1851

Confession	Number of inhabitants
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Orthodox	679,556
Catholic	614,577
Augsburg	50,911
Helvetic	26,127
Jewish	16,214
Greek-Catholic	11,612

Total : 1,398,997

Source: J.N. Preyer, *Monographie der Königlichen Freistadt Temesvar*, Temesvar, 1853, p.231.

Appendix 12

Division of Banat into 12 administrative districts at the beginning of the 18th century:

1. Timisoara
2. Becicherecul Mare
3. Cenad or Sînnicolau
4. Ciacova
5. Lugoj
6. Vîrset
7. Lipova
8. Faget
9. Caransebes
10. Orsova or Mehala

11. Panciova

12. Palanca Noua

Source: Griselini, *Versuch einer Politischen und Natürlichen Geschichte des Temeswarer Banats*

Appendix 13

Demographic statistics of BANAT Region, 1992

Nationality	Number of inhabitants
Romanians	1,096,768
Magyars	124,703
Germans	37,812
Roma	31,650
Serbians	22,982
Ukrainian	10,036
Slovakians	9,215
Bulgarians	7,594
Croatians	3,665

Czechs	3,532
Jews	1,848
Lippovan-Russians	160
Polish	107
Greeks	55
Turkish	44
Armenians	38
Tartars	6
other nationalities	4,878
undeclared nationalities	35

Total inhabitants of Banat Region : 1,352,803

Ethnic and confessional minorities: 257,202

Source: *Romanian Statistical Yearbook*, 1994.

Appendix 14

Demographic Statistics of TIMIS County, 1992

Nationality	Number of inhabitants
Romanians	561,200
Magyars	62,866
Germans	26,722
Serbians	17,144
Roma	14,836
Ukrainians	6,468
Bulgarians	6,466
Slovaks	2,229

Jews	625
Czechs	389
Croatians	299
Lippovan-Russians	160
Polish	107
Greeks	55
Turkish	44
Armenians	38
Tartars	6
Other nationalities	344
undeclared nationalities	35

Total inhabitants of Timis County: 700,033

Ethnical and confessional minorities: 140,000

Source: "Population. Demographical Structure", in *Romanian Statistical Yearbook*, 1994, Vol. 1

Appendix 15

Demographic Statistics of CARAS-SEVERIN County, 1992

Nationality	Number of inhabitants
Romanians	143,373
Serbiens	4,092
Croatians	3,366
Roma	3,299
Czechs	2,917
Ukrainians	2,728

Germans	1,710
Magyars	929
Slovaks	226
Bulgarians	6
Other nationalities	4,155

Total inhabitants of Caras-Severin County: 165,400

Ethnic and confessional minorities: 22,027 (14%)

Source: *Romanian Statistical Yearbook*, 1994.

Appendix 16

Demographic Statistics of ARAD County, 1992

Nationality	Number of inhabitants
Romanians	392,195
Magyars	60,908
Roma	13,515

Germans	9,380
Slovaks	6,760
Serbians	1,746
Bulgarians	1,122
Ukrainians	840
Jews	299
Czechs	226
other nationalities	379

Total inhabitants of Arad County: 487,370

Ethnic and confessional minorities: 95,175 (19,5%)

Source: *Romanian Statistical Yearbook*, 1994.

Appendix 17

Mother Tongue in Timis County

Mother tongue	Number of inhabitants
Romanian	573,662

Hungarian	61,088
German	24,934
Serbo-Croatian	16,298
Romani	9,298
Bulgarian	6,140
Ukrainian	5,802
Slovak	1,925
Czech	737

From **700,033** inhabitants in Timis county **140,000** speaks 2 or 3 languages and 20% have other mother tongues than Romanian.

Source: *Romanian statistical Yearbook*, 1994.